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DEVANGANA DESAI

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“AVABHṚTHA” AND THE PEOPLE

V. S. BHANDARI

THE Mantras dealing with the Avabhṛtha or purificatory bath are to be found in the *Vājasaneyi-Samhitā* (VS) of the Śukla Yajurveda (III.48, VIII.23-27, XX.14-20) and in the *Taittirīya-Samhitā* of the Kṛṣṇa-Yajurveda (I.4.45, I.88.21). Similarly, *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (SB) (IV.5.3) contains a section entitled ‘Avabhṛtha-Brāhmaṇam’ which describes the concluding rite of the sacred bath. The Avabhṛtha, generally, forms an integral part of all sacrificial rituals as a concluding function.

The word Avabhṛtha is derived from two roots, Ava√bhṛ to take and ava√hṛ to take or to throw into. S.B. explains it ‘As Soma is taken to the waters it is called Avabhṛtha’¹ (IV.4.5.1) . . . ‘Because they take it down to the water or they throw it into the water, therefore the purificatory bath is called Avabhṛtha.’ (IV.5.3.1). According to Mahīdhara, the commentator on the V.S. (III.48) “This rite is called Avabhṛtha, because the lowered sacrificial vessels are filled (bhriyante) with water in a particular sacrifice.”²

In the *Vājasaneyi-Samhitā*, it is referred to in connection with the ‘Varuṇa-Praghāsa-Parvan’ of the Four-monthly sacrifices. In the Varuṇa-Praghāsa an Iṣṭi is performed for the propitiation of God Varuṇa. At the end of the Varuṇa-Praghāsa sacrifice, the sacrificer and his wife perform the Avabhṛtha rite by taking a purificatory bath in a stream of fresh water. At that time the mantra ‘Avabhṛtha’ (III.48) is recited. The Avabhṛtha is also referred to in connection with the Soma sacrifice. It forms the concluding part of the Sāyam-Savana or evening Soma-pressing. This Sāyam-Savana begins with the ceremony for Ādityagraha or oblation for Ādityas. A priest named Pratiprasthātṛ, draws Soma from Droṇa-Kalaśa, with the vessel of Āditya-graha. Later on, Āditya-graha is mixed with dadhi or sour milk. This dadhi and Soma are mixed at Upānsu-Savana. The sacrificer’s wife looks at the Pūtabhṛt or a vessel containing Soma-juice, which has been pressed. The sacrificer eats the Purodāśa-Idā, as a part of Soma-pressing and accomplishes other rites connected with the pressing of Soma.

1. तद्वदपोऽभ्यवहृन्ति तस्मादवभृथः । (षाखा 4.4.5.1)

2. अवाचीनानि पात्राणि जलमष्ट्ये भ्रियन्ते यस्मिन् यत्प्रियोपे सोऽयमवभृथः । वासं III 48

Before the commencement of Avabhr̥tha, Samiṣṭayajuṣ — offerings are offered because they are considered to be extreme end of the sacrifice. After that, all the priests and the sacrificer go together to the Cātvala pit, with Āsandi throne, Audumbarī, Soma vessels, Droṇa kalaśa, etc. Then the black-deer's horn and the mekhalā (girdle) are thrown in to the pit, with the recitation of the mantra,³ 'Māhīrbhūḥ' (V.S. VIII. 23a) where the rope is requested not to turn into a snake. Probably, later Vedāntic conception of 'Rajju-Sarpa' illusion might have its seeds sown in this mantra. From there all the sacrificial material as well as the Soma-husks, which are called 'Ṛjīṣa' are taken to the waters. Then there is the wishing of the 'Svagākara' or good-speed to the sacrificer. In the simile of rope and snake a reference is also made to the feud between men and snakes. (S.B. IV.4.5.3) In order to avoid that, this Mantra is recited. It is believed that whatever vital sap (rasa) there had been in the Soma and in the sacrificer, that sap was extracted for the offerings, by the Abhiṣava. That body of Soma i.e. Soma-husks, is not to be cast-away. S.B. says 'they take it down to the water and water being sap, he (Adhvaryu priest) puts that sap into it. He (Soma), evenwhen produced, produces him (the sacrificer)' (S.B. IV 4.5.3). That means, as the Soma plants become juicy again, so the sacrificer has his spirit restored.

At that time, a Sāman, 'Agniṣṭapati' is sung by the priests so that evil spirits may not injure the body of the sacrificer. All the priests and sacrificer are to join in the 'nidhāna', final or concluding word of the Sāman, namely 'Avāvah'. Then they proceed to the pool of flowing water. There the sacrificer descends into the water and offers homage to Varuṇa with the Mantra 'Namo Varuṇāya' (V.S. 8.23 d) in order to free himself from the snare of Varuṇa. Thereafter, taking ghee in four ladles and throwing down a kindling stick in the water, the offering is made with the mantra 'Agnēranīkam'. (V.S. 8.24, T.S. I.4.45d) There, a reference is made to the face of Agni, named 'Apāmnāpāt', where the entrance into the waters by Agni is indicated. It is said,⁴ 'The face of Agni has entered the waters, the child of the waters, guarding against the demons' power. In each home, you offer kindling stick, O Agni, let your tongue seek the ghee'. While explaining the reduplication of the word 'dame' in the sense of 'in each home', Mahidhara says⁵ 'It has a reference to the Aśvamedha sacrifice, where there used to be

3. माहिर्भूर्मा पृदाकुः । (V.S. VIII. 23a)

4. अग्नेरग्नीकमप आविवेशापानपात् प्रतिरक्षन्नसुयम् । दमे दमे समिधं यक्ष्यन्न प्रति ते जिह्वा घृतमुच्चरन्त्यत् स्वाहा ।
(वा. सं. 8.24., तै. सं. 1.4.45)

5. दमे दमे इति वीष्वाश्वमेधविषया । तन्न हि नानाऽश्वभूयान्यहानि भवन्ति । वा. सं. महीधरभाष्य.
रसो नै पुरोडाशः । तदेतस्मिन्नेतं रसं दद्याति ((श.ब्रा. 4.4.5.15) . . .

many days connected with the Avabhṛtha’. This shows that the Avabhṛtha was also a concluding part of the Aśvamedha sacrifice.

Then the Avabhṛtha-Iṣṭi takes place. There is a Puroḍāsa on one potsherd for Varuṇa. Because, whatever rasa was there in the Soma, it had been extracted for the offerings, Puroḍāsa being a rasa, it is put into Soma. Hence, there is a Puroḍāsa on one potsherd for Varuṇa. (S.B. IV.4.5.15.) Thereafter, six offerings are offered. They are symbolic of six seasons in the year and Varuṇa is the representative of the year. According to S.B. ‘These offerings are considered to be the course of Ādityas. These Yajuṣ belong to Āditya. This is also the course of Angīras (who stand for human beings)’. (S.B. IV.4.5.20).

After performing the offerings, Adhvaryu makes the Ṛjīṣa pot, in which the husks are, float with the Mantra ‘Samudre te’. (V.S. 8.25, T.S.I. 4.45 d) There, Soma is addressed, ‘In the ocean like waters is your heart, O Soma, may the plants and the waters unite with you’. Thereby the two kinds of rasa are put into the Soma, that which is in plants and that which is in the waters. Thereafter, letting the Ṛjīṣakumbha go, Adhvaryu stands by it and addresses the divine waters with the mantra, ‘Devīrāpaḥ’. (V.S. 8.26a, T.S. I.4.45h). ‘You divine waters, this is your foetus, well beloved and well nourished, you bear him (Soma)’. Thereby they hand-over the Soma to waters for protection. Then he addresses the Soma with ‘Deva Soma’ (V.S.2.26b). ‘O Divine Soma, this is your abode, thrive well therein.’ S.B. adds here, ‘Whereby he means, be you therein for our happiness and shield us from all inflictions’ (IV.4.5.21). Then the Ṛjīṣakumbha is immersed in the water with the Mantra ‘Avabhṛtha’ (V.S. VIII.27, T.S. I.4.45f). According to Taittirīya tradition this Mantra is used for the immersion of all that Soma has touched.

The Avabhṛtha is prayed, ‘O Avabhṛtha Sacrifice and the restless purifying bath, though you are restless, you move slowly. I have removed the stain of sin, against gods, committed by my sense organs, with the aid of gods. Whatever sin was committed by men, including the sacrificer, priests, and by the people, assembled to witness the Sacrifice, against men, is washed away by the concluding rite of sacred bath. Preserve me, O God, from injury and from the loud-roaring demon foe.’⁶

With this purificatory bath, the sacrificer and the people assembled in the sacrifice are supposed to have washed away all the sins

6. अवभृथ निबुमुण निवेहरसि.निबुमुणः । अत्र देवैर्दंबकृत्तनेनोऽयासिपमत्र मर्त्यैर्मर्त्यङ्कतं पुत्रराज्यां देव रिवस्वाहि ।
(वा.सं. 3.48, 8.27)

committed against gods and human beings. Thereupon, both the sacrificer and his wife, having descended in the water, wash each other's back, which is also symbolic of washing away each other's sins. Having wrapped themselves in fresh garments, they step out of the purifying water.

The Avabhṛtha is also a concluding rite of the 'Sautrāmaṇi' sacrifice. The Sautrāmaṇi ceremony is prescribed as means of obtaining general eminence, for a Kṣatriya, to assure victory and for a Vaiśya to acquire Cattle and Wealth. It consists mainly in the offering of the Surā, a spiritual drink to the Aśvins, Sarasvatī and Indra. The Mantras for this Avabhṛtha rite are to be found in the V.S. (XX.14-21) and in the T.S. (I.8.21). The Avabhṛtha ceremony is begun by floating a jar of Māsara in the water. Māsara is the mixture of Śaṣpa (husked-rice) Takman (green barley) and Lājā (parched grain) ground up with some roots and the drink of two 'odanas' or messes of rice and Śyāmāka or millet boiled in water. While floating the jar of a Māsara, the mantra 'Yaddevā' (V.S. XX.14) is recited. There, the gods are requested to free the sacrificer from the faults that might have stirred the anger of gods. They also pray with 'Yadi divā' (XX.15) that Vāyu may free them from the sins which might have been committed during day time or at night and from the inquiry and all distress. Sūrya is solicited to free them from the acts of sin, committed when awake or in the sleep.

The sacrificer-couple wants to atone for any known or unknown sin, in respect of their dealings with the people. They pray with⁷ 'Yadgrāme' (V.S. III.45 and XX.17, T.S. I.8.3) to Māsara Kumbha "Each fault in village (by giving trouble to villagers) or in the forest (by killing wild beasts) in the assembly (by despising respected persons) in company or corporeal sense. Each sinful act, that we have done to Śūdra or to Ārya, the wrong contrary to the law of either, even of that sin, you are the expiation." It is a sort of formula for the removal of sins and as an atonement for sins against Gods, men, and fore-fathers. It is also an atonement for every sort of sin including those sins which are knowingly or unknowingly committed. A remnant of this sort of atonement is to be found in the daily Sandhyopāsanā. There, while sipping sacred water, the worshipper prays,⁸ whatever sins, I might have committed during night with my mind, speech, hands, feet, belly and with the organ

7. यद् ग्रामे यदरण्ये यत्सभायां यद्विन्द्रिये । यच्छूद्रे यदर्ये यदेनश्चक्रुमा वयं यदेकस्याधि धर्मणि तस्यावजनमसि ।
(वा सं. 20, 17. तै सं. 1.8.3)

8. यद् रात्र्या पापमकार्यम् मनसा वाचा हस्ताभ्यां पद्भ्यामदरेण शिषना अहस्तदवलुम्पतु । (तैत्तिरीय आरण्यकम् । 10.25.1) इत्याचमनम् (ब्राह्मणसर्वस्व पृ. 59)

of generation, that may be removed by the deity of the day.’ Similar atonement for the known and unknown sins, still forms an integral part of the Śrāvaṇī⁹ or Upākarma rite performed by the Dvijas.

Here again, the Avabhūtha is performed with the Mantra ‘Avabhūtha’ (XX.18). In this Mantra the words ‘Martyair martyakṛtam’ are very significantly used. They indicate full participation, of the people in general, in the performance of the sacrificial rites. As we have earlier noted that the Avabhūtha sacred-bath usually takes place at the conclusion of every sacrifice, there is the practice that when the sacrificer, his wife and priests go to the pond or river for the sacred-bath, all the people, who have assembled to witness the sacrifice, join the procession and participate in the Avabhūtha bath. It is supposed that though, they are not actually able to perform the sacrifice, still they get the benefit and merit or Puṇya, resulting from the sacrifice, which otherwise would have been beyond their reach, due to their incapability of possessing necessary wealth for the performance of the sacrifice. This clearly indicates that sacrifices were not individualistic or they did not bring blessings only to the sacrificer, but they were performed for the welfare of the entire community. The common people had every right to the performance and to the share of the fruit of the sacrifice by participating in the Avabhūtha. We can say that the sacrifices were not the monopoly of a king or a few rich people, but the common people could participate in these sacrifices and get the benefit.

9. वाक्पाणिपादपायपस्वघ्राणरसनाचक्षुःस्पर्शनश्रोत्रमनोभिश्चरितज्ञाताज्ञातमहापातकादिपापानां परिहायार्थं स्नानमहं करिष्ये । (हेमाद्रिकृतः स्नानसंक्षेपः) ।

ON AN OVERLOOKED PROBLEMATIC READING IN THE PRINTED TEXT OF BHATTOJI-DĪKṢITA'S SIDDHĀNTA-KAUMUDĪ

BISWANATH BHATTACHARYA

IN the Kṛtya-prakaraṇa, under Pāṇini's rule << yaja-yācaruca-pravacarcaś ca >> [Aṣṭādhyāyī, 7,3.66], the printed text of Bhaṭṭoji-Dikṣita's Siddhāntakaumudī in the various hitherto published editions appears to record uniformly a questionable reference to the Kāśikā as follows:

..... << tyajeś ca >> [= Kātyāyana's Vārttika] / tyājyam / << tyajipūjyoś ca >> iti Kāśikā [—sammato Vārttika-pāṭhaḥ] / tatra pūjer grahaṇam cintyam — Bhāṣyā-'nuktatvāt/ << ṇyat-prakaraṇe tyajer upasamkhyānam << iti hi Bhāṣyam /

From the aforecited excerpt it transpires that Bhaṭṭoji-Dikṣita challenges the authenticity of the wording of Kātyāyana's Vārttika as recorded in the Kāśikā and gives the correct wording of the same in the light of Patañjali's Mahā-bhāṣya. To be precise, Bhaṭṭoji relies on the authority of Patañjali and accepts kutva-ṇiṣedha in the case of the root √ tyaj(a) — [hānau] when — [ṇ] ya [t] — pratyaya follows but does not allow the question of kutva-ṇiṣedha in respect of the root √ pūj(a) — pūjāyām also because the latter root being ṇy-anta happens to be aj-anta and as such admits of —ya[t]— pratyaya. In this matter Bhaṭṭoji appears to have followed Kaiyaṭa's line of thinking.¹ Nāgeśa follows Bhaṭṭoji.²

1. Pūjyam iti tu ṇy-antasya pūje rūpam/
Patañjali's Mahā-bhāṣya with Kaiyaṭa's Pradīpa and Nāgeśa's Uddyota ed. Guruprasāda Śāstrin, Adhyāya 7, Benares, 1938.
2. (a) even ca < pūjeś oe > ti Vṛtti's cintyete bhāvaḥ //
(Patañjali's Mahā-bhāṣya; op. cit.
By << Vṛtti. >> Nāgeśa means obviously the Kāśikā-Vṛtti.
(b) < pūjyam > iti tu ṇy-antasya pūjer yati bodhyam / << pūjer nitya-ṇy-antatvāt tad-grahe phalā-'bhāva >> ity anye/
The Bṛhac-chabdendu-śekhara ed. Sītārama Śāstrin, Part III, Varanasi, 2, 1960.

This argument holds good in the nic-pakṣa.

Even in the nij-abhāva-pakṣa, the svārthika nic-pratyaya to be a caur-ādika root being anitya or vibhāsita (optional), the question of kutva-ṇiṣedha does not arise at all because the root √ pūj[a] — is setka before the niṣṭhā suffixes, —[k] ta— and —[k] tavat[u].

In the present context we might be permitted to mention en passant that Jinendrabuddhi, Puruṣottamadeva and Melputtūr Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭatīri of the Pāṇini school of Sanskrit grammar speak of — kutva-niṣedha in respect of √ tyaja(a) — only. The wording of the Vārttika followed by them makes no mention of √ pūj(a) — also.

Moreover, Śarva-Varman, Candragomin, Bhoja Śākaṭāyana, Devanandin, Hemacandra, Malayagiri, Somadeva-sūri, Bopadeva and Puruṣottama Vidyā-vāgīśa also follow the same line.

It is strange that Anubhūtiśvarūpācārya speaks of kutvaniṣedha in respect of pūj — (sic) also, adding — [gh] ya [n] — (=Pāṇini's —(ṇ)ya (t)—) to it. Likewise Śrījīva-Gosvāmin and Annambhaṭṭa raise the point of kutvaniṣedha in the stem pūjya also.

After this brief *aperçu* of the different systems of Sanskrit grammar on the topic under consideration we might now turn to examine the question of Bhaṭṭoji's reference to the Kāśikā.

What strikes us at the outset is the fact that the alleged wording of that Vārttika cannot be traced in the standard editions of the Kāśikā where we find the normal reading as << nyati pratiṣedhe tyajer upasaṅkhyānam / >> followed by a single illustration, << tyājyam >>

Thus the imputation is not substantiable and as such Bhaṭṭoji's attack misses its target.

Under these circumstances we are not in a position to answer categorically whether Bhaṭṭoji cited from his memory without checking the text of the Kāśikā at the time of composing his Siddhanta-kaumudī, or the blame of misselection has to be apportioned to the scribes or textual recensions or editors or printers of the Siddhanta-kaumudī or the Kāśikā. Pursuit of such idle speculations is neither profitable nor advisable and can thus be left out safely by scholars.

We should rather take an objective view of the situation and try to trace the source of the Vārttika with its problematic wording.

Thus, strangely enough, the problematic Vārttika, which is ascribed wrongly to the Kāśikā, is traced as such in Rāmacandra's Prakriyā-kaumudī which runs as follows:

.... << tyaji-pūjyoś ca >> na kutvam / tyājyam /
pūjyam /

As in other cases, Bhaṭṭoji's target here is the Prakriyā-kaumudī. In the light of this finding we propose a rational emendation in Bhaṭṭoji's Siddhānta-kaumudī as:

*<< tyaji-pūjyos ca >> iti Prakriyā-kaumudī
śrī-Guru-caraṇa-samarpaṇam astu//*

ĀNANDBODHĀCĀRYA—LIFE, DATE AND WORKS

NALINEE CHAPEKAR

ĀNANDBODHĀCĀRYA, a writer on the Advaita Vedānta belonged to the post-Śaṅkara period. In the post-Śaṅkara Advaita Vedānta, there are two schools — the Bhāmatī school and the Vivaraṇa school, based on the two commentaries on the *Brahmasūtra-Śāṅkarabhāṣya*, by Vācaspatimiśra and Prakāśātman respectively. Ānandabodha appears to support the Vivaraṇa school, though he profusely quotes from the works of Vācaspatimiśra. Ānandabodha has written a commentary *Nyāyadīpikā* on the *Sābdanirṇaya* of Prakāśātman and has three independent works to his credit viz. the *Pramāṇamālā*, the *Nyāyadīpāvalī* and the *Nyāyamakaranda*. In these works he discusses various problems connected with the Advaita Vedānta. It is true that after Vācaspatimiśra and Prakāśātman the Advaita thought did not develop further and the later writers utilised their scholarship only to clarify the unsaid (*anukta*) or implied (*ākṣipta*) points in the works of their predecessors and to refute the positions of the opponents — the Mīmāṃsakas, the Sāṅkhyas, the Bauddhas and the like. In the times of Ānandabodha the Prābhākara-Mīmāṃsakas appear to have been the main opponents of the Advaita-Vedānta. What Ānandabodha has done is the refutation of the views of Śālikanātha and Bhavanātha of the Prābhākara Mīmāṃsā and the re-establishment of the views of Maṇḍanamīśra and Vācaspatimiśra in the field of Advaita Vedānta. Ānandabodha also has his original contribution to the Advaita thought.

Life:

About the life of Ānandabodha, almost nothing is known. Ānandabodha not being an exception to the tradition of reticent writers, does not give any personal account of himself in any of his four works. Moreover, no stories about Ānandabodha are known to us by tradition. The problem becomes all the more difficult since there are at least three Ānandabodhācāryas.¹ Ānandabodha, with whom we are concerned here, is known as Ānandabodha Yati

1. The New Catalogus Catalogorum, Madras, 1966, Vol. II, p. 108.

and Bhaṭṭāraka. These *birudas* only tell us that Ānandabodha was a man of means in the beginning, a Bhaṭṭāraka, a title indicating affluence and authority and then embraced the ascetic life of the Yati order. His guru was Ātmavāsa, whom he salutes in the concluding verse of the *Nyāyadīpikā*:

नमो निखिलवेदान्तकमलाकरभानवे ।
आत्मवासाभिधानाय गुरवे गुणवेशमने ॥

Before the discovery of the present work of Ānandabodha, Hiriyanna suggested² that Vimuktātman, the author of the *Iṣṭasiddhi*, might have been the guru of Ānandabodha, for he quotes the words from the *Iṣṭasiddhi* (IS i.3 and p. 86) in his *Pramāṇamālā* (p. 4) and the *Nyāyamakaranda* (p. 355) by prefixing as एतदेवोक्तं गुरुभिः or by suffixing as इत्याचार्या व्यचीचरन्. Now, the clear reference in the *Nyāyadīpikā* doubtlessly proves that Ānandabodha was the disciple of Ātmavāsa.³ He refers to Vimuktātman, Vācaspatimīśra and others as guru or ācārya, the honourific titles, as mark of respect towards them. About Ātmavāsa, unfortunately, we have very little knowledge.

Date:

The problem of the date of Ānandabodha cannot be settled beyond doubt for want of conclusive evidence. As he commented upon the work of Prakāśātman, the date of Prakāśātman is the upper limit and the date of Citsukhācārya, who commented upon all the three independent works of Ānandabodha is the lower limit for the date of Ānandabodha. Citsukhācārya is assigned to A.D. 1220 by Dasgupta⁴ and this date is confirmed by Rao⁵ on the basis of inscriptional evidence. Another important reference to Ānandabodha is found in the commentary of Caṇḍūpaṇḍita, on the *Naiṣadhacarita* of Śrīharṣa. While commenting upon NC XXI.108, Caṇḍūpaṇḍita quotes a large passage from the *Nyāyamakaranda* of Ānandabodha as follows:

असति प्रत्यक्षविषयत्वे भेदस्य अनुमानस्यापि व्याप्यव्यापकभेदाधीनस्य
भेदावभासे प्रामाण्यं निरस्तम् । . . इत्थं निरस्तनिखिलप्रतिकूलतर्कात् . . .
इति सिद्धम्—अनाद्यविद्यातद्वासनाविरचितभ्रममात्रसिद्धः इति
श्रीमदानन्दबोधोपाचार्यैरपि न्यायमकरन्दे भेदं निराकुर्वन्भिरुक्तम् ॥⁶

2. Introduction to the *Iṣṭasiddhi*, p. xiii.

3. Gode also points out the same fact in his article in *Calcutta oriental Journal*, Calcutta, vol. II, pp. 229-232.

4. *History of Indian Philosophy*, vol. II, p. 14.

5. 'Date of *Iṣṭasiddhi*', *Quarterly Journal of Mythic Society*, Bangalore, 1933-34, vol. XXIV, pp. 278-283.

6. NC. Ed. K. K. Handiqui, Poona, 1956, p. 497; NM, pp. 54-56. But the citation does not agree verbatim with the printed text.

The earlier discussion on *bheda* by Caṇḍūpaṇḍita in his commentary on the same verse clearly shows that he had before him the discussion on the same topic in the *Nyāyamakaranda* (NM, pp. 31-35, 45-46 etc.).

Caṇḍūpaṇḍita wrote his commentary in A.D. 1295, as he himself says at the end of his commentary on the canto XXII.⁷ Kavi also observes⁸ that Ānandagiri was a contemporary of Citsukha and that he is generally assigned to A.D. 1200. Kavi further points out, 'Ānandabodha, whose *Nyāyamakaranda* was commented upon by Citsukha, lived at least half a century prior to Ānandagiri'. According to Kavi the date of Ānandabodha, therefore, would be about A.D. 1150.

For the upper limit, the date of Prakāśātman should be finalised. Dasgupta⁹ places him in A.D. 1200. However, this date is not accepted by all scholars. Gode,¹⁰ in his article on 'Date of Ānandabodha', quotes a letter from Cintamani of Madras, where Cintamani has pointed out that Prakāśātman could not be assigned to any period later than A.D. 1000, for Rāmānuja, who definitely flourished between A.D. 1015 and 1137 has in his *Bhāṣya* on the *Brahmasūtra*, criticised the syllogism of Prakāśātman. Gode, therefore, concludes that 'Ānandabodha may have flourished between A.D. 1050 and 1100'. This view is in conformity with the view of Gopinatha Kaviraja, quoted by Rao,¹¹ that 'Ānandabodha might be supposed to have preceded Citsukha by an interval of fifty years or so'. Citsukhācārya, is assigned to A.D. 1220-1284. The date for Ānandabodha, therefore, should be A.D. 1050-1100, as given by Gode. Dasgupta¹² places Ānandabodha in A.D. 1250, on the strength of the date A.D. 1200 of Prakāśātman, proposed by him. Now, the date of Ānandabodha is definitely fixed on the basis of the date of Citsukhācārya and Caṇḍūpaṇḍita. It is, therefore, desirable to revise the date of Prakāśātman on the present evidence.¹³

Internal evidence, such as (i) citations from and (ii) references to other works contained in the works of Ānandabodha can be given

7. श्रीविक्रमार्कसमयाच्छरदामय त्रिपञ्चगतसमघिकेषु गतेष्वितेषु । तेषु त्रयोदशसु भाद्रपदे च शुक्लपक्षे त्रयोदशतियो रविवासरेच ॥ Śaṁvat 1353 — A.D. 1295.

Gode remarks that Citsukhācārya and Caṇḍūpaṇḍita thus become contemporaries.

8. Journal of the Andhra Historical Society, Rajmundry, 1931, vol. V, pt. 3, p. 88 fn.

9. History of Indian Philosophy, vol. II, p. 103.

10. Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Bangalore, 1936-37, vol. XXVI, pp. 153-56.

11. 'Date of Iṣṭasiddhi', Quarterly Journal of Mythic Society, 1933-34, vol. XXIV, pp. 278-79.

12. History of Philosophy, vol. II, p. 49.

13. Shri Rājasevāsakta D. Venkataramaiah, the author of English translation of the *Prakaranapañcikā* of Padmapāda (intro. p. xv) assigns A.D. 950 to Prakāśātman. This date deserves acceptance.

to support this date. (i) Ānandabodha, though, mentions only two writers by name, Maṇḍanamīśra (NM. p. 234) and Vācaspatimīśra, (NM. pp. 197, 264) we get many quotations from other writers like Vimuktātman, Dharmakīrti, Bhavanātha, Kumārila Bhaṭṭa, Śālikanātha and others. All these writers are, therefore, the predecessors of Ānandabodha, and are said to have flourished in the period between the 8th century A.D. and the first half of the 11th century. (ii) References to Ānandabodha appear in the writings of Appayya Dikṣita, Vidyāraṇya, Madhusūdana Saraswati, who flourished in the 15th and 16th century A.D. These writers are, thus the successors of Ānandabodha, who are assigned to the period between the 13th to 16th century A.D. Thus, the date for Ānandabodha, confirmed by this evidence is A.D. 1050 to A.D. 1100.

Works:

Four works are known to have been written by Ānandabodha. These are — (i) The *Nyāyadīpikā*, (ii) The *Pramāṇyamālā*, (iii) The *Nyāyadīpāvalī* and (iv) The *Nyāyamakaranda*. Out of these four works, the first one the *Nyāyadīpikā* is still unpublished. Other three works are published in the Chaukhamba Sanskrit Series No. 38, 62, 87 and 117 in A.D. 1907. The *Nyāyadīpikā* is ascribed to Ānandabodha on the strength of its concluding verse,

दुस्तर्कध्वान्तपटलप्रपाटनपटीयसी ।
इयमानन्दबोधेन रचिता न्यायदीपिका ॥

Hayavadana Rao¹⁴ in his illuminating article on the date of the *Iṣṭasiddhi* of Vimuktātman, doubts the identity of Ānandabodha, the author of the *Nyāyadīpikā* and Ānandabodha, the author of the *Nyāyamakaranda*. The fact, however, is confirmed by the clear reference to the *Nyāyadīpikā* in the *Nyāyamakaranda*. Ānandabodha states, विद्ममात्रमत्र सूचितं, विस्तरस्तु न्यायदीपिकायामवगन्तव्यः । (NM p. 170). (A short summary is indicated here, for further explanation reference could be made to the *Nyāyadīpikā*). Ānandabodha does not enter into a detailed discussion on the import of words in the *Nyāyamakaranda*, as he has already done it in the *Nyāyadīpikā*. Gode¹⁵ also accepts the authority of Ānandabodha for both of these works.

A broad outline of the contents of these four works is given below:

(i) *The Nyāyadīpikā*: This work also known as *Dīpikā* or *Sābdanirṇayadīpikā* is a commentary on the *Sābdanirṇaya* of Prakāśātman. The *Sābdanirṇaya* explains the nature and validity of the

14. Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Bangalore, vol. XXIV. p. 276.

15. Calcutta Oriental Journal. vol. II. pp. 137-38.

Śabdapramāṇa and mainly establishes anvitābhīdhānavāda. The latter part of the work is devoted to the statement and refutation of the kāryānvayavāda of the Mīmāṃsakas. Ānandabodha, the commentator, explains all subtle points of Mīmāṃsā, by quoting from authoritative Mīmāṃsā works like the *Prakaraṇapañcikā* of Śālikanātha, the *Nayaviveka* of Bhavanātha and others. Ānandabodha is wellversed in the views of Vācaspatimīśra and when finds scope, gives fully the view of Vācaspatimīśra with all pros and cons beginning with अवमर्थः. He also gives his own arguments starting with दयं तु ब्रूमः. Such discussions, starting with दयं तु ब्रूमः; इदं मन्यमहे and the like, where one can see the original independent thinking of the commentator, occur frequently in the *Nyāyadīpikā* in general and in the Mīmāṃsā portion in particular. These passages on Mīmāṃsā are repeated in toto in the chapter of प्रथमकत्व in the *Nyāyamakaranda*, the independent work of Ānandabodha.

(ii) *The Pramāṇamālā*: Aufrecht¹⁶ refers to this work by the name *Pramāṇaratnamālā* and describes it as a commentary on the *Nyāyadīpāvalī*. It appears to be a mistake, since the contents of the *Pramāṇamālā* prove it to be an independent work. The NCC also records *Pramāṇamālā* as an independent work.

This work is described as a prakaraṇa, a manual of the Vedānta. The entire work is in the form of a commentary on or exposition of the author's own benedictory verse viz:

आनन्दमात्मानमसत्यभेदं प्रणम्य विज्ञानतनुं मुकुन्दम् ।

प्रसाधने तस्य सर्वोपयुक्तां प्रमाणमालां रचयामि रम्याम् ॥

(Having saluted Mukunda, the Ātman, which is of the Blissful nature, where no difference becomes real and which is of the nature of cognition; I am preparing this beautiful garland of pramāṇas-Pramāṇamālā — which can be always used to worship Him.)

While discussing the word ānanda, Ānandabodha explains that ānanda — bliss, is a positive entity and not merely the negation of pain; Brahman the ultimate reality, is of the nature of bliss. The individual self also being identical with the Brahman is of the same nature. The next word asatyabheda points out that difference is untrue, illusory. Ānandabodha also states here that all differences have a real entity as their locus. This means, in other words, that the universe is only a superimposition on a pure Brahman. Ānandabodha, in this context, discusses different theories, put forth to explain this illusion and ultimately supports the anirvacanīya theory.

16. *Catalogus Catalogorum*, ed. by T. Aufrecht, Wiesbaden, 1962, pt. I, pp. 48, 308. *New Catalogus Catalogorum*, ed. by V. Raghavan, Madras, 1966, vol. II, p. 108.

The universe, being a product of Māyā cannot be defined as either real or unreal. The word vijñānatanum signifies that Ātman is of the nature of cognition. In this connection Ānandabodha proves that Ātman and cognition are self-luminous; Vedas are valid in respect of objects that are already existing; the mahāvākyas have an imperative sense; and lastly, salvation is of the nature of bliss and could be obtained by knowledge only. Since all these tenets are established through the anumānas, the author possibly has chosen a significant title the *Pramāṇamālā*, a Garland of *pramāṇas*.

The contents of the work are as follows:—

- (i) Positive nature of Bliss; Blissful nature of the Brahman.
- (ii) Unreality of difference, Inexplicable nature of difference, Real locus of difference.
- (iii) Khyātis.
- (iv) Nature of Avidyā; Unreality of world.
- (v) Brahman of the nature of the cognition; Self-luminosity of cognition.
- (vi) Empirical validity of Pramāṇas; Mīmāṃsā view about the import of words in kārya; Refutation of the Mīmāṃsā view; Scriptures are authority for Brahman; The homogeneous meaning — akhaṇḍārtha — of scriptures.
- (vii) Nature of salvation; Means of salvation.

This work is published in the Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series in 1907. It is also edited by S. Subrahmanya Sastri with two commentaries the *Nibandha* by Anubhūtiśvarūpācārya and the *Sambandhokti* by Citsukhācārya and is published by the Advaita Sabha, Kumbakonam, 1956.

(iii) The *Nyāyadīpāvali*: The *Nyāyadīpāvali* is an important independent work, discussing the unreality of the universe. This small work can be described as a Vādagrantha. Śāṅkarācārya while commenting upon the *Gauḍapādakārikā* II.4.

अन्तःस्थानात्तु भेदानां तस्माज्जागरिते स्मृतम् ।

यथा तत्र तथा स्वप्ने संवृतत्वेन मिथ्यते ॥

gives the following syllogism:

जाग्रद्दृश्यानां भावानां वैतथ्यं, दृश्यत्वात्, स्वप्नदृश्यभाववत् ।

यथा तत्र स्वप्ने दृश्यानां भावानां वैतथ्यं तथा जागरितेऽपि वैतथ्यं स्मृतम् ॥

(The things perceived in the waking state are unreal, because they are perceived, as the things perceived in dream. As in dream,

the perceptible things are regarded as unreal, similarly in the waking state also they are to be regarded as unreal.)

This syllogism is discussed in details in this work. Ānandabodha here gives this syllogism:

विधावपदं मिथ्या । वृश्यत्वात् । यदित्यं तत्तथा यथोभयवाद्यविधावास्त्वं रजतम् ।
तथा एतत् । तस्मात् तथा ।

(The thing in dispute — the world — is unreal, being the object of perception. Which is the object of perception is unreal like the undisputable silver. It is like that — The world is the object of perception. Hence it is that — It is unreal.)

While explaining this syllogism Ānandabodha rejects all the possible fallacies pertaining to pakṣa, sādhyā and hetu. To prove the unreality of the universe, Ānandabodha here takes the example of the shell-silver for the appearance of unreal object. But according to the Prābhākaras, the cognition of the shell-silver also is not invalid, all cognitions being valid according to them. For them, Ānandabodha gives the second syllogism:

विधावाभ्यासिता प्रवृत्तिः पुरोवर्तिगोचररजतज्ञानपूर्विका ।
रजतेच्छाधीनपुरोवर्तिप्रवृत्तित्वात् । यद्वक्तसाधनं तद्वक्तसाध्यं यथा सम्य-
ग्रजतप्रवृत्तिः । तथा इयम् । ततस्तथा ।

(The activity in dispute is preceded by the knowledge of silver in front, because the activity in front is guided by the desire of silver preceded by the knowledge of the object in front, like the activity towards real silver. It is like that — The activity in dispute is guided by the desire of silver. Hence it is that — The activity is preceded by the knowledge of silver in front.)

This inference also is proved as faultless and correct after discarding the five hetvābhāsas. Ānandabodha, thus, has composed this work the *Nyāyadīpāvalī* — the row of lamps of Nyāya, to dispel the darkness of ill-logic. In the opening verse of the work, Ānandabodha himself says:

बुस्तर्कतिमिरश्रेणीविदारणविशारवाम् ।
रुचिरां न्यायदीपानामादलीं रचयाम्यहम् ॥

This work is published in the Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series in A.D. 1907. It is also published along with the two commentaries *Nyāyadīpāvalīvyākhyā* by Anubhūtiśvarūpācārya and *Nyāyadīpāvalīṭīkā* by Sukhaprakāśa, in the Annals of Oriental Research, Madras, Vols. XII and XIV, 1954-55 and 1957-58.

(iv) The *Nyāyamakaranda*: This is comparatively a larger work. Ānandabodha himself described it as a compilation-saṃgraha.

निबन्धपुष्पजालानि समालोच्य प्रयत्नतः ।

सन्न्यायमकरन्दानां संग्रहः क्रियते मया ॥

(I am culling the honey of good nyāyas, after having collected with efforts the bunches of flowers of nibandhas.)

Yet the work contains much original material also. Though he quotes, many times, ad verbatim, from the works of his predecessors, he often explains the view points in his own language. It appears that Ānandabodha's purpose in writing the *Nyāyamakaranda* was to reestablish firmly the views of Maṇḍanamīśra, presented in the *Brahmasiddhi*, which were criticised by Śālikanātha in his *Prakarapañcikā*. The Prābhākaras appear to be the main opponents in this work, for more than half of the work is devoted to the presentation and refutation of their views. Ānandabodha, at times, refutes also the views of the Bhāṭṭas, the Sāṃkhyas, the Bauddhas and others. The topics, discussed in this work are the same as those in the *Pramāṇamālā*. But here the author attempts a more detailed discussion and sometimes adds new arguments also. In the last chapter, while discussing the nature of the avidyānivṛtti, Ānandabodha points out that it is different from the well-known four types namely, sat, asat, sadasat and anirvacaniya as explained by other authors on the Advaita Vedānta. He describes it as anirvācyavilakṣaṇa which is known as pañcama-prakārā-avidyānivṛtti among the Vedāntins. This is regarded as the original contribution of Ānandabodha to the avidyānivṛtti-concept and has received compliments for the same from the later day writers like Madhusūdana Sarasvatī and Appayya Dikṣita.

Chronological Order:

It is difficult to fix the chronology of these four works for want of any internal evidence. Only in the *Nyāyamakaranda*, Ānandabodha refers to his *Nyāyadīpikā* (विद्धमात्रमत्रसुचितं विस्तरस्तु न्यायदीपिकायामवगन्तव्यः). From this statement it is evident that Ānandabodha wrote the *Nyāyadīpikā* before he wrote the *Nyāyamakaranda*.

(i) The *Nyāyadīpikā*: It may be suggested that the *Nyāyadīpikā* is probably, the first work. The work is a commentary and it is likely that Ānandabodha must have first written a commentary before taking up the task of writing original independent works. Another indication may be his reference to his teacher Ātmavāsa

only here. It may be that the nervous diffident Ānandabodha started his literary career with a commentary and with a salutation to his guru invoking his blessings. With confidence gained, he does not refer to his teacher in his other works.

(ii) The *Pramāṇamālā*: Among the other three works, the subject matter of the *Nyāyamakaranda* and of the *Pramāṇamālā* is almost the same. In the *Nyāyamakaranda*, there is a detailed discussion of every topic, already referred to in the *Pramāṇamālā*, but the arrangement and the order of the topics in the *Pramāṇamālā* is not very logical. In the benedictory verse of the work Ānandabodha described the god mukunda with three epithets namely, ānanda, asatyabheda and vijñānatanu. Then he proceeds to explain their meanings. The whole work is thus an exposition of these three epithets. The word ānanda comes in the beginning, so while explaining that word, Ānandabodha discusses the blissful nature of the Ātman. Dealing with the second word asatyabheda, he gives a detailed discussion of 'difference'. After this discussion he again turns to a discussion of the Ātman, while commenting on the word vijñānatanu. Ānandabodha has preferred to follow the order of the words in the verse, and has not taken the troubles to arrange his arguments in a logical order. This preference to the order of words, rather than to logic and vigour, may suggest that the *Pramāṇamālā* came to be written before the more vigorous and logical *Nyāyamakaranda*.

(iii) The *Nyāyadīpāvalī*: The *Nyāyadīpāvalī* is a vādagrantha. A vādagrantha presupposes a thorough knowledge of other view points and a firm conviction in one's own philosophy and requires a forceful expression. It is more than likely that such works are products of maturity. It is probable, therefore, that Ānandabodha wrote the *Nyāyadīpāvalī* after his *Pramāṇamālā*.

(iv) The *Nyāyamakaranda*: The *Nyāyamakaranda* is indeed, so far as one can see, the best work of Ānandabodha. All the later day writers who quote Ānandabodha, quote the *Nyāyamakaranda* mainly, either for support or for a refutation of the views of the Advaita Vedānta. Ānandabodha's maturity of thought and scholarly expression are very well revealed in this work. The different topics are logically arranged and discussed in detail. It is very likely that by the time Ānandabodha came to write his *Nyāyamakaranda*, he came to formulate his theory of avidyānivṛtti, for which he is known to the later writers on the Vedānta. It may be that he came to make his contribution to the avidyānivṛtti-concept in his last work. It is, therefore, possible that *Nyāyamakaranda* is his last work.

The chronological order of his work, viewed in this manner, appears to have been the *Nyāyadīpikā*, the *pramāṇamālā*, the *Nyāyadīpāvalī* and *Nyāyamakaranda*.

We may now examine a few internal statements which might help us to support the above order. Both in the *Nyāyadīpāvalī* and the *Pramāṇamālā* Ānandabodha refers to some other work in vague terms. In the *Nyāyadīpāvalī*, three times (ND pp. 4, 5, 8) he remarks, विस्तृतमेतदन्यत्र or प्रपञ्चितमेतदन्यत्र. The commentators Anubhūtiśvarūpācārya and Sukhaprakāśa while explaining these words refer to the discussion in the *Pramāṇamālā* (PM pp. 13, 14, 11). From this it can be said that the *Nyāyadīpāvalī* is composed later than the *Pramāṇamālā*, since according to commentators it refers to the discussion in the *Pramāṇamālā*.

In the *Pramāṇamālā* also, for three times (PM pp. 3, 4, 16) Ānandabodha uses a similar expression. The commentator Citsukhācārya here again refers to the discussion in the *Nyāyamakaranda*. However, the detailed discussion of these topics is not found in the *Nyāyamakaranda* though the general remarks occur there. It is possible that these references might be to his earliest work *Nyāyadīpikā*. The absence of actual quotations from the *Nyāyamakaranda* in the *Pramāṇamālā* indicates that the *Nyāyamakaranda* could not have been earlier than the *Pramāṇamālā*.

In this manner one could not be very much wrong in suggesting the chronological order of the four works of Ānandabodha as being the *Nyāyadīpikā*, the *Pramāṇamālā*, the *Nyāyadīpāvalī* and the *Nyāyamakaranda*.

SOME REFLECTIONS ON PAÑCABRAHMA ŚIVA IN THE ŚIVA PURĀNA¹

JAYA CHEMBURKAR

THE *Purānas* indulging in philosophical speculations correlate their sectarian deity with some known system of philosophy. The *Śiva Purāna*, likewise, has correlated Śiva with the Vedānta and Sāṅkhya ideas, and has conceived Pañcabrahmaśiva performing five cosmic functions.

2. This paper attempts to envisage the concept of Pañcabrahma in the *Śiva Purāna*.

Pañca-Brahma in the Vidyēśvarasamhitā

3. According to the Vidyēśvarasamhitā of the ŚP², the permanent cycle of the five-fold duties consists of creation, maintenance, annihilation, concealment i.e. 'tirobhāva' and grace i.e. 'anugraha'. The first four activities are concerned with evolution of the world and the fifth one is the cause of salvation of the soul. (ŚP I.10.5). In order to look after these five-fold activities Śiva is said to have five faces *pañcakṛtyamidam voḍhum mamāsti mukhapañcakam* (ŚP I.10.9a), four in the four quarters and the fifth one in the centre (ŚP I.10.9b), and hence Śiva called Pañcabrahma (ŚP Māhātmya 5.44), Pañcamukha (ŚP I.10.29), Pañcānana (ŚP I.1.1.). These five forms of Śiva are Īśāna, Tatpuruṣa, Aghora, Vāmadeva, Sadyojāta.³

Pañca-Brahma in the Śatarudrasamhitā

4. The first chapter of the Śatarudrasamhitā of ŚP gives the following account of Pañca-Brahma.

1. Śiva Purāna published by Pandit Pustakalaya, Kashi; translation by Shastri. Ancient Indian Tradition and Mythology.
2. ŚP = Śiva Purāna.
3. According to the Pañca Brahmopaniṣad Aghora faces the west, Vāmadeva the south, Tatpuruṣa the north, Sadyojāta the east and Īśāna manifests in the middle of the four faces — cf. Śaiva Upaniṣads, pp. 105-114, Tr. by Ayyangar & Murti: Adyar Library, Adyar, Madras, 1953, p. 130, Tr. Aranyaka, Part II; Annual as name Sanskrit Granthavali, X. 43-47, Poona, 1898.

5. Sadyojāta, Vāmadeva, Tatpuruṣa, Aghora and Īśāna are Pañcabrahmāvātaras, i.e. Pañca-Brahmas are five 'avatāras' of Śiva. (ŚP III.1.1-36).⁴ They are further incorporated into the Sāṅkhya scheme of creation as follows:— Īśāna presides over 'kṣetrajñā' i.e. the soul — "īśānaḥ sākṣātkṣetrajñamadhitiṣṭhati" (ŚP III.1.40). Tatpuruṣa form of Śiva occupies and presides over every object of enjoyment, the support of attributes, i.e. Tatpuruṣa presides over Prakṛti (ŚP III.1.41), Aghora stands within and occupies and presides over the principle of 'buddhi' with all its ramifications for the sake of Dharma (ŚP III.1.42). Vāmadeva is described as presiding over the ego and is engaged in many incessant activities. (ŚP III.1.43). These five forms of Śiva are then described as being the presiding deities of the five organs of perception, five organs of action, five 'tanmātrās', i.e. subtle elements and five 'pañcamahābhūtas' i.e. gross elements. Thus Īśāna is said to be the permanent lord of the organ of hearing and speech and the all-pervading sky (ŚP III.1.44). Tatpuruṣa is the lord of 'Tvac' i.e. organ of touch, perception, hand, sense of touch and the wind element (ŚP III.1.45). Aghora is the support of the physical body i.e. the feet, the sense of taste and colour and of fire element (ŚP III.1.46). Vāmadeva is the lord of the organ of taste, organ of excretion taste itself and of water (ŚP III.1.47). And lastly Sadyojāta is stated to be the Lord of the organ of smell, of the generative organ, of smell, and of the earth (ŚP III.1.48).

6. A glance at this account of scheme of creation shows that (i) while mentioning the five forms of Śiva, the author mentions Brahmā as the form of Śiva instead of Sadyojāta — "īśānaḥ puruṣo ghorō vāmasamjñastathaiva ca brahmasamjñā mahēśasya mūrtayaḥ pañca viśrutaḥ" (ŚP III.1.39), (ii) Īśāna has been described as the presiding deity of the sky (gross element) but its corresponding subtle element viz. 'śabda' has not been mentioned. But 'śabda' is the attribute of the sky and it is an object of 'śrotra' and therefore as a concomitant of these two elements (viz. 'śrotra' and the sky) śabda is implied. (iii) Similarly eye is also not mentioned, but from the mention of its object, viz. 'rūpa', it is implied. Aghora has been described as the presiding deity of two 'tanmātrās', viz. 'rasa' and 'rūpa' (iv) 'Manas' is absent in this scheme.

Pañca-Brahma in the Kailāśasamhitā

7. In the Kailāśasamhitā of the ŚP there are different symbolical descriptions of Pañca-Brahma as under.

4. ŚP II.1.11.49-51 mention the names of Pañca-Brahmas incidentally in the Śivapūjāvidhi.

8. (I) He, the ancient Lord is said to have *Īśāna* for His coronet, *Puruṣa* for His face, *Aghora* for His heart, *Vāmadeva* for His private parts and *Sadya* for his feet (ŚP VI.12.17, 18a).

9. (II) The fourteenth chapter of the *Kailāśasamhitā* describes again the schemes of creation as given in the *Śatarudrasamhitā* but with some variations. Herein the author states that — The set of five Brahmans is the cause of gross cosmos (ŚP VI.14.38, 39). The set of five, viz. *Puruṣa* i.e. the soul, ear, speech, sound and ether, is pervaded by Brahman in the form of *Īśāna* (ŚP VI.14.40). *Prakṛti*, skin, hand, sense of touch and wind are pervaded by *Tatpuruṣa* (ŚP VI.14.41). The set of ego, eye, foot, colour and fire is pervaded by *Aghora* Brahman. (ŚP VI.14.42). Intellect, tongue, arms, taste and water are pervaded by *Sadya-Brahman* i.e. *Sadyo-jāta* (ŚP VI.14.44).

10. The above account shows that (i) the twenty five elements in the *Sāṅkhya* scheme of creation are here identified with *Pañca-Brahma* as done before.⁵ It will be seen here that *Pañca-Brahma* is illustrated as being the material cause of the world.⁶ (ii) The account in the *Kailāśasamhitā* is slightly different from the one in the *Śatarudrasamhitā*. In the *Śatarudrasamhitā* *Aghora* is identified with intellect and *Vāmadeva* with ego, whereas *Kailāśasamhitā* identified *Aghora* with ego and *Vāmadeva* with intellect. But these variations are immaterial inasmuch as they do not disturb the fundamental scheme of evolutes of *Prakṛti*. Here symbolism is secondary. What is more important and intended to be established here is the truth that *Śiva* is woven and inter-woven in this universe as its material cause (ŚP IV.43.11; VI.14.38).⁷

Pañcakṛtyas of Śiva

11. It will be remembered that the author has already stated⁸ *Śiva* has five faces (i.e. five forms, viz. *Pañca-Brahma*) to look after the five fold activities, viz. creation, sustenance, dissolution, concealment and grace "*pañcakṛtyamidam voḍhum mamāsti mukhapañcakam*" (ŚP I.10.9a). In the fifteenth chapter of the *Kailāśasamhitā*, the author has ascribed to each one of these *Pañca-Brahmas* one cosmic function, except *Īśāna* and has elucidated the principle of *Śiva's* authorship of all cosmic functions as follows:

5. Vide 5 above.

6. Cf. *Līṅga-Purāṇa*, II.14.4.

7. Cf. *Līṅga-Purāṇa*, II.14.1-33; Cf. also ŚP VI.42.19, 20, 27, 28, 29.

8. Vide 3 above.

Tirobhāva (Concealment)

12. Sadāśiva is the composite and the set of four, viz. Maheṣa, Rudra, Viṣṇu, Brahmā, is the individualistic form, "*Sadāśivaḥ sama-ṣṭih syādākāśādhipatiḥ prabhuḥ asyaiva vyaṣṭitāpannam maheśādicatuṣṭayam*" (ŚP VI.15.2). Maheṣa has Tatpuruṣa as his face and he is the presiding deity of the wind (ŚP VI.15.3). Īśvara, Viśveśvara, Parameśvara and Sarveśvara are the aspects of Maheṣa and they are described as '*tirodhācakram*'. With these Maheṣa is said to perform the function of concealment. The author remarks that '*Tirobhāva*' is two-fold, one that concerns Rudra and the other concerns the individual soul in view of their physical bodies (ŚP VI.15.6).

13. The two types of '*tirobhāva*' stated in the above account can be explained as follows:

(1) *Tirobhāva* means concealment of the beings within herself by Prakṛti after dissolution (*rudrādigocaraḥ*' ŚP VI.15.6). After '*Prākṛtika-pralaya*' everything including Brahmā merges into Prakṛti which is '*avyakta*' i.e. unmanifest. Everything remains in an unmanifest condition when merged into unmanifest Prakṛti. Tatpuruṣa is identified with Prakṛti (ŚP III.1.41; VI.14.41) and hence the function of '*Tirobhāva*' is assigned to him.

(2) *Tirobhāva* may also mean veiling the true nature of things or veiling the reality, causing bondage of the souls. In this case *Tirobhāva* would mean '*avidyā*' or '*bandha*' i.e. bondage.'

Samhāra (Dissolution)

14. Rudra has Aghora as his face, and he is the presiding deity of fire (ŚP VI.15.11). His aspects, viz. Śiva, Hara, Mṛḍa and Bhava, are said to form wheel of dissolution and these cause dissolution. Dissolution has been described to be of three types; (i) daily slumber, (ii) conditioned dissolution of Brahma and (iii) the final dissolution. Dissolution has been classified into three for maturing of the activities of the individual souls and for their repose. The souls released from their recurring births are ultimately placed in the great Ātman Itself. (ŚP VI.15.14, 15).

Sthiti (Sustenance)

15. Viṣṇu has been identified with Vāmadeva. He is the presiding deity of water. His aspects, viz. Vāsudeva, Saṅkarṣaṇa, Pra-

9. Cf. "*paramānvāderapi prakṛtau layo
īśvarasya kṛtyam tatkarotīti tirodhānakarī
.....tirodhānānugrahaḥ bandhamoṣau vā
.....Bhāskararāya's common tirodhānakarī and
'anugrahādā' in Lalitāsahasranāma.*

dyumna and Aniruddha, are said to constitute the wheel of sustenance.¹⁰ Viṣṇu is said to preside over them and through them he performs the duty of sustenance (ŚP. VI.15.23-28). The author of the Purāṇa remarks that sustenance means the protection of the existing universe along with its creator until the completion of the pleasures of the souls, the reapers of the fruit, "sthitih sṛṣṭasya jagatatastakartrā saha pālanam ārabdhakarmabhogāntam jivānām phalabhoginām (ŚP. VI.15.25).

Sṛṣṭi (Creation)

16. Sadyojāta is the face of Brahmā who is the presiding deity of earth (ŚP. VI.15.30). Hiraṇyagarbha, Virāṭ, Puruṣa, Kāla constitute his personal form, or wheel of creation, (ŚP. VI.15.32, 33) through whom Brahmā is said to perform the duty of creation. The author remarks that creation is the process of re-unification of the soul with the body previously annihilated — the body which along with the means, ancillaries and results comes out of Prakṛti for gradual enjoyment (ŚP. VI.15.34-35).

17. It should be noted that the author has already remarked in the Vidyeśvarasāṁhitā that the duties of creation and maintenance are performed by Brahmā and Viṣṇu respectively (ŚP. I.10.10) who in the above account of Kailāśasāṁhitā correspond to Sadyojāta and Vāmadeva respectively. Similarly annihilation and concealment are performed by Rudra and Maheśa (ŚP. I.10.11) who are identified in the above account with Aghora and Tatpuruṣa respectively. The author remarks in the Vidyeśvarasāṁhitā that of the five cosmic functions, the fifth one, viz. 'anugraha' i.e. grace, cannot be taken up by any deity "anugrahākhyam kenāpi labdham naiva hi śakyate" (ŚP. I.10.11), and hence 'anugraha' is not described here.

18. It may be pointed out here that all the cosmic functions of the Lord, concern the soul in bondage for whom the Divine Being has to intervene and perform the various cosmic duties for their final liberation. Creation etc. are conditions to be created for the souls in bondage to enable them to work for their liberation. In the state of creation, sustenance etc. the soul has separate existence from the Lord; creation, sustenance etc. are dealings, 'vyavahāra' (ŚP. III.1.38) of the Liberator (Śiva) towards one who is to be liberated (Soul). These dealings in the state of duality can be described. But this is not possible in the state of 'anugraha'. 'Anugraha' has been categorically explained as 'mokṣa' — 'tanmokṣo-nugrahaḥ ... (ŚP. I.10.4). Mokṣa is a state of being in complete

10. Cf. also Garuḍa Purāṇa, 32.3-5.

union with Śiva, merging into Him completely after which there is no separate existence for the soul. (ŚP. VI.41.7.8; ŚP. VI.43.28, 30.) In this state there being complete oneness between the Liberator and the liberated, their dealings cannot be described. *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad* contains an allusion to a similar state in the words, "yatra hi dvaitam iva bhavati, tad itara itaram jighrati, tad itara itaram paśyati, tad itara itaram śruṇoti . . . etc. 'yatra tu asya sarvam ātmaivābhūt, tat kena kam jighret, tat kena kam paśyet . . . etc. (Br. Up. IV.135). This is the reason why 'anugraha' is not explained. If *tirobhāva* means 'avidyā', 'anugraha' will mean 'vidyā' which destroys *avidyā* and the soul stands in the complete state of highest bliss.

19. 'Anugraha' has been stated to be of two types, viz. (i) seen in the appearance and disappearance of the beings in creation, dissolution etc. and (ii) liberation of the souls (ŚP. VI.14.28). The first one refers to the process of liberating the soul by way of creation and other cosmic functions and the second one refers to the actual accomplished state of liberation.

20. Secondly, it will be observed here that *Īśāna* of *Pañca-Brahmas* is not incorporated in this scheme of five functions of Śiva. The reason appears to be this that in the two previous accounts of creation¹¹ *Īśāna* has been identified with *Kṣetrajña* i.e. soul and the other Brahmas are identified with *Prakṛti* and her evolutes. Activity is always of *Prakṛti* and her evolutes; and therefore *Tatpuruṣa*, *Aghora*, *Vāmadeva*, *Sadyojāta* being identical with her and her evolutes respectively, are consistently described here as involved in various cosmic activities. But the '*kṣetrajña*' is only a witness of *Prakṛti*'s activity; he is passive and therefore *Īśāna* who is identified with '*kṣetrajña*' is consistently kept out of this arena. His pre-eminent position is implied by describing him as a *coronate* of the Lord (ŚP. VI.12.17) or being in the centre according to *Pañcabrahmo-paṇiṣad*. Even in the identification of the four Brahmas with gross elements, the author has maintained consistency with the previous accounts.¹²

21. In Hindu mythology, *Brahmā*, *Viṣṇu* and *Maheśa* figure in the context of description of creation, sustenance and destruction, along with their manifestations. In this account the ŚP has identified the four Brahmas, viz. *Tatpuruṣa*, *Aghora*, *Vāmadeva* and *Sadyojāta*, with these deities and their manifestations, and has elucidated how the Supreme God viz. Śiva has different faces i.e. forms

11. Vide 5 and 11 above.

12. Cf. vide 7 and 9 above.

to perform His duties — “*pañcakṛtyamidam vadhūm mamāsti mukha-
pañcakam* (ŚP. I.19.9).

22. Pañca-Brahmas are said to bestow ‘pañcakalyāṇas’ (ŚP. VI. 14.30) and *anugraha* stands for the highest bliss which exists in Śiva (ŚP. VI.14.31).

23. The ŚP metaphorically describes the cycle of these five functions as a wheel with five spokes; it develops and increases by Śiva’s energy (ŚP. VI.15.41). It is called “a wheel” because it moves round and round with incessant dissolution and recreation like a whirling fire-brand (ŚP. VI.15.42). Śiva performs three duties incessantly as a sport (ŚP. VI.15.50).

Conclusion

24. It will be seen that the Pañcabrahmas are five manifestations of Śiva. They have been described as his incarnations (ŚP. III. 1.1-36), but it will be observed here that these incarnations do not come down to the mortal world like the incarnations of Viṣṇu. Secondly, these incarnations of Śiva do not perform only the duty of giving protection to the virtuous, as the avatāras of Viṣṇu do. They are all associated with different cosmic functions as seen above.¹³ Their functions are at higher level, and not on the level of the mortal beings. They are ‘avatāras’ only in a metaphoric sense.

25. The Purāṇas and also Śaiva philosophical treatises have given a significant place to the Pañcakṛtyas of Śiva in Śaiva Philosophy.¹⁴ And there is a point in doing so. The Pañcakṛtyas are necessary for the evolution of the soul. Dissolution and *tirobhāva* are meant to enable the ‘*karma*’ of the soul to mature so that the soul reaps its fruit. Creation and ‘*sthiti*’ enable him not only to enjoy the fruits of his actions but they are useful for something more noble. They provide ground for the soul in the form of embodiment and opportunity etc. to work for his liberation. It is really in grace of the Lord that opportunity is granted to the souls and hence the Purāṇa describes ‘*anugraha*’ of two types, (i) *anugraha* seen in the appearance and disappearance of the beings by way of the pañcakṛtyas of the Lord and (ii) liberation of the soul (ŚP. VI.14.28). Creation presupposes dissolution and concealment. Dissolution and ‘*tirobhāva*’ need creation and creation needs sustenance for the benefit of the soul. Thus the four functions are mutually complementary

13. Vide 11 to 16 above.

14. Cf. (i) Somananda’s *Śivadṛṣṭi*, I.12; ed. by Madhusudan Shastri, Shrinagar, 1934.

(ii) Kṣemarāja’s *Prayabhijñāhṛdayam*, Sūtra 10; ed. by Chatterji, J. C., Shrinagar, 1911.

and hence the Pañca-Brahmas performing them are described as 'lokānugrahakārah' i.e. bestowing grace on the people (ŚP. VI.15.18); their dealings have been described as 'trilokahitakaram' i.e. beneficial to the three worlds (ŚP. III.1.38); they are also said to be 'śreyasāmekahetavaḥ' (ŚP. III.1.49). After 'anugraha', the soul is no more subjected to transmigration.

26. Lastly we cannot set aside the fact that the Purāṇas were written for the laity. For the purpose of theism which the Purāṇas propagate, it is necessary to establish a close relationship between the deity and the devotee. The author has achieved this by describing Śiva as the cause of the universe. For the understanding of the laity, the author has made concrete the abstract philosophical ideas about cosmology, and simplified and presented them symbolically. With the need of a common man in view, the author of the ŚP has evolved the concept of the Pañcabrahmas on the basis of the traditional philosophy. It can be said that the spirit of the Upaniṣadic teaching, viz. "yato vā imāni bhūtāni jāyante yena jātāni jīvanti yam ca prayantya bhisaṁviśanti tadvijijñāśasva tadbrahmeti", is well illustrated by the concept of Pañcabrahma.¹⁵ Such concepts provide themes for iconography¹⁶ and sculpture.

15. Cf. Pusalkar, A.D., *Studies in the Epics and Purāṇas*, Bombay, 1963, p. 62.

16. Cf. Śaiva Upaniṣads, Tr. by Ayyangar and Murti; Adyar Library, pp. 105-114.
Also Cf. Wilkins, W.J., *Hindu Mythology*, Delhi, 1972. pp. 291-292.

THE EYE OF PRAJĀPATI

SADASHIV A. DANGE

THE eye has often been associated with the light in the cosmos; and there is a well-founded myth which tells us that the sun and the moon were produced from the eyes of the primordial Man, or that his eyes are the same as the said luminaries (*Ṛgveda* = RV X. 90.13^b *caḥṣoḥ sūryo 'ajāyata*). The highest step of Viṣṇu is identified with the sun (RV.I.22.20 *divīva caḥsur ātatam*), who is also called the 'eye' of Mītra, Varuṇa and Agni (I.115.1); and when Atri is said to have restored the 'eye' of the sun in the sky, it indicates the orb of the sun (V.40.8). The same is the image when the seer speaks of the 'eye' of the sun that releases the *rajas*, which is the fluid of fertility (Ib. 59.3^b *sūryo na caḥsū rajaso visarjane*) or the 'eye' that is attacked by the Maruts (Ib. 5cd). At another place the 'eye' of the sun is said to be covered by the *rajas* (I.164.14). The 'eye' is said to be fixed in the sun (VI.11.5) which has the same image, that of the orb. In an interesting image, the sun is said to be spreading the 'eye' of Mītra and Varuṇa, which is said to over-see the worlds (VII.61.1), where the image is complex; for, it has the twin shade: (i) The 'eye' is the sun; (ii) The sun spreads the 'eye'. The gait of the eye is suggested from the sun traversing the sky. The *Ṛgveda* seems to make a difference, generally speaking, between the *akṣi* and the *caḥsu*, though the point cannot be stressed too hard, the former indicating the human or the individual eye and the latter the cosmic one. On the cosmic plane, in the image of the sun, two things get clear: (i) The fertilizing fluid; and (ii) the gait. It is the first one that gets associated with fertility-myths in the later literature, the second one being the usual quality of the sun, there being nothing very new or particular about it.

The concept of the 'eye' of various divinities, which supervises and which has also the fertilizing fluid, gets associated with the new god Prajāpati who dominates the ritual-field, as is seen from the Brāhmaṇa texts; and the difference between the *akṣi* and the *caḥsu* is set aside. A development of the concept of the fluid in the sun, or the orb of the sun, is the eye of Prajāpati that releases the fertilizing tear, or the fertilizing fluid. Thus, it is said that the

left eye of Prajāpati got swollen; the drops that fell from it turned into rain (*Mait. Sam. IV.6.3, tasya vai prajāpateḥ savyam cakṣur aśvayat; tato ye stokā avāpadyanta tair idam varṣati*). This is a clear development of the belief that all waters get stored up in the 'eye' that is the sun (orb), whence they get released in the form of rain (RV. I.23.17; cf. Taitt. Aranyaka I.8.1). But, the belief goes a step further and says, that the pupil from the eye of Prajāpati fell down; from it was produced barley (Ib. *tasya yā kinīnikā parāpatat sa yavo 'bhavat*). Here there is no attempt at etymology; but, here is a passage from the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* according to which Varuṇa pressed the eye of Soma; from it was produced the horse; as it was created due to pressing and swelling, it was called horse (IV.2.1.11 *tad yac cchvayathāt sam-abhavat tasmād aśvo nāma*). Here the root \sqrt{svi} is connected with *aśva* (horse). But the explanation from the *Maitt. Sam.* noted above appears to be more appropriate in view of the direct association of *aśvayat* (also from \sqrt{svi} = "to get swollen") with *aśvaḥ*, though it is not given there. The *Śat. Br.* further says in the same context, that the tear from the eye of Soma became barley. It may be noted that the *Maitt. Sam.* has the pupil of the eye connected with barley, while at the *Śat. Br.* it is the tear, *aśru* (*tasya aśru prāskandat*). On comparison, it seems that the version of the *Śat. Br.* is more polished, as it employs the double etymology: (i) \sqrt{svi} ; and (ii) \sqrt{as} , "to pervade", the latter getting both ways — *aśvaḥ* and *aśru*; *aśru* would indicate not only the tear, but also the "pervading fluid" (\sqrt{as} , "to pervade"), which is the same as *rajas*, which is the characteristic fluid of the sun as noted above. The eye, or the tear that is shed by the eye, in such myths, thus reverts to the orb of the sun. The 'tear' has developed to further heights in the Vedic symbolism, when it is said that it is the 'tear' that lies at the base of all expansion of creation, but not as a simple tear; it is in its aspect of the pervading fluid, the *aśru*, a unique image from the fertile and apt imagination of the ritual-thinker of the *Śatapatha Br.* It is said that Prajāpati formed a sexual pair of himself as fire and the earth as the female. Thence was produced an egg; from its solid portion was produced the air in the mid-region; and from the *aśru* were produced the birds. Then there was the second pair between the air and the mid-region; it produced an egg; from its *aśru* was produced the *pr̥ṣṇi-aśman* ("cloud" according to the commentator Sāyaṇa). Further it is said that from the next pair, which is the sun and the sky (female), an egg was produced; from the solid the moon was produced; and from the *aśru* were produced the stars and the constellations (*Śat. Br. VI.1.2.1-8*). It will be seen that in this account the belief regarding the procreative faculty of the eye-fluid

gets mixed with the belief in a primeval egg, about which there is already a well-attested and popular myth. The *aśru* here leaves the precincts of the eye and enters the wider concept of the cosmic egg; it indicates the fluid of the 'egg', the pervading cosmic fluid! Both are now controlled by the Great God, the lord of all creatures — Prajāpati. The eye and the tear have, thus, a gradual and polished development in the Vedic sphere. It should, however, be noted that the beliefs regarding the eye and the eye-fluid giving rise to creatures and water are not restricted to the Veda. In fact, these beliefs here are only an aspect of such floating beliefs. We may do well to note some below, where the role of Prajāpati is attributed to the High God there.

The belief in the 'moving eye' obtains from ancient Egypt, where the eye of Atum is said to have been sent in search of his twin children Shu and Thefnut, in the primeval waters of the Abyss, Nun.¹ The eye is the sun; but, the ancient Egyptian belief has the moving eye developed into the roaring cobra,² which is not the case with the eye in the Vedic context. In another Egyptian myth regarding the eye of Atum, the primeval High God, it is said that Atum wept in the primeval waters; and from the drops mankind was produced.³ The words for tear and mankind show phonetic affinity: Remeyet = "tears"; Romech = "men".⁴ The eye remains confined to the mythical domain in the Veda, whereas, in the Egyptian belief, it became a regular female deity.⁵ The procreative eye in the Vedic context is already considered as the organ of generation in the myths noted above; but, it is not the female, nor is it actually identified with the female genital organ. The shade is seen in another tale, where the thousand female genital organs on the body of Indra due to the curse of Gautama for seducing Ahalyā become the 'eyes'.⁶ The conceptual similarity of the eye and the female genital organ must have been lurking at the back of the detail. The 'eye' was believed by the Egyptians to be the most ancient Female in the world. The creative tears of the Egyptian sun-god Ra was believed to cause the Nile to be flooded.⁷ Fertility is directly associated with vegetation in the Vedic belief as noted above; but, this also is a wide belief. In Babylonia, Assyria and ancient Egypt alike, corn-deities were "weeping deities" that shed fer-

1. Rundle Clark, *Myth and Symbol in Ancient Egypt*, London, 1959, p. 84; for Nun, p. 36.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 224; also p. 51ff.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 72.
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Ibid.*, p. 224.
6. The story is very old; but this trait is not attested in the Vedic literature or in the *Mahābhārata*, Śānti, 266.47-51; but Cf. Anuśāsana, 41.153.
7. Rundle Clark, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

tilizing 'tears.'⁸ The belief entered rituals in certain cases, as, for example, among the Aztecs children were sacrificed at the altar of the rain-god, Tloloc; and, if they wept, it was believed to be a good sign, indicating good rains and crops.⁹

The eye of the High God, or Prajāpati, being the sun has a mixed conceptual base. It is that of light and water together. This differentiates the 'eye' from other limbs of the body that release the fluid. This is a step further than that of mere creative body-moisture. The Hindu concept that comes close to the 'eye', in this aspect, is that of Tryambaka = *tri* + *ambaka*, the god with three eyes, where the eyes get associated with the fire in the waters at the three regions.¹⁰ A popular Hindu myth that connects the eye with waters is that which comes in connection with Śukra, the priest of the Asuras. According to it, when the dwarf incarnation of Viṣṇu asked Bali to give him land measuring his (the dwarf's) three strides, the preceptor tried to persuade Bali not to accept the request. When Bali did not desist from his promise given to the dwarf, the preceptor is said to have taken his seat in the beaked pitcher, to thwart the flow of water that would fall on the hands of the dwarf indicating the completion of the gift. Though this is said to have been done by the preceptor without anybody's notice, the dwarf knew of the trick. He asked Bali to take a blade of *darbha*, the sacred grass, and insert it into the beak. This was done with the result that along with water blood came out. What actually happened was that the blade injured the eye of the priest. The point to be noted is that when the eye is pricked, water gets oozed out, though along with blood. The water, then, is the 'eye-water'! The name of the priest of the Asuras is Śukra; and the sun is also termed Śukra, due to his heat (*śuc*). In the ritual-context, then term Śukra is common for the sun (cf. *idam śukrasya purorucam kurvantī*; etc.)¹¹ In that case, even here, the popular myth of the priest Śukra reverts to the solar orb, which contains waters as we have noted. In the ritual-symbolism, the cups called Śukra and Manthin are said to be the two eyes, as they are identified with the sun and the moon respectively.¹² The eye-myth of the priest Śukrācārya does not occur in the *Mahābhārata* or in many *Purāṇa* texts (only at *Nārada*, P. I.11); but, there can be no doubt that it was floating in popular belief. And it has the same motif, that of the solar 'Eye' of Prajāpati, that sheds the fertilizing fluid.

8. Donald Mackenzie, *Myths of Babylonia and Assyria*, London, 1915, p. 81.

9. D. Mackenzie, *Myths of Pre-Columbian America*, London, p. 251.

10. For Tryambaka, see S. A. Dange, "Tryambaka", *J. Oriental Inst.*, Baroda, XIX-iii, March, 1970.

11. *Śat. Br.* IV.2.1.8.

12. *Ibid.*, IV.2.1.4.

MIRROR IN RITUAL SYMBOLISM

SINDHU S. DANGE

THERE are a number of rituals mentioned in the *Gṛhya Sūtras* wherein the mirror is employed. Thus in connection with the rituals to be performed in the case of a child, there is one ritual of the first glance of the child at the moon. The *Kāṭhaka Gr. S.* which mentions it (38.1-5) prescribes it to be performed in the same way as is done in the case of looking at the sun (Ib.37.1-6); but it prescribes the mirror as the fee at this occasion and says that appropriate *mantras* be recited.¹ The *Laugākṣi Gr. S.* also mentions the "looking at the moon" on the lines of the "sun-looking";² and prescribes five *Ṛc-s* bearing on the gain of long life from the moon; and even here the gift is the mirror.³ The "moon-looking" is prescribed by many other *Gṛhya* texts,⁴ which, however, do not connect it with the gift of the mirror. Another occasion for the mirror is a ritual at wedding when the bride-groom places a mirror in the bride's left hand (*Śāṅkhāyana Gr. S. I.12.7*), with an appropriate *mantra*. According to Hillebrandt, the mirror is to be placed in the left hand of the bride to enable her to comb and dress her hair.⁵ It has to be noted, however, that the bride has to hold a porcupine-quill in her right hand along with a string of three twisted threads; and there seems to be no point of dressing the hair. These acts and objects are symbolic; and the symbolism reveals itself when the acts are connected with other similar ones; and, in the present context, the mirror in the rite connected with the child is an indication. The *mantras* that accompany the gift of the mirror, even here, make the point clear (*Śāṅkhāyana Gr. S. loc. cit. 6-9*).

Apart from the household rites, the mirror occurs in other contexts. Thus, at the festival known as the *Indramaha*, being in

1. *Kāṭhaka Gr. S. 38.5* प्रकाशो दक्षिणा ।

2. *Laugākṣi Gr. S. 37.1-5*; also *Ibid. 38.1-4*.

3. *Ibid. 38-4* प्रकाशो दक्षिणा ।

4. *Khādira Gr. S. II.3.1-5* (SBE Vol. 29, p. 396); *Hiranyakeṣi-Gr. S. II.3.8*; *Gobhila Gr. S. II.8.1-7* (SBE Vol. 30, pp. 56-57); *Kauthuma Gr. S. 12*, *Vaikhānasa Gr. S. III.20.21* mentions the rite of *varṣa-varḍhana*, i.e. "Increasing the life-span". In this rite a thousand figures of the moon are to be drawn on a *sthaṇḍila*; on it the Moon-god is to be worshipped (with flowers, etc.) with water from a silver-vessel and leaves of white water-lilies. Thousand brahmins are to be propitiated with gifts of silver, pearls, etc.

5. A. Hillebrandt, *Ritualliteratur*, Straassburg, 1807, p. 65.

honour of Indra, the pole to be erected is said to be adorned with mirrors, among other things. These other things include an umbrella, banners, garlands of fruits and flowers, sugar-cane-bits, toys shaped like serpents and lions.⁶ The *Matsya Purāṇa* mentions that the main pillars of a palace should be decorated with mirrors.⁷ The *Skanda P.* (VII.3.15) lays down that the seat of the reciter of the Purāṇa-texts should be elevated, and that its feet should be studded with mirrors. This may be flatly taken to indicate only a sort of a decorative measure; but, apart from it, there is the belief in the mirror being the light of life put into practice here, as shall be clear from other instances. In certain case, the mirror figures in the bath of an idol. The idol is reflected in the mirror; and that reflection is given bath. Here it may be said that this device is to save the idol from the touch of the water. But there is actual bath of the idols also. The mirror-baths, hence, indicate something more. The idea of saving the idol may be clear in practices where the idol is made of clay for a special occasion, as is the case with the idols of the goddess Durgā at the Durgā-pūjā festival, wherein the reflection of the idol of the deity is washed. But, such can hardly be true in the case of established idols in famous temples. In the Durgā-pūjā, the deity is reflected in a mirror placed on a bowl made of brass or copper; and water is poured on the reflection.⁸ But when the practice is mentioned by the *Skanda P.* (II.2.4.6, 8) in the case of the bath of the idol of Viṣṇu at Jagannātha Puri, the point deserves close attention. In this case, the bath took place on the fourteenth bright of the month Pauṣa. A sturdy mirror was placed in the midst of jars filled with clarified butter and milk, at night, in the *sarvato-bhadra* design. In it the reflection of Viṣṇu was fixed, and bathed. It was also worshipped in the same position. One might say that the idol was too high!

Another instance of the use of the mirror is in the context of the worship of the newly finished manuscript of a Purāṇa-text. It was reflected in a mirror and given a bath, wherein holy waters collected in special jars were used.⁹

The *Skanda P.* (I.2.26.22) records a practice, according to which the first sight of the bride-groom is to be had in a mirror. The seven sages are said to have seen the face of Śiva in the mirror at the time of his marriage, when he started for the bride's house (Ib.).

6. A. M. Shastri, *India as seen from the Bṛhatsamhitā of Varāhamihira*, Delhi 1969, p. 122.

7. *Matsya*, P. 254.4cd पलवल्लीलताकुम्भपत्रदण्डरुगिताः।

8. From personal experience.

9. *Agni*, P. 63.17cd दण्डे पुस्तकं धृत्वा सेत्रयेत् पूर्वद् घटैः।

The instances mentioned above, probably, could be taken as indicating the use of mirror as symbolic; and the symbolic usage seems to have a close association with the concept of catching the reflection. It also stood for the eternal light. The "moon-seeing" ritual in the case of the child and the gift of the mirror have to be taken as aspects of the same thing. The surface of the moon is, here, equally symbolised by that of the mirror. And the gift of the mirror stands for the securing of the lustre for the child; and through it the very life. The same is the concept in the ritual of the holding of the mirror by the bride. The *mantras* clearly indicate that the moon is the symbol of long and continuously re-newed life. The waning, 'dying' and the re-appearing moon has been a symbol of new birth. He (not 'she' as in English; for the moon is a male according to the Hindu belief) is said to become ever new, and attain long life. He is said to take birth from the very Immortality; and he is invoked to bestow non-death.¹⁰ Symbolically, the shining mirror, which stands for the moon in rituals, is the giver of light-life and non-death. As a next step in symbolism, the mirror stands as the receptacle of the soul, that is unharmed being in the frame of divine lustre, which is the mirror. An interesting detail from the *Skanda P.* (I.1.5.50) may be noted in this connection. According to it, a person who gives as a gift a powerful mirror to Śiva (in the temple, or to a Śiva-follower) becomes the god's attendant after death.¹¹ The idea seems to be that, by this act the person saves his soul from death and keeps it secure in the care of Śiva. This is only one of many instances of the common belief that the reflection stands for the soul. The custom of covering the mirrors, or turning them to the wall, lest the soul of the freshly dead should get fixed into them through the surface, obtains widely.¹² The precaution is to avoid the soul of the dead, lest it should trouble the living ones.

The belief about the reflection being the soul seems to have played a great part in giving the mirror its importance in rituals.

10. *Laugākṣi Gr. S.* 38.2-4 refers to five *mantras*:

Ibid, 38.2 we have the following two *mantras*:—

मक्षूष्वात्। मातरिषवा ऋचोमिश्चन्द्रो अमृताद्वर्धते जायमानः ।

आयुः प्रजाममृतं सोभगत्वं प्र चन्द्रमास्तिरते दीर्घमायुः ॥

भूयो जातो हविषश्चन्द्रमः अस्मात्पूर्णः पुरस्तात् पयसो हविषिः ।

पयो गर्भो देवता पितृमानश्चन्द्रोऽमृतत्वमभयं कृणोतु ॥

At 38.2 we have the following *mantra*:

नवो नवो भवति जायमानोऽह्नां केतुरुषसामेत्यग्रम् ।

भागं देवभ्यो विदधात्यायन्प्र चन्द्रमास्तिरते दीर्घमायुः ॥

11. *Skanda, P.* I.1.5.50.

ये शिवाय प्रयच्छन्ति दर्पणं सुमहाप्रथम् ।

अद्विष्यन्ति शिवस्याग्रे पार्षदत्वेन ते नराः ॥

12. *Encl. Rel. and Ethics, Vol. VIII, p. 696a-696b.*

When the deities are bathed by getting the idols reflected in mirrors, the belief seems to be to give bath to the essence of divinity rather than to preserve the idols from damage from water. It will be interesting to note in this connection that in Japan, according to the Shinto practice, actual worship is rendered to the mirrors, originally presented to the deities. These mirrors stand for the deities themselves.¹³ In all such cases, the germ of thought appears to be that the mirrors, with their capacity to take the reflection, are believed to produce the double of the idol or a person. This double is believed to be the soul or the essence. In the case of rituals like "moon-seeing", the principle of the lustrous surface works. But even there, in the gift of the mirror, the protection of the "double" (i.e. soul) of the person or the child has to be accepted as the subtle belief. This is clear if we compare a passage from the *Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad* (IV.11). "The Person that is in the mirror, on Him I meditate; I meditate on Him as the likeness". The earliest indication of the belief regarding the reflection being mystical is to be had from the *Man-in-the-eye*.¹⁴ One's own reflection in another's eye, and that of the sun or the moon equally so, must have given the grand concept of the "double" of a person. From it the reflecting thing came to have the mystic importance. It is here that the shift came — from the Eye to the reflecting surface, of the metal or the Mirror.

13. Ibid, p. 697a.

14. *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.* IV.23. अथतद्दामे अक्षिणि पुरुषरूपम् ।

THE ŚIVA TEMPLE AT BHOJPUR : APPLICATION OF SAMARĀṄGANASŪTRADHĀRA

M. N. DESHPANDE

THE Śiva Temple at Bhojpur in Tehsil Gohurgunj, district Raisen, Madhya Pradesh, about 30 kms. northeast of Bhopal, is of singular importance for studying methods of construction of a temple adopted by the master-architect (*sthapati*) with the help of the *sūtradhāras* and *takṣakas*. This unfinished temple provides a visual demonstration of the various phases of temple construction. The Paramāra King, Bhoja-I the builder of this temple, was a genius and well-known, among other things, as the author of *Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra*, an encyclopaedic work on medieval Indian architecture (Gaekwad) Oriental Series, Baroda). He is credited to have constructed a large number of temples, lakes, palaces and established a *pāṭhasālā* at Dhar, the last mentioned one was a monumental building built by him. In the Udaipur *Prasasti*, he is eulogised as one who covered the world all round with temples. The Śiva Temple at Bhojpur was also built by Bhoja as can be surmised from the inscription on the monolithic Śāntinātha image in the Jain Temple nearby and which mentions Bhoja. There is also a tradition that the huge masonry embankment of a lake near Bhojpur was constructed by King Bhoja. At Bhojpur, King Bhoja-I (A.D. 1010-1055) appeared to have arranged, with the help of the chief architect to outline different measures of temple construction and in the process, arranged for training of craftsmen in the various aspects of temple construction.

What is most significant about this monument is that the masonry ramp over which stones were carried for being placed over the superstructure of the temple is still intact, save for the damage caused to the ramp by local inhabitants in search of stones. Further, the stones for the construction of temple were quarried from the rocky area nearby and one can still locate the ancient quarry with all the tell-tale marks of quarrying operations.¹ Further the finished architectural members of the temple produced by *takṣakas* (or stone cutters) are still extant, close by, together with chiselled out chips which are still heaped up in the vicinity. In the process,

some *rūpakarmakāras* (sculptors) had finished some sculptures and these lie at different places where they were fashioned almost ready for their removal to the temple. What is, however, most interesting are the line drawings of pillars and other members engraved on the rock-floor. These have since fenced off with railing.² Shri B. M. Pande of the Archaeological Survey of India has given a good account³ of the masons marks and their names appearing on the temple at Bhojpur. He mentions that a number of masons who carved out pilasters, niches and balconies were specialised craftsmen who worked on the construction of the temple. Among the names inscribed on the temple members, we notice those of Māyala, Goga, Momā, Māhila, Vedala, Dāyala, Keśava, Kada, etc. He also surmises that a person by name Devakāpadi was perhaps the *sūtradhāra* as his name is engraved on the stairs of the entrance gateway. Pande hopes that the study would yield clues not only in regard to the number of masons or mason families and architects engaged in the building of the temple but also *inter alia* the mechanics of temple construction. For example, the allotment of quarries and building of specialised components and architectural members of the temple and workwise distribution of masons and in a wider perspective the movement of art-styles in the region.

In chapter 14 of *Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra*, Bhoja gives the characteristics of a *sthapati*, which are more or less similar to those given in other *śilpa* texts. The *sthapati* on his conception⁴ is a versatile person possessing wisdom and character and well versed in different arts and crafts. He is supposed to know astrology (*sāmudram*), mathematics (*gaṇitam*), astronomy (*vyōtisham*), prosody (*chanda*), water dividing (*sirājñānam*) and art (*śilpam*). Among the eight-fold techniques which a "*sthapati*" must know mention⁵ is made of *ālekhyā*, *lekhyajāta*, *dārukarma*, *caya*, *pāṣāṇaśilpa*, *pāṣāṇakarma*, *siddha-hemaśilpa* and *siddha-hemakarma*. It is further stated that the person who knows these eight-fold techniques attains respectable status. Among these qualities *ālekhyā* would mean scratching, scraping or making out by scratches or painting.

This appears to have been demonstrated on the rocky ground around the Bhojura temple where the chief *sūtradhāra* appears to have etched out on the ground shapes of pillars and other decorative motifs. *Ālekhyā* is differentiated from *lekhyā* and latter would mean line drawing by means of *geru*. Such *geru* markings are still extant in the Jain cave at Ellora, on a pillar surface where a sculpture of a standing *tīrthāṅkara* in *Kāyotsarga mudrā* was intended to be carved. *Dārukarma* would mean wood-work. *Caya* which is the fourth item would mean piling up of temple members. S.S. in

chapter 21 gives 20 types of *caya* or bonding like *suuibhakta*, *sama*, *cāru*, *caturastra*, etc. This work would also envisage construction of ramps and carrying of temple components by means of wooden logs over the ramp and placing them in the required position. *Pāśāṅgaśilpa* would refer to the selection of right stones including their quarrying. A sculpture found at Khajuraho shows both the aspects of *pāśāṅgakarma* and *caya*, the process of conveying the stones to the ramp for purposes of building construction. *Pāśāṅgaśilpa* would indicate sculpturing. *Siddha-hemaśilpa* may indicate knowledge of purified gold, while *siddha-hemakarma* would indicate the production of metal images. It appears that the *sthapati* has demonstrated some of these techniques at Bhojpur. Among the pillars engraved here there is one with *ghaṭapallava* motif. In chapter 28, Bhoja describes⁶ four types of *stambhas* namely (1) *Padmaka* (2) *Ghaṭapallavaka* (3) *Kubera* and (4) *Srīdhara*.

Thus, it will be seen that the Bhojpur temple provides extremely interesting details of temple construction and here probably Bhoja had set up his school for training of temple craftsmen. It is likely that this work was discontinued with the death of Bhoja and the temple construction came to a sudden halt. It will be interesting to study the description of these pillars and identify them from the temple properly.

The Udayeśvara temple at Udaipur belonging to the *bhūmija* type is an architectural edifice of monumental proportions. It was built up by Udayāditya, the brother of King Bhoja. In the compound of this temple on the floor can be noticed engravings or etchings of the pinnacle of the temple above the *grīvā*. This indicates that at this great monument opportunities were provided for the training of *sūtradhāras* and drawing of a part of the *śikhara* were drawn on the floor, close to the temple so that the sculptors could fashion the parts accordingly. The etching on the ground has become faint and steps should be taken to preserve and publish it without delay.

In the Dulādeo temple at Khajuraho are also etched some architectural drawings. This temple is ascribed as *circa* A.D. 1100-50. There is also a later parallel in Taj Mahal where the drawing of the spire over the dome of Taj is drawn in the quadrangle to the east of the main mausoleum.

As regards the construction of the ramp for conveying temple members, we have another parallel in Orissa. In the case of the famous Liṅgarāja temple at Bhubaneshwar, it is mentioned by Vidya Dehejia in her work *Early Stone Temples of Orissa* that the inclined

plane built for the construction of the temple was laid all the way from the quarry in the Khandagiri hills in the west of the temple over a distance of nearly four miles. Several small mounds seen today between the Khandagiri hills and the temple appear to be part of the inclined plane constructed almost a thousand years ago. She mentions that the last point of this plane a small laterite shrine called Charanārāyan was built, the word *Chara* in the local language meaning 'inclined plane'. In south India, there is another instance of a similar ramp several miles long having been constructed in respect of the famous Rājarāješvara temple at Thanjavur. She also mentions that in the recent times when the local Rājā constructed the Khiching temple in Mayurabhanja Orissa he followed the same ancient Orissan methods involving the "Burying of the Deul" in earth as it progressed in height.

I consider it very necessary to state that all the Paramāra temples in M.P., Rajasthan and Maharashtra should be studied not only from the limited architectural and iconographic point of view but in a more detailed and comprehensive manner so as to find out if there are any clues bearing on the methodology of temple construction vis-a-vis contemporary texts.

REFERENCES

1. A. K. Coomaraswamy mentions, "The importance of craftsmen and labourers, including quarrymen, who have their own methods of obtaining the large beams required is of interest in connection with the construction of Hindu temples". Discussing about the temple construction he recalls, "The Dravidian tradition of temple building is far from being extinct at the present day; the hereditary *śilpīns* or *sthapatis* of the *Kammālar* caste, who, in their own estimation, rank with the Brāhmins and are indeed the descendants of men who received great honour and high-sounding titles from builder kings, can still be seen at work, (fig. 241), still making use of the *śilpa-śāstras*, either in Sanskrit versions or vernacular abstracts". *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 125.
2. These were fenced off at the author's instance when he was Director General of Archaeology and had visited the temple.
3. Khare, M. D. (Ed.), *Malwa through the Ages*, pp. 170-73.
4. शास्त्रं कर्म तथा प्रज्ञा शीलं च क्रिययान्वितम् ।
लक्ष्यलक्षणयुक्तार्थभास्त्रनिष्ठो नरो भवेत् ॥ 2 ॥
सामुद्रं गणितं चैव ज्योतिषं छन्द एव च ।
मिराज्ञानं तथा शिल्प यन्त्रकर्मविधिस्तथा ॥ 3 ॥ —(p. 246)
5. तथाचाष्टविधं कर्म ज्ञेयं स्थपतिना सदा ।
आलेख्यं लेख्यजातं च दाहकर्म चयस्तथा ॥ 20 ॥
पाषाणसिद्धहेम्नां च शिल्पं कर्म तथैव च ।
एभिर्गुणैः समायुक्तः स्थपतिरिति पूज्यताम् ॥ 21 ॥
—ममराङ्गणसूत्रघारे चतुषचत्वारिणोऽध्यायः ॥ —(p. 248)

6. सार्धपादोच्छ्रिता यद्वा जङ्घा शेषं ययोदितम् ।
 इत्थं स्थात् पद्मकस्तम्भो युक्त्वा युषतस्वरूपकैः ॥ 27 ॥
 घटिका पुष्पमालाभिः पल्लवैश्चोपशोभिता ।
 छेदभागः समः कार्यो बहिर्भागविवर्जितः ॥ 30 ॥
 घटपल्लवको नाम स्तम्भोऽयं परिकीर्तितः ।
 विहितो वेपमनामेप स्वामिनः श्रेयसे भवेत् ॥ 31 ॥
 कुबेरो वा विधातव्यः षोडशाश्रमिभ्यान्वितः ।
 ऊर्ध्वतः पल्लवाकीर्णो जङ्घास्य चतुरश्रिका ॥ 32 ॥
 श्रीधरणच भवेद् वृत्तः कल्पनास्य कुबेरवत् ।
 एवं गृहाणां चत्वारः स्तम्भा लक्ष्मिरीरिताः ॥ 33 ॥
 -समराङ्गणसूत्रघारे अष्टाविंशोऽध्यायः ॥ (page 154)

RGVEDA-VYĀKHYĀ MĀDHAVA-KṚTA: SOME SALIENT FEATURES

G. V. DEVASTHALI

THIS commentary¹ on the RV. by Mādhava is not only older than that of Sāyaṇa, but possibly one of the oldest commentaries on it; and what is to be regretted is that it has not yet been found in full. A glance through the published part of it can easily show that it differs from that of Sāy. in many respects. It is glaringly simple; but is at the same time occasionally studded with some remarks, discussions, and references or citations which, to say the least, are quite interesting and at the same time thought-provoking.

The author of this *vyākhyā*, *Mādhava*, has, besides this commentary, written a work known as the *Mādhavānukramaṇī*.² In fact, this comm. on the RV. itself is, as he has stated it, a part, the concluding part, of the *Mā. Anu*. It is meant to throw light on those parts of the RV., which have not been illuminated by the other eleven parts of the *Anu*. Mādhava says: *etābhir ekādaśabhir yāsv-artho nāvabhāsate/dvādaśy anukramaṇikā tāsāṃ arthaṃ vaded iti*³//. Not only that. He further adds: *aṅgaiḥ kim ekādaśabhir arthā ye pratipāditāḥ/vyaktā bhavanti te sarve mantrārthānām pradarsānāt*⁴//. Thus it may be seen that according to M., this last part (namely the *vyākhyā*) of this work is expected to be illuminated by the previous eleven parts, and *vice versa*. This will naturally explain why M.'s comm. on the RV. has become much simpler (perhaps surprisingly so), and at the same time illuminating, because it has been written on the traditional lines prevailing in older days prior to Sāyaṇa.

Let us now try to have some glimpses of this comm. Take, for example, the comm. on RV.1.1.1. There *agnim ile* is paraphrased by *agnim staumi yadi vā yāce*, thus simply pointing out the other possible meaning, both equally acceptable; and then follows the etymological explanation of *agni* as given by Yāska, and having its basis in the *Vājasaneyaka* (not traceable). Then is taken *purohitam*, explained as *āhavanīyam* justified by *sa hi purastān nihitaḥ*. Then is given *praṇetāram* (another explanation of *purohitam*), again justified by *tam hi puraskurvanti*. Then is taken *yajñasya devam*

paraphrased by *yajñasya svāminam*. This is followed by etymological explanation of *yajña* and *deva*. Then is taken up *ṛtvijam*, which is paraphrased by *yaṣṭāram*; and the etymology of *deva* and also of *ṛtvij* is given with a line in support, namely RV. 10.2.1.⁵ Then follows *hotāram*, which is clarified by *devānāṃ hvātūram*, supported by citing Aurnāvābha.⁶ The last word of the *ṛc* is simply paraphrased as *ratnānām atīṣayena dātāram*, without any further remark or explanation.

This is just a specimen of how M. has commented on the RV. giving just what is expected, and avoiding everything unnecessary.

Sometimes he merely supplies a word to complete the sentence; e.g. to *tāsmā indrāya gāyata* (1.4.10), he adds only *stotram iti*. Occasionally he adds more words also, if needed: e.g. *mā no āti khyāḥ* he explains by *mā tvam asmān atihāya anyān drākṣīḥ*. Here *ati* is explained as *atihāya*, *anyān* is added as the object of *khyāḥ*, which is paraphrased by *drākṣīḥ*. But he knows that *ati khyāḥ* can be explained differently also. This explanation he has indicated by the remark, *parityāgo vā atikhyānam*.

Sometimes after explaining *ṛc*, he gives what the author has in mind behind the spoken words: e.g. on *utā bruvantu no nīdo 'nīṣ anyātas cid ārata / dādhanā indra id duvāḥ //* (1.4.5), after explaining the words in the usual manner, he remarks: *indraparicaraanam hi nityam anāstikānām*, which, in fact, reveals the mind of the speaker himself. On 1.17.5, *indraḥ sahasradāvnāṃ vāruṇaḥ śamsīyānām / krātur bhavaty ukthyāḥ //*, he remarks: *varuṇo'tyartham praśamsānīya indras cātyantadātā iti //* Similarly on 1.19.2: *nahī devó ná márttyo mahás táva krātuṃ parāḥ*, he remarks: *na tvām atīsete'nyāḥ karmaṇā prajñayā vā*. In 1.15.8, *draviṇodā dadātu no vāsūni yāni śṛṇvire/devéṣu tá vanāmahe*, we find that *draviṇodāḥ* (= *agni*) is prayed to bestow *vasūni* on them; and the *ṛc* ends with a request to the *devas*. This seems to be rather incongruent. But M. removes the apparent incongruency by his remark: *tathā sati draviṇodās tebhyaḥ* (= *devebhyaḥ*) *āḥṛtya tāni dadātu*; and in support of this he adduces, *tad agnayo devebhyo vanate / vayam agneḥ mānusāḥ* (Tai-Sam. 2.6.9.8, which contains such an ideal).⁷

In 1.12.3 *agne devá ihá vaha . . . / ási hótā na idyaḥ //* M. points out that the expression *hotā* here is *sābhiprāya* (significant), and intended as support to the request in *agne devá ihá vaha*. This he conveys by the remark: *hotṛtvānukīrtanam āvahanāya*.⁸

1.15.5c, *távédhī sakhyām ástṛtam*, appears to be incomplete (*sākāṅkṣa*); for, it does not state with whom the *sakhya* is. M. sup-

plies the missing idea with the words: *astṛtam aviccinnam ṛtubhiḥ/ api vā stotr̥bhiḥ iti/*

M. has also shown his knack of bringing out the force of the similes and explaining their significance. Thus *pakvā śākhā nā (dāsuse)* (1.8.8c) means to say, as M. explains it, *pakvaphalā śākheva*. Here the force of the simile has been very well brought out by M. in the shortest possible space by the word *pakvaphalā*. So also *muṣṭihatyāyā* has the force of a simile;⁹ and M. has brought it out by *muṣṭihananeneva śatrūn* (1.8.2). *usrā iva svāsarāṇi* (1.3.8) has a simile with pun: and M. naturally has explained it in two ways as: *raśmaya iva ahāni/yad vā goṣṭhānīva gāvah.*¹⁰

M. is well aware of the importance of parallel passages in support of his interpretation of a word, or phrase, or a sentence. Thus in 1.2.3. he explains *prapr̥catī* by *pr̥catir dānakarmā*; and cites *iṣam pr̥cāntā sukr̥te sudānave* (1.47.8); or in 1.1.6 he explains *bhadram* by *bhajanīyam*, and cites a *Śātyāyanaka*¹¹ passage, which speaks of *vitta, gṛha, prajā, paśu*, (in fact, every covetable thing) as *bhadra*. To explain *paritasthuṣaḥ* he cites *ime vai lokāḥ paritasthuṣaḥ* (*Tai. Brā.* 3.9.4.4.). For *indra kauśika* (1.10.11) he quotes *Tai. Brā., Śātyā.*,¹² and *Tāṇḍaka*, where is given the legend of how and why Indra became *Kauśika*. So also for *tvām agne prathamō āṅgirā ṛṣiḥ* (1.31.1), he has cited *ye āṅgārā āsan te āṅgirasō abhavan* (*Ait. Br.* 3.34). Similarly *vīpakṣasā* (1.6.2) he explains alternatively by *athavā rathasyobhayoḥ pakṣayor yojanam*, and cites *pūrvapakṣāparapakṣau vā harī / tābhyām hīdam sarvaṁ harati* (*Tāṇḍ. Brā.* 9.9.).

Nor is M. afraid of giving his own interpretation as against others, and with justification too. Thus he points out that *agnimagnim* 1.12.2) has been explained in the words: *eko 'pyagniḥ (vyakti) bhedād aneka iva bhavati/deśabhedāt ity apare/*. But not being satisfied with this explanation, he remarks that the repetition in *agnimagnim* does not indicate *bhinnatva* of *agni*. It rather indicates that the prayers and oblations are offered to the same Agni again and again; and this repeated offering to the same Agni is referred to or rather indicated by the expression *agnimagnim*.¹³

Here perhaps we may also note some cases of peculiar interpretation offered by M. on the basis of accentuation. He is a firm believer in *svrabhedād arthabhedah*; and on this stand he rejects the interpretation of *purutamam* and *vṛtrataram* offered by others before him. On the former he remarks that the suffix here is *bhāvārtha* (expressive of being, existing). Accent on *tama* shows that this *tama* cannot be *tamap* of Pāṇini, which being *pit* is enclitic.

Hence, he argues, this *purutama* should be taken as a verbal derivative, meaning *purūṃ bhavati iti*; and hence paraphrases *purūtaman* by *mahāntam*.¹⁴

Another such case is to be found in *āhan vṛtrām vṛtratāraṃ vyḍṃsam* (1.32.5), where the suffix (if we so take it) is accented; and hence it cannot be *tarap* of Pāṇini. Nor can the sense of comparative suit this passage. *Vṛtratara*¹⁵ must, therefore, be taken as a *kṛdanta*. M., therefore, explains it as *vṛtraṃ yas tatāra*, in view of the accent of *vṛtratāra* here.¹⁶ Let us now take the word *rodasī*,¹⁷ which in the RV. is barytone as well as oxytone; and if we are to be guided by Śākalya (*padapāṭha*), the barytone one is always a dual form (as indicated by *iti* after it in PP.), while the other one is capped with *iti* in two places only; and this means that in none of its other occurrences it can be construed as a dual form, at least according to Śākalya.

Now let us take *á ródasī varuṇānī śṛnotu* (5.46.8), in which the PP. of *ródasī* is given as *ródasī iti*. Queerly enough Yāska here has explained *rodasī* as *rudrasya patnī*.¹⁸ But M. straightway points out that this explanation of Y. runs counter to Śāk.; for, he has treated it as *pragrhya* and capped it with *iti*.

But in 1.167.4 *rodasī* has been capped by Śāk. with *iti*; and thus would appear to be dual. Generally it is the barytone *ródasī*, which means *dyāvāpṛthivī*. Here, however, it is oxytone, which generally is understood to mean *rudrapatnī*, *marut-patnī*, or *mādhyaṃmikā vāk*. But following Śāk., M. would take it as dual only. He, therefore, has suggested that here *ródasī* (du.) may mean *mādhyaṃmiko'gniḥ* and *mādhyaṃmikā vāk*. But this may not find general acceptance, though it is enough to indicate M.'s attitude towards accentuation, and his leaning towards Śāk. in preference to Yāska.

Another peculiar feature of M. is the frequency with which he draws our attention to words apparently similar, but differently accented, only to show clearly how they differ in their meanings. Thus, he has drawn attention to words identical in spelling but differing in accentuation, such as *ákṣa*¹⁹ (initially accented) meaning wheel, and *akṣá* (finally accented) meaning dice. Such, for example, are *iṣṭi*,²⁰ *para*,²¹ and *śāsa*²² which, when barytone, signify *haviryajña*, *itara*, and *stuti*; but mean *praīṣa* or *yajñamātra*, *sarvasmād ūrdhvam avasthitah*, and *śāsītā* respectively, when they are oxytone. In some cases like *variman*,²³ difference in accentuation indicates difference in gender. In some other cases different accent indicates a different case-form: e.g. *īlā* (Nom.) while *īlā* (= *iḷāyām*, Loc.)²⁴. Accent also helps us to distinguish *tatpuruṣa* from *bahuvrīhi*. Ordinarily *tatp.*

and *bahu*. retain the accent of their second and the first members respectively.²⁵ However, just the reverse is the case with the *nañ*. *tatp.* and *nañ-bahu*.²⁶

Before passing on to another topic let us look to two more words of this type. The word *adbhuta*²⁷ (as in *sadaspatim adbhutam*) means *āścaryam*, *abhūtapūrvam*, or even *mahāntam*, according to some; but when oxytone it signifies *soma* according to M. who explains it as *adanābhūto rasavān*.

The other word we take is *jaṭhara*²⁸ which also has a twofold accent. As *madhyodātta* it means *udara* (belly) and is explained by M. as *jagdham asmims tiṣṭhatīti*; but he further states that *jaṭhara* when barytone means *jaṭharāgni*. But apparently he is not quite sure himself about this barytone *jāṭhara*; for which he refers the reader to the connoisseur (*bahuśruta*) rather than ordinary commentators.²⁹

M. has also something to say about the accentuation of the verb, which appears to shed some further light on P.'s rules. Thus, for example, P. lays down that presence of *hi* in a sentence causes absence of *nighata* in the (finite) verb. On this point M. remarks: *hir yasmān vākye prayujyate tadarthasya vākyañtarārthakriyāśeṣatvañ dyotayati*.³⁰ This, in other words, means that in such sentences the verb is incapable of conveying a complete sense (*asusamāptārtha*³¹ or *aparyavasitārtha*);³² and hence it is accented.

Another such rule of P. is *ekānyābhyām samarthābhyām*,³³ according to which, when *eka* and *anya* are used in a sentence simultaneously, the first verb is not enclitic (*nihata*). With reference to this rule, however, M. points out that it applies to the other *śākhās* of the Veda,³⁴ but not to *dāśatayī* (= RV). He points out to RV. 1.161.9, where *eka* and *anya* are used, but there is no verb which is not enclitic. He further points out that even if *anya* is used instead of *eka*, the earlier (*pūrva*) verb is accented³⁵ (as in 1.164.20); and further that if the first *anya* is left to be understood (*na śrūyate*), this rule applies only optionally.³⁶

M. has also something to say about the elision of the augment *a* of verbs in the PP. In brief he says: *asti hi ced akaraḥ prakṛtibhāvena bhavitavyam/ayam ca nyāyaḥ antaḥpada-lanṅīnor akārapraśeṣe sarvatrānusandhātavyaḥ/tatra vaktavyaṃ prapañcena samayānukramanyām uktam asmābhiḥ*.³⁷

The phenomenon of *vyatyaya* also has been noticed in several places. Thus, for example, in 1.8.7, *urvīr āpo nā kākūdaḥ*, M. remarks: *āpaḥ iti dvitīyāntam* (*āpaḥ* should be considered as an accu-

sative form).³⁸ Similarly in 1.11.8, *utā va sānti bhūyasīḥ*, M. explains, *bhūyasīḥ* as *bhūyasyaḥ*.³⁹ In *sām uṣādbhir ajāyathāḥ* (1.6.3) *uṣadbhiḥ* is paraphrased as *uṣadbhyaḥ* (Ablative). So here also we have *vyatyayena tṛtīyā*,⁴⁰ though alternately he would also accept this as *sahārthe tṛtīyā*.

One peculiar case deserves special attention. The word *vām* is, generally speaking, enclitic; but in 6.55.1 *vām* is accented; and according to M. has been used in the sense of *tvam*.⁴¹

Another interesting point in M.'s commentary is his brief discussions or rather hints pertaining to metres. Thus on p.281 he has referred to *pragāthas*, saying that they are of two kinds, *ekārtha* and *bhinnārtha*, and added some hints as to when they are *ekārtha* and when *bhinnārtha*.⁴² He has also given hints as to how to determine the exact end of a *pāda*, (within a hemistich). In 1.36.12, the metre is *satobṛhatī*; and hence the opening *pāda* is *jāgata* (12 syllables), which shows that it must end with *te*. That this is correct is shown firstly by the fact that the word *agne* has its position at the beginning of the second *pāda*. And this explains why it is *ādyudātta*. Secondly it leaves the next *pāda* to have twelve syllables that are required by the metre.⁴³ Similarly in 1.48.7 the extent of the third *pāda* is determined by the metre of the *ṛc*, namely *bṛhatī*. This means that the *pāda* in question (the third one) must have twelve syllables; and this shows that it must end with *iyam*.⁴⁴ Thus read, the last *pāda* is left to have eight syllables as required. Similarly, in 1.59.4, which is a *triṣṭubh*, M. remarks: *rodasī iti pādāntaḥ*,⁴⁵ and further adds: *tathā hy arthaḥ samāñjasaḥ/vicchedo' nyaḥ pramāda-jah/*. On p. 458 he points out that the third *pāda* ends with *a*, as shown by its nasalisation before a vowel.⁴⁶ *Pādavyavasthā* can thus be settled on the basis of metre (*chandaḥ*), accent of the next *pāda* (i.e. the opening *pāda* of the next *pāda*), and *artha*. Among these, however, the criterion of *artha* should be given preference over the other criteria of settling the exact ending of a *pāda*.⁴⁷

By way of a general rule M. has stated that a *pāda* which begins with *tvam* or *tvām* is *nyūna* (short by a syllable). This is but natural because *tvam* and *tvām* have in such lines to be read as disyllabic words.⁴⁸

It is also interesting to note that M. has not only mentioned the threefold division of *mantras* pointed out by Yāska,⁴⁹ namely *parokṣakṛta*, *pratyakṣakṛta*, and *ādhyātmika*, but has many times stated that a particular *mantra* or some part of it is *parokṣa* or *pratyakṣa*, and also when they occur in one and the same *ṛc*.⁵⁰

Besides all this, he has also given some general hints which would be quite useful for interpretation of the RV. Such, for examples are: Whenever a word, or a phrase, or even a clause occurs more than once in a *mantra*, one of these repeated parts should be considered as only redundant (*punarukta*, *pūraka*, or *pūraṇa*). Such redundant parts may be *nipātas*, or nominal inflected forms, the possessive suffix, or some such word or expression.⁵¹ He has also pointed out that the optional forms of the pronouns *asmad* and *yusmad*, such as *te*, *me*, may be considered as carrying the force of any case (*vibhakti*) that may be found suitable to the context.⁵² He has also noted peculiar usages involving apparent repetition such as *gavāṃ gopatiḥ*, *somaṃ somapātamaḥ*, *draviṇodā draviṇasaḥ iṣas canasyati*, *vājebhīr vājinīvati*; and has in this connection stated that all such cases are meant to bring out expressly what is already conveyed by a part of these and similar other expressions.

One more point revealed to me by a perusal of M.'s commentary pertains to a reading in the *padapāṭha*. The word *vidmanāpasah* in both the places of its occurrence in the RV. is given in the PP. as *vidmanā-apasaḥ*. M., however, has expressly remarked that in this compound the initial member is shown as ending in a (short vowel), and separated by an *avagraha*⁵³ (of course in PP.). Viśva Bandhu in his monumental work, the *Koṣa*, has given *vidmanā (na-a) pas* which, possibly indirectly supports M. in what he has said. But where this is found, and who actually has given such division of this word has yet to be found out.

Peculiar meanings assigned to some words and also peculiar derivations differing from and even rejecting those given by Yāska occasionally on the basis of some Vedic passage are also quite intriguing. But keeping them aside for some other occasion, let us pass on to what may be described as one of the most important features of M.'s commentary, an aspect in the study of the RV. which has not as yet received due and careful attention. It is really surprising to notice the frequency with which M. has referred to (at the same time often cursorily, but at times at some length also) the problem of the repeated passages in the RV. It is striking to note that so far, M. is the only commentator that has paid due attention to this feature of the RV. PP. Stated in general terms, the rule may be enunciated as follows: If a number of consecutive *padas* recur exactly as in their first occurrence, and convey the sense identical in all respects, they are omitted in the PP. in all their occurrences except the first; and are represented there by a cipher. Such series of *padas*, because they are omitted, are given the name *galita*, though the older name for this phenomenon

is *samaya*⁵⁴ (found in *RV. Prā.*). This phenomenon is not restricted to *RV.* only. It is also found in the *Śukla YV.* in both the recensions; and is there known as *saṅkrama*.⁵⁵

We have no information about this phenomenon prior to the *RV. Pra.*; which is so far the earliest work to take note of its existence only to lay down some rules for the treatment of such parts in the formation of the *krama-pāṭha*. The *Vāj. Prā.* is the earliest work to give rules for the omission of such groups of words under the name *saṅkrama*; and Uvaṭa has cited an anonymous rule in this connexion and also the views of Śākala, Gārgya, and Kaṇva. From these we know that repeated passages were taken (= not omitted) only if they differed in point of *dravya*, *devatā*, *artha*, *liṅga*, &c. They were dropped only if they had the same sense (*arthasāmānya*). This means that at least theoretically all *galita* passages were considered identical in sense with their original. Somehow this important feature about the *galita* was lost sight of; and in spite of earlier commentators like M., the *galita* aspect has come to be generally neglected.

M. is the only commentator known so far to have paid serious attention to it and discussed in several places why some repeated passages are considered as *galita*; but several others, though so repeated, are not considered to be so. We find M. giving the grounds in each case where a repeated passage is not considered to be *galita*. A perusal of all these cases seems to show that he has followed the view noted by Uvaṭa in the following words: *arthasāmānyāt punaruktasyātikramaḥ / tathā coktam / dravya-devatā-artha-liṅga-vacana-svarakarṭṭr-bhedaiḥ punaruktasya grahaṇam bhāvati* /⁵⁶

All these features and especially the *galita*, no doubt make M's commentary (and also his *anukramaṇīs*) a work of signal importance in the field of Vedic interpretation, particularly because he has time and again given us glimpses of the principles, which he has generally followed and possibly very clearly explained and even illustrated.⁵⁷

REFERENCES

1. This is edited by Dr. C. K. Raja upto the end of Aṣṭaka I only, in *The Adyar Library Series*, No. 22 (1939) and No. 61 (1947).
2. For a portion of this *Anukramaṇī* see *Madras University Sanskrit Series*, No. 2, Part I, Appendix IV.
3. Loc. cit. *upodghāta*, lines 122f.
4. Loc. cit. lines 124f.
5. *Vidvām rtūnir ṛtupate yajehā.*
6. *Juhoter ity aurnavābhaḥ*, *Nir.* 7-15.

7. As one more instance (out of the many found in this com.) one may read the remark of Mādhava on *agnimagnim* (1.12.2): *ekópyagnih vyaktibhedād aneka iva bhavati / deśabhedād ity apare / tan na samañjasam / agnim eva bhūyo havimabhīh, stutibhīh, havanta /*
8. See com. on 1.12.2.
9. M. remarks: *muṣṭikatyaḥ aupanikam.*
10. Of these, the first is given by Yāska, adopted by Sāyaṇa. The second would appear to be more apt to the situation, and is accepted by modern scholars.
11. Read: *puruṣasya vittam bhadram, grhā bhadram, paśavo bhadram, iti śātyāyanakam.* It is intriguing to note that Mādhava has cited in several places from works like the *Śātyāyanaka*, which are so far known only by name.
12. Read: *vr̥treṇa yudhyannindraḥ svādhyāyakālālābhād vedān niracakāra / sa vr̥tram hatvā viśvāmītram upetya tān punar adhyaiṣṭa / śāsya Kauśikā itī Śātyāyanakam uktam /.*
13. M. rejects the first explanation with the remark: *tan na samañjasam*; and offers his own explanation, which may be found to be more appealing. Also see no. 7 above.
14. Read: *purūtāman mahāntam / tamab iha bhavārthaḥ / purāṇi bhavati / na tamabāntaḥ / svarat (? svarāt) / com. on 1.5.2.*
15. This *vr̥trata*, M. interprets as an adjective of *vyamsa*; and explains it as *vr̥tram yas tatāra*; and adds: *na tamabantaḥ svarād arthābhāvācca /.*
16. It may be noted here that Vyākṛta-Mādhava (VM.) has explained *purūtāman* as *bahūnām upakṣapayitāram*; while the *R̥gvedānukramāṇī* (see n. 2 above) explains it as *bahūn glapayatīti*, which is quite similar to the explanation given by M. noted above. This perhaps indicates that our Mādhava is different from VM; and may possibly be identified with the author of the *Mādhavānukramāṇī*. (See n. 2 above).
17. In the RV. we find *rodasi* (du; occurring only twice in 1.167.4; 10.92.11); and *rodasi* (not du. occurring in 1.167.5; 5.56.8; 6.50.5; 6.66.6). In all other places we have either *rodasi* (voc. du.) or *roasi*, (du. *ādyudātta*). And du. *roasī* forms are capped with *iti* in the PP. So, if we go by the PP., *rodasi*, and *rodasi* (only in two places) have to be taken as du. forms only.
18. See Nir. 12.46, where Yāska explains *rodasi* (in RV.5.46.8) as *rudrasya patnī*, in spite of Śākalya, who gives it in PP. as *rodasi itī*, indicating that it is, a du. form. Our M. points out that here Yāska has contradicted Śāk; and indicates that *rodasi* here should be understood as *mādhyamikah agnih* and *mādhyamikā vāk*. (See M's com. on 1.10.7).
19. Read: *rathāngam ādyudāttaḥ devanārtho'ntodāttaḥ* (p. 232f).
20. *iṣṭaśabdo haviryajñe ādyudāttaḥ / yajnamātra praiṣe cāntodāttaḥ.* (M's *vyākhyā*, p. 440.)
21. Read: *paraś ca sarvasmād ūrdhvam avasthitaḥ* (oxytone); *itaravacanaś ced ādyudāttaḥ / Loc. cit. p. 45.*
22. *śāsaśabdas stutiśāsanayor ādyudāttaḥ / Śāsita ced antodāttaḥ / ibid. p. 423.*
23. Read: *varīman napuṃsake ādyudāttam puṃsyantodāttam / (ibid. p. 436).*
24. Read: *īlā krtāni patyata* (1.128.7), *ūgna īlā samidhyase* (3.24.2). *iti sap-tamyanta antodātta /* But by itself *īlā* is *ādyudātta*.
25. See Pāṇini 6.1.233; and 6.2.1.
26. See Pāṇini 6.2.2; and *va. 2* on it.
27. Read: *adbhutam abhūtāpūrvam āścaryam / mahāntam ityeke antodāttaṁ ced adanībhūto rasavān bhavati / (ibid, p. 111).*
28. Read *jāthara udaram / jagdham asminstisṭhati itī / jātharāgnīś ced ādyudāttaḥ / (com. on yābhīh paṭharvā . . .) ibid. p. 426.*

29. But in his com. on 1.112.77, M. has expressed himself without any reservation in the following words: *jaṭharaśabdo bahusrutebhyo' vagantavyaḥ / udaravacanastu madhyodatto bhavati na codareṇa balam sambadham / jaṭharam agnim paṭharva' svibhyām labhe iti vyākhyātāro bruvata / na / tat pramāṇopetam / likhanti hi svamatena / itihāso na dṛṣṭaḥ / tāndaka-sāṅgyāyanakavājasaneyikā aparyālocitakṛtas / tasmād asmābhis te likhitāḥ / p. 735f.*
30. *ibid*, p. 56.
31. *ibid*, p. 110; 353.
32. *ibid*, p. 90.
33. See Pāṇini 8.1.65. For M's treatment of this sūtra in details, read *Mādhava on Ekānyābhyām Samarthābhyām*, B.O.R.I., Annals, Vol. 61 (1980), pp. 204-409.
34. *ibid*, p. 235f.
35. Read: *anyayoga punaḥ pūrvāṅy ākhyātāny udāttāni*, as in RV.1.164.20; 7.83.9; etc.
36. Read: *yadā anyāśabdo na śrūyate tadānīm vikalpena bhavati / ibid*, p. 236.
37. *ibid*, p. 176.
38. *ibid*, p. 47.
39. Read: *yadī vā bhūyasya iti*, *ibid*, p. 70.
40. *ibid*, p. 33.
41. Read: *vām iti padam tvamarthe prayujyate tad udāttam bhavati, ehi vām vimuco napāt*, 6.55.1. For the other view on this see Sāyaṇa on RV.6.55.1; Macdonell, *Vedic Grammar*, p. 390 and fn. 6; also *Vedic Grammar for Students*, p. 105, fn. 1.
42. Read: *dvidvidhāḥ pragātha bhavanti / ekārthā anekārthāś ca / yeṣu dvayoḥ ṛcoḥ ākhyātām asti te bhinnārthaḥ / yatra vākaikabhāvo nāntaryam te ekārtha bhavanti / yatra tvānyāntarasam eva ākhyātām te ekārthā eva / p. 281.*
43. Read: *mukhyaḥ pādo jāgataḥ satobṛhatī / tathā hyagna iti cādyudāttam / api ca dvitīyaḥ pādo bārhat'o'ṣṭākṣaras sampadyate / p. 282.*
44. Read: *iyam iti pādāntaḥ / chando hi bṛhatī / p. 368.*
45. See p. 451f.
46. Read: *ākārāntaḥ pādah / svarebhyudaye padānta ākāra iti pragṛhyam bhavati*, see p. 458; elsewhere also he has said *ākāraḥ pādamaḍhyasthaḥ / para ākāraḥ / adhiparī ca sarvatra pādāntāḥ / p. 212*. This, however, is not quite clear.
47. While commenting on RV.1.25.19 M. has discussed the comparative strength of the various means of fixing the end of a pāda (within a hemistich), in the following words: *imam me / śrudhīti pādāntaḥ / havam ity ekaṁ padam ananvitam / tena arthavaśāt pādavyavasthā bhūyasītyetavat / tatra ardha-ṛcamadhye samdehe sati padāntanirṇayahetavaḥ sarva eva chando'nukramanyām asmābhīr uktāḥ / p. 179f.*
48. Read: *Kim ca tvam tvām iti pade yasmin pāde bhavataḥ sa nyūnībhavati / p. 212.*
49. See Nirukta 72f.
50. We come across many remarks like this: e.g. *ātmanaḥ prayojanam ṛṣiḥ parokṣam āha* (p. 68); etc.
51. Read: *punar asmabhyam iti padam vākyāntaratvācca pūrakam / sa cāyam nyāyaḥ sārvaśrīkaḥ iti / p. 41; uttamau nī pūrakau*, p. 44; *Trītye pāde oṅbar indriyam ity antaḥpūraṇam*, p. 98; *eko nuḥ pūraṇam*, p. 107; *matvarthaḥ pūrakāḥ*, p. 288; etc.
52. Read: *te me ityādeḥ sārvaśrīkaḥ vibhaktyanukramanyām uktam / p. 231.*

53. Explaining *vidmanāpasah* M. writes: *vidmanāpaso jñānena vyāpnavānāḥ yajña-karmaṇi iti adhvaryavaḥ / pūrvapadaṁ hrasvāntam avagrṇanti /*, which clearly shows that M. had before him *vidmana-apasah* as an alternative PP. of this compound word. Sāyaṇa takes *vidmanāpasah* = *vidmana-apasah*, but remarks *pūrvapadasya 'anyesām api dṛśayata' iti dṛśigrahaṇāt avagraha-samaye'pi dīrghatvam* (Say. on *vidmanāpasah* in RV.1.31.1). Viśva Bandhu, *Vaidika-padānukrama-koṣa* (Samhitā), also notes *vidmanā (na-a) pasah* (see p. 2856); but does not clarify the matter. According to Say, however, the members of this compound are *vidmana* and *apas*, as is clear, from *vidmanāni apānsi yeṣāṁ te vidmanāpasah* given by him. Thus the exact origin of M's remark *pūrvapadaṁ hrasvāntam avagrṇanti* has still to be found out.
54. See RK. Prāti. 10.19; 11.24.
55. See Vāja. Prāti. 4. 166-180.
56. See Uvaṭa on *Vāja-Prāti*. 4.176. Recently I have read a paper dealing with *samaya* and *samkrama* in the Vedic Section of the All-India Oriental Conference at Santiniketan, 1980. See *Proceedings of this Session, Vedic Section*.
57. This paper was read at *The Winter Institute (Seminar)* on "Aspects of Vedic Interpretation," CASS, and the Department of SK. and PK. studies, University of Poona, January 28, 1980; and is printed here with the kind permission of The Director of the Seminar.
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ISLAM IN THE HINDU TANTRAS

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ISLAM has influenced many aspects of the Hindu way of life. Its impress on medieval and later Hindu culture and thought is also well known. However, what is little known or even unknown is Islam's deep impact on the mystic Tantra tradition of Hindu origin and its acceptance by orthodox Brahmanical society. Islam's contribution to Indian Tantras of the medieval period is both in the form of hymns (*mantras*) including the Quaranic-*ayatas* and mystic-diagrams (*yantras*) to be used, respectively, for repeated recitation to achieve various ends and as protective amulets or auspicious charts. This tradition is still living and scores of Hindus believe in the efficacy of the mysticism and religio-magical rites of Islamic origin. These hymns and charts are commonly used for curing ailments, producing charms and incantations, inflicting defeat on enemies, etc.

These beliefs, from a modern standpoint, would be classed as superstitions, yet they reflect a mystic synthesis between Hinduism and Islam.

The aforesaid *mantras* invoke God as *Bismilla-Rahimān-e-Rahīm* (*Bismillahir-Ramānir-Rahīm*), one's own guru, prophets, Babā Adam, Hazrat Khizr, Hazrat 'Alī, Hazrat Imām Husain and Hazrat Fātīmā and other saints like Ismā'ī'l Jogī, Hazrat Muīnu'd-Dīn Chishtī and Shaikh Sarfu'd-Dīn Yahyā Manerī and rulers like Mahmūd of Ghazna besides Śiva, Narasimha, Brahmā, Hanumān and other Hindu deities.

In the Hindu Tantra, such hymns are included amongst the Śābara Mantras¹ which are believed to fulfil all desires as can be observed from the undernoted verse:—

*Vakṣyāmyahaṁ sā(Sā)barāṇi mantra-tantrāṇi Pārvaṭi /
Sarvakāma prasādhāni sṛṣṭvāvahitā priye //*

It is not easy to determine as to when the tradition of Islamic mysticism got intermixed with the Hindu Tantra lore and was incorporated in the approved religious practices of the Hindu Society. It is not unlikely that Sūfī saints, who came and lived in India, may have created the requisite background for such a cultural fusion.

During the Mughal period and later this composite Tantra tradition seems to have attained great popularity.

Tulsidāsa, the famous Vaiṣṇava poet of the sixteenth century, praising the efficacy of the Śābara *mantras* says that in spite of their meaningless and incoherent character their recitation is effective because they were specially created by Śiva and Pārvati for the benefit of the people² during Kali age:

*Kali viloki jagahita Hara-Girijā Śābara mantrajāla Jānu siriḷā /
Anamīl ākhar aratha-najāpu prakat̄ pratāp mahesapratāpu //*

Perhaps on account of Islamic impact on the language and contents of Śābara hymns, Tulsidāsa called them incoherent and unintelligible.

Śaktisaṅgama Tantra,³ a well recognized Tāntric work of the seventeenth century, in the following verse, refers to a sacred shrine or place as Makkeśvara in the Vāruṇaprastha on the west of India alongwith Hīṅgulāja and other sacred spots:—

*Varuṇākhyam Mahādeva Kathyate śṛṇu sāmpratam̄ /
Makkeśvaraḥ paśchimābhyām-uttare Hīṅgulā bhavet //*

These references thus clearly point to the existence of a Hindu mystic tradition with Islamic influence in the age of the Mughals, which is also confirmed by some other sources.

Śābara hymns with Islamic impact are mostly in Hindi or its associated forms. Their language in all cases does not appear to be very old perhaps for the reasons that they formed a part of the sacred and secret hymnal lore that was being transmitted by one to the other orally. Hence the original language does not seem to have retained its character. Yet, the reference in a few of the *mantras* to historical persons like Mahmūd of Ghazna, Saint Muinu'd-Dīn Chishtī, or Ismāil Jogī, whom a native tradition regards an associate of Yogī Gorakhanātha, suggests a date in pre-fourteenth century A.D. for the beginning of such a mystic intermixture.

We now propose to discuss some of the Śābara *mantras* of the medieval origin. Historically, the most interesting of them are those which invoke Ghaznavide Sultan Mahmud⁴ e.g.:—

*Bismillāhir-Rahimānirrahim
Setā ghodā setāpalāṇ, tāpar chaḍhe Mahmūd sultān /
Kāmru-deś kā koḍā chalāve
Gaḍh Ghazni ka Kotwāl Kahāve //*

Bāndhre-Turkīnī-ke pūt
Is bālak-ke-chhal har, chhidr-har,
Driṣṭi har Muṣṭi-har;
Agar na here to Mātā Añjanī dhūdh harām kare /
Merī-bhakti, Gurū-kī Śakti
Phuro-mantra Īśvaro-uvācha //

The hymn which aims at curing an ailing child, begins with the auspicious Islamic formula and describes Mahmud as son of Turkish mother, a Sultan and protector of the fortress of Ghaznī and a rider on a white horse holding the magic-wand of the mysterious land of Kāmru or Kāmarūpa i.e. Assam. Mahmūd, who is treated as a hymnal deity, has been warned in the second part of the *mantra* that if he would not cure the ailing child, he would be (called) ungrateful to the milk of mother Añjanī i.e. the mother of Hanumān, the Monkey god (who is perhaps equated with Sultan's own mother). The reciter of the hymn is sure about his success due to his own devotion and power of his teacher *guru*. It ends with 'Īśvara-Uvācha' that is 'thus says Śiva' which places it in the category of the Hindu *āgamas*. Whatever may be the historical assessment of Mahmūd of Ghazna by modern writers, the traditional Hindu considered him divine, comparable to deities like Hanumān and Narsimha, according to the available *Śābara-mantras*. We may cite another example which invokes him as Mahmandā-bīr after offering salutations to the injunctions of (one's) *guru* (*namo-ādesh gurū-ko*):—

Om namo ādesh Gurū ko!
Turkāñi kā pūt Mahmandā bīr
Nārī-kā-pūt Narsīnghā bīr
Āge chale Mahmandā bīr
Pichhe chale Nārsīngha bīr /

The hymn refers to Mahmūd as Mahmandā, the son of a Turkish woman and a bīr i.e. hero or *yakṣa* (supernatural being) marching forward followed by Narsīnghā or Nṛsīngha for protection. It may not be out of context to mention here that Yakṣas were worshipped in India from very early time for the fulfilment of desires.

A third specimen recalls great feats of Mahmandā-bīr and requests him for removing obstacles, suppressing bad spirits and achieving the desired aim of the reciter or of the person on whose behalf the *mantra* is being recited. It also mentions Hazrat Imām Huṣain and Hazrat Fātimā as under:—

Bismillā(h) Rahimānnir-Rahīm!
Pāwan ghuṅgru koṭh Janjīr
Sawā man Lohe kā tīr mār-mār kartā āwe
Dākini-ko-bāndh, Bhūt-ko-bāndh
Pīsati-ko-pāv, pakāṭī ko lāv
Hazarat Imām Husain kī jānḡh-se lāv
Bībī Fātimā ke chīr dāman se lāv
Phuro-mantra Ishvaro-vācha /

Equally interesting is the *mantra* addressed to Bābā Ādam⁵ which has a significant beginning and end; owing to difficult old language, this hymn cannot be fully understood, yet its main idea is quite clear. It has been aimed to drive out evil spirits and cure many chronic diseases. The hymn begins as under:—

Gurū satyaṁ Bismillāh-kā
Pūjyomā āvankār; Ādi-Gurū sṛṣṭi kartār /
Veda-bahaṛ tārānhī eki āi,
Yuga chāri tīnlok, vedachāri, Panchon pāṇḍava
Chhava-mārag, sāt-samudra, āṭh-vasu, nav-graha
Das-Rāvaṇ gyārah-Rudra bārah-rāśī,
Gharī daṇḍa pal-vīpal Mahārath sāshi (sākhā i.e. sākshī)
dharbhai hau //

After addressing his teacher its unknown author asks the Vedas, three worlds, five Pāṇḍavas, six ways (philosophies or Śāstras) seven seas, eight Vasus, ten Rāvaṇas, Rudras, Planets, signs of Zodiac, five elements, all the gods, divisions of time, etc., to be witnesses. The concluding portion reads:—

. . . Dhuhāi Saleman Paigambar-kī, turant vilāhī khānjāhī Nataru
savālākh paigambar kī vajrathāp, Navnāth-chaurāsī-siddhi-ke sarāp.
Shesh (Shaikh) Sarpudi (Sarfu'd Din) Ahiyā (Yahyā) Pīr Manerī
ki śakti, Bābā Ādam-kī-bhakti jari-bhasma hoī jāi jāhi nihi-nishid-
dhrajāhi jāi piṇḍ-kushal dosh phiṭu phiṭu svāhā (phaṭ phiṭ svāhā).

In the name a prophet Saleman (Suleman) the hymn-reciter asks the disease to disappear failing which he warns, it would face thunder-bolt like strokes of prophet and curse of nine Nāthas and eighty-four Siddhas and would be reduced to ashes due to the power of Shesh (Shaikh) Sarpudi (Sarfu'd-Dīn) Ahiyā (Yahyā) Manerī and his devotion to Bābā Ādam. Shaikh Sarfu'd-Dīn Manerī (1262-1377) is a well known Sūfī saint of Bihar.⁶ This hymn was perhaps composed by his followers.

In another hymn there is a reference to the matted locks of Bābā Ādam in these words: 'Mera bādhā chchuṭe to Bābā Ādam safī (?)

*kī jatā sutai; phuro mantra Ísvarovācha.*⁷ This reminds one of Śiva or Hindu saints known in the Hindu mystic tradition.

Quite a large number of Śābara hymns invoke Ismail Jogī who is associated with goddess Kāmākhya and Kamarup country and in a few cases with Lonā-chamārī. The following extracts may give some idea:—

*Om namo ādesh guru ko bānjhnī putrīñī, eka bānjh marāksh jāti chalī chalī Kamru gai. Kamru desh Kāmākshā Rāñī Tehī Ismāil Jogī bakhāñī*⁸

Other one reads:—

Kamrudesh Kāmākhya devī-jahān base Ismāil Jogī.

Ismāil Jogī ne lagā kyārī, phūl bine Lonā-chamārī.

*Duhāi Ādi guru kī*⁹

Reference to Ādi-guru in the *mantra* suggests that Ismāil Jogī was a believer in the tradition of Indian *mantra* teachers beginning with Śiva or Ādi-nātha in the Tantras.

Lonā-chamārī and Gorakhanātha also find a mention in the undernoted hymn wherein refuge has been sought at the feet of a certain Sayyid¹⁰:—

Lohe-ke-Koñhilā vajra ke kivār / Tehī par nāvo bārmbar / Tete nahīn pahnahin ekahu bār / ek pañthā anandā bāndhau, dīñhi-mūñhi bāndhau, tirā bāndhau, svarge Indra bāndhau, Patāle bāsuki nāg bāndhau Sūiyad ke pāv sharan shoda (Khoda-Khudā) kī bhakti Gorakh kī duhāi Nonā (Lonā) chamārī kī duhāi

More and more specimens of such *mantras* could be collected from published and unpublished sources suggesting Islam's strong influence on religio-magical rituals of the Hindus. Besides this, the Hindus, who have faith in this tradition, also recognise the divine character of the Holy Quran and they recite the Quaranic hymns whenever required with faith and devotion.

Further, the Islamic diagrams or the charts used in amulets or elsewhere for getting desired results are still quite popular with the Hindus of all classes.¹¹ Some of them are to be inscribed with names like Allāh, Al-jalīl, Illillāh and Kahab or Hazrat Jebraīl, Hazrat Israīl, Hazrat Mekāil, Karmāil, etc. Others bear different sets of numerals arranged in charts, of which the most popular one is with a total of 786 (seven hundred and eighty-six).

In the rituals connected with specializing in (attaining perfection or *siddhi*) these composite hymns or those associated with pre-

paration of Islamic *yantras*, a Hindu has to follow some of the rules prescribed normally for the Muslim type of worship, viz., facing the west, burning of *lobān*, covering of one's head preferably with a green cloth and believing in the sanctity of Fridays, etc. and certain Islamic tenets without getting converted to Islam.

These are well founded practices known to most Hindus including Brahmins who regard Islamic Tantras as secret and sacred as their own age old scriptures.

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 2. Tulasīdāsa, *Rāmācharitra Mānasa* (Mul Gutaka), (68th edition), Bālakāṇḍa, Gorakhpur, V. S., 2034; p. 45.
 3. Benoytosh Bhattacharya (ed.) *Śaktisāṅgama Tantra*, Baroda, 1947, III, p. 72.
 4. A few Śābara *mantras* eulogizing Mahmud of Ghazna were first brought to my notice about 1964 by a Kānphaṭā (Gorakhpantī) ascetic which I later on published in *Dinman*, New Delhi, 8.14 Aug. 1976, p. 49.
 5. Harishankar Sastri, op. cit., p. 8.
 6. R. R. Diwakar (ed.) *Bihar Through the Ages* (Bombay, 1959), p. 423.
 7. It is an unpublished hymn which is found written on a long sheet of paper with a Tāntric Brahman family of Almora (U.P.).
 8. Harishankar Sastri, op. cit., p. 48.
 9. The hymn is from the collection of Shri Alok Joshi, Research Scholar, Department of History, Kumaun University, Almora.
 10. Harishankar Sastri, op. cit., p. 21.
 11. T. K. Irani *Jadugarī Shiskshā*, Delhi, pp. 93-97 and 111; and also *sachitra Indrazal* (Delhi), p. 49.
 12. *Chintaharan Jantri for 1977* (Varanasi), p. 123.
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PRAKRIT VERSES IN VYAKTIVIVEKA WITH RUYYAKA'S VYĀKHYĀNA AND VAKROKTI-JĪVITA

V. M. KULKARNI

I

Prakrit verses in Vyaktiviveka

AS Mahimabhaṭṭa (first half of the 11th century) wrote his work, *Vyaktiviveka*,¹ for demolishing the theory of *dhvani* it is but natural that he should reproduce most of the verses, cited in that work, in the course of his discussion. Out of a total of thirty-seven Prakrit verses, eight are repetitions. That is, we have really twenty-nine Prakrit verses cited in *Vyaktiviveka*. Out of these twenty-nine verses twenty-three are directly reproduced from the *Dhvanyāloka*, as would be evident from the present study.

(1) Ajja vi abhiṇṇa-muddo

This line forms the second half of the famous verse from *Vākpati's Gaiḍavaho*:

आसंसारं कइ-पुंगवेहि तद्धिअह-गहिअ-सारो वि ।
अज्ज वि अभिण्ण-मुद्धो व्व जअइ, वाआ-परिप्फंबो ॥

—*Gaiḍavaho*. 87

(आसंसारं कविपुङ्गवैः प्रतिविवसगृहीतसारोऽपि ।
अद्याप्यभिन्नमुद्र इव जयति वाक्परिस्पन्धः ॥)

(2) Attā ettha ṇimajjai

(p. 403)

अत्ता एत्थ णुमज्जइ एत्थ अहं विअसअं पुलोएसु ।
मा पहिअ रत्ति-अंधअ सेज्जाए मह णुमज्जिहिंसि ॥

—*GS*. VII. 67

(श्वभ्रूत्र निषीवति अत्राहं दिवसकं प्रलोकस्व ।
मा पथिक रात्र्यन्धक शय्यायामावयोनिषत्स्यसि ॥)

This verse is for the first time cited in *DHV* (pp. 71, 132).

- (3) Asamappiam pi gahiam (p. 503)

This line forms the second half of the following verse from Sarvasena's *Harivijaya* (now lost):

चूतङ्कुरावतंसं छण-पसर-महग्घ-मणहर-सुरामोअं ।
असमपित्तमं (?अपणामिअं) पि गहिअं कुसुमसरेण महमास-लच्छीएँ मुहं ॥

—*Harivijaya*

(चूताङ्कुरावतंसं क्षणप्रसरमहार्घमनोहरसुरामोवम् ।
असमपित्तमपि (?अनपित्तमपि) गृहीतं कुसुमशरेण मधुमासलक्ष्या मुखम् ॥)

This verse is first cited in DHV (p. 298).

- (4) Isākalusassa vi tuha (p. 438)

ईसा-कलुसस्स वि तुह मुहस्स णं एस पुण्णिमाचंदो ।
अज्ज सरिसत्तणं पाविअण अंगे च्चिअ ण माह ॥

(ईर्ष्याकलुषस्यापि तव मुखस्थ नन्वेष पूर्णिमाचन्द्रः ।
अद्य सदृशत्वं प्राप्य अङ्ग एव न भाति ॥)

This verse is first cited in DHV (p. 283).

- (5) Ukkhaadumam va selam (p. 284)

उक्खअ-वुमं व सेलं हिम-हृअ-कमलाअरं व लच्छि-विमुक्कं ।
पीअ-महरं व चसअं बहुल-पओसं व मुद्ध-अंद-विरहिअं ॥

—*Setubandha* II. 5

(उत्खात-व्रुममिव शैलं हिम-हृत-कमलाकरमिव लक्ष्मी-विमुक्कतम् ।
पीतमदिरमिव चषकं बहुल-प्रदोषमिव मुग्ध-चन्द्र-विरहितम् ॥)

- (6) Uccīṇasu paḍiakusumam (p. 44)

उच्चिणसु पडिअ-कुसुमं मा धुण सेहालिअं हलिअ-मुण्हे ।
अह दे विसम-विरावो/विवाओ समुरेण सुओ वलअ-सद्दो ॥

(उच्चिनुष्व पतित-कुसुमं मा धुनीहि शेफालिकां हालिक-स्तनुषे ।
एष ते विषम-विरावः/विपाकः श्वशुरेण श्रुतो वलय-शब्दः ॥)

This gāthā is first cited in DHV (p. 283). Hemacandra's KĀS (p. 55) and SŚ (No. 959 read 'Esa avasāṇa-viraso' (Sk. Eṣa avasāṇa-virasaḥ).

- (7) Emea jaṇo tissā (pp. 415, 446)

एमेअ जणो तिस्सा देइ कवोलोवभाइ ससि-बिबं ।
परमत्थ-विआरे उण चंदो चंदो च्चिअ वराओ ॥

(एवमेव जनस्तस्या ददाति कपोलोपमायां शशिविम्बम् ।
परमार्थविचारे पुनश्चन्द्रश्चन्द्र एव वराकः ॥)

This gāthā is first cited in DHV (p. 293).

- (8) Kassa va ña hoi roso (p. 410)

कस्स व ण होइ रोसो वट्ठण पਿਆए सव्वणं अहरं ।
सभमरपउमग्घाहरि वारिअवामे सहसु एण्हि ॥

—GS. (W) 886

(कस्य वा न भवति रोषो वृष्ट्वा प्रियायाः सन्नमधरम् ।
सभ्रमरपथाघ्राणशीले वारितवामे सहस्वेदानीम् ॥)

This gāthā is first cited in DHV (pp. 76, 284).

- (9) Kaha ñāma na hosi tumam (p. 365)

कह णाम ण होसि तुमं भाअणमसमंजसस्स णरणाह ।
णिच्चं चेअ कुणंती जहिच्छमत्याण विणिओअं ॥

(कथं नाम न भवसि त्वं भाजनमसमञ्जसस्य नरनाथ ।
नित्यमेव कुर्वन् यथेच्छमर्थानां विनियोगम् ॥)

- (10) Gaṇaṃ ca mattamehaṃ (p. 416)

गअणं च मत्तमेहं धारालुलिअज्जुणाहं अ वणाइं ।
णिरहंकार-मिअंका हरति णीलाओ वि/अ णिसाओ ॥

—Gāṇḍavaho. 406

(गगनं च मत्तमेघं धारालुलितार्जुनानि च वनानि ।
निरहङ्कार-मृगाङ्गा हरन्ति नीला अधि/नीलाश्च निशाः ॥)

This gāthā is first cited in DHV (p. 173).

- (11) Canda-maūehi ñisā (p. 139)

चंव-मऊहेहिं णिसा णलिणी कमलेहिं कुसुमगुच्छेहि लआ ।
हंतेहि सरअ-सोहा कव्वकहा सज्जणेहिं कीरइ गरुई ॥

(चन्द्रमयूर्खनिशा नलिनी कमलैः कुसुमगुच्छैर्लता ।
हंसैश्शारद/शशरच्छोभा काव्यकया सज्जसैःक्रियते गुर्वी ॥)

This verse, which is in *Skandhaka*, is most probably drawn from *Harivijaya* of Sarvasena, an epic poem now lost. It is first cited in DHV (p. 259).

- (12) Jāejja vaṇuddese (p. 436)

जाएज्ज वणुद्देसे खुज्जो च्चिअ पाअवो झडिअ-पत्तो ।
मा माणुसम्मि लोए चाएक्क-रसो वरिद्दो अ ॥)

—GS. III. 30

(जायेय वनोद्देशे कुब्ज एव पादयः शीर्णपत्रः ।
मा मानुषे लोके त्यागैकरसो वरिद्रश्च ॥)

This gāthā is first cited in DHV (p. 261).

- (13) Tam tāṇa siri-sahoara (pp. 138-9; 434)

तं ताण सिरि-सहोअर-रअणाहरणम्मि हिअअमेक्करसं ।
बिबाहरे पिआणं णिवेसिअं कुसुमवाणेण ॥

—*Ānandavardhana's Viṣamabāṇalīlā*

(तत्तेषां श्री-सहोदर-रत्नाभरणे (? रत्नाहरणे) हृदयमेकरसम् ।
बिम्बाधरे प्रियाणां निवेशितं कुसुमवाणेन ॥)

This gāthā is first cited in DHV (p. 265) with the introductory remark: “यथा वा ममैव विषमवाणलीलायामसुरपरक्रमणे कामवेदस्य”-

- (14) Tālā jāanti guṇā (p. 415)

ताला जाअति गुणा जाला ते सहिअएहि घेप्पंति ।
रइकिरणानुग्गहिआइँ होंति कमलाईँ कमलाईँ ॥

—*Ānandavardhana's Viṣamabāṇalīlā*

(तदा जायन्ते गुणा यदा ते सहृदयैर्गृह्यन्ते ।
रविकिरणानुगृहीतानि भवन्ति कमलानि कमलानि ॥)

This gāthā is first cited in DHV (p. 170). *Ānandavardhana* cites it with the introductory remark:

“यथा च ममैव विषमवाणलीलायाम्”-

- (15) De ā pasia ṇiattasu (p. 408)

दे आ पसिअ णिअत्तसु मुहु-ससिजोण्हा/जुण्हा-विलुत्त-तम-णिवहे ।
अहिसारिआण विग्घं करेसि अण्णाण वि हुआसे ॥

—GS. (W) 968

(प्रार्थये तावत् प्रसीद निवर्तस्व मुखशशिज्योत्स्नाविलुप्ततमोनिवहे ।
अभिसारिकाणां विघ्नं करोष्यन्यासामपि हताशे ॥)

This gāthā is first cited in DHV (p. 74).

- (16) Devvāattammi phale (p. 435)

देव्वाअत्तम्मि फले किं कीरउ एत्तिअं पुणो भणिमो ।
कंकेल्लि-पल्लवा पल्लवाण अण्णाण ण सारिच्छा ॥

—Cf. GS. III. 79

(देवायत्ते फले किं क्रियतामेतावत्पुनर्भणामः ।
रक्ताशोकपल्लवाः पल्लवानामन्येषां न सर्वक्षाः ॥)

The second half of this gāthā, as found in GS (III. 79), reads differently:

कंकेल्लिपल्लवाणं ण पल्लवा होंति सारिच्छा ॥
(रक्ताशोकपल्लवानां न पल्लवा भवन्ति सर्वक्षाः ॥)

This gāthā is first cited in DHV (p. 266).

- (17) Pattā ṇiambaphamsaṃ (p. 387)

पत्ता णिअंबफंसं/पत्तणिअंबफंता ष्हाणुत्तिष्णाए सामलंगीए ।
चिहुरा रुअंति जलबिंदुएहिं बंधस्त व भएण ॥

—GS. VI.55

(प्राप्ता नितम्बस्पर्शा/प्राप्तनितम्बस्पर्शाः स्नानोत्तीर्णायाः श्यामलाङ्गधयाः ।
चिकुरा रुदन्ति जलबिन्दुभिर्बन्धस्येव भयेन ॥)

- (18) Bhama dhammia visaddho (p. 399)

भम धम्मिअ बीसद्धो/बीसत्यो सो सुणओ अज्ज मारिओ तेण ।
गोला-णइ-कच्छ-कुडंग-वासिगा दरिअ-सीहेण ॥

—GS. II.75

(भ्रम धार्मिक विलब्धः/विश्वस्तः स शुनकोऽद्य मारितस्तेन ।
गोदा-नदी-कच्छ-निकुञ्ज (—लतागहन—) वासिना दूर्तसिहेन ॥)

This gāthā is first cited in DHV (p. 52).

- (19) Raikiraṇāṇuggahiāim (p. 446)

रइकिरणणुग्गहिआइँ होंति कमलाइँ कमलाइँ ॥

—Viṣamabāṇalīlā

(रविकिरणानुगृहीतानि भवन्ति कमलानि कमलानि ॥)

This line forms the second half of the gāthā “Tālā jāanti guṇā” etc., given in full under Serial No. 14 *supra*.

- (20) Lacchī duhiā jāṃā (p. 371)

लच्छी दुहिआ जामाउओ हरी तस्स घरिणिआ गंगा ।
अमिअ-मिअंका अ सुआ अहो कुडुंबं महोअहिणो ॥

(लक्ष्मीर्दुहिता जामातुको (=जामाता) हरिस्तस्य गृहिणो गङ्गा ।
अमृत-मृगाङ्कौ च सुतौ, अहो कुटुम्बं महोदधेः ॥)

This gāthā is first cited in DHV (pp. 463-464).

Kalpalatāviveka (p. 181 fn-3) reads ‘dhuā’, ‘jāyāduo’ (a misprint for ‘jāmāduo’), and ‘gharalliyā’ for ‘duhiā’ ‘jāmāuo’ and ‘gharaṇiā’ respectively.

- (21) Vacca maha vvia (?) ekkāe (p. 137 p. 407)

वच्च मह च्चिअ एक्काएँ होंतु णीसास-रोइअग्वाइँ ।
मा तुज्ज वि तीएँ विणा बक्खिण्णहअस्स जाअंतु ॥

—GS. (W) 944

(अज मर्मवैफस्या भवन्तु निःश्वास-रोदितव्यानि ।
मा तवापि तया विना वाक्शिष्यहतस्य जायन्ताम् ॥)

This gāthā is first cited in DHV (p. 73).

- (22) Vāṇīaa hatthidantā (p. 84; p. 448)

वाणिअअ हृत्थिवन्ता कतो अम्हाण वग्घकित्तीओ/वग्घकित्ती अ ।
जाव लुलिआलअमुही घरम्मि परिसक्कए सुण्हा ॥

—GS. (W) 951

(वाणिजक हस्तिवन्ताः कुतोऽस्माकं व्याघ्रकृतयः/व्याघ्रकृतयश्च ।
यावल्लुलितालकमुखी गृहे परिव्वञ्कते स्नुषा ॥

This gāthā is first cited in DHV (p. 299).

- (23) Vivarīasuraasamae (p. 86; p. 449)

विपरीअ-सुरअ-समए बंभं वट्ठण णाहिकमलम्मि ।
हरिणो दाहिण-णअणं चुंबइ हिरिआउला लच्छी ॥

—GS. (W) 816

(विपरीत-सुरत-समये ब्रह्माणं वृष्ट्वा नाभि-कमले ।
हरेर्दक्षिणनयनं चुम्बति ह्रियाकुला लक्ष्मीः ॥)

In *Kāvyaṣprakāśa* (p. 250) Mammaṭa reads this gāthā as follows:

विपरीअ (?विपरीअ)—रए लच्छी बम्हं वट्ठण णाहिकमलट्ठं ।
हरिणो दाहिण-णअणं रसाउला ज्ञत्ति ठक्केइ ॥

(विपरीतरते लक्ष्मीर्ब्रह्माणं वृष्ट्वा नाभिकमलस्थम् ।
हरेर्दक्षिणनयनं रसाकुला ज्ञत्ति स्थगयति ॥)

Hemacandra's text of this gāthā (*Kāvyaṅanusāsana*, p. 250) closely agrees with Mammaṭa's text.

- (24) Visamaio ccia kāṇa vi (p. 450)

विसमइओ च्चिअ काण वि काण वि बोलेइ अमिअ-णिम्माओ ।
काण वि विसामिअमओ काण वि अविसामओ कालो ॥

(विषमयितः (? विषमयः) केषामपि केषामपि अतिक्रामति अमृत-निर्मातः ।
केषामपि विषामृतमयः केषामपि अविषामृतः कालः ॥)

This gāthā is first cited in DHV (p. 294)

- (25) Virāṇa ramai ghusiṇa (p. 138; p. 434)

वीराण रमइ घुसिणारुणम्मि ण तहा पिआयणुच्छंणे ।
विट्ठी रिउ-गअ-कुंभत्यलम्मि जह बहल-सिदूरे ॥

—GS. (W) 957

(वीराणां रमते घुसृणारुणे न तथा प्रियास्तनोत्सङ्गे ।
वृष्टी रिपु-गज-कुम्भस्थले यथा बहलसिन्दूरे ॥)

This gāthā is first cited in DHV (p. 262). Hemacandra reads 'dhirāṇa' in place of virāṇa'.

- (26) Sajjei surahimāso (p. 451)

सज्जेइ सुरहि-मासो ण वाव अप्पेइ/ण ता पणामेइ जुअइ-अण-लक्ख-सहे ।
अहिणव-सहआर-मुहे णव-पल्लव-पत्तले अणंगस्स सरे ॥

(सज्जयति सुरभि-मासो न तावद्वर्षयति युवति-जन-लक्ष्य-सहान् ।
अभिनव-सहकार-मुखान् नव-पल्लव-पत्रलाननङ्गस्य शरान् ।)

This verse is first cited in DHV (p. 255). It is in *Skandhaka* and is probably drawn from Sarvasena's *Hari-vijaya*, an epic poem in Prakrit (now lost).

- (27) Sihipimchakannaūrā (p. 451)

सिहि-पिच्छ-कण्णऊरा जाआ वाहस्स गन्विरी भमइ ।
मुत्ताहल-रइअ-पसाहणाण मज्जे सबत्तीणं ॥

—GS. II. 73

(शिखि-पिच्छ-कण्णपूरा जाया व्याघस्य गविणी/गर्ववती भ्रमति ।
मुक्ताफल-रचित-प्रसाधनानां मध्ये सपत्नीनाम् ॥)

This gāthā occurs, with some variant readings, in the GS (II. 73). It is first cited in DHV (p. 256).

- (28) Hiaatthāviamaṇṇum (p. 436)

हियअ-ट्ठविअ-मण्णुं अवण्णमुहं पि मं पसाअंत ।
अवरद्धस्स वि ण ह्व वे बहुजाणअ रोसिउं सक्कं ॥

(हृदय-स्थापित-मन्युमपरश्रितमुखीमपि मां प्रसादयन् ।
अपराद्धस्यापि न खलु ते बहुज रोषितुं शक्यम् ॥)

Hemacandra reads the first half of this gāthā as follows:

हियअदिठयमञ्जुं खु अ अणरुट्ठमुहं पि मं पसायंत ।
(हृदय-स्थितमन्युं खलु च अरुष्ट-मुखीमपि मां प्रसादयन् ।)

—*Kāvyaṇuśāsana* (p. 75)

The *Kalpalatāviveka* (p. 148) nearly agrees with Hemacandra's text:

हिययट्ठिअमञ्जुं खु (अ) अणरुट्ठमुहं पि णं (?मं) पसाएंत ।
(हृदय-स्थितमन्युं खलु च अरुष्ट (-अप्रवशितरोष-) मुखीं मां प्रसादयन् ।)

In view of the readings in *Kāvyaṇuśāsana* and *Kalpalatāviveka* it would seem that 'Aṅaruṭṭhamuham' is the original reading and 'avaruṇṇamuham' is its corrupt form. This gāthā is first cited in DHV (p. 267).

- (29) Hoi na guṇāṇurāo (p. 432)

होइ ण गुणाणुराओ जडाण णवरं पसिद्धिसरणाण ।
फिर पण्हवइ ससिमणी चंवे ण पिआमुहे दिट्ठे ॥

(भवति न गुणानुरागो जडानां केवलं प्रसिद्धि-शरणानाम् ।
किल प्रस्तौति शशिमणिः चन्द्रे न प्रियामुखे वृष्टे ॥)

This gāthā is first cited in *Dhvanyāloka-locana* (p. 123).

The text of this gāthā, as printed in *Dhvanyāloka-locana*, is corrupt. This gāthā is also quoted in Hemacandra's *Kāvyaṇūsāsana* (p. 353), and in *Kalpalatāviveka* (p. 119) of an anonymous author. The readings in *Locana* need to be improved on the basis of these later works which adopt verses after verses and passages after passages from *Dhvanyāloka* and *Locana*.

II

Prakrit Verses in Vakrokti-Jivita

There are about thirty Prakrit passages, cited as illustrations, in Kuntaka's *Vakrokti-jivita*.¹ Some of these verses we find quoted in other works on Sanskrit poetics and we can easily restore them by comparing their readings and referring to their sources. Quite a few verses are highly corrupt and they can be restored only on obtaining fresh Manuscript readings. The *Kalpalatāviveka*² by an anonymous author throws some light on these corrupt passages and is of some use in reconstructing them.

- (1) Aṇṇaṃ laḍahattaṇaam (p. 57)

अण्णं लडहत्तणअं अण्ण च्चिअ कावि वत्तणच्छाआ ।
सामा सामण्णपआवइणो रेह च्चिअ ण होइ ॥

—GS. (W) 969.

(अन्यद् लटभत्वम् (=सौन्दर्यम्, सौकुमार्यम्) अन्येव कापि वर्तनच्छाया ।
श्यामा सामान्यप्रजापते रेखेव न भवति ॥

This gāthā we find quoted, as an example of the figure of speech called Atiśayokti, in *Kāvyaṇprakāśa* (KP), *Alam--*

1. *Vakrokti-Jivita* of Kuntaka, ed. by K. Krishnamoorthy, Karnatak University, Dharwad, 1977.
2. *Kalpalatāviveka* by an anonymous author, L.D. Series, No. 17, ed. by M.L. Nagar and Harishankar Shastri, with an English Introduction by Prof. P. R. Vora, Ahmedabad-9, 1968.

*kārasarvasva*³ (AS), Hemacandra's *Kāvyañūsāsana*⁴ (KĀS) etc. The KP and AS read 'aṅṅā via' (Sk anyeva). The reading adopted here is found in KĀS.

- (2) Āsaṁsāraṁ Kaipuṅgavehim (p. 134)

आसंसारं कइ-पुंगवेहिं पडिविअह-गहिअ-सारो वि ।
अज्जवि अभिण्ण-मुद्दो व्व जअइ वाआ-परिष्फंभो ॥

—*Gaiḍavaho* 87

(आ-संसारं कवि-पुङ्गवः प्रतिविवसगृहीतसारोऽपि ।
अद्याप्यभिन्नमुद्र इव जयति वाक्परिस्पन्दः ॥)।

The printed text of *Gaiḍavaho*⁵ reads 'taddiaha' in place of 'paḍidiaha'.

- (3) Emea-jaṇo tissā (p. 221)

एमेअ जणो तिस्सा वेह कपोलोपमाइ ससिबिबं ।
परमत्थ-विआरे उण चंभो चंभो च्चिअ वराओ ॥
(एवमेव जनस्तस्या ववाति कपोलोपमायां शशिविम्बम् ।
परमार्थविचारे पुनश्चन्द्रश्चन्द्र एव वराकः ॥)

This gāthā is cited, for the first time, in DHV (p. 293).

There we have the reading 'deu' (Sk 'dadātu) in place of 'dei'. This gāthā is later on cited by Hemacandra, Ruyyaka, the anonymous author of KLV, and Śobhākaramitra (the author of *Alaṅkāraśāstra*).⁶

- (4) Kaikesarī vaanāṇa (p. 173)

कइ-केसरी वअणाण मोत्तिअ-रअणाण आइ-वेअडिओ ।
ठाणाठाणं जाणइ कुसुमाण अ जिष्ण/जुष्ण-मालारो ॥
(कवि-केसरी वचनानां मौक्तिक-रत्नानामादि-वेकटिकः ।
स्थानास्थानं जानाति कुसुमानां च जीर्ण-मालाकारः ॥)

The author of KLV does not quote the whole gāthā but gives only the Pratiśā 'Kaikesarī iti.' The Prakrit Dictionary⁷ does not record the form 'Jiṅṅa' which could be considered as developed from 'Jiṅṅa.'

3. Nirṇaya Sagar ed., Bombay, 1939.

4. Sri Mahavira Jaina Vidyalaya ed. Bombay, 1964.

5. Ed. by Prof. N. G. Suru and Pub. by Prakrit Text Society, Ahmedabad-9, 1975.

6. Ed. by C. R. Devadhar and Pub. by Oriental Book Agency, Poona, 1942.

7. Pāla-sadda-mahaṅṅavo. Prakrit Text Society, Varanasi-5, 1963.

- (5) Kaṇṇuppaladala (pp. 32-33)

कण्णुपलदल-मिलिअ-लोअगहिं हेला-लोल-गाविअ-णअगेहिं ।
लीलइ लीलावइहिं णिरुद्धउ सिद्धिलिअ-चाउ जअइ मअरुद्धउ ॥⁸

(कर्णात्पलदलमिलिअलोचनाभिः हेलालोलनामितनयताभिः ।
लीलया लीलावतीभिर्निरुद्धः शिथिलित-चापो जयति मकरध्वजः ॥)

- (6) Gaṇṇam ca matta-meham (p. 94)

गणं च मत्तमेहं धारालुलिअञ्जुणाइं अ वणाइं ।
णिरहंकार-मिअंका हरंति णीलाओ अ णिसाओ ॥ —*Gaṇḍavaho*. 406

(गगनं च मत्तमेघं धारालुलितार्जुनानि च वनानि ।
निरहङ्कारमृगाङ्गा हरन्ति नीलाञ्च निशाः ॥)

This gāthā is for the first time cited in DHV (p. 173). There we get the reading *ṇilāo* (? *ṇilāo*) *vi* (Sk. *ṇilā* *api*). The reading '*ṇilāo vi*' finds support in Abhinavagupta's commentary called *Locana* on DHV. Abhinavagupta's comments on this gāthā bring out clearly the charming suggested sense.

- (7) Caṅkamanti karindā (p. 171)

चंक्रमन्ति करिंदा दिसागअ (? दिग्गअ-) मअ-गंध-हारिअ-हिअआ (? हिअजआ) ।
दुखं वणे अ कइणो मणिई-विसम-महकइ-मग्गे ॥

(चंक्रम्यन्ते करीन्द्रा दिग्गजमवगन्धहारित-हृदयाः (? हृदयकाः) ।
दुःखं वने च कवयो मणिति-विषम-महाकवि-मार्गे ॥)

- (8) Caṁdamaūheim ṇisā (p. 174)

चंदमऊहेहिं णिसा णलिणी कमलेहिं कुसुमगुच्छेहिं लआ ।
हंसेहिं सरअ-सोहा कव्वकहा सज्जणेहिं कोरइ गइई ॥

(चन्द्रमयूखेनिशा नलिनी कमलैः कुसुमगुच्छैर्लता ।
हंसैः शरच्छोभा काव्यकथा सज्जनैः क्रियते गुरुकी/गुर्वो ॥)

This verse, which is in *Skandhaka*, is most probably drawn from Sarvasena's *Harivijaya*, an epic poem (now lost).

- (9) Chagguṇasamjoadiḍhā (p. 269)

छग्गुण-संजोअ-दिढा उवाअ-परिवाडि-घडिअ-यास-जुही ।
चाणक्क-णोइ-रज्जू रिउ-संजमगुज्जआ जअइ ॥

षड्गुण-संयोग-दृढा उपाय-परिपाटि-घटित-पाश-मुखी ।
चाणक्य-नीति-रज्जू रिपुसंयमनोद्यता जयति ॥ —*Mudrārākṣasa* V.14

8. The Apabhraṁśa passage and its Sanskrit *chāyā* are presented here as restored by Dr. H. C. Bhayani in his paper: Restoration of the text of some corrupt Apabhraṁśa and Prakrit Citations in Dhanika's *Avaloka* on the *Duśa-rūpaka* and in Kuntaka's *Vakroktijivita*.

- (10) Namaha dasāṇa-sarahasa (p. 79)

पमह वसाणण-सरहस-कर-तुलिअ-चलंत (? चलंत) सेल-मअ-विहलं ।
वेवंत-पोर-थणहर-हर-कअ-कठगहं गोरि ॥

(नमत वशानन-सरभस-कर-तुलित-चल (? चल) उळल-भय-विह्वलाम् ।
वेपमान-स्यूल-स्तनभर-हर-कृत-कण्ठग्रहां गौरोम् ॥)

- (11) Nisāsā khaṇavirahe (p. 189)

णीसासा खण-विरहे कुरंति रमणीण सुरहिणो तस्स ।
कडिठअ-हिअअ-टिठअ-कुसुमबाण-मअरंढ-लेस च्व ॥ —*Gaiḍavaho* V. 748

(निःश्वासाः क्षणविरहे स्फुरन्ति रमणीनां सुरभयस्तस्य ।
कृष्ट-हृदय-स्थित-कुसुमबाण-मकरन्द-लेशा इव ॥)

- (12) Taṇṇatthi kīmpī paṇo (p. 184)

तं णत्थि किं पि पड्ढणो पकप्पिअं जं णिअइ-घरणीए (? घरणीए) ।
अणवरतअगमणशीलस्स फाल-पहिअस्स पाहेज्जं ॥

(तस्मास्ति किमपि पर्युः प्रकल्पितं यत्न नियति-गृहिष्यते ।
अनवरत-गामनशीलस्य काल-पथिकस्य पापेयम् ॥)

The gāthā is cited for the first time in *Bhāmahaṅkara-ṇa* (R. Gnoli's edn. p. 40). It is also cited by Ruyyaka, in his *Alaṅkārasarvasva* (p. 33) and by Śobhākara in his *Alaṅkāratnākara* (p. 62).

- (13) Tadopaṇīkamante (p. 253)

This passage is highly corrupt. It could be restored if fresh manuscript material becomes available.

- (14) Taha ruṇṇaṃ kaṇha visā (p. 99)

तह रुण्णं कण्ह विसाहीआए रोसगगरगिराए ।
जह कस्स वि जम्मसए वि कोइ मा चल्लहो होउ ॥

(तथा वदितं कृष्ण विशाखया रोष-मदगद-गिरा ।
यथा कस्यापि जन्मशतेऽपि कोऽपि मा चल्लभो भवतु ॥)

Viśākhikā (= Viśākhā) is, of course, a cowherdess of that name.

- (15) Tālā jāanti guṇā (p. 83)

ताला जाअंति गुणा जाला ते सहिअएहिं घेप्पंति ।
रइ (रवि-) किरणाणुग्गहिआइं इति कमलाइं कमलाइं ॥ —*Viṣamabāṇalīlā*

(तदा जायन्ते गुणा यदा ते सहवयैर्गृह्यन्ते ।
रविकिरणानुगृहीतानि भवन्ति कमलानि कमलानि ॥)

This gāthā is first cited in DHV (p. 170). Ānanda-
vardhana introduces it with the preliminary remark:

“यथा च मर्मैव विश्वनाथलीलायाम्” ।

This epic poem in Prakrit is now lost.

- (16) Tikkhāruṇam tathāraṇṇa (?) (p. 189)

This gāthā is extremely corrupt. Dr. H. C. Bhayani
has attempted to reconstruct it in his paper referred to in
the foot-note No. 8 *supra*:

तिक्खारुणं तमारं णअणजुअं र . अ लाइअं तीए ।

उग्गअ (?) भेअ-विलग-रिठ-रुहिर-लेसं व मधुरिउगो ॥

(तीक्ष्णारुणं तमारात् नयनयुगं . . . लागितं (—आरोपितं) तथा ।

उद्गत (?) भेद-विलग्न-रिपु-रुधिर-लेशमिव मधुरियोः ॥)

- (17) Pararaimattaa amahe (?) (p. 203)

This passage is extremely corrupt and defies recon-
struction.

- (18) Pavāṇa cala vijju ca duliām (p. 213)

This passage too is extremely corrupt. Dr. H. C.
Bhayani has attempted to restore it in his paper referred
to in the foot-note No. 8 *supra*:

पवणेण चलं विज्जु-चडुलिअं राइआसु पुलअंति मेहअं ।

सोऊण अ ओरल्लि-सद्वअं महिलाआसु कलिउजइ विरहओ ॥

(पवनेन चलं विद्युत्प्रज्वलित-पूलकं रात्रिषु पश्यन्ति मेघम् ।

श्रुत्वा च दीर्घ-गम्भीर-गर्जित-शब्दं महिलासु कल्पते विरहः ॥)

- (19) Maulāvartānatamate vicittoyare (p. 224)

This passage too is extremely corrupt, and defies any
attempt at restoration.

- (20) Raikelihianiansaṇa (p. 32)

रइ-केलि-हिअ-णिअंसग-कर-किसलअ-रुद्ध-णअण-जुअलस्स ।

रुद्धस्स तइअ-णअणं णवइ-रिचुंविअं जअइ ॥

—GS. V. 55

(रति-केलि-हृत-निवसन-कर-किसलय-रुद्ध-नयन-युगलस्य ।

रुद्रस्य तृतीय-नयनं पार्वती-परिचुम्बितं जयति ॥)

- (21) Ruddassa taiṇaṇaṇam (p. 109)

रुद्धस्त तद्वअ-णअणं पव्वइ-परिचुंभिअं जअइ ॥ —GS V. 55 cd.
(रुद्धस्य तृतीय-नयनं पार्वती-परिचुम्बितं जयति ॥)

It would be easily seen that this line forms the second half of the gāthā 'Rai-keli-hia-ṇiamsaṇa', etc., given above under Serial No. (20).

- (22) Līlāe kuvalaam kuvalaam (p. 10)

लीलाएँ कुवलअं कुवलअं व सीसे समुव्वंहेणे ।
सेसेण सेस-पुरिसाण पुरिसआरो समुव्वसिओ (?समुप्पुसिओ) ॥

(लीलया कुवलयं कुवलयमित्र शीर्षे समुव्वहता ।
शेषेण शेष-मुरुषाणां पुरुषकारः समुव्वसितः (?समुत्प्रोच्छ्रितः) ॥)

This gāthā is included in *Gāharayaṇakosa*⁹ (No. 786) compiled by Jīneśvarasūri in VS 1251. He reads the latter half of the second half as 'purisyāro vi pamhuṭṭo' (Sk: Puruṣakāro' pi vismṛtaḥ).

- (23) Vāviṭṭe Kuḍuṅgā (p. 68)

वावी (?तावी) तडे कुडुंगा पिअसहि ष्हाउं गर्होही वीसति ।
ण धरंति करेण भणंति ण त्ति (?करे ण भणंति कि पि) बलितुं पुण ण वेति ॥

(वापी(?तापी) तटे निकुञ्जाः प्रियसखि स्नातुं गतः वृश्यन्ते ।
न धरन्ति करेण भणन्ति न इति (?करे न भणन्ति किमपि) बलितुं पुनर्न ददति ॥)

- (24) Sajjehi(?) surahimāso (p. 128)

सज्जेइ सुरहिमासो ण वाव अप्पेइ/ण ता पणामेइ जुअइ-जग-लक्ख-सहे ।
अहिणव-सहआर-मुहे णव-पल्लव-पत्तले अणंगस्त सरे ॥

(सज्जयति सुरभि-मासो न तावदर्पयति युवति-जन-लक्ष्य-सहान् ।
अभिनव-सहकार-मुखान् नव-पल्लव-पत्रलाननङ्गस्य शरान् ॥)

This verse, which is in *Skandhaka*, is most probably from Sarvasena's *Harivijaya*, a Prakrit epic (now lost).

- (25) Samavisamaṇivvīsā (p. 114)

सम-विसम-णिव्विसेसा समंतओ रंइ-मंइ-संचारा ।
अइरा होहिंति पहा मनोरहाणं पि बुल्लंथा ॥

—GS. VII.73

(सम-विषम-निविशेषाः समन्ततो मन्व-मन्व-सञ्चाराः ।
अचिराद् भविष्यन्ति पन्थानो मनोरथानामपि बुल्लङ्घ्याः ॥)

This gāthā is first cited in DHV (p. 356).

9. Edited by Pt. Amritlal M. Bhojak and Nagin J. Shah, and pub. by L. D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad-9, 1975.

- (26) Siḍhiliacāu (p. 110)

सिद्धिलिभचाउ जअइ मअरदुउ ॥
(सिथिलित-घापो जयति मकरध्वजः ॥)

This line is the fourth quarter of the verse beginning with "Kaṇṇuppaladala" ... etc. given above under Serial No. (5).

- (27) Siviṇavikkheṇa (?) (p. 212)

Except the first two or three words (the Prāṭika) of the gāthā we have hardly any clues that would enable us to reconstruct the original gāthā. The *Kalpalatāviveka's* allusion that the gāthā is an example of a variety of Nidarśanā prevents us from identifying it with the following gāthās beginning with 'Siviṇa':

- (i) सिविणअ-खण-सुत्तुदिठआए पुणरत्तवंसणमणाए ।
-
- बालाए णिमौलित-लोअणाए विवसो वि बोलोणो ॥

(स्वप्न-क्षण-सुप्तोत्थितायाः पुनरुक्तवशंनमनसः ।
बालाया निमौलित-लोचनाया विवसोजपि गतः (अतिक्रान्तः) ॥)

—*Bhoja's Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*, Vol. IV, p. 1103

- (ii) सिविणअ-लद्ध-पिअअमपुलद्धउग्गमणिअमरेहि अंगेहि ।
-
- परिरम्भणे सुहाइं पावउ मा णं पबोहेह ॥

(स्वप्न-लब्ध-प्रियतम-पुलकितोद्गमनिर्भरंरङ्गः ।
परिरम्भणे सुखानि प्राप्नोतु मैनां प्रबोधयत ॥)

—GS. (W) 835

- (28) Suhaa vilāmbasu thoam (p. 232)

सुहअ विलंबसु थोअं जाव इमं विरह-काअरं हिअअं ।
संठविऊण भणिस्सं अहवा बोलेसु किं भणिमो ॥

(सुभग विलम्बस्व स्तोत्रं यावदिवं विरहकातरं हृदयम् ।
संस्थाप्य भणिष्यामि, अथवापक्रम किं भणामः ॥)

This gāthā is also cited by Ruyyaka in his *Alamkārasarvasva* (p. 147).

SCULPTURES OF ANCIENT GWALIOR REGION

(A Study of Transmission in Artistic Tradition)*

R. N. MISRA

THERE is no royal road to the meaning and function of 'tradition' though transmission in it is taken for granted. It is easily comprehended that Indian artistic tradition has developed in the crucible of time and, in the process, transmitted fairly far and wide; problems confront us when a realisation is required of how, through what sources and in what milieu tradition formed itself and turned mobile. This only emphasizes the need to identify and appreciate the elements of action in a "tradition" and that is best achieved by case studies within clearly identifiable spatial and chronological dimensions.¹

In this light, this paper briefly attempts to work out certain factors and the product of diffusion in the sculptural tradition as obtaining in the Gopādrī region² from seventh to ninth century. This exercise is meant to provide a background to understanding the nature of art-activity before it crystallized into its supreme achievement namely the Teli Ka Mandir (Gwalior). The antiquities from Batesar and Naresar (District Morena) form the main concern in the paper though the evidence from other sites may also be adduced for comparison. We assume, not without reason, that owing to its geographical situation and strategic position, Gopādrī region was sharing cultural traditions with Avanti, Maru and Kānyakubja. In the situation, any notion about art-activity flourishing here in isolation has to be ruled out. We also assume that the basic inputs such as donors and artisans for undertaking works of art like temples were available in the region. Our search therefore is limited to identifying the catalytic agent as the 'element of action' in the genesis and evolution of artistic tradition and its transmission.

Historically, a succession from Gupta to Gurjara Pratihāras is clearly discernible. Inscription and antiquities from Tumain (435 A.D.)³ Gwalior (525 A.D.)⁴ and Deogarh (610 A.D.)⁵ which are securely dated besides those (undated) from Padmavati (District Gwalior)⁶ and Kota (District Shivpuri)⁷ stand witness to such development. In the same manner, inscriptions of the time of Gurjara-

Pratihāras refer to construction of several temples in different regions in which various patrons participated.⁸ Some of these inscriptions are specifically connected with the Gopādri region. For instance, the Gwalior inscription of the time of Ādivarāha refers to the construction of a Viṣṇu temple (875 A.D.?) by Alla, son of Vaillabhaṭṭa.⁹ An independent epigraphic testimony about a temple dedicated to Viśākha (Kārttikeya) is also available.¹⁰ Similarly, the construction of an *antahpura* for Viṣṇu-Narakādhīśa finds mention in the Sagar Tal (Gwalior) inscription of Mihirabhoja.¹¹ More recently, evidence about construction of a *mandapikā* dedicated to Dhūrjaṭi-Śiva has become available from Mahua (District Shivpuri).¹² The *mandapikā* was built by Vatsarāja, who is identified as ruler of Avanti. The Jain Prabandhas too refer to the building activities of king Āma who ruled over the vast territory stretching from Kanauj to Gwalior and other regions. Āma built temples at Kanauj, Mathura, Anhilvāda and Modhera and set up huge Jina images at Kanauj and Gwalior. This ruler has been identified with Pratihāra Nāgabhaṭa II or with Vatsarāja,¹³ the Gurjara Pratihāra.

These inscriptions are significant in as much as they define art activity in reference to certain locations within a chronological frame work on one hand and donors responsible for such work, on the other. Although their testimony does not offer any clues as to the genesis of artistic tradition of Gopādri region,¹⁴ the inscriptions nonetheless indicate that in the transmission of the Great Tradition as represented in art activity, rulers as well as individuals of different ranks participated in equal measure.¹⁵ One may at the same time not ignore the fact of presence in the Gopādri region, of a ruling dynasty whose sway transcended the narrow regional limits so as to compass the whole of the Antarvedi region (Gaṅgā-Yamunā doab) as also the parts of Rajasthan, Gujarat, Malwa and Bihar, so that it may have become possible for different provinces in their empire to interact mutually. The extent and value of such interactions require deeper analysis, including that of the question whether such interaction could take place due to dynastic element or in spite of it. The analysis of this question in reference to the Gopādri region brings out certain contradictions. Firstly, while fruition of art-activity coincides well with the Gurjara Pratihāras in the ninth century, the situation is far from clear in the time before that.¹⁶ Secondly, while some inscriptions are slanted towards Vaiṣṇavite faith (including Sūrya) the antiquities are nearer to the Śaivite faith; thirdly while epigraphs refer to monuments of ninth century in most cases (and to eighth century in the case of Mahua), evidence of the existing monuments and sculptures date from seventh century or even earlier. Lastly, the quantum of acti-

vity seen in the contiguous areas coincides with similar activity in the Gopādri region, though their links are not directly documented in the epigraphs.

In the situation, attention has to be turned to searching other clues for identifying the 'prime-movers' of artistic tradition. It must be emphasized here that "tradition" is cumulative rather than segmented which signifies that different elements in it are inter-linked: a segregation of these elements and their evaluation may be required only to the extent of understanding the agents of transmission and their role.

The Mahua inscription, noted above, supplies an interesting lead in this connection in stating that Vatsarāja (associated with Avanti) constructed the *maṇḍapikā* while the record mentioning the act at Mahua, was composed by Bhaṭṭa Īśāna, son of Somāṅka, hailing from Kānyakubja. The proximity of persons from Avanti and Kānyakubja and their role in the Gopādri region is of significance and duplicates the evidence already offered by the case of Āma, the ruler who is credited with art activity both at Kānyakubja and Gwalior. These clues emphasize the wider links of the artistic tradition of Gopādri whereby it may be assumed that activities taking place nearer home were in no way isolated from similar activities in the other areas. Works of comparable dates are known from Chandrāvati (689 A.D.), Kansua (738 A.D.), Buchkala (815 A.D.), Pathari (860 A.D.) and Deogarh (862 A.D.).¹⁷ Moreover, individual examples from Gopādri region, as seen in the Viśvarūpa-Viṣṇu (Tumain) Śiva-Kalyāṇasundara (Batesar, Gwalior), Viṣṇu (Barahet), Sūrya (Naresar, Barahet) are comparable to similar ones reported from the Antarvedi region, particularly from Kanauj,¹⁸ Bhitā, Karchhana and Ramnathpur.¹⁹ We have discussed the stylistic similarities in these sculptures elsewhere²⁰ and it may suffice here to state that in theme, iconography and style, sculptures of Gopādri and Antarvedi regions though apparently wide apart, are yet co-eval. The sculptural tradition, as it crystallised in the two regions and even beyond was obviously not 'unilocal' in character: transmissions are easily comprehended in it in the matters of themes, iconography and styles.

At the same, it is evident that there is something distinctly indigeneous about the pattern of decorative scheme of *maṇḍapikās* of Naresar and Batesar (Pl. I, A, B) and elsewhere in the Gopādri region. They tend to interpret development from a nebulous stage to the fullblown brilliance as seen in Teli Ka Mandir (Gwalior). Their forms and iconographies are simple and in the process of

developing. They do not yet appear as mere appendage to the architectural composition that they adore. The pantheon in these temples consists of Gaṇeśa (Pl. II, A), Kārttikeya (Pl. II, B), Pārvati (performing *pañchāgni tapasyā*) (Pl. III) Śiva (with Gaṇas) (Pl. IV, A), Lakulīśa (Pl. IV, B) and Śiva-kalyāṇasundara (Pl. V, A, B). The relief decoration on the doorways is more ornate though devoid of deities except for Gaṅgā and Yamunā (Pl. VI, A, B). The doorways present a scheme in which *nāgas* form a *sākḥā* with Garuḍa occupying the centre of the lintel. That transmissions in these traits were both extensive and swift is indicated by occurrence of similar forms elsewhere in the vicinity. Such forms are repeated at Mahua, Amrol, Batesar and Naresar in the *dvāraśākḥās*. Variations also occur: for instance, in the example from Naresar (Temple Nos. 1, 5), Batesar, Gwalior (Teli Ka Mandir), Indor and Amrol, the *dvāraśākḥās* contain reliefs of Gaṇas and Pramathas also.²¹

Some amount of standardisation is also witnessed in the decorative scheme or in the placement of deities in the *bhādra* niches of the shrines. For instance, Pārvati's relief is assigned to the *bhādra-kulikā* on north (Naresar, Temple Nos. 18, 22), Kārttikeya is placed on the western *deva-kulikā* in two instances (Naresar, Temple 18, 22), though in one case (Naresar No. 17) this position is occupied by Śiva and his Gaṇas. The southern niche is occupied by Lakulīśa in two cases (Naresar, Nos. 17, 22) and by Gaṇeśa in one case (Naresar No. 22). Exceptions to the scheme in the case of Temple No. 20 at Naresar may be explained by the fact that it faces west. The reliefs in the niches (east) on the *janghā* of this temple represent Sūrya and Viṣṇu. Variations are noticed in the structural morphology of these temples and their members such as *pīṭha*, *khura*, *kumbha*, *kalaśa*, *kapota*, *chhādya*, *udgama*, *śikhara*, and its *bālapanjara*, *latā* and *veṇukoṣa*. Similar variations also occur in the plans of the Gopādri temples which represent four types in all namely: square, rectangular, stellate and circular.

These features are significant for a study of artistic formations, their crystallisation and transmission, and their significance is *contextual* in the sense that the evidence *in situ* exemplifies the real objective situation as it obtained in the monuments. Even so it must be emphasised that artistic tradition represented at these sites in the relevant reliefs and sculptures was not circumscribed within the limits of the area or its time sequence. It seems to have a prior history linked with the "classical" types seen at Kota,²² Tumain, Padmavati, Deogarh and Badoh-Pathari. And, it also extended beyond Naresar and Batesar both in time and space which is proved by the sculptures adorning the monuments known from Barahet,²³

Amrol,²⁴ Mahua,²⁵ Kadwaha,²⁶ Indor²⁷ and Gwalior (Teli Ka Mandir and Chaturbhuj temple). The unities of the tradition are indicated by the similarities. At the same time the question of interpreting the "different" involves treating the "different" as something in which the earlier tradition may have synthesised with the contemporary.

That the factors of mobility, artists, patrons, rulers and private individuals as also the institutions of trade and commerce, effected transmission may be taken for granted. That may explain why Gopātri style has links within the region on one hand and those beyond extending up to Malwa, Antarvedi, Maru and Himachal on the other.²⁸ Transmissions are contextually proved by the monuments and sculptures discovered in these respective regions. But the significance of movements may not be clear without reference to the Śaiva ascetics of Lakulīṣa-Pāśupata and Śaiva-Siddhāntic schools whose presence in the Gopātri region may have proved catalytic to the ferment and spread of the artistic tradition.

The Śaivite influence seems to have provided the necessary incentive for the efflorescence of artistic tradition and its spread. The convergence of Śaivism vis-a-vis art activity in the Gopātri region is clearly comprehended and the chronological parameters of the convergence fit happily in the pattern. It is not without reason that Hieun Tsang (7th century) refers to Gwalior as *Maheśvarapura*²⁹ thereby exemplifying its Śaivite identity during the seventh century. Other sources confirm it.³⁰ Epigraphs from Gopātri and other regions refer to the Śaivite saints of Guhāvāsī line — a line founded by Guhāvāsī (of *dāruvana*) which developed eventually into three branches namely Āmarddaka, Mattamayūra and Mādhumateya.³¹ All these branches followed the tenets of the Śaiva-Siddhānta School of Śaivism. The fact that Guhāsvāmī, the founder of this school, flourished in c. 675 A.D.³² is both crucial and significant as it (a) coincides with the upsurge or art-activity in the Gopātri region, (b) confirms the testimony of Hieun Tsang in exemplifying Śaivite themes of the sculptures adorning the monuments, (c) interprets the reason why inscriptions of the Gopātri region are slanted toward Vaiṣṇavite faith while reliefs and monuments are Śaivite in their origin and character (Teli Ka Mandir included).

Guhāsvāmī, as has been noticed above, is associated with *dāruvana* reference to which is made in several records including the one discovered at Kadwaha (District Guna).³³ Kadwaha, on its part, is known (from an earlier testimony) to have been in a forest tract anciently known as *vanasāhvaya*. Overwhelming evidence is available

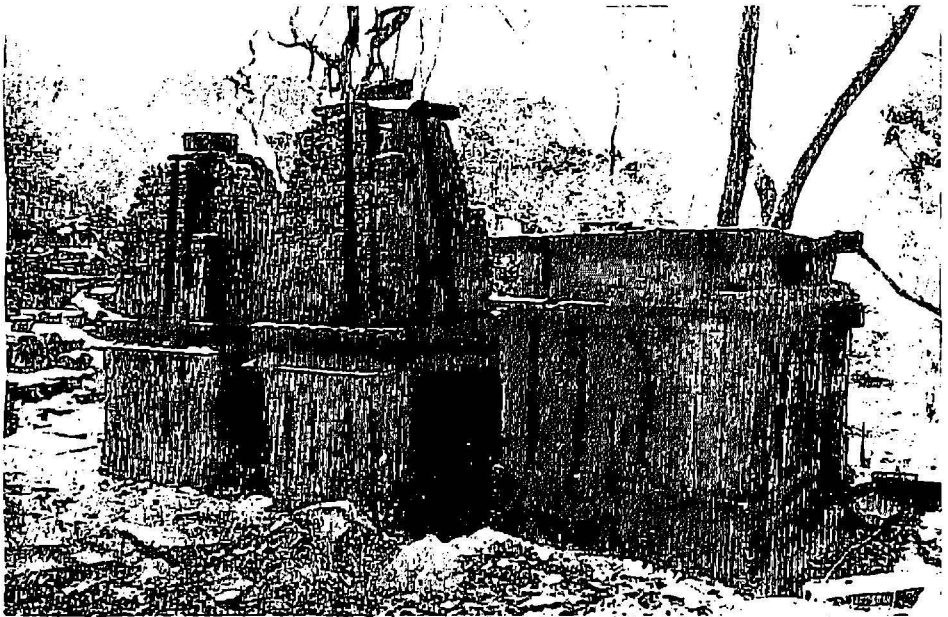
to indicate that the Gopādrī region was hub of activity of the Śaiva saints of Siddhānta school who operated from three well-known monasteries that existed at Kadwaha (ancient Kadambaguhā), Ranod³⁴ (ancient Araṇipadra) and Mahua (ancient Madhumatī).³⁵ Ancient temples, singly or in pairs, or even in clusters are known from all these sites, some of which are dated in 7th and 8th century (at Amrol and Mahua). It is presumed that supplied with an elaborate monastic set-up (which employed eight different kinds of artisans), endowed with immense funds and equally widespread and large following, the ascetics of Siddhānta school were instrumental in spreading the Śaiva Great Tradition practically throughout the country from Punjab in north to Āndhra, Tamil and Karṇāṭa region in the south. In this situation percolation of their influence within the Gopādrī region would have been relatively much easier and swift. Later inscriptions, not necessarily from Gwalior region, expressly refer to their functions (*kriyā*) as consisting of "excavation of water reservoirs, construction of temples, installation of images, founding of monasteries and other architectural activities."³⁶ While the *āgamas* of this school recognised sixteen forms of Śiva³⁷ in its pantheon, inscriptions refer to only Umā-Maheśvara, Gaṅgādhara and Nāṭyeśvara, besides Ṣaḍānana, Gaṇeśa, Umā and Sarasvatī.³⁸ In the light of the above details, it may be safely assumed that the Śaiva ascetics of the Guhāvāsī line must have played a crucial role in transmitting the artistic tradition in conformity with their tenets and "provincial" or "inter-provincial" interactions in the nuance of sculptural style may have been rendered possible in the wake of the spread of Śaivite Great Tradition. The monuments in the Gopādrī region (7th to 9th century) and beyond vividly reflect formation, standardization and transmissions of the artistic tradition in which process the Śaivite tradition was probably the 'prime-mover.'

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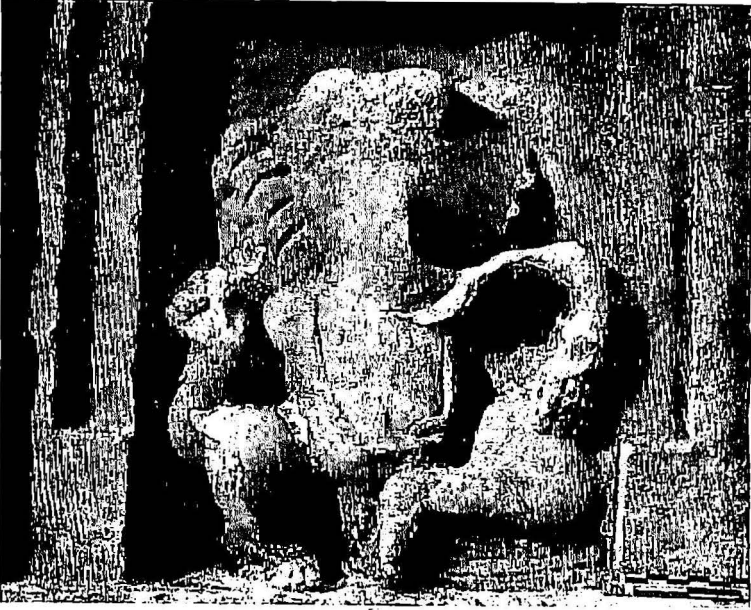
- * This is a revised version of the paper contributed to the U.G.C. Seminar on "Transmissions in Indian Artistic Tradition" held at the Department of Fine Arts, Punjab University, Chandigarh, in November 1980.
1. Cf. Milton Singer (1958) *Traditional India: Structure and Change*, Journal of American Folklore, Vol. 71 (No. 281), pp. 191ff; Robert Redfield (1956) *Peasant Society and Culture*, Chicago: Milton Singer (1972) *When a Great Tradition Modernizes*, New York-London, pp. 39ff.
 2. The Gopādrī region in this paper is roughly denoted by the area bound on west by the river Chambal, on east by the river Betwa, on north by the river Yamuna and on south by the Malwa plateau. For a discussion on the developing historical and cultural profile of the region from the earliest times to the "Gupta" rule, Cf. R. N. Misra and S. D. Sharma, 1980, "Prāchīna Gwalior Ke purātāttvika, purābhauḡolika evam aitiḡāsika ādhāra" (in Hindi), *Gwalior Darsana*, ed. H. N. Dwivedi, Gwalior.

3. Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III; the inscription refers to Ghaṭotkacha of the Gupta dynasty and records the construction of a *devanīketana* at Tumbavana (Tumain).
4. *Ibid*, p. 150; the inscription refers to the construction of a Sun Temple on the "Gopaparvata" in the 15th regnal year of Mihirakula, the Hūṇa ruler.
5. This date has been assigned to the Deogarh temple by Weiner, cf. S. L. Weiner (1972), "From Gupta to Pāla Sculpture", *Artibus Asiae*, XXV.
6. Cf. M. B. Garde (1952), *Padmāvati*, Gwalior, pp. 6, 12-20, 22-26.
7. S. K. Dikshit (1962), *A Guide to the Central Archaeological Museum Gwalior*, pp. 31-33.
8. B. N. Puri, (1957), *The History of the Gurjara Pratiharas*, Bombay, pp. 155-158.
9. Cf. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, p. 159. Incidentally, a person named Vayilla of Anandapur is mentioned in an inscription, Anandapur is same as modern Wer in Gujarat. The name Vayilla fits happily with the "Vayillabhaṭṭasvāmin" a designation accorded to Viṣṇu to whom the temple was dedicated. Such an onomastic practice was fairly prevalent in ancient India whereby the temple deity acquired the name of the donor. Cf. also *Annual Administrative Report Archaeological Department*, Gwalior State, hereafter AAR (A.D.) V.S. 1980, nos. 43-44.
10. *Ibid*, quoted by R. K. Sharma (1974), *Madhya Pradesh Ki purātattva Ki Rūprekhā* (in Hindi), p. 188, No. 735.
11. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XVIII, p. 107, verses 25-26.
12. *Ibid*, vol. XXXVII (2) 196, pp. 53-55. The inscription records construction of a *maṇḍapikā* of Dhūrjaṭi-Sīva by Vatsarāja, who on the testimony of *Harivamśa* is placed in c. 704, Śaka (783-84 A.D.) in Avanti. The record was composed by Bhaṭṭa Iśāna, son of Bhaṭṭa Somāṅka.
13. Cf. A. D. Pusalkar (1964) in *Age of Imperial Unity*, eds. R. C. Majumdar and A. D. Pusalkar, Bombay, pp. 27, 290. Āma is identified with Vatsarāja by Pusalkar (1964), p. 290; Krishna Deva (1974), in *Jain Art and Architecture*, ed. A. Ghosh, Delhi, p. 170, identifies Āma with Nāgabhaṭṭa II (died 833 A.D.). Cf. also M. W. Meister, "Āma, Amrol and Jainism in Gwalior Fort", *Journal of Oriental Institute*, Baroda, Vol. XXII, pp. 354-58.
14. Overall situation in the seventh-eighth century in this regard seems to be somewhat clouded. The available evidence, hypothetically leads to different alternative situations in which the tradition may either be taken to be indigenous, or it may alternatively be connected with Maru, Avanti or Antardevi (particularly Kānyakubja) region. Regarding the Antardevi region, certain clues like the presence of Bhaṭṭi-(s) or Bhandi there may connect the Gopādri Style with that area. Cf. R. C. Majumdar, (1964), p. 22; The evidence, it must be admitted, is very thin.
15. Cf. B. N. Puri (1957), pp. 139-146.
16. see the footnote No. 14, above.
17. Cf. Ramanath Misra (1978), *Bhāratiya Mūrtikalā*, New Delhi, p. 198 fn.
18. Cf. Ram Kumar Dikshit (1955), *Kannauj* (in Hindi) ed: K. D. Bajpai, Plates 2, 3, 4, 5, 7 B.
19. Pramod Chandra (1970), *Stone Sculptures in the Allahabad Museum*, pp. 26-28.
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21. M. W. Meister (1975) "Jain Temples in Central India", in *Aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture*, eds. U.P. Shah and M. A. Dhaky, Ahmedabad, pp. 223-241; M. W. Meister, "Maṇḍapikā Shrines in Central India" *East and West*.
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23. Ramavatar Sharma "Barahed se prāpta ek vilakṣaṇa Śiva līṅga" (In Hindi) *Gwalior Darsana* (1980). Also, for other antiquities from Barahet of the Gupta times *Indian Archaeology, A Review*. 1959-60 p. 69.
24. Cf. AAR (A.D.) 1940-41 p. 21; 1916-17, p. 13; 1929-30 p. 13, D. R. Patil (1952) *The Descriptive and Classified list of Archaeological Monuments in Madhya Bharat*, Nos. 56-60.

25. Cf. *ibid* Nos. 944-946; *AAR (A.D.)*, V.S. 1971, No. 28; or 1925-36, pp. 20, 21.
 26. For a list of antiquities of Kadwaha of different times Cf. D. R. Patil (1952), Nos. 746-756; also *AAR (A.D.)*, V.S. 1996, No. 31, 32; *ibid* V.S. 1998-2000 p. 23-24, *ibid* 1939-40 p. 20, *ibid* 1914-23; *ibid* 1942-43, p. 23.
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 28. Ramanath Misra (1978), pp. 140-146.
 29. Cf. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, II, p. 251: Quoted by P. K. Bhattacharya (1977), *Historical Geography of Madhya Pradesh*, p. 262.
 30. *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. I p. 354.
 31. V. S. Pathak (1960), *Saiva Cults in Northern India*, p. 28, 31-37.
 32. *Ibid.* p. 31.
 33. The place finds mention in the Bilhari Stone Inscription of Kalachuri Yuva-rājadeva II and in the Ranod inscription. Keilhorn identified it with Kadwaha, about 6 miles south of Terahi near Ranod, cf. V. V. Mirashi (1955) *C.I.I.* IV (i), inscription No. 91; *Epigraphia Indica*, I pp. 251 ff. Also P. K. Bhattacharya (1977) p. 231.
 34. *Ibid.* p. 200.
 35. *Ibid.* p. 215. For the Śaivite monasteries at these places and their sages, cf., V.S. Pathak (1960), pp. 32-35.
 36. *Ibid.* p. 43.
 37. *Īśāna-Śiva-Gurudeva-Paddhati*, Part IV pp. 409-416.
 38. V.S. Pathak (1960), p. 45.
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A & B Maṇḍapikās at Batesar, from front and rear



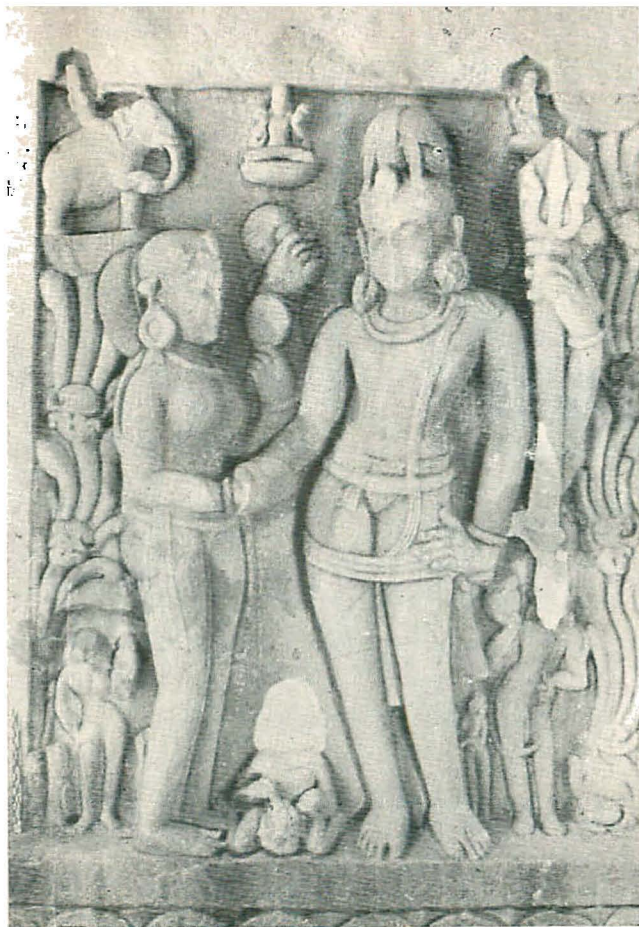
A Gaṇeśa in a temple niche, Naresar

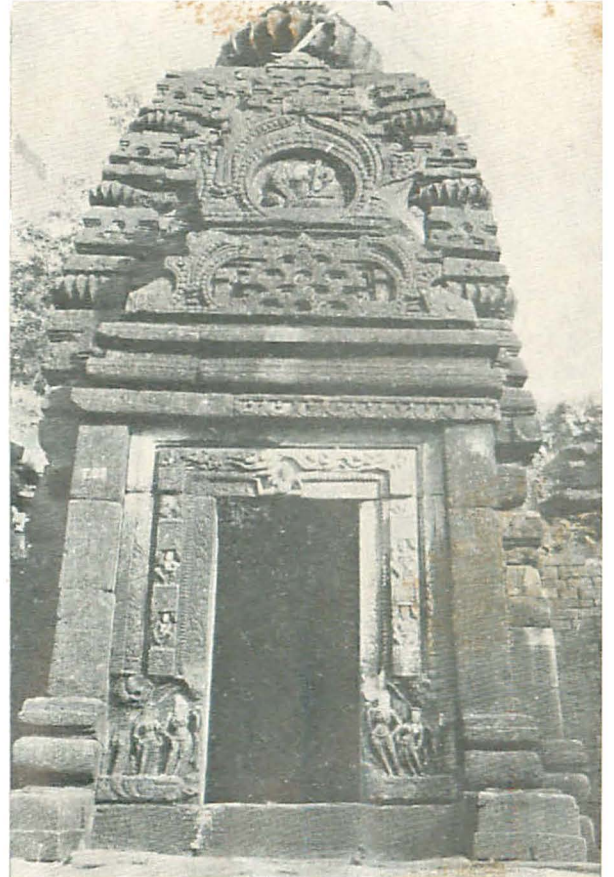
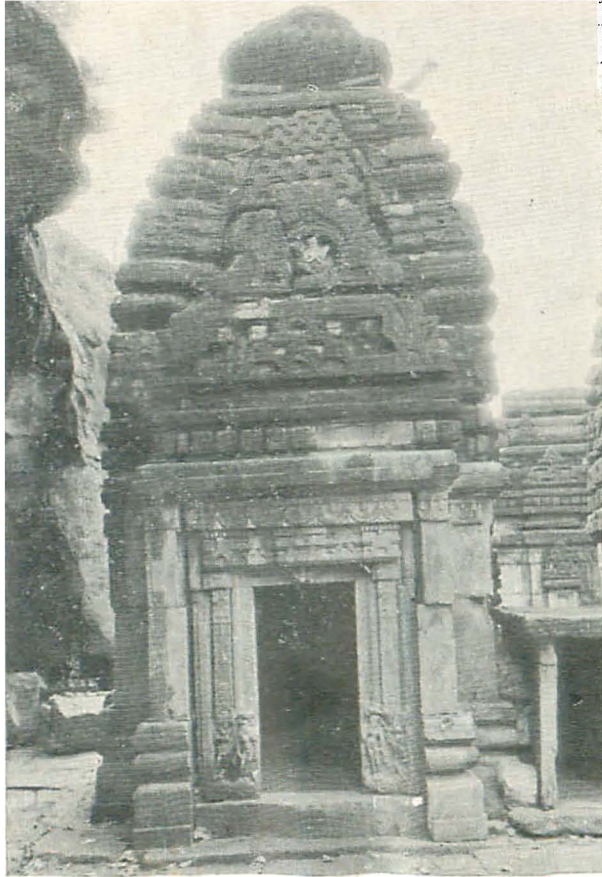
B Kārttikeya in a temple niche, Naresar



Pārvatī performing Pañcāgni tapanas, Naresar







A NOTE ON AN EARLY INDIAN POSTAL SYSTEM

B. N. MUKHERJEE

IN the Indian subcontinent the Mauryas built up in the late 4th and 3rd century B.C. one of the largest empires of ancient world. It included the greater part of the subcontinent, excluding the Far South and perhaps its easternmost areas. Parts of the territory now in Afghanistan were also incorporated in the Maurya empire. For maintaining effective communications between the central and local authorities, if not for any other purpose, the Mauryas apparently needed an efficient system for despatching administrative and other instructions from one seat of administration to another. That they developed such a system is indicated by the evidence of edicts of Aśoka (c. 273 to c. 236 B.C.), the famous Maurya emperor.

The first minor rock-edict of this monarch contains a proclamation made by him after spending two hundred fifty-six "nights" (i.e. days) on tour. One of the versions of this edict, found at Nittur (Bellary district, Karnatak), states that this proclamation "has been despatched throughout the earth (i.e. the Maurya empire) in the way as it was said by king Aśoka".¹ A copy (or a version) of the same edict (discovered at Pangudariyam Shehore district, M.P.) was addressed by king Priyadarśin (i.e. Aśoka) to prince Saṃba while the former was on his march (i.e. pilgrimage) to the Upunitha or Opunitha monastery in Māṇema-deśa.² The Brahmagiri, Siddapura (and perhaps also Jatinga-Rāmeśvara) recensions of the first minor rock edict were issued from Suvāṇṇagiri (Suvāṇṇagiri) (located in Karnatak) by the order of (an) Āryaputra (prince) (who was in charge of the administration of the province concerned) and certain officials known as Mahāmātras, and were addressed to some Mahāmātras stationed at Isila. The Jaugada versions of the two separate rock-edicts and the Dhauli version of the first separate rock-edict were addressed to some Mahāmātras posted respectively at Samāpā (situated in the Ganjam district) and Tosali (Dhauri near modern Bhuvaneshvar), while the Dhauri version of the second separate edict was meant for (a) Kumāra (prince) (who was in charge of the administration of the province concerned) and certain Mahāmātras stationed at Tosali.

These data, culled from different edicts of Aśoka, surely indicate that the rescripts of Aśoka were used to be despatched under his order to local administrative headquarters. His rescripts, found inscribed on rocks and pillars, contain *inter alia* words spoken by him in the first person. Apparently the text of each these rescripts was prepared by Aśoka himself or rather by the imperial scribes (*lipikāras*) following his oral instructions (see his sixth rock-edict). The *Arthasāstra* of Kauṭilya, dated by some scholars to the Maurya age, refers to *lekhaka* (scribe), appointed to write down royal orders according to the dictation of the king.³ Such orders, including administrative instructions and rescripts on morality, were apparently despatched to relevant administrative headquarters in different provinces of the empire. Detailed (full) texts or "middle-sized" or abridged versions of the instructions, whichever the king wanted to make public according to local necessities, were then caused by provincial authorities to be inscribed on rocks and pillars (situated in places accessible to ordinary subjects) after adapting them to regional Prakrit dialects or translating them into other languages (such Greek and Aramaic) in order to make them easily understandable to the local people (see the Girnar and Kalsi versions of the fourteenth rock-edict). The Delhi-Topra recension of the seventh pillar edict clearly indicates that the king wanted "this rescript on morality" to be engraved wherever either stone pillars or stone slabs were available so that "this may be of long duration".⁴ That the contents of royal rescripts, despatched through official channel, ultimately reached the public, for whom these were primarily meant,⁵ is suggested by the thirteenth rock-edict which claims that everywhere in the king's territory (and even in some areas outside it) the people "are conforming to instruction in morality". Instructions meant for people belonging to non-governmental organisations (including the monks of the Buddhist church) could have been despatched to the addressees directly,⁶ or through regional authorities.

The elaborate system of despatching and "publishing" royal instructions presupposes the existence of a royal mail service in the Maurya empire. It appears that royal letters and orders, written on portable materials, were sent from the capital at Pāṭaliputra (Patna, Bihar) or from temporary royal camps to different destinations following riverine and overland routes. That such routes were at least partly maintained officially is suggested by a statement of Megasthenes, who visited the court of Aśoka's grandfather Chandragupta. One of his statements, quoted by Strabo,⁷ refers to officials responsible for "keeping the rivers improved", "making roads and placing pillars" "at every ten stadia," "showing the by-roads and the distances". Such distances are actually indicated in two Ara-

maic epigraphs of Priyadarśi (Aśoka), inscribed on stone and discovered in the valley of the Laghman river in Afghanistan.⁸ These edicts also refer to a *Krpty* (*Kārapathī*), i.e. a "military road", or "lord's road". This was obviously maintained by the Maurya administration.⁹

In the Achaemenid empire, which ended not long before the beginning of the Maurya empire, governmental despatches were used to be sent by relays, in which couriers and horses participated. For this purpose such couriers and horses "were maintained at stations spaced at intervals of a day's journey along the royal roads".¹⁰ Herodotus stated that "nothing mortal travels so fast as these Persian messengers. The entire plan is a Persian invention; and this is the method of it. Along the whole line of road there are men (they say) stationed with horses, in number equal to the number of days which the journey takes, allowing a man and horse to each day; and these men will not be hindered from accomplishing at their best speed the distance which they have to go, either by snow, or rain, or heat, or by the darkness of night. The first delivers his despatch to the second, and the second passes it to the third; and it is borne from hand to hand along the whole line".¹¹

A similar system might have been followed or might have been adopted as one of the modes for despatching letters through overland routes in the Maurya empire, which included certain territories ruled not much earlier by the Achaemenids. If long riverine routes were also followed for despatching administrative documents, boats and/or crew could have been changed at fixed places on the banks of the rivers concerned. In any case, on the analogy of the evidence of the system of sending governmental despatches as practised in different empires of ancient period, we may suggest that in Maurya India royal letters might have been used to be sent by relays in which persons placed at fixed stations or posts played an important part. This seems to be the earliest known postal system in an Indian empire.

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2. *Ibid.*, p. 8; *JAIH*, 1978-79, p. 1.
3. Kauṭilya, *Arthaśāstra*, II, 10.
4. See also the fifth, sixth and thirteenth rock-edicts and the Rupnath version of the first minor rock edict.
5. See the second and seventh pillar edicts.
6. See the Calcutta, Bairat, Sarnath and Sanchi inscriptions.
7. *Geographikon*, XV, I, 50.
8. *Vestnik-Drevney Istorii*, 1977, No. 2; pp. 7-24. We have recently edited these epigraphs. Our paper is being published in the *Indian Museum Bulletin*.
9. See above n. 8.
10. M. Carry and others (editors), *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 1953, p. 723; Herodotus, *History*, VIII, 98.
11. *History*, VIII, 98.

BHĀMAHA'S MIND

TAPASVI NANDI

IT could be difficult to probe into the mind of a genius who lived nearly thirteen centuries before us. But the task, I am sure, howsoever difficult and ambitious it may look, is certainly not impossible, for Bhāmaha was a genius, and the mind of a genius shows certain unmistakable trends, irrespective of place and time. A close and careful study of the *Kāvya-lamkāra*, his only available written document helps us in studying the working of his mind and thus trying to get a glimpse of the multi-faceted genius and whole personality of a man who was a rare intellectual, all the time applauded and respected by great names to mention only a few, such as Udbhata, who is known to have written *Bhāmaha-vivaraṇa*, Śāntarakṣita the Buddhist philosopher who is supposed to have quoted Bhāmaha's views on apoha (Bhāmaha, VI.17-19) in his *Tattvasaṅgraha* (vs. 912-914), Ānandavardhana the doyen of literary criticism in Sanskrit, and Abhinavagupta, the author of *Locana* and *Abhinava-bhārati* and many other philosophical works.

That he was both a poet and a critic, a philosopher and a grammarian becomes clear from his work. Perhaps he also knew the various arts and disciplines (*kalās* and *śāstras*) that he prescribes for the making of a poet. And to crown all this, perhaps he had an agnostic bent of mind, always open to newer and newer expressions of truth and beauty and never turning to be dogmatic and orthodox about anything, much less about the fundamentals of aesthetics and literary criticism. He was an aristocrat among critics; honest, bold in his observations, undaunted by established names and current literary practices, clear and candid and unflinching in taking positions, a man of rare judgement and exceptional detachment and discernment. His assessment of a given literary situation is highly objective, logical and never self-opiniated. He seems to have been gifted with a subtle sense of wit and humour, at times bordering into razor-sharp satire and a bite that would tear through the hard core and even prick the marrow and bones. This agnostic approach gave him an inclination for cynicism as well, and a tendency to mock at anything less than intelligent. We will try to

study these various facets of his mind in the context of the *Kāvya-lamkāra*.

As Bhāmaha himself lays down his *Kāvya-lamkāra* consists of nearly four hundred verses or Kārikās out of which sixty are devoted to the consideration of the nature of Kāvya, one hundred and sixty to that of alamkāra, fifty to the poetic blemishes, seventy to nyāya-nirṇaya, and sixty to śabda-śuddhi (Bhā. VI.65-66). This shows he puts literary criticism on a wider canvass when he tends to include topics concerning logic and grammar in its fold. He tries to illustrate his point by citing a verse which is his own poetic composition, excepting places where he notes the name of either the composition or the poet concerned directly.

Bhāmaha has great respect for the poetic art. Literature is the source of information and knowledge for the four puruṣārthas of life, viz., dharma, artha, kāma and mokṣa, and also brings about expert knowledge concerning various arts (Bhā. I.2). For him, literature or poetry is a vast store-house of understanding concerning life and all the aesthetic pursuits of life. A person who is just a man of learning and is not a poet himself, does not command any respect in the eyes of Bhāmaha. He is as useless as a pauper with an ardent desire to donate, or a man without courage who has learnt the technique of using various arms, or like maturity of a person who is ignorant of some basic facts. Without the gift of poetry, command over language is without any charm (Bhā. I.4). Bhāmaha feels that poets are only born and that poetry dawns upon the minds of those who are gifted with inborn genius, which is rare in itself as compared to the learning of various disciplines which could be acquired even by an idiot with the help of the instructions from his preceptor (I.5). The poets even when they are dead, continue to live through their beautiful body in the form of poetry. The fame of a poet pervades both the worlds and through it the poet continues his stay in heaven. So, for those who are desirous of attaining permanent fame, an effort should be made in the direction of the composition of poetry or literature, after thoroughly mastering different branches of knowledge (I.8). And poetry or literature consists of eight forms such as śabda, i.e. word, expecting a thorough knowledge of grammar, chandas or prosody, abhidhānārtha or the relation of word and meaning, the various functions of word such as abhidhā or expression, lakṣaṇā or indication, etc., the ancient sources of inspiration for a poet such as itihāsa in the form of the *Mahābhārata* and the like, loka or the work-a-day world brimming with men and women of different tastes and temperaments, yuktiḥ or logic, i.e. sciences of learning such as the nyāya, mīmāṃsā, etc., and kalā or

arts such as those of music, dance, etc. (I.9). Bhāmaha has great respect for a poet and therefore his expectations are also equally great. He says (I.10) that after properly studying the essential nature of word and meaning, and physically serving the knowers of the same (*tadvidupāsanam*) and having closely studied the compositions of earlier masters one should very guardedly make an effort in the direction of composing poetry. Bhāmaha rings a very serious warning in the ears of those who try their hands at poetry saying that a man should take absolute care so as to avoid even the slightest blemish which causes infamy as in the case of a person with a spoilt child (I.11). Bhāmaha says that when you are not a poet, i.e. when you are 'a-kavi', you tend to be as abhorrent as a man without faith, or a man inflicted with a contagious disease, or a man deserving punishment in the eyes of law and order, but if you are a 'Ku-kavi', a bad poet, you are doomed for ever. The wise have proclaimed bad poetry as veritable death (I.12).

Bhāmaha then proceeds to explain the nature of poetry or literature which he feels should be gifted with *alaṅkāra* or poetic beauty in the wider sense of the term. Just as the face of a beautiful woman does not excel when bereft of ornaments, in the same way poetry without *alaṅkāra*, i.e. poetic beauty is of no use. Bhāmaha is not as much keen on stressing the characteristics of different forms of literature as he is about any form of literature being gifted with the presence of the poetic touch — *yuktaṁ vakra-svabhāvoktyā sarvamevaitadiṣyate* (I.30). All forms of literature are welcome to him provided they carry the stamp of a poet's creation, i.e. if they are endowed with poetic charm or expression of the exceptional quality in them (*Vakra-Svabhāvokti*). He is plain and unmoved when he rejects the so-called *vaidarbha* and *gauḍīya* styles of composition. For him to stamp a composition as *vaidarbha* or *gauḍa* is just following a blind tradition (*gatānugatikanyāya*) (I.32), and here we get a glimpse of the intellectual in him who refuses to be swayed by accepted literary traditions and patterns. We could perhaps hold him as a revolutionary among literary critics who tries to carve out a design of his own rather than follow the traditional path of literary criticism. If poetic compositions such as '*aśmakavaṁśa*' and the like are termed as '*vaidarbha*', it hardly makes any sense to Bhāmaha who holds that mostly terms are coined on account of individual whims and caprices (I.33). Thus Bhāmaha poses to be a natural leader and not a peevish follower even in the realms of literary criticism. He has a very high ideal for literature which patters out to be just high sounding composition with an appeal to the ear only, if it is bereft of robust common-sense (*apuṣṭārtham*)

and is also bereft of the expression of the genuine poetic touch (avakrokti) (I.34).

So, as a result only the genuine appeals to Bhāmaha, who has no sympathy for pseudo-poets. If a composition is charged with poetic beauty (alaṅkāra), is not vulgar or in bad taste (agrāmya), makes sense i.e. has an appeal to the reason (arthya), is in keeping with the nature of the day-to-day affairs of the world, i.e. is in keeping with the normal course of affairs (nyāyyam) and is composed in a pleasing style (anākula), it appeals to Bhāmaha, even if it be styled 'gauḍīya' by the experts, and Bhāmaha is not prepared to accept anything which is less than this, even if it is proclaimed as 'vaidarbha'. We thus see in Bhāmaha a fearless critic who chooses to follow his inner voice in this respect. He declares categorically (I.36) that beauty in a literary composition is not caused by the choice of sonorous words only. What is required is the poetic touch; the poetic word and poetic sense alone make for the real beauty in literature: Vakraḥhidheya śabdokṭiḥ iṣṭā vācām alaṅkṛtiḥ (I.36b). Perhaps this paves the way for Anandavardhana's expression, viz., 'tau śabdārthau mahākaveḥ' (*Dhvanyāloka* I.7).

Bhāmaha insists on avoiding poetic blemishes which he explains at length. This shows his tendency and insistence for perfection in the art of poetic composition. Though otherwise tolerant of the views of others, he simply cannot accept poetic blemishes without getting disturbed, for the poets should not compose faulty pieces. For this matter he indirectly takes even Kālidāsa to task for commonsense does not approve of a cloud becoming a messenger. This does not make him blind towards poetic beauty which may accidentally be caused through the agency of the so-called poetic blemish also. At times the particular context turns a faulty composition into a thing of beauty and Bhāmaha with all his strictness, is open to this (I.54, 55). Perhaps this later on paved the way to the theory of permanent and impermanent poetic blemishes considered much carefully by later dhvani-theorists.

The same bold and unorthodox approach on the part of Bhāmaha is exhibited when he shows little respect to the so-called concept of poetic excellences or guṇas. He mentions only three viz., prasāda, ojas and mādhyurya, thus cutting in size the theory of Bharata and others who mentioned ten guṇas. When he starts discussing various alaṅkāras of word and meaning, he exhibits the same freshness of approach and an open and unorthodox bent of mind. An over-indulgence in 'yamaka' results in a highly, artificial composition such as the 'acyutottara' of Rāmaśarmā which may hardly be called a poetic creation. If literature also like śāstra is to be under-

stood with the help of commentaries, then it will turn out to be intellectual acrobatics only, wherein the simple souls will lose all courage. Literature should make sense equally to the highly intelligent as well as innocent beauties and children (āvidvadaṅganābāla-pratitārthāni . . .). Thus, Bhāmaha, though a rare intellectual himself, has a soft corner for the innocent as well.

Bhāmaha exhibits rare understanding when dealing with upamā-doṣa called hīnatā; he observes that you cannot imagine total and absolute similarity between two objects. One should take into consideration only that point of similarity which the eye of the poet wants one to see. In reality the moon's orb with its resplendent beauty can hardly be compared to the much inferior face of a lady. Or, at times even total similarity also is observed as in case of Rājamitra (II.45-46). He describes as impossible (asambhava) some fantastic imagery on the part of poets such as an overflow of boiling streams of water from the orb of sun, to be compared with the discharge of sharp and shining arrows from the bow of a warrior king. All this sounds stupid to Bhāmaha who seems to be a great champion of commonsense in poetry. But with all this he is inclined to take a charitable view of the situation when the final effect seems to be genuinely poetic. Bhāmaha enumerates the blemishes concerning upamā as according to Medhāvī whom he holds in high honour. But he seems to be more liberal in his approach as compared to his illustrious predecessor. This exactly makes him a critic of rare qualities, not self-opinionated but tolerant, logical and yet not peevish.

He is clear and categorical in his statement particularly when he does not agree with an accepted norm. Thus, he rejects outright the case of hetu, sūkṣma and leśa as alaṅkāras because they do not fulfil the pre-condition of poetry, viz., vakrokti or the poetic touch (II.86). At times he dispassionately mentions the case of an alaṅkāra such as svabhāvokti, with the words: 'kecit pracakṣate'. He holds that he has discussed the topic of poetic figures in brief; for a detailed and broad-based discussion would create sickness: dhīkhe-dāyaiva vistaraḥ (II.95a). But he promises to discuss another set of poetic figures which may prove to be more charming and captivating. He takes up this discussion in the third chapter while dealing with figures such as preyas, rasavat, ūrjasvi, samāhita, etc., ending with bhāvikatva. He does not fail to mention without comments the views of others in case of some figures such as udātta (III.12). He is careful enough to point out 'asādrśyavivakṣā' in the case of 'ananvaya' (III.45), which later poets term as 'dvitīyasaḍrśa-vyavaccheda', or elimination of a second similar object. This shows

his analytical mind and clarity of perception. His concept of bhāvikatva (III.53-54) reveals him as a critic who tries to bring out the poetic beauty of a given composition taken as a whole, for he calls this poetic figure to be the quality of the whole composition — 'prabandhaviṣayam guṇam'. He is fully conscious of his contribution and status and seems to possess a high sense of pride and self-respect when at the end of the third chapter he observes (III.58) that the poetic figures are described in details by him after giving a careful consideration — svayam viniścitya dhiyā mayoditaḥ. He knows that he is not talking non-sense while allowing that birth-right generously to others!

His subtle analysis and sharpness of observation are particularly revealed in the last three chapters. The fourth chapter once again takes up the topic of poetic blemishes or doṣas, which are enumerated as eighteen and taken up for close scrutiny with clear definitions and apt illustrations. The consideration of this topic gives him an opportunity to discuss the nature of pada or word and vākya, i.e. sentence, and also provides him a chance to reveal his great learning in the branches of both grammar and philosophy. This again brings out his ideal of genuine poetry which is no mean task to be attempted by any ordinary 'durmedhas', but a province wherein even angels would fear to tread.

The poetic blemish called apārtha occurs when the composition sounds senseless. It is considered with reference to both a word and sentence. Word is a meaningful combination of letters and is either a 'subanta' or a 'tinganta', i.e. broadly either a noun or a verb. A sentence consists of a group of words that are mutually correlated, is complete in itself and gives a single sense at a time. After this Bhāmaha discusses the view of an opponent. The pūrvapakṣa raises an objection to the effect that if a sentence is a group of words harmoniously blended then the difficulty would be that no formation of such a sentence would be possible, because even the formation of a word itself is also impossible. Letters which go to form a word occur in sequence and when everytime the next letter is pronounced the earlier one is lost and thus no group of such perishable letters could be formed with the result that a sentence becomes still a greater impossibility. The simple reply to this difficulty is that eventhough letters are impermanent, their combination is possible in the mind of the person concerned, as the letter which slips out leaves behind its own impression for all time! Yet another view as advanced by the Buddhists regarding the gathering of the sentence-sense is quoted by Bhāmaha at IV.6. It holds that letters that are momentary do not form a sentence but impression caused by

the last letter makes for the sentence-sense. Here this impression caused by the last letter is in itself qualified by the memory caused by each preceding letter. Bhāmaha treats this view scornfully when he says that here also much can be said against this view but who will enter into argument with the seniors: gurubhiḥ kim vivādena? (IV.7b). At times when Bhāmaha speaks, he cuts and makes the opponent bleed! May be we are here reminded of the great English humourist, Jonathan Swift, of the eighteenth century.

Bhāmaha's great respect for sūtrakṛt, i.e. Pāṇini, and Padakāra, i.e. Kātyāyana, and also Bhāṣyakāra, i.e. Patañjali by implication, is revealed, when he deals with the blemish called 'śabdahīna' at IV.22. That usage which violates the observation of these authorities on grammar gives rise to 'śabdahīna'. The illustration follows in IV.23. The poetic blemishes such as yatibhraṣṭa and bhinnavṛtta reveal his knowledge of prosody, while blemishes concerning opposition to deśa, kāla and kalā (IV.29-33) reveal his wide know-how about the customs and traditions of different times and places and his sound acquaintance with different fine arts. His treatment of loka-virodhī reveals his further grasp over the understanding of the normal work-a-day world (IV.36).

His tendency to inflict sharp criticism is further made evident when he has a dig at the composition of somebody whose name he does not bother to mention, perhaps because it was too wellknown, or perhaps he found him to be so stupid that he did not deserve the honour of being mentioned by name! Bhāmaha, when he treats the blemish called nyāyavirodhī refers to a situation, perhaps depicted in a play by some famous playwright (IV.39-46). Perhaps it could be a reference to the *Pratiḥṇā-yaugandharāyaṇa*, now associated with the all time great Bhāsa. But be it Bhāsa or even Kālidāsa. Bhāmaha is undaunted by great names and perhaps he is at his best when he attacks these great names. Only Bhāmaha can pass such scathing criticism on established names when he says: 'Hats off to the learned men who applaud the situation as in this literary composition which tends to contradict both, i.e., śāstra or logic and commonsense or loka, i.e. the normal mode of behaviour' (IV.46). The ridicule that is hurled at the poet concerned would kill him more easily than a sharp knife passed through his splin! He snipes at the pseudo-critics as well. With all this he is gifted with rare humility shown at the end of the chapter when he says (IV.51) that this pointing out of blemishes is not aimed at running down others, not promoted through any ego-sense, but it only aims at promoting right understanding. For how can people like him, who is just a nobody, could discuss the views of the learned and the philosophers?

*Kṛtātmanām tattvadṛśām ca mādrśo /
jano'bhisamdhim ka ivāvabhotsyate // (IV.51 cd).*

In the fifth chapter he drags his readers into still deeper waters of his learning when he deals with poetic blemishes concerning pratijñādhīna, etc. His thorough knowledge of the Nyāyaśāstra is envisaged at this juncture. Perhaps his acquaintance with 'hetu-bindu' and 'nyāyabindu' is revealed when he says that the timid are scared by the śāstra and for their benefit only a working understanding of 'hetu' i.e., anumāna and nyāya, i.e. 'prāmāṇyayuktiḥ' is attempted here (V.2). Bhāmaha is humble enough and shows great admiration for the task of a poet which covers practically everything on earth.

*na sa śabda na tadvācyaṃ na sa nyāyo na sā kalā /
jāyate yanna kāvyāṅgaṃ aho bhāro mahān kaveḥ // (VI.4)*

In case of a poet, the expectations are very high. With this remark Bhāmaha starts discussing the nature etc. of pramāṇas or means of knowledge. Bhāmaha's śāstric bent of mind is marvelously revealed here. This man, an admirer and lover of poetry, is a recondite scholar and he expects the same from both the poet and the critic.

Bhāmaha says (V.5a) that the objects, i.e., dravya, guṇa, etc., stand in need of pramāṇas i.e. means of knowledge which are two viz., 'pratyakṣa' or direct perception and 'anumā' or inference. Bhāmaha's deep knowledge, the sharpness of his grasp of subtle philosophical notions, and his clarity of presentation are all simultaneously manifested in the last two chapters of his work. The mention of two pramāṇas perhaps shows his predilection towards the nyāya and Buddhist views of the topic concerned. In the opinion of the Buddhists these two pramāṇas have the vyakti, i.e., asādhāraṇa and jāti, i.e., sāmānya, as their objects respectively. The individual object separated from all other objects is said to be uncommon or asādhāraṇa. This is also termed as 'svalakṣaṇa'. As against this, that which touches all individual objects is termed as 'sāmānya', which is the object of inference. Bhāmaha is perhaps not very much inclined to accept this position which is suggested by his guarded use of the word 'kila' at V.5b. Bhāmaha feels that let alone the object of these pramāṇas, even the definitions as advanced by some philosophers whom he does not mention by name, are not very satisfactory. Diṅnāga holds that 'pratyakṣa' or direct perception is that which is bereft of 'kalpanā' — "pratyakṣam kalpanāpoḍham" (V.6a). Vasubandhu holds that it is based on the object — tatorthāditi kecana (V.6b). Bhāmaha does not mention names. He simply

says: 'kecana' — howsoever great he may be! Then he explains (V.cd) the concept of kalpanā as: '*kalpanām nāma-jātyādiyojanām pratijūnate*' i.e., by kalpanā is meant the superimposition or 'āropa' of jāti, guṇa kriyā, dravya, and nāma — the five 'upādhis or adjuacts. Dharmakīrti holds that, 'that which is without kalpanā and is not misguided (abhrānta) is pratyakṣa' (*Nyāyabindu*, p. 8).

Bhāmaha does not seem to approve of this definition of pratyakṣa. He gives very subtle argument in V.7 which reads:

*samāropaḥ kilaitāvān sadarthālambanam ca tat /
jātyādyapohe vṛttiḥ kva, kva viśeṣaḥ, kutaśca saḥ//*

The Buddhists hold that jāti etc., are all superimposed. But in that case the very definition of pratyakṣa will not hold good. It is commonly agreed that pratyakṣa has that thing for its object which is present before us. Even the Buddhists hold that pratyakṣa has 'svalakṣaṇa' i.e. individual object as its object. Now if jāti etc. are negated, where will pratyakṣa operate? For the cognition must have some object at its basis. Now, when jāti, guṇa etc., are negated how are we to distinguish between one object and another? For example, when the object ghaṭa qualified by ghaṭatva is pratyakṣa-viśaya, it can be distinguished from 'paṭa' because of its 'ghaṭatva' only. In case this ghaṭatva is not recognised how are you to say, 'I am seeing a ghaṭa and not a paṭa?' Thus the viśeṣa or difference either between two objects or between their two cognitions will not hold good. Thus the whole edifice falls to the ground.

Bhāmaha's mind capable of very subtle arguments works further and he demolishes the above view with greater force at V.8. In spite of the Buddhists holding 'apoha' or negation of jāti etc., they i.e., jāti, etc., still become the object of buddhi i.e., mental cognition — 'Siddhā sā buddhigocarā' for, when we have negation of non-cow (i.e., a-go-vyāvṛttiḥ) by the mention of cow i.e., 'go,' this 'a-go-vyāvṛttiḥ' is 'gobhinnabhedah' and 'go' is 'gotvavati'. Thus, the very 'apoha' cannot be explained without the prior mental apprehension of 'gotva'. Nor can you say that this 'gotva' or jāti is 'ayathārtha' or false, for in fact, 'go' exists and 'gotva' is only imagined. The 'pratyakṣa' which has this 'kālpanika gotva' as its object would also tend to be false. To this, Bhāmaha's reply is that pratyakṣa can never be ayathārtha or false. The Buddhists, who hold pratyakṣa as 'tattva-vṛtti' i.e., yathārtha, cannot go back upon it. If it is held that the cognition of 'go-vyakti' is 'grāhya' and this is derived through 'apoha', then the cognition of 'a-go-vyāvṛtti' would become 'grāhaka'. Now if 'go' is removed from both of these cognitions then only cognition i.e., 'jñāna' will remain behind and thus 'jñāna' itself will be both

'grāhya' and 'grāhaka' at the same time! Thus in the absence of any genuine differentia (viśeṣa), all this will crack down and prove to be only imaginary, with the result that it will become impossible to distinguish between e.g., the cognition of a bull and that of a horse!

After thus mercilessly demolishing the concept of pratyakṣa as according to Dīnāga, now Bhāmaha turns to the second definition as advanced by 'kecana' (V.6b) i.e. Vasubandhu. If it is held, says Bhāmaha, that pratyakṣa or direct perception is that which is caused by the object itself, then the object or 'artha' is cognised because of its form or rūpa, etc. For an object is certainly cognised by its form etc., and by non-existent qualities such as mirage etc. Thus pratyakṣa depends on the object revealed through rūpa etc. Thus 'ghaṭa' will be cognised by the help of 'ghaṭa' itself and not 'paṭa'. This 'ghaṭa' is necessarily qualified by its own upādhis or adjuncts. Otherwise it will be difficult to distinguish 'ghaṭa' from 'paṭa'. Thus pratyakṣa operates in case of 'upādhiviśiṣṭa vyakti', and not 'upādhi-rahita vyakti' as the Buddhists maintain.

After getting a full view of Bhāmaha's mental capacity in the above discussion we will cover up the rest in brief. At V.11, he discusses the nature of 'anumāna' or inference. He cites two views as follows: Some (i.e. the naiyāyikas) hold that cognition through the agency of three-fold liṅga or mark is inference. While others (i.e. Dīnāga and others) hold that the 'nāntariyārthadarśana' or seeing the invariable concomitance by a person who knows the same is inference. Now without passing any comment Bhāmaha discusses the nature of pratiṅgā, hetu and dṛṣṭānta along with doṣas concerning them, and the form they take in poetry or literature (V.12-27). He also hints at the wide scope of 'doṣābhāsa' (V.29), and just leaves it alone. Then, with a consciousness of a discerning critic he tries to give a clear picture of inference in literature i.e. 'Kāvyaṅyāya' — "aparaṃ vakṣyate nyāyalakṣaṇam kāvyasaṃśrayam" (V.30). Bhāmaha though a great logician himself knows it fully well that logic takes its own shape in the field of poetry and the true critic should not lose sight of it. May be Mahima sought inspiration for his Kāvyaṅumiti from this. He discusses this topic at length (V.33-60), and also elaborates on how dṛṣṭānta or illustration genuinely differs from upamā or simile. (V.57-59). Bhāmaha insists that the illustration-dṛṣṭānta-etc., in literature also should be free from faults.

Bhāmaha's bias for a composition without a single blemish is once again revealed when he says (V.61) that even a single faultless word is better than the whole of a faulty composition, which fails to please the connoisseur and brings about infamy. Bhāmaha's

clear mind is equally critical of those who revel in out of place long descriptions of the opulence of say, the hero concerned. This, Bhāmaha feels, is in bad taste (V.64). Such descriptions only decorate the objects of decorations themselves but they do not enhance the beauty of an expression which is brought about only by an apt poetic touch:

*tadebhiraṅgairbhūṣyante bhūṣaṇopavanasrajaḥ /
vācām vakrārtha-śabdoktiralaṅkārāya kalpate //*

(V.66).

The same idea of poetic beauty or alaṅkāra was placed by him (I.36b) when he said:

vakrābhidheyaśabdoktiḥ iṣṭā vācāmalaṅkṛtiḥ'

Bhāmaha's great reverence for the science of grammar and grammarians finds a spontaneous overflow of powerful feelings in the first six kārikās of the sixth chapter. These kārikās could be taken as hymns eulogising the great science of grammar. He says that the ocean in the form of grammar has sūtras or aphorisms for its water and it has whirl-pools in the form of vārtika, the base or bed-rock in the form of the *Mahābhāṣya* and alligators in the form of dhātu, uṇādi, and gaṇas. It is crossed over with the help of the boat in the form of great concentration (dhyānagraha). Only the wise can swim through it and reach the coast and the idiots wry at it. The other disciplines of knowledge plunge into it. Without crossing this unfathomable ocean in form of grammar, one cannot attain to the invaluable jewel in form of 'Word'. Those who want to compose poetry should try to master this science; for those who rely on others cannot get away any farther, and joy would elude them. Those whose use of language is dependent on someone else's knowledge, cannot please the great-hearted souls. So, the basic fact remains that one has to be self-reliant. Those who copy the expressions of others are pseudo-sārasvatas.

With this long eulogy, Bhāmaha starts discussing the nature of word (VI.7). He takes note of the view of others and says that some hold that word is that from which apprehension of meaning follows. But to this it can be objected that sense follows in case of inference of fire with the help of smoke and so even smoke, the liṅga, should be termed as word (VI.7 cd). So, the first view is almost discarded without further comments. Second view (VI.8) holds that word is a combination of meaningful letters pronounced for conveying meaning. By adding the term 'letters', liṅga such as smoke etc. is excluded. It also precludes 'lipi' or written script which is not 'pronounced'.

This view is controverted in VI.9 by the Sphoṭavādins. They argue that letters are individually meaningless. So, how can a combination of these meaningless letters produce meaning? Further, as letters appear in sequence, their combination is also impossible. And, the combination cannot be taken as a separate entity from its constituents. So, the 'word' has to be taken as 'kūṭastha', i.e. eternal which is other than non-eternal letters that are heard.

Bhāmaha comes down heavily on the Sphoṭavādin (VI.11b c, d). He holds that this view is unfounded, for it is supported neither by *pratyakṣa* or direct perception, nor by *anumāna* or inference. Bhāmaha's anger finds clear expression when he says that one should not, on oath, accept the view of the Sphoṭavādin, for who would rely on idle talks such as those concerning the sky-flower? Bhāmaha then gives only a plausible theory which holds that, 'such and such a number of letters of such and such a type should have such and such a meaning' — this sort of an order or convention was established (by the wise or God?) from earlier times for the normal worldly activity.

That the word which is the object of *saṅketa* or convention is *kūṭastha* that is eternal and unchangeable, and is something else than sound, i.e., letters. The meanings that are gathered thus by 'saṅketa' or convention are taken as permanent or *pāramārthika* by fools only. *Saṅketa* i.e. convention and *saṅketika* or conventional 'artha' for Bhāmaha is a matter fixed by some authorities. They are not *pāramārthika* or having permanent relation in themselves.

This is sound commonsense. For a particular sound may mean one thing in one language, at a given time, and quite another in a different language. Thus the relation of word and meaning should never be taken as permanent but only as accidental. Bhāmaha's agnostic bent of mind is clearly revealed at this juncture when he says (VI.15):

vinaśvaro'stu nityo vā
sambandho'rthena vā satā/
namo'stu tebhyo vidvadbhyaḥ
pramāṇam ye'sya niścita//

"The relation of word with meaning which is of an existential nature may be permanent or impermanent. We do not know. Salutations to those learned people who claim to be authorities on this topic." The satire also rings true!

Bhāmaha is full of satire when he refers to those who claim to be authorities on such topics which are beyond the bounds of human

reasoning. With the same stoic indifference and cold logic, he rejects the apoha view of the Buddhists (VI.16-20). After refuting the apoha aspect he denounces the Buddhist concept of word. He says that letters being momentary, even one and the same word, say 'ghaṭa', pronounced to-day will tend to be different from the same word pronounced yesterday. Again, just as a word is cut into letters, in the same way letters will have their own particles and thus they would perish. Thus the gathering of *sāṅketa* or convention in form of apoha would be rendered impossible. Thus the path for the Buddhists is full of hurdles:

'ityaho vartma dustaram' (VI.20d).

After this he dwells upon the normally accepted four-fold classification of words and comes to the discussion of words that deserve to be used — *prayojya* — and those that should not be used by poets having a charming mode of expression (*vakravācām kavīnām*, VI.23). *Bhāmaha* goes to explain at length (i.e. upto VI.61), how grammar takes its own shape in poetry and how poets at times defy even grammarians. *Bhāmaha* always has a soft corner for the poets, even though his regard for the grammarian is boundless. It should be noted that his high admiration for the grammarians, *Pāṇini*, *Kātyāyana* and *Patañjali* in particular, does not blind him to an extent of accepting the *Sphoṭavāda*; for this was a man in whom nature had produced a wonderful combination of an extremely sensitive and sympathetic heart and razor-sharp intellect. As observed earlier, at times when he speaks, he cuts and the other man bleeds to death, more easily than by a knife passed through his splin. At other times he is extremely kind and humble, trying to extend his helping hand to those who want to learn from him, and thus providing a manual for the honest and hard working soul trying to shape himself into a genuine poet.

CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN THE INSTITUTION OF DĀNA

V. NATH

DĀNA today necessarily denotes religious giftmaking. It is expected to earn spiritual merit for the donor. Accordingly it is directed chiefly towards religious beneficiaries and is required to be performed to the accompaniment of certain religious rites. But even when dāna is made to beggars or charitable institutions, amongst other considerations that of acquiring spiritual merit remains uppermost.

This overbearing religious aspect appears to characterize dāna right from the age of the Buddha. Then as now, dāna was meant to beget spiritual merit for the donor. It was also directed mainly towards religious categories such as brāhmaṇas, ascetics and heterodox alms-seekers. Even certain dāna making rites, especially that of besprinkling holy water on the hand of the donee, are already laid down in the *Dharmasūtra* texts¹ and find specific mention also in early Pāli literature.²

But can the continuance of the same distinguishing features over a period of more than two thousand years prove dāna to be a static institution devoid of internal growth and resistant to changes in the material culture? Would not the acceptance of such a proposition make out dāna to be a mere religious rite, changeless and rigid and having little or no bearing on the social and economic developments of the time? Does not the very continuity of the institution over such a long period suggest its inherent flexibility and its continued relevance to the changing social order? The present study, therefore, seeks to examine the question of continuity and change in the institution of dāna in the light of evidence available for the period c. 600 B.C. to A.D. 300.

Our sources reveal wide variations within a certain constant though loose format. Though the institution is never found to transform beyond a certain point and it certainly never loses its inherent religious bearing or unilateral character, its essential aspect

1. *Āpas. Dh. Sūt.*, II.4.9.8; *Gaut. Dh. Sūt.*, V.19.

2. *Sujāta Jāt.*, Vol. III, No. 306, p. 14; *Saṅkha Jāt.*, Vol. IV, No. 442, p. 10; *Mahā Ummagga Jāt.*, Vol. VI, No. 546, p. 171.

varied constantly to suit the new social needs occasioned by the changing pattern of material culture.

Perhaps the most remarkable change perceptible was in the parties, procedure and gift-items (*deya*) of *dāna*. Whereas the presence of all these basic components along with *śraddhā* was throughout considered essential to make the act of *dāna* spiritually fruitful,³ the categories of donors making gift, the donee groupings receiving them, the items of gift and even the occasions on which they were made and the procedure followed in making them never remained exactly the same.

During the four or five centuries before and after the Christian era there is evident a large scale proliferation of donor groupings. The donor's competence to make *dāna* being to a large extent linked with his surplus means, such an increase would, no doubt, reflect the changing economic status of various social categories. Significantly, in the predominantly tribal milieu of the Vedic times, mostly kings and tribal chiefs as the initial owners and distributors of wealth⁴ are known to figure as donors. Accordingly, not only the occasion for *dāna* was generally big sacrifices but *dāna* itself was a mere extension of sacrificial ritualism. But the Pāli literature of the subsequent period besides affirming the continued dominance of kings as donors, also reveals two new categories, the *gahapatis* (wealthy landowners) and the *setṭhis* (rich merchants). Both are described as showering bountiful riches on religious beneficiaries on occasions other than sacrifices. Their newly manifest affluence may be attributed to the growth of landed property and trade following the expansion of field agriculture and craft-production during the NBP phase of cultural development.⁵ Extension of agricultural economy affected even the king's competence to make *dāna*. Compared to the Vedic tribal chiefs, the kings of this age as masters of large food-producing, tax-paying areas were better equipped to make *dāna*. They are not only heard of indulging in excessive religious bounty but are even known to grant whole villages to brāhmanas.

Maximum increase in the number as well as the size of the donor groupings took place during the post-Mauryan period. The sudden spurt in the number of gifts recorded in the name of women at this time is remarkable. It establishes their importance as a distinct donor class and perhaps suggests greater freedom and control

3. *Mbh.* *Bhīṣma*, 39.20-22; *Manu*, III.143.

4. R. S. Sharma, 'Conflict, Distribution and Differentiation in R̥gvedic Society, Proceedings of IHC (1977), p. 179.

5. D. P. Agarwal, *Copper Bronze Age in India*, p. 227.

exercised by them over *strīdhana*. Besides royal princesses⁶ and wealthy courtesans,⁷ even housewives⁸ are now commonly heard of as donors.

Amongst the other newer categories of donors may be noted the princes and merchants of central Asian origin⁹ as well as some corporate bodies such as the *śrenis* (guilds) whose increasing participation in contemporary religious life is well known.¹⁰ The addition of artisans to the rank of donors during the post-Mauryan period further swelled the donor class. The votive records found at Ma-thurā, Sānchi, Kārle, etc. attest to the growing importance of this donor group. The emergence of artisans in the role of donors indicates their improved economic status which, to some extent, might have resulted from the Mauryan state policy to step up commodity production by bettering and safeguarding the interests of the producers.

Monks and nuns also figure in the role of donors at this time, although the source of their income seems to be particularly ambiguous.¹¹ The unusual phenomenon only serves to accentuate the fact that by this time *dāna* had increasingly ceased to be dependent on the means of the donor. The latter were no longer necessarily rich or even moderately well off. The sources for this period frequently record gifts made by the very poor.¹²

The development suggests a change in the basic concept of *dāna*. From a purely voluntary gift it had gradually turned into a compulsory social duty incumbent on all householders regardless of their economic status. *Dāna* according to the *Dharmasāstra* injunctions was now required to be made at the time of all sacramental rites,¹³ but more especially at those connected with marriage and death. Although definite instances of donors incurring debt for the sake of *dāna* are not forthcoming yet there is plenty of evidence to show that giftmaking very often involved considerable sacrifice on the part of the donors.¹⁴ Force of social tradition combined with deep superstitious fear¹⁵ would, therefore, seem to have overshadow-

6. Allahabad Kosam Queen's P.E., CII, i, p. 159; Mañchāpuri Cave Ins. (of the Chief Queen of Khāravēla), EI, xiii, p. 159; Nānāghāt Cave Ins. (of Nāganikā) EI, i, BK. II, No. 82.

7. MV, VI.30.5; *Lūd.*, No. 102.

8. CV, V.14.1.

9. SI, i, BK. II, No. 59; EI, xxi, No. 10, p. 55; JRAS (1924), No. 3, 9.397.

10. *Vinaya* (Nissaggiya) XXXI; *ibid.* (Pacittiya), IX. IX. 1.

11. A. M. Shastri, *An Outline of Early Buddhism*, p. 139.

12. *Milinda*, IV. 8. 73.

13. *Apas. Gr. Sūt.*, VI. 16. 4; *Āśva. Gr. Sūt.*, IV. 7. 17; *Sāṅkh. Gr. Sūt.*, III. 11. 16; IV. 16. 5.

14. *Khuddakapūva Jāt.*, Vol. I, No. 109, p. 252; *Milinda*, IV. 8. 25.

15. *Vās. Dh. Sūt.*, VII. 6.

ed the acquisition of spiritual merit as the chief motivation for *dāna*. It was no doubt responsible for turning the donors into an extremely comprehensive group. It is significant, however, that though new donor categories kept appearing continually none of the earlier categories ever completely disappeared.

During the period c. 600 B.C. to A.D. 300, the donee grouping also expanded manifold. The increase in size would seem to be consonant with the change overtaking the social order. Theoretically a purely egalitarian society would be antithetical to the presence of any donee group. Similarly poor and infirm beggars may not be easily found in a tribal set up in which the welfare of the destitutes forms the direct concern of the tribe. Few references to beggars in the pre-Buddhist literature, therefore, indirectly affirm the absence of extreme class disparities as well as the continuance of strong tribal ties upto 600 B.C. The appearance of beggars in the age of the Buddha and their growing numbers in the succeeding centuries, on the other hand, would point to the emergence of two distinct classes of the rich¹⁶ and the poor¹⁷ and the gradual slackening of kinship bonds so that the destitutes could no longer fall back on the protection of their close kinsmen. It was perhaps the spirit of individualism and competition bred by a remarkable increase in private property, urban life and trade which tended to corrode close kinship ties.¹⁸

Similarly, the emergence of *brāhmaṇas* as a dominant recipient category by the age of the Buddha would seem to mark a significant change in the old social order. Only in a firmly entrenched *varṇa* order which had its basis in occupational specialisation, could a whole section of society namely the *brāhmaṇas* be expected to keep away from all tasks of economic production and subsist purely on *dāna*.

The increase in the size of the donee group would seem to correspond also to the rise in the social surplus required to meet the demands of that group. The sudden appearance in the second half of the first millennium B.C. of a large band of heterodox alms-seekers, whose very name *bhikkhu* emphasises their exclusive dependence on alms or *bhikṣā* would, therefore, bear testimony to a great increase in agricultural and commodity output following remarkable improvements in iron technology.¹⁹

16. MV, V.1.29.

17. *Dh. Pada*, BK.II, story 9.

18. Romila Thapar, *Ancient Indian Social History*, p. 70.

19. N. R. Banerjee, *Iron Age in India*, p. 38; Dilip Chakrabarti, "The Beginning of Iron in India," *Ant.*, 1976, p. 121.

Besides a continual change in their size, there is also evident a constant fluctuation in the popularity enjoyed by the various donee groupings. Even though brāhmaṇas continued to figure as a major recipient group throughout the period under study yet their ascendancy appears to have been seriously challenged by the members of the heterodox orders atleast during the three four centuries following the death of the Buddha. Sources reveal strains of serious rivalry between them²⁰ which may be taken to be symptomatic of too much pressure being exercised on the available surplus. The subsequent efforts made by each group to woo the donor class became partly manifest in the form of high moral and intellectual qualifications being prescribed for the donee to be considered a worthy receptacle of dāna. The *Dharmaśāstras* and the heterodox canonical works contain numerous injunctions to that effect. Such a development in its turn perhaps accounts for the strong ethical base acquired by dāna from 600 B.C. onwards. In the preceding centuries moral considerations in the selection of the donee do not appear to have been very strong, even though the religious cast of dāna had all along remained very pronounced.

Sharp variations are also apparent in the popularity of gift-items. Significantly, certain articles, especially cattle and gold, continued to be generally popular throughout this period. To a certain extent cultural overlapping caused by the phenomenon of uneven growth²¹ might explain this, for the popularity of gift-items would be found to be largely governed by the needs of a people living in a particular cultural zone.²² Since cultural advancement in a vast country like ours necessarily remains uneven, most gift-items may be expected to wield some popularity in one region or the other. Continued popularity of certain gift-items such as sesamum, incense, even gold and silver would seem to be derived more from firm ritualistic traditions and sustained by sheer superstitious fear.

Nevertheless, over-all change in the pattern of material culture of a period did affect the popularity of gift-items. Thus the excessive popularity of cattle in the pastoral milieu of the Vedic period is known to suffer in the urban complex of later times. Similarly while few references to gift of food are forthcoming in the Vedic literature, our sources reveal that the gift of both cooked and un-

20. *Sut. Nip.*, I.7; III.4; *Theragāthā*, VI-CCXXI; *Vimānavatthu*, Third Boat Mansion, I.8.

21. D. P. Chattopadhyaya, *Buddhism, the Marxist Approach*, p. 20.

22. The best example of this is furnished by the *Mahāvagga* (V.13.6). According to this text the Buddha changed the existing rule and allowed his disciples living in the southern countries to accept and wear robes made out of special kinds of skin which were in vogue in that region.

cooked food became common from c. 600 B.C. The heterodox monks in their homeless state subsisted entirely on offerings of cooked food. But even brāhmaṇas leading householders' life are known to receive uncooked food in large quantities. The development naturally affirms considerable agricultural expansion just as the sudden popularity of finished goods as gift-items reflects a spurt in craft-production. A developed currency system would likewise explain the increase in the popularity of gift of coins from the closing centuries of the Christian era.

Besides the availability and production of goods in a particular cultural setting, the popularity of gift-items would seem to depend also on the size of the surplus which the donor was in a position to spare easily. Thus perishable goods or articles for which either adequate means of storage were not available²³ or which were difficult to be maintained in large numbers must have been more popular as gift-items than those which possessed longer lasting economic value and utility for the donor. The gradual decline in the gift of cattle, horses, draught animals and slaves from the age of the Buddha was evidently caused by their growing usefulness for the donor in the new economic context. The *gahapatis* requiring slaves to work on their fields or the traders requiring horses and mules for mercantile operations could scarcely be expected to gift them.

Our sources reveal that ownership right of the donor over the gift-object was throughout considered an essential pre-condition for *dāna*.²⁴ Popularity of gift-items may, therefore, be expected to be conditioned maximum by the changing concept of private property. Only those articles may be assumed to figure popularly as *deya* over which individual's property right had already come to be ostensibly recognised. Till the beginning of the Mauryan period it apparently extended only over movable items of property such as cattle, slaves, precious metal, etc. for they alone constitute popular items of gift. Ownership right of the individual seems to have remained essentially limited in the case of land. Perhaps tribal traditions were still not so completely extinct and the disposal of land, even where it had ceased to be an item of joint family holding, still required not only the consent of the whole family²⁵ but also the tacit approval of the village.²⁶ Such a situation alone would account for the paucity of references to the sale and gift of land during the pre-Mauryan

23. Max Gluckman, *Politics, Law and Ritual in Tribal Societies*, p. 13.

24. *Pūrva Mīmāṃsā*, VI.7.1-7; *Manu*. VIII.199. "All gift or sale made by anybody else but the owner, must be considered as null and void."

25. *Yāj. Smṛ.*, II.178, 179.

26. N. N. Kher, *Agrarian and Fiscal Economy*, p. 34.

period.²⁷ The few references which are forthcoming pertain mostly to royal donors.²⁸ The earliest epigraphic notices of merchants and rich house-holders granting land to religious beneficiaries do not date back earlier than the beginning of the Christian era. The fact may lead us to infer that by this time the control of the extended family over land holdings was becoming less strong and the individual tended to exercise greater discretionary power over his share of immovable property, especially that which was earned through his own individual efforts.

The incorporation of land as an item of gift invested the act of dāna with a new economic significance for it held not only immediate importance for the donor and the donee but also deeper and perhaps lasting consequences for their succeeding generations. Dāna consequently acquired a wider bearing. It now as much concerned the state²⁹ as the two parties directly involved. It, moreover, led to the transformation of a section of religious beneficiaries into a class of substantial landowners.

Special cultural and topographical needs would also be found to affect the essential nature of gift-objects. Our data reveals that the construction of alms-halls, rest-houses, roads, parks, tanks and wells became exceedingly popular from the age of the Buddha. According to the *Dharmaśūtras* they constituted the *pūrta* category of dāna.³⁰ The popularity of this new category of gift-items would reflect the newly arising needs of a people living in populous urban centers and engaged more in commercial activities.

Continuity and change mark also the externals of dāna. Certain procedural norms would appear to characterise dāna throughout. Thus *pratigraha* or the actual acceptance of the gift-object by the donee was regarded, right from the earliest times, an essential part of the gift-making act. It more or less distinguished dāna from the other forms of religious offerings such as *homa*.³¹ In fact, as noted above a modicum of dāna making ritual in the form of besprinkling of water on the hands of the donee, to mark the termination of the donor's property right over the gift-item and the institution of the recipient's over it, was all along deemed essential not only in the case of dāna made to brāhmaṇas but also that made to heterodox monks.

27. N. N. Kher, 'Land Sale in Ancient India' (321 B.C.-A.D. 320), *JOIB*, xii (1962-63).

28. *Dig. Nik.*, IV, Sonadanda Sutta, 1; *Maj. Nik.*, II.164.

29. *Yāj. Smṛ.*, I.318, "When making any gift of land, or making any permanent arrangement, he should have the terms committed to writing for the information of the future good king."

30. *Manu*, IV.228; P. V. Kane, *Hist. of Dh. Śāstra*, ii. pt-II, p. 844.

31. *Ibid.*, p. 841.

Dāna making procedural rules are still known to undergo a process of constant change, elaboration and ritualistic accretions; till by the beginning of the Christian era dāna had already lost much of its former pliancy and acquired a highly ritualised form. Some variations in the procedural form appear to have been occasioned by the changing aspect of the gift-objects. For instance, the procedure involved in the gift of a single cow, a piece of gold, an item of clothing had to necessarily differ from that involved in the gift of land or the dedication of a monastery or a well or the installation of an image or pillar. The incorporation of immovable items of property in the list of popular gift-items increasingly emphasised the need to make dāna an irrevocable act by imbuing it with greater ritualistic efficiency.

Change in procedure might have been affected also for the sake of economic expediency or even for the convenience of the donor. Alms-distribution at a *sattra* (alms-hall)³² or through ticket system³³ may be cited as examples of the latter. Procedure during the period under study is found to be heavily coloured also by the assimilation of new cultural influences and religious beliefs.

Dāna, therefore, can scarcely be regarded a static or isolated institution. It was broadbased and dynamic; it served social, economic, political and other needs. It was never a mere religious rite. While retaining certain broad characteristic features, it underwent continual variation in keeping with the rapid changes overtaking society and economy, which it affected in no small measure.

32. *Dig. Nik.*, III, Ambattha Sutta, II.41; *Kurudhamma Jāt.*, Vol. II, No. 276, p. 253.

33. *Mahāsuttsoma Jāt.*, Vol. V, No. 537, p. 259; *Vimānavatthu*, Sirima's Mansion, I.17.

SUN WORSHIP IN INDIAN AND OTHER CULTURES*

M. D. PARADKAR

महाण्डसम्पुटकलेवरमध्यवर्ति
चेतन्यपिण्डमिदं मण्डलमस्ति यस्य ।
आलोकितोऽपि दुरितानि निहन्ति य-
स्तं मार्तण्डमाविपुरुषं प्रणमामि नित्यम् ॥

MAN is basically a religious creature. Being himself finite, he eagerly yearns for the infinite. It has been rightly said that "there is something infinite in him which he cannot bury under the finite." This potential infinity in him which made the Upaniṣadic seer utter the proverbial sentence "*yo vai bhūmā tat sukham, nālpe sukhamasti*" (*Chāndogya-VII.23.1*) is responsible for creating an intense religious feeling. What is the basic factor in this kind of feeling? It is now generally agreed that this can be summed up by saying that in him there exists a vague sense of some power which permeates and directs him as well as the entire universe. Belief in god which constitutes the primary principle of all religions, is nothing but an extension of the doctrine relating to this power.

It is no wonder that Nature has proved to be a fruitful source of inspiration for man from times immemorial. India has been a land full of sunshine where much depends upon the warmth of the sun. Is it not natural, therefore, to find the early Vedic seers eager to "win his favour and placate his wrath?" From this point of view it is significant that every devout Hindu begins his day with the celebrated Ṛgvedic prayer

ॐ तत्सवितुर्वरेण्यं भर्गो देवस्य धीमहि ।
धियो यो नः प्रचोदयात् ॥ (Rv. III.62.10)

couched in the Gāyatrī metre. The *Ṛgveda* contains 10 entire hymns that specifically glorify Sūrya of adorable light. Sūrya is the soul or guardian of all that moves and is stationary (*Sūrya*

* This was originally a paper submitted to the Śaṅkara and Śaṅmata conference held in Madras from June 1-9 in the year 1969. It is now revised.

ātmā jagatastasthuṣāśca I.115.1). As he is far-seeing (VI.35.8) and all-seeing (I.50.2), he beholds all beings and the good as well as bad deeds of the mortals (I.50.7, VII.60.1, VII.63.4). It is not possible to maintain that all these passages refer to the orb of the sun; one has to speak of the personification. Not only Savitṛ, the pre-eminently golden deity, the observer of fixed laws (IV.53.4) and the illuminator of air, heaven and earth, is solar in character, but even Mitra "bringing men together" (*yātayajjana*), Pūṣan the guardian of roads (VI.17.6) and the protector of cattle (VI.54.5) and Viṣṇu of three strides (*trivikrama*) partake of the solar character of Vedic passages glorifying the power of Sūrya in the words such as:

अमित्रहा वृत्रहा दस्युहंतमं ।

ज्योतिर्जज्ञे असुरहा सप्तहा ॥ (Rv. X.170-2)

go to bring out the truth of Dr. Mainkar's remark that "Indian mysticism in a way can be said to be the "sun mysticism" and that "The prominently golden deity is the centre of the vision, the source of inspiration, the guide in ethical conduct and the protector of life in general."¹

The *Yajurveda* emphasizes the sacrificial and worldly importance of the sun as giver of rain and bestower of pleasures of the world. Coming to *Atharvaveda* we find that the beneficent offices of the physician and the healer of bodily ills are combined in Sūrya. Thus the rays of the sun are said to cure diseases and are efficient in making the human body lustrous (Av.1.3.5). He is of course, the lord of the eyes (Av. 2.16.3) but is declared to be efficacious in removing sore diseases and internal maladies of the heart (Av.5.9.7). Atharvaṇic seers reveal in glorifying the sun possessed of hundred powers (Av.1-3-5) harnessed for the kind purpose of general well-being. *Atharvaveda* (9.3.18) speaks of "Mitra who uncovers in the morning what Varuṇa has concealed" and really paves the way for the *Brāhmaṇas* who represent Mitra as the light of the day. The idea that Sūrya never sets and exists for ever is expressed² in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*. The Vedic idea that Mitra guarantees good faith between man and man is also reiterated in the *Brāhmaṇas*. Coming to *Upaniṣads*, we find the *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad* urging Sūrya to lead the devotee from falsehood to truth, from darkness to light, i.e. from death to immortality. The redoubtable Raikva of the *Chāndogyopaniṣad* refers to Sūryaloka as one of the halts on the paths of the self proceeding by the Devayāna (5.10.1.2). The *Prāśnopaniṣad* (I.8) glorifies Sūrya as the life of all creatures.

1. T. G. Mainkar: *Mysticism in Veda*, p. 120.

2. James Hastings: *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. 8, p. 752.

In the epics, the sun is referred to as a disc or a bird or horse or bull but in these places he is ever the god described as drinking, possessing hands and feet, bestowing wisdom, acting as a witness and also maintaining a family of his own.³ The Pāñcarātras are said to have derived their doctrines from Sūrya (MBH. 12.340.20). A reference is made to one thousand and eight Sauras in the camp of the Pāṇḍus (MBH. 7.82.10). Sūrya is reported to have given to Draupadī a gift of an inexhaustible food-vessel with the help of which she could feed even innumerable guests. Karṇa, the son of Sūrya born of Kuntī in her maidenhood used to offer daily adoration to Sūrya. MBH. (II.50.16) describes Sūrya as Deveśvara i.e. Lord of Gods. *Rāmāyaṇa* on one occasion, mentions Pūṣan, Bhaga and Āditya separately (s.25.8.23) but their essential identity with the sun-god need not be doubted.

During the post-epic period, Viṣṇu and Sūrya from among the five solar deities of the *Ṛgveda* developed an independent divine character. Savitṛ, Pūṣan and Mitra merged themselves into Sūrya, the giver of light. This is possibly the reason why the *Purāṇas* attribute the Gāyatrī Ṛc. originally praising Savitṛ to Sūrya. *Purāṇas* make Sūrya the son of Kaśyapa and Aditi.⁴ Vivasvat Savitṛ, Āditya and Pūṣan are names of the sun. The story about Sūrya's marriage with Viśvakarman's daughter Samjñā, her desertion of him leaving shadow with him due to unbearable of his effulgence and the attempt of Viśvakarman to reduce his effulgence is quite current in the *Purāṇas*. This has its origin in the Vedic myth about the marriage of Saraṇyū, the daughter of Tvaṣṭṛ, with Vivasvat, the sun-god. The *Mārkaṇḍeya*, *Agni*, *Garuḍa*, *Brahma*, *Bhaviṣya* and *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇas* can be said to contain the essence of the cult of the sun. The *Brahmavaivarta* considers Sūrya to be the symbol of the Paramātman and makes all other deities play second fiddle to Sūrya. The thirty third Adhyāya of *Brahmapurāṇa* identifies Sūrya with all gods in

त्वं ब्रह्मा त्वं महादेवस्त्वं विष्णुस्त्वं प्रजापतिः ।

वायुरिन्द्रश्च सोमश्च विश्वान् वरुणस्तथा ॥

त्वं कालः सृष्टिकर्ता च हर्ता भर्ता तथा प्रभुः ।

सरितः सागराः शैलाः विद्युदिन्द्रधनुषि च ॥

3. Hopkins, E. W.: *Epic Mythology*. (*Encyclopaedia of Indo-Aryan Research*), Vol. III, Part. 16, p. 83.

4. Kennedy, J.: *Hindu Mythology*, 1862, p. 345.

and proceeds to round off the hymn with the expressive words:

नमो नमः कारणकारणाय नमो नमः पापविमोचनाय ।

नमो नमस्ते दितिजार्दनाय नमो नमो रोगविमोचनाय ॥

नमो नमः सर्ववरप्रदाय नमो नमः सर्वसुखप्रदाय ।

नमो नमः सर्वघनप्रदाय नमो नमः सर्वमतिप्रदाय ॥

The worship of the sun is elaborately inculcated in *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*. In the 48th Adhyāya of the first Khaṇḍa of this *Purāṇa* it is mentioned that Sāmba the son of Kṛṣṇa and Jāmbavatī erected a sun-temple on the river Chandrabhāgā, could not get local brahmins to offer worship and hence was forced to bring Maga-brahmins from Śakadvīpa via Punjab to do the work. This speaks of a foreign influence on the sun-sect in India; the Maga-brahmins are taken to be the descendants of Jaraśastra or Jaraśabda the offering of the sun god born of Nikṣubhā, the daughter of Sujihva, a brahmin of Mihira gotra. It is significant to note that the *Bṛhatsamhitā* (Adhyāya 60, verse 19) mentions that the worship of the sun should be undertaken by Magas. The *Brahma Purāṇa*⁵ mentions twelve names of Sūrya viz. Indra, Dhātṛ, Parjanya, Tvaṣṭṛ, Pūṣan, Aryaman, giver of alms and delighting mendicants with gifts, Vivasvat, Viṣṇu, Amśumat, Varuṇa and Mitra and clearly says that Sūrya, the supreme spirit pervades the universe throughout these twelve splendours for the benefit of the three worlds.

Max Muller⁶ has shown how Sūrya gradually developed into the supreme being. He arouses men from slumber, infuses new light into nature and has been the giver of light. As light is the beginning of the day, Sūrya in this capacity becomes the creator and the ruler of the world. Being the destroyer of darkness and as the fertiliser of seeds, he became the protector and defender of all beings. As he sees everything, it was thought proper to seek his pardon. All these qualities paved the way for his identity with Brahman in the Sauramata. The identity of Viṣṇu with sacrifice can also be explained on the basis of his identity with Sūrya because the latter really symbolizes the incessant action of *havana* or burning. Life on this earth also should be taken as a constant sacrifice or Yajña in emulation of Yajña going on in case of the sun in the heavenly region i.e. Viṣṇu of the Vedic days.⁷

5. Kennedy, J.: *Hindu Mythology*, 1862, p. 349.

6. Max Muller: *Hibbert Lectures*, pp. 265-266.

7. S. D. Pendse: *Vaidic Vāṇmayātil Bhāgvat Dharmūchā Vikāsa* (Marathi), pp. 100-102.

The reference to the Sūrya-devatā⁸ (2.4.12) as well as the prayer to Sūrya in the Upanayana ceremony (17.17)⁹ in the *Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra*, the teachings of Khadira regarding the adoration of Sūrya for the obtainment of rich and fame in the *Kauṣītaki-gṛhyasūtra* clearly indicate the cult of Sūrya-worship in the Vedic days. *Mahābhārata* as well as the *Purāṇas*, as is shown above, offer sufficient evidence to indicate the existence of a Saura sect. Kālidāsa's *Vikramorvaśīyam* speaks of Purūravas returning after Sūryopasthāna when he met the group of celestial nymphs crying for succour from the demon Keśin who carried off Urvaśī.¹⁰ In the *Kumārasambhavam* besides the fires enkindled in four directions, the sun is the fifth shining from the vaults of the heaven. Pārvatī is seen performing this *vrata* in the 5th canto of *Kumārasambhavam*.¹¹ In the *Abhijñānaśākuntalam* (VII.27) Duṣyanta is seen paying his respectful homage to the divine couple born of Dakṣa and Marīci considered to be the source of the twelve-fold lustre.¹² This should be taken either to be an allusion to the worship of 12 Ādityas mentioned in *Viṣṇupurāṇa*¹³ or better to the elaborate worship of the 12 digits of the sun (as is opined by Rāghava) enumerated in the triplet:

तपिनी तापिनी धूम्रा मरोचिर्ज्वालिनी रुचिः ।

सुषुम्ना भोगदा विश्वाबोधिनी धारिणी क्षमा ।

कभाद्या वसुधा सौर्या ठण्डन्ता द्वादशेरिताः ॥

The praise of Sūrya in hundred verses undertaken by the poet Mayūra of the 7th century A.D. for getting cured of white leprosy, the acceptance of the Sūrya-mantra by Prabhākaravardhana, the father of Harṣavardhana as well as the prayer of the Sūtradhāra to the rising Sūrya for removing all his sins in the *Mālatīmādhavam* of Bhavabhūti¹⁴ (8th century A.D.) go to prove the continued

8. Read: सौर्यायिके with the commentary *Anavīla* of Haradattācārya प्रीणो हेमन्त इति मन्त्रे अधिपतिः प्राणदः इति सूर्यस्याभिधानं मन्यन्ते ।
9. Read: आदित्यमीक्षयेद् देव सवितरेषु ते ब्रह्मचारी तं गोपाय स मामन्तेत्याचार्यः ।
10. Cf: सूर्योपस्थानात्प्रतिनिवृत्तं पुरुस्त्वसं मामुपेत्य कथ्यतां कुतो भवत्यः परित्रातव्या इति ।
Vikramorvaśīyam I.
11. Cf: शूची चतुर्णां ज्वलतां हविर्भूजां शुचिस्मिता सुमध्यमा ।
विजित्य नेत्रप्रतिघातिनी प्रभामनन्यदृष्टिः सवितारयक्षत ॥
Kumārasambhavam V
12. Cf: प्राहृद्वादशधा स्थितस्य मुनयो यत्तजसः कारणम् ।
13. Cf: तत्र विष्णुश्च शक्रश्च जज्ञाने पुनरेव हि ।
अयमा चैव घाता च त्वष्टा पूषा तथैव ह च ॥
विवस्वान् सविता चैव मित्रो वरुण एव च ।
जंशो भगश्चादितिजा आदित्या द्वादश स्मृताः ॥
14. Cf: कल्याणानां त्वमसि महसां भाजनं विष्णुमूर्ते
धुर्यां लक्ष्मीमथ मयि मृषां धेहि देव प्रसीद ।
यद्यत्पापं प्रतिजहि जगन्नाथ तन्नस्य तन्मे
भद्रं भद्रं वितर भगवन्भूयसे मङ्गलाय ॥ (1.3)

existence of the cult of the Sūrya-worship throughout the centuries after the Christian era. It is no wonder, therefore, that the revered Śaṅkarācārya (8th century A.D.) refers to a distinct sect of Sun-worshippers in the 14th Paṭala of his *Prapañcasāra* who believed in the ability of Dinapati to bestow immortality on holy waters being sprinkled on his image¹⁵ and assures us of the sun-god helping his devotees to successfully cross the ocean of mundane existence in the verse

तस्यादिनाथ दिनशो ददताहिनावौ
 देन्यापनोदितनवे दिनवल्लभाय ।
 अर्घ्यं समप्रदिवभवस्त्वथ बार्कवारे
 पारं स गच्छति भवाह्वयदारिराशोः ॥

The Ācārya has also referred to members of Saura-sect that carry the symbol of the sun branded on their forehead and breast. Anandagiri refers to six classes of sun-worshippers who bore namam (caste-mark) made of red sandal paste, wore garlands of red flowers and repeated Sūrya gāyatrī of eight syllables. Among the later Upaniṣads, *Akṣyupaniṣad*, *Cakṣuṣopaniṣad*, *Sāvītryupaniṣad*, *Sūryatāpinyupaniṣad* and *Sūryopaniṣad* are specially devoted to Sūrya. The *Sūryatāpinyupaniṣad* mentions twelve names of the sun viz. Mitra, Ravi, Sūrya, Bhānu, Khaga, Puṣan, Hiraṇyagarbha, Marīci, Āditya, Savitṛ,¹⁶ Arka and Bhāskara and points out that the sun-god unlike other gods has the unique distinction of being seen with the help of the physical eye. These names may be indicative of the morning, noon and the evening suns. The *Akṣyupaniṣad* speaks of the seven steps that a Yogin ascends before he is finally released i.e. becomes identified with Vāsudeva. The *Sūryatāpinyupaniṣad* describes the greatness of the eight syllabled spell viz. Ghr̥ṇi-Sūrya-Āditya. The worship of Sūrya Yantra consisting of eight petals forms the subject matter of the 4th paṭala of this Upaniṣad. This Yantra consists of a circle, a lotus of eight petals and a triangle. The twelve Āvaraṇas are mentioned. The names¹⁷ of the sun corresponding to the twelve months are given and it is stated that one who worships the Sūrya Yantra according to the rules stated, goes to the land of the Sun. Along with Sūrya-gāyatrī, viz.:

‘आदित्याय विद्महे, सह किरणाय धीमहि, तन्नः सूर्यः प्रचोदयात्’,

15. Read: अमृतमयजलावसिक्तमात्रो
 दिनपतिरप्यमृतत्वमाप्तनोति ॥ 17ab

16. Reference here can be made to the two important papers on Savitṛ by Shri R. K. Prabhu and Shri N. G. Chaphekar as they speak of a new stand-point in this matter.

17. These names are: (1) Aruṇa, (2) Sūrya, (3) Vedāṅga, (4) Bhānu, (5) Indra, (6) Ravi, (7) Gabhastī, (8) Yama, (9) Suvarṇaretas, (10) Divākara, (11) Mitra and (12) Magha or Viṣṇu.

the Āditya Gāyatrī given by the *Vanadurgā Upaniṣad* in the words

मास्कराय विद्महे महाद्युतिकराय धीमहि, तन्नो आदित्यः प्रचोदयात् ।

deserve to be mentioned in this connection. Fruit of worship, as is expected, is clearly stated in these Upaniṣads. Thus it is pointed out that the eye-diseases¹⁸ are cured by mastering the *Netropaniṣad* and that there is no rebirth for a man or woman who knows the real form of Savitr and his power to create (Sāvitrī) reciting the eight-syllabled spell, referred to above gives oneness with Brahman. Thus the process of deification of Sūrya is complete in these Upaniṣads. Not only have they used Vedic hymns in their worship, but under the influence of Tantra literature they have introduced new methods of worship and have added different spells and Yantras to old methods of adoration. Solerium at Jamnagar, utilising the creative value of the Sun's rays on a scientific basis, is a unique contrivance in India.

The worship of Sūrya thus assumed a steller role in the post-Vedic Purāṇic times. All legends dealing with Bhāgavata Dharma are connected with the Sun. Sattrājī, the father-in-law of Śrī Kṛṣṇa was a sun-worshipper and had received the Syamantaka maṇi as a gift from the Sun. Nimbārka the earliest of the Bhāgavata reformer was considered to be an incarnation of the Sun and is reported to have become famous by making the Sun stand-still. Epigraphic data goes to prove that some of the ancient rulers of India were exclusive sun-worshippers. Thus, Mahārājā Dharapaṭṭa one of the Maitraka rulers of Valabhī, rulers of Thanessvara like Rājyavardhana, Ādityavardhana and Prabhākaravardhana were Parama Āditya bhāṭṭāras i.e. the most devout worshippers of the sun. It is significant to note that Mughal kings like Akbar gave impetus to this worship by paying homage to the Sun. Abū-l-Fazl says in the *Ain* (Blochmann, p. 48), "His Majesty maintains that it is a religious duty and divine praise to worship fire and light". Royalty in his opinion was a light emanating from God and a ray of the sun.¹⁹ It can be easily seen that Akbar was also influenced by Persian religion.

It has been already pointed out that sun-temples were being built from the days of the *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa*. Although few of these have survived to this day, Konarak in Orissa, architecturally the best specimen, speaks of Sūryopāsana that was current in that state. The sun-temples at Modhera (Gujarat) Gaya, Ayodhya in Uttar Pradesh certainly deserve mention. The sun-temple at Somanath,

18. In modern times Raja of Aundh has popularised this idea.

19. James Hastings: *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. I, p. 273.

unfortunately, is in a horrible state at present due to utter negligence. In the prominent temples the image of the sun is seen with boots on, which however, remains a riddle to the present day. There are, however, other sun images without the perplexing knee-boots where the sun is seen holding two unblossomed lotuses in two raised hands with a halo of disc round the face. The image of the sun in Mathura as well as Lucknow Museum is in a running chariot with the soles of his feet touching the ground. Along with lotuses in the hands this image has two small wings on either shoulder like Garuḍa reminding one of Vedic names of Sūrya such as Garutman or Suparṇa. The image of Sun in Dacca (Bangladesh) having lotuses in hands that are unfortunately broken, speaks of the extent of the cult. The sun-image at Bhumra (Madhya Pradesh) offers an excellent example of Sūrya of the Gupta age; while one at Arkat in Cidambaran has three faces and six hands. The image of Chaphal in Satara, though taken to be of Rāma, evidently belongs to the Sun as is evident from the two lotuses in two hands with seven horses in the front of the seat as aptly described in the Subhāsita.

It is also pertinent to refer to the fact that a large number of Stotras have also been written in the honour of the Sun. Dr. P. K. Gode in his catalogue of the Government Mss. deposited at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, has referred to Sūrya Stotras. Thus, the sun-worship prevailed all over India and its influence continues to be acknowledged in the prevalence of the solar year with lunar months. The daily *sandhyā* prescribed for the Traivarnikas is but a simplified form of sun-worship. The observance of seventh day of the bright half of Magha is a formal yearly worship of the sun in the domestic sphere. The sun has occupied an important place in the Numismatics of the country. The Gupta coins show the twelve signs of the Zodiac in a highly artistic manner. The coins of the Elddehika and the Pāñcāla Mitra chiefs like Sūryamitra and Bhanumitra bear on their reverse side the solar disc placed on a pedestal.²⁰

Sun-worship is more pronounced in the south. There existed a sect in a place called Subrahmanya near Trivendrum with Divākara as its leader. Followers of this sect wore a circular spot of red sandal on the forehead and bore red flowers. Dravidians and Kolarians invoked the sun as Parameśvara, the creator and preserver. Popular form of offering to the deity consists of a white cock whose head is struck off at the village temple. The name of

20. J. N. Banerjea: *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, (Second Edition-1950), p. 432.

the deity is Suraj Narayan and the traders are seen drawing images and symbols of the sun at the entrance of their booths for ensuring good luck. Holi festival in south India is originally intended for propitiating the sun. Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency (1885-93, iii, 863) affirms that the Sauras, a sub-cast of the Dravida Brāhmaṇas, bore a *tilaka* of red sandal of a special shape and a crystal necklace. The Nim-tree is considered specially sacred to the Sun. A forest tribe in the Thana District worship the Sun in Divali by throwing red lead at his image and offering fowls that are allowed to fly into the forest. Sun-worship prevails even now in the forest tribes of the Central Hills. Kisans offer a cock to the sun at the time of sacrifice and Kharvārs appeal to him in the hour of peril. The Bhuiyās and Oraons worship him as a Boram or Dharmadevata (Dharmaesha) and the Korwas revere him as Bhagawan, the wonderful. Among the Bhils of the Satpura hills there is joint form of worship of the Sun and the Moon. The Khārriās offer adoration to him under the name of Bero.²¹ Among the northern tribes, the Sun is worshipped in the evening of the sixth day or in the morning of the seventh day of the bright half of the month of Kārtika. A sacred meal without salt is undertaken in the honour of the Sun. When the Sun enters a new sign of the Zodiac, a special ritual is observed. Sūrya or Gṛharāja is worshipped in Bihar and parts of Bengal. Chatt Pūjā is held on the 6th day of the bright half of Kārtika and libations with flowers, rice, milk, etc. are offered to the Sun. Muhammadans also join this ceremony. Image of Mārtaṇḍa has been unearthed in Kashmir. It is needless to add that Sūrya is one of the five deities worshipped in Pañcāyatanapūjā and he enjoys the supreme place among the nine planets as is evident from the couplet:

जवाकुसुमसंकाशं काश्यपेयं महाद्युतिम् ।
ततोर्जरं सर्वपापघ्नं प्रणतोऽस्मि दिवाकरम् ॥

Works like *Śilparatna*, *Suprabhedāgama*, *Caturvargacintāmaṇi*, *Abhi-
laṣṭīarthacintāmaṇi*, *Rūpamaṇḍana* describe Sūrya along with other
eight planets. The importance given to the twelve Sūrya-namas-
kāras by the devout Hindus is well brought out by the popular
verse:

आदित्यस्य नमस्कारं यो कुर्वन्ति दिने दिने ।
जन्मान्तरसहस्रेषु तेषां दारिद्र्यं नोपजायते ॥

Rajasaheb of Aundha (Dist. Satara) in modern times made a systematic propaganda for popularising Sūryanamaskāras by lectures, demonstrations, films as well as books. It is interesting to note that

21. James Hastings: *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. 10, p. 45.

an Arabic translation of Rajasaheb's book on Sūryanamaskāras has been popular in Egypt.²² Kite-flying is a popular pastime all over the East. The kite is known in India as Patāṅga, a synonym for the Sun, at its height on the Makara-Saṅkrānta day, is indulged by all irrespective of age, caste and creed.

It has to be borne in mind that the worship of the Sun is not only restricted to the nooks and corners of India; it has spread in almost all countries of the world. Mithra, the equivalent of Vedic Mitra, occupies an important place in the Avestan pantheon. Although he has no place in the Gāthās of Zarathuṣṭhra, he becomes the most conspicuous angel of the younger Avestan period. Mihira Yastha, one of the longest Yasts, celebrates his greatness. Although he is only a Yazata i.e. next to the Amesha Spentas. Mithra is omniscient (Yast 10.24.35), the strongest with a body self-shining. On the mortal side, being an associate of the Ahura Mazda he is the protector of truth and good faith. That is why according to this Yast (x.1) 'thus spake Ahura Mazda to the holy Zarathuṣṭhra, when I created Mithra, Lord of wide pastures, then O Spitāmā, I created him as worthy of sacrifice and as worthy of prayer as myself Ahura Mazda.' Being the guardian of light, Mithra is invoked with the angel presiding over the Sun. On the material side Mithra presides over light especially over light radiating from the Sun. Being sleepless and ever wakeful he watches the doings of men. Above all Avestan Mithra becomes an inveterate enemy of falsehood representing light synonymous with truth. Being the genius of light, he is expected to guard the sanctity of oaths. Hence Mithra in the Avesta has become a common noun meaning "contract" (Yast 10.116.117). He who violates an oath naturally becomes the target of his wrath and is styled as "Mithra-druij", i.e. deceiver of Mithra. Mithra severely punishes a liar. This has also paved the way for making Mithra, the Lord of hosts and hence a war-divinty who is invoked for destroying foes. Yast 10.36 speaks of this god breaking as under the lines of battle and striking terror in the entire array of the enemies. No wonder, therefore, that he is provided with a celestial car rolling upon one golden wheel, the sun, with a shining angel; (Yast. 10-136). The wrath of this powerful divinity is one that can destroy a house, town as well as the country (Yast. 10.28, 87). Invocation is the only means of appeasing this vengeful angel; hence the faithful offer sacrifices to him of cattle and birds along with Homa and libations (Yast. 10. 119). A faithful person who desires to drink the holy libations consecrated in the honour of Mithra has to wash his body for three

days and nights and undergo thirty stripes.²³ (Yast. 10.137.139). Later Mithraic rites and mysteries for which the cult of Mithra became famous among the Parsis evidently arose out of such ritualistic observances. It has been rightly said that "This Avestan hymn (Yast) to Mithra to be dated approximately in the second half of the fifth century B.C. is the one extensive ancient literary record we have of the attributes, habits, equipment, companions and cult of the Iranian god whose worship was destined to spread into Europe as far as Britain some five to six hundred years after the hymn was composed."²⁴ Although most of the Islamic countries observe lunar calendar Iran alone shows distinct respect for the Sun by observing the solar calendar throughout. Their new year day-Navroj invariably falls on the 21st March.

Mithraism diffused throughout Asia Minor. The later Achaemenian kings were ardent votaries of Mithra and Anahita. In Asia Minor Greek art was enlisted in the service of Mithraism and is responsible for creating the sculptural types which are diffused throughout the west.

Mithraism or the cult of Mithra, known from inscriptions and monuments of the Roman period, retains the character of Mithra as a war-divinity. It goes without saying that it developed different characteristics also possibly under the influence of astral religion of Babylonia. Nevertheless the inspiring conception of Mithra, as the mediator and the redeemer who grants deliverance to faithful persons is originally Iranian in character; elaboration of astrological dogmas connected with their influence on planets or upon the soul may be attributed to Chaldean influence. Plutarch considers that the cult of Mithra was brought to Rome by Silician pirates taken captive in 67 B.C., but the earliest Mithraic inscription found in Rome was set up by a freeman of Flavian Dynasty.²⁵ James Hastings has pointed out that diffusion of the cult of Mithra in Rome was done firstly by the army, secondly by slaves and thirdly with the help of trade-routes.²⁶ Thus, it is pointed out that 'during the Parthian wars under Cludius and Nero a considerable oriental element entered the service of Rome as auxiliaries.' This was responsible for spreading the faith in the west.

What was the central act of worship in this cult? The answer to this can be given by referring to the sacrifice of a bull, the prototype of which was the slaughter of a bull by Mithra himself re-

23. N. M. Dhalla: *Zoroastrian Theology*, New York, 1914, p. 110.

24. Ilya Gershevitch: *The Avestan Hymn to Mithra*, 1959, Introduction, p. 3.

25. James Hastings: *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. 8, p. 755.

26. *Ibid.*

presented in belief almost in every sanctuary. Places of worship known as *speloeum* seem to have been established in natural caves on the north slope of the capital at Rome. Ostia possessed of five sanctuaries, Aquincum at least four and Carmuntum three. Many are the episodes represented in the monuments.

In some, figures of Mithra and Sun clasping each other's right hand in friendship, while others show Mithra being carried in the Sun's chariot across the ocean. At times the Sun-god is seen kneeling in front of Mithra while in some monuments, a banquet of Mithra and the Sun with both of them reclining on the couch meet our gaze. All these indicate, in fact, the final phase where Mithraism in Rome was absorbed into what can be called "solar pantheism" which became the official religion of the Roman state under the leadership of Aurelian where "sol invictus" the ruler of the universe was identified with Mithra. In A. D. 307 Discretian, Galerius and Licinius meeting in a conference at Carmuntum are reported to have dedicated an altar to Mithra. Emperor Julian was a votary of Mithra. The latest inscriptions in which Mithra was named, belong to 385 A. D. Mithraism, it seems, occupied a position of privilege till the victory of Constantine and finally the measures adopted by Theodosius sealed the fate of Mithraism at Scarburg in Lorraine.

It is possible to adduce some evidence for the existence of Sun worship in New Briton and New Ireland. In Vuatom, a district of New Ireland there had been a practice to undertake some rites at the entry of the Sun in southern solstice. Dukduk is the name of an organisation in the Duke of York, Ireland and New Briton (Gozelle Peninsula) that observes certain ceremonial, the features of which presuppose the cult of the Sun.

Mithra has been familiar to readers of Rudyard Kipling's "Puck of Pook's Hill". Fresh evidence for the existence of this cult of the Sun in England came forward as a result of excavations carried on by the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society in cooperation with the corporation of London under the guidance of J. E. Price, one of the energetic officers of the Society during the latter half of the 19th century. In fact, it has been pointed out that an excavation took place in Walbrook, Bucklersbury House in 1889 almost certainly on the site of the temple of Mithra and from it came a rich haul of antique marble sculptures.²⁷ Three temples on

27. Ralph Merrifield: *The Roman city of London*, 1965, pp. 7, 265, also plates 84-85 now preserved in the London Museum at present housed in Kensington. J. M. C. Toynbee has suggested that this temple may have been carved from Italian marble by a Danubian Sculptor in Britain (*Art in Roman Britain*, 1962, p. 154).

the line of Hadrian's wall were discovered; one at Housesteads²⁸ in the 19th century, another of Carrawburgh in 1950 and the third Rudchester in 1953. Doubts regarding the genuineness of these things as antiquities of Roman Britain were finally dispelled in the year 1954 when near the Mansion House in Walbrook (Part of London) was discovered a relief of Mithra staying Augustan legion having a height of 17½ inches as well as a width of 22 inches.²⁹ The marble sculptures: Mithra, Minerva, Serapis and Mercury, with the colossal hand of Mithra excavated by Professor Griemes during this year, were seen sealed beneath a floor of the temple which, according to authorities on the subject, seems to have been laid quite early in the fourth century A.D. The discovery of this, we are told, gave rise to "an overwhelming public demand for an opportunity to visit the excavation and the site was opened for inspection each evening for nearly a week" and that on the last day — Sunday the 26th September 1954 — the queue was at one time nearly a mile long and it is estimated that about 35,000 people were admitted, many of them were waiting for an hour and a half.³⁰ This helped to develop a myth that a temple of Mithra or its equivalent lurked on every building site and that archaeological investigation threatened ruin to contractors and site owners.³¹ It is also reported that during excavations of a building site on the busy road Holbourn in the heart of London, a Roman Tombstone and a statue of Mithra was unearthed in 1964.³² Thus there is abundant evidence that temples to the great Mithra representing an eastern cult were in active commission right upto the end of the Roman period. A new temple was built late in the period inside the deserted ramparts of maiden castle though its exact nature is not known.³³

An account of the Sun-worship in the world cannot be said to be complete without briefly referring to the cult obtaining in other countries as well. James Hastings in his *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* (Vol. 8) has referred to the Sun-worship among African tribes. Shange of Yoruba is nothing but the Sun dwelling in a flaming house of brass.³⁴ The Kavirondo worship the Sun as well as the Moon. Barbers of North Africa (between Egypt and lake

28. 'This temple of Mithras is a commentary on the strength of enthusiasm of Mithraic cult and on eloquent though silent testimony to the way in which the cult swept across Europe from one end of the empire to the other.'—E. F. Lincoln's *Britain's Unwritten History* (1959), p. 138.

29. Toynbee, J. M. C.: An exciting legacy of Roman Britain — The Temple of Mithras in Walbrook—Listener 11th November, 1954, p. 801-803. Also see *British Humanities Index*, 1954, p. 150.

30. *British Humanities Index*, 1954.

31. *Ibid.*

32. *British Humanities Index*, 1964, p. 237.

33. E. F. Lincoln: *Britain's unwritten History*, 1959, p. 129.

34. Eltis: *Yoruba-speaking peoples*, p. 46.

Tritonia) worshipped the Sun. Some Latin inscriptions, it appears, are dedicated to this worship of the Sun. Another tribe known by the name Allantes is reported to have a habit of watching the rising and setting Sun while uttering some incantations all the time. A study of the Andean religion of Egypt before and after the rise of Incas offers some evidence of Sun-worship. The solar year of these people was divided into 12 months. All ceremonies were associated with agriculture as well as the course of the Sun. The term Incas really means the people of the Sun, having the Sun as the chief object of worship. Is it not significant that the figure of Cuzco in Peru representing the Sun was clothed in the robes of an emperor and a special ritual was offered to its worship? Egyptian God Osiris has been identified by many scholars with the Sun because of the story of his death agreeing with the solar phenomena in nature.³⁵

Navaho is the name of a family of North America belonging linguistically to the Athapascan stock which had the custom of invoking the Sun as a powerful agent influencing the human affairs. Apache tribes belong to the southern-most group of this very stock of American Indians who originally covered the region from the Arctic coast to the New Mexico and from a Pacific to Hudson Bay. A survey of the customs of these tribes convinces us of sacrifices offered to the Sun and performance of Sun-dances. Armenians gave very great importance to the Sun-worship as is clear from the fact that the first day of every month of their year was consecrated to the Sun. It must be borne in mind that Armenian Churches are built in the East and the Armenian dead are also buried towards the East. It has been pointed out that 'the famous hymn to Vahagan quoted by Moses of Chorene (I.31) sounds like a Sun-hymn.' According to Xenophon, 'Armenians sacrificed horses to the Sun.' (Anabasis iv-5-35).³⁶

The Sun-god makes his appearance among Mordvins, a branch of Finno Ugrian race who offer special oblations to the Sun at sacrificial feasts. History informs us that the Ainn religion (of the prehistoric race which spread over an area from Siberia in the North down to the southernmost limits of Old Japan) was animistic and anthropomorphic in character where each spirit agency was taken to be associated with mind or understanding. This gave rise to numerous nature gods. Followers of this religion observed the regularity of the movements of the Sun in the sky and came to the conclusion that within the *num* i.e. the orb of the Sun there must exist *ramat* i.e. a living and light-giving spirit which makes it move and shine. The orb of the Sun becomes the chief among the lesser lights and

35. Frazer, J. G.: *The Golden Bough* (Abridged edition, 1925), p. 384).

36. James Hastings: *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. I, p. 797.

hence imports a special sacredness to the eastern direction. The eclipse of the Sun is caused by the *num* becoming devoid of *ramat*; but this is a temporary affair.

This brings us to Japanese mythology where the Sun appears in the form of a goddess named Amaterasu. She is considered to be the ruler of heaven and earth and the progenitor of the ruling family. With the introduction of Buddhism in Japan this goddess was connected with Buddha Vairocana, the illuminator. This conception has exercised a great influence on the doctrine and worship of the Sun during the sway of Shinto from the 8th to the 19th century. The importance of the Sun in Japan is also indicated by the fact that he is represented on national flag by the Japanese like the Iranians.

Here a reference can also be made to the Sun who is feminine in Arabic and Semitic languages and is identified with Allat. The cult of Allat flourished in the sanctuary at Taif a town situated in the East of Mecca. The tribe residing in this district continues to call Allat as 'mistress' right upto the modern days. Inhabitants of Semitic Peninsula held Allat in so high an esteem that proper names of some tribes such as Nabateans and Palmyrenes ended in Allat, the mother of gods. This goddess has also become the object of praise in poetry. One Arabic poet has said 'I swore to him in the presence of throned by the salt, by the fire, by the Allat who is the greatest of all.'³⁷

On having known thus the indications of the evidence of the worship of Sun in all parts of the globe, the account of the celebrated Chinese traveller Hiuen-Tsang and Arab geographers like Al Edrisi, Abu Ishak al Ishtakhri, etc. speaking of the temple as well as the image of the Sun in Multan as well as the unearthing of the image of the Sun borne on a chariot in the Island of Java need not be a source of great surprise. India as well as Iran can be said to be the home-lands of the worship of the Sun, the brilliant repository of light, the eye of the gods the destroyer of sins and the awakener of men goading them on to activity contributing to welfare. No wonder that it has proved to be a perennial source of inspiration to thinkers as well as devout beings of all times. Finally it will be in the fitness of things, to round off this brief discussion with the glorious words of Sri Śaṅkarācārya in the *Prapañcāsāra*:—

भास्वद्वरनौघमौलिस्फुरद्धमृतरुचो रञ्जयन्वाह रेखां
सम्यक्संतप्तकार्तस्वरकमलजपाभामुराभिः प्रभाभिः ।
विश्वाकाशावकाशं ज्वलयदशिशिरं धर्तं पाशाङ्कुशेष्ट(-
भीतीनां मद्भित्तुङ्गस्तनमधुतु जगन्मातुरार्कं बधुर्वः ॥

THE LEGEND OF HANUMĀN :

A study of a folklore motif in the Rāmāyaṇa

NARENDRANATH B. PATIL

HANUMĀN occupies an important place in the pantheon of Hindu gods. He is first introduced to us in the *Rāmāyaṇa* as a devout servant of Rāma. He comes to know of Rāma, rather late in his life. The moment he sees Rāma, he becomes his devotee and spends the rest of his life in his service. At the behest of Rāma, he accompanied by a host of other *vānaras*, sets on a long journey towards the south to seek Sītā. Of all the members of the search parties, he is the only one who succeeds in finding out Sītā. He thus becomes dearer to Rāma. He is often cited as an example of perfect devotion. It is worthwhile to study the personality of Hanumān and the lore about him traceable in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and other ancient literary works.

We find in the *Rāmāyaṇa* that all the gods had approached Viṣṇu and requested him to incarnate in order to kill Rāvaṇa.¹ Viṣṇu had consented to do so and the story goes that Prajāpati offered *pāyasam* to king Daśaratha at the close of *putra-kāmeṣṭiyajña*. The king gave *pāyasam* to his queens. The queens conceived after partaking the *pāyasam*. When Viṣṇu went as a son to the great king Daśaratha, the *svayambhu* Bhagavān Brahmā asked the other gods to beget lustrous, brave and immortal sons to *apsarasas*, *gāndharvis*, *yakṣiṇīs*, *pannagīs* and female monkeys, etc.² Brahmā said that he had already created Jāmbavān — the bear. He came out of his mouth when he was yawning.³ So also Indra begot Vāli and the

1. Viṣṇoḥ putratvamāgachha kṛtvātmnānaṁ caturvidhaṁ.
tatra tvān mānuṣo bhūtvā pravṛddhaṁ lokakāntakam. — Rāmā. Bāl K. 15-21.

2. putratvaṁ tu gate Viṣṇau rājñyastasya mahātmanah
uvāca devatāḥ sarvāḥ swayambhur-bhugavānidaṁ.
satya-saṁdhasya vīrasya sarveṣāṁ no hitaiṣiṇaḥ
Viṣṇoḥ sahāyān balinaḥ sṛjadhvaṁ kāmariṇiṇaḥ
apsarāsu ca mukhyāsu gandharvināṁ tanūṣu ca
yakṣa-pannaga-kanyāsu ṛkṣavidyādharīṣu ca
kinuarīṇāṁ ca gātreṣu vānarīṇāṁ tanūṣu ca — Ibid. 1-17 (1-6).

3. Pūrvameva mayā sṛṣṭo Jāmbavān ṛkṣapuṅgavaḥ
jṛmbhamāṇasya sahasā mama vaktrādajāyuta

— Ibid. 1-17-7.

Sun begot Sugrīva. The Bṛhaspati begot Tāra. Viśvakarmā begot Nala. The fire begot Nīla. The Aśvinau begot Mainda and Dwi-vida. Varuṇa begot Suṣeṇa. Parjanya begot Śarabha and Marut begot Hanumān.⁴ He was strong as Indra's *vajra* and was like Vainateya in speed. He was most intelligent among the *vānaras* and the strongest of them all.⁵

We do not come across any detailed description of the childhood of Hanumān in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. We first notice him in the *Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa* when he sees Rāma and approaches him as a messenger of Sugrīva. The whole of the *Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa* deals with the exploits of Hanumān and his associates. There Hanumān assures Rāma that he and Sugrīva, both will strive to trace Sītā. Hanumān is then seen assuring Tārā, who bewails Vāli, killed by Rāma.^{5a} Later Hanumān solicits Rāma to accompany Sugrīva and to install him on the throne. Rāma declines as he is in exile and therefore, is forbidden to participate in such ceremonies. Hanumān acts as a counsel of Sugrīva and pulls him up when the latter becomes forgetful of his duty towards Rāma. Sugrīva, thereafter, arranges to send bands of *vānaras* in all directions. Rāma gives his signet ring to Hanumān who proceeds in the southern direction in search of Sītā. We then find Hanumān alongwith other *vānaras* on the shores of the southern ocean. The *vānaras* are at the land's end and the question of reaching Laṅkā almost stands as an impossibility. They are all mighty *vānaras*, some of them capable of jumping as long as 80 *yojanas* and yet none of them can jump over to Laṅkā. Jāmbavān however, praises Hanumān and reminds him of his earlier exploits. He tells him that he had almost jumped upto the Sun, soon after his birth, and would have almost devoured the Sun like a ripe apple. To save the world from the resultant eternal darkness, Indra had then struck him with his *vajra*.⁶ Hanumān, thereafter, flies to Laṅkā. On the way he touches Maināka with his palm and again goes into the sky. He is devoured by Surasā, the mother of *nāgas*.

4. *vānarendra Mahendrābhaṇi Indro Vāllnamātmajaṇi
Mārutasyaurasaḥ śrīmān Hanumān nāma vānaraḥ*

— Ibid. 1.17. (10-16)

5. *vajrasaṅghananopeto Vainateyasamo jave*

— Ibid. (1-17-16)

5a. *Sanaiḥ āśvāsuyāmāsa Hanumān Hariyūthapaḥ
guṇa-ḍoṣa-kṛtam jantuḥ svakarmaphalaketukan.
avyagrastadavāpnoti sarvaṁ pretya śubhā-śubham
śocyā śocasi kaṁ śocyam dīnam dīnānuḥkampase
kaśca kaśyānuśocyosti dehesmin budbudopame.*

6. *guhāyaṁ tvam mahābāho prajujñye plavagarsabha
abhyutthitam tataḥ sūryam bālo drṣtvā mahāvane.
phalaṁ ceti jighṛkṣustvanutplutyabhyutpatato divam
śatāni trīṇi gatvātha yojanānān mahākape — Ibid. Kiṣkindhā, K. (20-24)*

He causes her expand her mouth 100 *yojanas* and then himself assuming a thumb-size form enters her mouth and comes through her ear. Similarly, he kills Simhikā by entering into her mouth and tearing open her body.

The city-goddess of Laṅkā is hostile to Hanumān and does not allow him to enter into the city. Hanumān, however, chastises her and then she allows him to enter. Hanumān has a hard time in locating Sītā and finds her at last. He reveals his identity, shows the signet-ring to Sītā. Sītā gives him the *cūḍāmaṇī* as a token to be shown to Rāma. Hanumān destroys the Aśokavana; Rāvaṇa sends *kiṅkaras* and Hanumān destroys them. He kills Jambumālin and also the other seven sons of Rāvaṇa's ministers. Thereafter, Indrajit catches him and he is brought in Rāvaṇa's *sabhā*. He looks at Rāvaṇa and is wonderstruck with his glory and spontaneously expresses a good opinion about him.⁷ Hanumān tells Rāvaṇa that he is Rāma's envoy. Rāvaṇa wants to kill him, but Vibhīṣaṇa points out to Rāvaṇa that it is unfair to kill an envoy. So another punishment is thought out viz. of burning the tail. This punishment results in the fire of Laṅkā. Thereafter, Hanumān returns to Rāma and narrates Sītā's message and also requests Rāma to proceed further to Laṅkā to chastise Rāvaṇa. Hanumān's exploits on the way to Laṅkā and on the battle-field are also well known. The one notable incident, however, is the one of bringing the medicinal herbs along with the mountain, when both Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa are struck by Indrajit with *brahmāstra*. About seventy six crores of *vānaras* are killed that day. But Hanumān is unhurt and is capable of undertaking a long journey. So Jāmbavān feels assured.⁸ He then asks Hanumān to fly to the Himālayas and bring the medicinal herbs viz. *mṛtasanjīvanī*, *viśalyakaraṇī* and *sandhānī*. Hanumān reaches the spot but is unable to identify the herbs. He gets perplexed and scolds the mountain.⁹ Unable to identify the herbs, Hanumān pulls up the mountain and returns with it to the battle ground of Laṅkā. On account of the sweet and refreshing fragrance of the herbs, Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and the *vānaras* recover and are ready to fight again.

7. *bhrūjamānani tato dr̥ṣtvā Hanumān rākṣaseśvarani
manasā cīntayāmāsa tejasā tasya mohitah
'ho rūpaṁ aho dhairyam aho satraṁ aho dyutih
aho rākṣasarājasya sarvalakṣaṇa-yuktatā
yadi adharma na balavān syādayam rākṣaseśvarah
syādayam suralokasya saśakrasyāpi rakṣitā*

Ibid — Sundar K. 49-(16 to 18)

8. *asmin jīvatī vīre tu hatamapyahatām balam
Hanumatyujhītaprāṇe jīvantopi mṛtā vayanī*

Ibid — Yuddha K. 74-22

9. *amṛṣyamānognisamānucakṣuḥ Mahīdharendram tamurāca vākyaṁ*

Ibid — Yuddha K. 74-62

These are in brief the exploits of Hanumān as narrated in the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

When we study the epic in detail we find that apart from being a poem it is a cultural history of the preceding period. There is, therefore, a queer mixture of history and the poetic imagination. Rāma thus stands as an Āryan hero who marches towards the South for a cultural conquest. The winning over of the *vānaras* and later of Vibhiṣaṇa is surely a mark of culture conquest.

The personal traits and other characteristics of Hanumān of the epic can be traced back to the times of the Vedas. This is evident when we read the Ṛgvedic hymns in praise of Rudras and Maruts. That way Rudra is not a prominent deity in the *Ṛgveda*. He is praised only in three hymns and is partially mentioned in other hymns jointly with Soma. Rudra is said to be the father of Maruts (Ṛgv. 1-114-(6.9). So also Maruts are often mentioned as sons of Rudra. It is also mentioned that Rudra begot Maruts of the breasts of Pṛṣṇī. (a dappled cow) (Ṛgv. 2-34-2)¹⁰ Rudra is described as great (Ṛgv. 7-10-4), powerful, strongest among the strong, (7-46-1), one who cannot be ravished, i.e. *adhṛṣya*, quick, (10-92-5) (1-114-4), young (2-33-1), (5-60-5), who cannot be ravaged by age (*ajara*) (6-49-10), clever (*buddhimān*), intellectual (*medhāvī*), large hearted (*udāra*), (1-41-1; 1-114-3; 2-33-7; 6-49-10) and helpful (1-114-3). He continues to be helpful as is found in the description in the other Vedas. Rudra is also Śiva, i.e. benevolent. Rudra is supposed to be a jealous and an easily provokable deity. Rudra is often prayed not to victimise the worshipper. (1-114-78), (2-33-1). In the *Vājasaneyi saṁhitā*, Rudra has been associated with certain abominable attributes. There he is mentioned as a thief, a sly fellow, and a lord of robbers. In general we find that in the *Ṛgveda*, Rudra is supposed to be a deity of tornado. He is associated with thunderstorm in which lightning is conspicuous. Western scholars such as Weber, Wilson and Shröder have associated Rudra with both storm and fire. According to Oldenberg Rudra is the deity of mountains and forests. It is thus worthwhile to note that the tribe of Sugrīva and Hanumān resided in the forest and on the Rṣyamūka mountain. Thus we find that a number of attributes of Rudra can be found in Hanumān. This is reasonable because, Hanumān was supposed to be the son of Marut. (*Marutasya apatyam pumān iti Mārutiḥ*) and Marut or (*Maruts*) were the sons of Rudra.¹¹ As has been pointed out earlier

10. *dyaivo na str̥bhiṣchintayantaḥ* etc.

— Ṛg. V. 2-34-2

11. *idaṁ pitre marutaṁ ucyate vacaḥ*

— Ṛg. V. 1-114-6

Rudra is said to be *buddhimān*, *medhāvī* and *udāra*. Hanumān is also praised with the words

“*Manojavanī mārutatulya-vegam
jitendriyam buddhimatām variṣṭham.
Vātātmajan vānarayūtha-mukhyaṃ
śrī Rāmadūtānī śaraṇam prapadye.*”

in later stotra literature. The *ajarāvva*¹² of Rudra can be compared with the *cirañjivīva* of Hanumān. According to Grassman, the root *rūd* not only means to cry but also to glow or glisten. This again brings to one's mind the well-known epithet of Hanumān as “*kāñca-
nādrī-kamanāya-vigraham*”.

Such common points are also found between Maruts and Hanumān. Maruts are said to be the children of the sky and the sea is said to be their mother. (Ṛgv. 10-77-2, 10-78-6). Maruts are said to be mountaineers. (Rev. 8-83; 1-7). Maruts are said to be *dīpti-mantaḥ* (Ṛgv. 6-66-2; 7-59-1; 8-7-7; 1-165-12). There is a mention of the sprinkling of *ghṛta* by Maruts while the lightning smiles at the earth. Maruṭgaṇas bedeck themselves with *mālās* or garlands.¹³ Maruṭgaṇas are ever young and won't get old.¹⁴ They are as playful as children.¹⁵ Maruṭgaṇas are also said to ride deers. Most of the traits as narrated in these hymns are also found in the description of Hanumān, Sugrīva or Vāli. The mention of the sprinkling of *ghṛta* by Maruts and the smiling of the lightning at the earth can very well be found reflected in the episode where Hanumān is said to have wiped out his sweat and the drops were swallowed by the crocodile, who later delivered Makaradhvaja. Symbolically *makara* may mean the parched earth and the sweat of Hanumān may mean the rains. So also Maruts' association with deers has trickled down to the folk tradition with a variation and we have in the songs of dolls, sung in Maharashtra in the month of Āśvīn, the line as *Hanumantācī nīlī ghoḍī*. The custom of wearing *mālā* or garlands is also significant. Rāma had asked Lakṣmaṇa to place the *mālā* of *gajapuspī* on Sugrīva for his identification in his second scuffle with Vāli. Even today we notice that Hanumān is worshipped with a *mālā* of flowers of arka plants. There is a custom in the south to offer *vaḍa mālā* to Hanumān on Saturday. The playfulness of the *vānaras* is also an attribute traceable to Maruts of the Vedas.

12. *bhuvanasya pitaram gīrbhūḥ abhi*

— Ṛg. V. 6-49-10

13. Ṛg. V. 5-53-4.

14. Ṛg. V. 5-42-15.

15. Ṛg. V. 10-78-6.

The hymns in the *Ṛgveda* in praise of Vāyu are also worth considering. Quickness and destruction are the specific characteristics of Vāyu. It is mentioned that Vāyu has begotten Maruts out of the womb of *ākāśa*.¹⁶ Again Vāyu is said to be as quick as thought (*Ṛgv.* 1-23-2). Vāyu can move wherever he likes and is not seen by anyone. (*Ṛgv.* 7-86; 10-92-13). Vāyu has capacity to confer immortality.¹⁷ Vāyu is also precursor of Sun's light.¹⁸

While citing from the Vedas, what I want to point out is that although the character of Hanumān has been conceived by the great poet Vālmiki to suit the overall composition of the great epic, the seeds of this character were hidden in the ancient literature and traditions of the pre-epic people.

In the *Rāmāyaṇa* itself there is a mention of the birth of Maruts. (*Bāla Kāṇḍa* — 46, 47). There it is mentioned that in the battle that followed the churning of the ocean, the sons of Aditi killed the sons of Diti. So Diti was grieved and she solicited Marīci's son Kaśyapa to bestow a powerful son on her who would kill Indra. She promised to perform a severe penance for 1000 years. Kaśyapa gratified her and she commenced the penance in a forest named Kuśaplava. Indra, however served her during this period and she, therefore, did not want her son to be a killer of Indra. It is said that Diti one day slept keeping her feet in a wrong direction. This defiled her and Indra entered her body through this fault. He cut the embryo in seven parts. Diti was struck with grief, but all the same, admitted her fault. Now the seven pieces of embryo were to be born as seven Maruts. One Marut would move in Brahma-loka, the second would move in Indraloka. The third would move in heaven. The remaining would move in all the four directions of the earth. They would be under Indra's orders. These seven sons of Diti came to be known as Maruts, as Indra had cut the embryo with the words "*mā ruda, mā ruda.*"¹⁹

The birth of Hanumān is described in the *Rāmāyaṇa* in the *Bāla Kāṇḍa*, (s. 17). A reference is made to this event again in the *Kiṣkindhā Kāṇḍa* — (s. 66). It is again mentioned in the *Uttara Kāṇḍa* (s. 35).

It is mentioned in the *Kiṣkindhā Kāṇḍa* (s. 66) that Añjanā delivered Māruti in a cave. Māruti saw the rising Sun and jumped

16. *Rg. V.* 1-134-4.

17. *Rg. V.* 10-186.

18. *Rg. V.* 10-86-1.

19. *mārudo mārudaśceti garbham śakrobhyabhāṣata
bibheda ca malūteja rudaṅtan̄ api vāsavaḥ*

up at the Sun, thinking that it was a fruit. The jump went up about 300 yojanas and then the angry Indra struck the beautiful chin of Māruti with his thunderbolt. Since then the son of Vāyu was called Hanumān.

The description of Hanumān's birth in the Uttara Kāṇḍa is slightly different and more elaborate. There Rāma is said to have asked Agastya to narrate the origin of Hanumān. Rāma recounted Hanumān's exploits and said that Hanumān was more powerful than Vāli and Rāvaṇa.²⁰ The exploits of Hanumān had surpassed those of Yama or Indra or Viṣṇu or Kubera.²¹ Rāma acknowledges the splendid work of Hanumān and says that it was only on account of Hanumān that he could get back Sītā, Lakṣmaṇa, victory in the battle and friends.²² Agastya tells Rāma that Kesari ruled on the mountain Sumeru. His wife Añjanā was coveted by Vāyu and a son was born to her. Once she had gone to the forest to collect fruits. Thus left alone, the child on account of separation from his mother and on account of pangs of hunger wept bitterly. The child saw the rising Sun, red like a flower of *japā*, and imagining to be a fruit, jumped at it. The *devas*, *dānavas*, and *yakṣas* were wonderstruck to see that the child surpassed even Vāyu, Garuḍa and even mind. in the matter of speed. If he had such a speed even as a child, how powerful he would be in his youth. Thinking that his son would be burnt, Vāyu followed him protecting him with ice cool breezes. The Sun also did not harm the child. This event, however, occurred on a day when Rāhu was to devour the Sun. Rāhu went to Indra and complained him that he was being deprived of his usual food by some other being. Indra got up from his seat and mounting on his four tusked elephant (airāvata) and accompanied by Rāhu, arrived on the spot. The child, leaving the Sun, jumped at Rāhu, thinking him to be another fruit. Rāhu cried loudly for help and Indra turned his elephant towards the child. The child now thinking that the elephant was another fruit tried to grasp it. As the child approached the elephant, Indra struck it with his *vajra*. The child fell on a mountain with his beautiful chin broken. Pavana or Vāyu got annoyed with Indra and lifting the child went into a cave. Pavana affected the vital parts of the people who almost became logs of wood. All of them along with *gandharvas*, *asuras* went to Pavana and touched the child and it revived. Brahmā told all the gods that

20. *atulaṁ balametud vai vāliṇo Rāvaṇasya ca*

— Rāmā. Uttara K. 35-2

21. *karmāṇi tāni śrūyante yāni yuddhe Hanūmataḥ*

— Rāmā. Uttara K. 35-8

22. *etasya bāhuvigreṇa Laṅkā Sītā ca Lakṣmaṇaḥ*

prāptā mayā jayaścaiva rājyaṁ mitrāṇi bāndhavāḥ — Ibid. 35 (9-10)

the child was to perform great feats in future in their favour. Thereafter, Indra gave the child a boon to the effect that even *vajra* will have no effect on him. The Sun gave him one hundredth of his strength. The Sun also gave him a boon, whereby he would acquire knowledge of all *sāstras*. Varuṇa gave him a boon to the effect that there would be no fear for him from water and that he would not die even after *ayuta* years. Yama also declared that *Māruti* will never lose his spirits in war and on a battle field.

Hanumān is also mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* in the Vanaparvan, where he comes across Bhīmasena, who is on his way to collect golden lotuses from the Kadalī-vanam. Bhīmasena was also essentially the son of Vāyu and as such brother of Hanumān. Hanumān advises Bhīma to return, but Bhīma declines and says that he would cross over him even as Hanumān crossed the ocean in the past. Hanumān then asks Bhīma as to who Hanumān was. The latter tells him that he was his brother in the earlier days of *Rāmāyaṇa*. Thereafter, Hanumān agrees to give way, but asks Bhīma to lift his tail, as he could not lift it himself due to old age. Bhīma with all his might could not lift the tail. He then asks Hanumān to reveal his identity. Hanumān then narrates Rāma's story and also advises on the *yugadharmā* and *varṇadharmā* as also the duties of a king. Hanumān tells Bhīma that he would always sit on the chariot of Arjuna.

Hanumān's name poses a problem. Hanumān, as the name signifies, is one with *hanuḥ* or a chin. The word is formed with the suffix *matup* to the word *hanuḥ*. The affix *matup* is applied to any noun or substantive in the sense of "who possesses that" or "which contains it" (*tadasya asti asmin iti 'matup'*). (Pā 5-2.91) The very general sense of possession is limited to certain kind of possessions by the *vārtikakāras* as (*bhūmanindāpraśaṅśāsu nityayoge atiśāyane saṅsargesti vivakṣāyām bhavanti matupādayaḥ*) here the grammatical explanation of the word Hanumat contradicts the episode wherein Indra is said to have chopped off the beautiful *hanu*.²³ When Indra chopped off the *hanu*, how could Hanumān be called as Hanumān thereafter. At the most he could be called as *Hanuhata Hanuchhinnah*. Hanumān is necessarily a person whose *hanu* is prominent. Now this brings us to an anthropological point in the study of Hanumān. Prognathism is a racial trait, traceable in some races on this earth. Prognathism is the state of having protruding jaws. Man is said to be least prognathous mammal. It would be worthwhile to study, whether this racial characteristic of prognathism is traceable,

23. Ibid Kiṣkindhā. K. 66.24.

particularly in the southern races of India. It is, however, advanced by a number of scholars that Hanumān and his kind were not *vānaras*. They were as much human as could be conceived and that they represented a culture not very much different from that of the Āryans. *Vānara* or a monkey was a totemic symbol. For that matter, they used to attach a tail-like appendage to their attire. In this connection it would be worthwhile to compare this practice with that of wearing horns by Mādiā Goṇḍs of Madhya Pradesh (India). This is a relic of an ancient custom, when learned persons were adorned with horns and were called *śṛṅgins*.²⁴ The *vānaras* in the *Rāmāyaṇa* also had the similar custom of wearing long tails. The tradition seems to have trickled down to the 19th century European costumes where a tail formed an important part of a gentleman's coat, and thus a sartorial expert was called a tailor.

According to Ramaswami Sastri, the *vānaras* were the Āryans who had come and settled in the south of the Vindhya.²⁵ They had subsequently lost contact with the Northern Āryans. This contact was renewed after Rāma's arrival in the south. According to Sharat Chandra Rao²⁶ The *Urao* and the *Muiṇḍā* tribes have Tigga, Halman. Bajrang, and Gādi as their clan names. All these clan names mean *vānaras*. These clan names of gotras are found in the tribes Reddi Baras, Bārai, Bhaina and Kheṅgār. The Bhuia tribe in Singbhoom district of West Bengal also claims its descent from Hanumān. They call themselves *Pavanbansis*. This again means the descendants of Pavana or the wind god. The image of Hanumān is worshipped among the *śabara* tribe of West Bengal. The Banjāras all over Western India also adore Hanumān. In the West Bengal, as in Maharashtra the first duty of a founder of a village is to install the image of Hanumān. The image crudely resembles the monkey god, but many a times a huge stone serves the purpose of an image. Only two eye sockets are engraved. The form of the deity grows as it is daubed with vermilion and oil on every Saturday. The Hanumān is believed to be a protector of the village and of the crops and cattle. In Maharashtra (India) it is said that the worship of Hanumān was revived by Samartha Rāmadās Swāmī. It is customary particularly in Maharashtra to take the bridegroom to the temple of Hanumān. This is for either seeking a pardon for breaking the vow of celibacy or for seeking strength and virility which is demanded of him in his marital life. Hanumān is still believed to be very much alive and is supposed to be always present where *Rāmakathā* is being

24. Mb. Adi. 40. See also Dange, *Pastoral Symbolism from the Ṛgveda*, Pune 1970, p. 114 ff.

25. Bhāratīya Sanskṛti Kośa, Vol. VIII, p. 585.

26. Ibid, p. 585.

chanted. They, therefore, even place an *āsana* for Hanumān near the Kathākārī or Kīrtankāra.

In this paper, I tried to appreciate the legend of Hanumān in all its perspectives. I tried to trace the origin of the legend to the ancient literature of this land and also tried to trace down the beliefs prevalent in some parts of this country. I think similar beliefs about the simian heroes are tracable in the cultures of other lands and a further comparative study in this direction would be worth while.

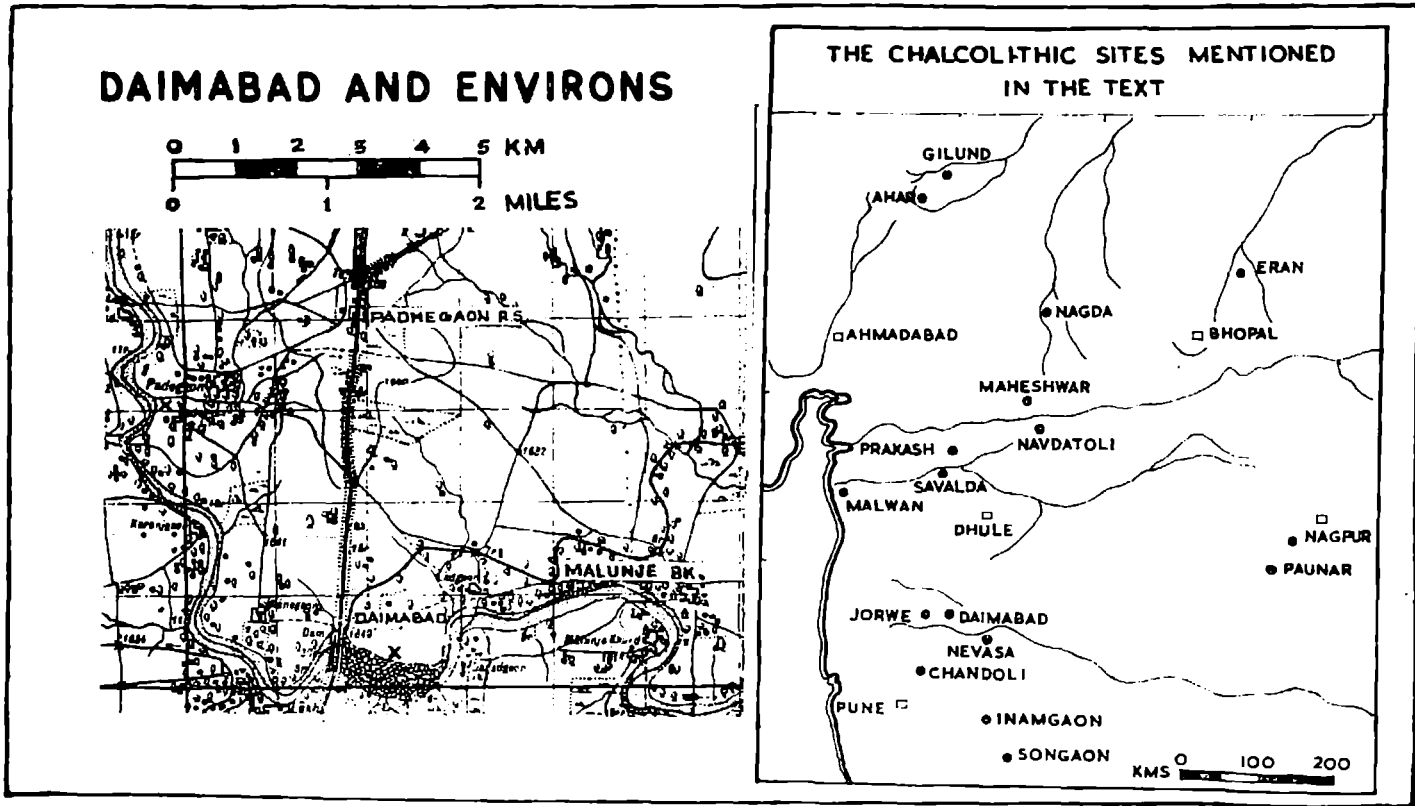


Fig. 1. DAIMABAD

THE DISCOVERY OF DAIMABAD CULTURE

S. A. SALI

1. INTRODUCTION

THE history of Chalcolithic research in Maharashtra begins with the discovery in 1950 by this author of the first Chalcolithic site at Jorwe, on the river Pravara, a tributary of the Godavari, in Ahmednagar district (Sankalia and Deo, 1955) which subsequently became the type-site of the Jorwe Culture. Thereafter, the discovery of the Malwa Culture below the levels of the Jorwe Culture by Deshpande in 1958-59 in the excavation at Daimabad (IAR 1958-59) proved one of the landmarks. This was followed by the discovery by this author of the Savalda Ware (Sali, 1964) and the evidence of penetration of the (Late) Harappans in the Central Tapi Basin in Dhule (former Dhulia or West Khandesh) district of Maharashtra represented by more than forty settlements of the Late Harappa Culture (Sali 1970) discovered in the course of his explorations of the area. Thus an evidence of four Chalcolithic Cultures, viz. the Jorwe, the Malwa, the Late Harappa and the Savalda, was recorded in the region of Maharashtra during the period of a decade or so since the initial discovery of the site at Jorwe. Even then except the Jorwe and the Malwa Cultures, the stratigraphic position of the remaining two cultures in relation to that of the above mentioned two cultures could only be properly understood when this author conducted excavation at Daimabad (Fig. 1) on the left bank of the river Pravara, in Ahmednagar district for four seasons from 1975-76 to 1978-79 (Sali, 1979). The excavation revealed a succession of five Chalcolithic cultures, each one characterized by the painted pottery of its own, as under (IAR 1975-76):

Phase I	Savalda Culture
Phase II	Late Harappa Culture
Phase III	Buff and Cream Ware Culture
Phase IV	Malwa Culture
Phase V	Jorwe Culture

The excavation at Daimabad thus provided for the first time an evidence showing not only the stratigraphic relationship between each of the then known Chalcolithic cultures but also brought to light remains of a culture stratigraphically lying between the preceding Late Harappa Culture and the succeeding Malwa Culture, tentatively designated by this author as the Buff and Cream Ware Culture. It is this culture of the Phase III of Daimabad which is the subject matter of this paper. The salient features which make this culture distinct from the others in the sequence are detailed in brief in the following pages.

2. THE BUFF AND CREAM WARE CULTURE

(A) *General*

The settlement of this culture covered about 20 hectares of the area of the site, that is, equal to that occupied by the preceding Late Harappa and the succeeding Malwa cultures. The occupational deposit, mostly greyish pink or reddish in colour, varied in thickness from 20 cm to 1 meter. The minimum thick deposit was noticed in Sector III of the site and the maximum in Sector I.

The occupational deposit of this culture lay unconformably upon the weathered and partly eroded brown habitational deposit of the preceding Late Harappa Culture suggesting an occupational gap, of a short duration, between it and the Buff and Cream Ware Culture (Sali, 1977). An evidence of overlap between the Buff and Cream and the succeeding Malwa cultures was found. The significance of both the negative and the positive evidence with regard to the overlap will be discussed later.

(B) *The Cultural Evidence*

The cultural evidence of the Buff and Cream Ware culture mainly consists of pottery and burials. Among the other finds obtained from the levels of this culture mention should be made of two fragments of graduated terracotta rings, a fragment of mother goddess in applique on a potsherd, bone points, notched arrowhead of chalcidony a thin piece of copper, stone mullers, querns and balls, beads and microliths. The terracotta ring fragments bear purposefully engraved graduations both on the lower and the upper sides of their outer face. The lines marking the incisions lie at two distances on one of the specimens. On its upper side one division measured 15 mm and the other 9 mm whereas on the lower side one division measured 15 mm and the other 12 mm. On the second specimen the divisions

measured 9 mm. The way the bigger and the smaller divisions have been marked suggests that both the objects represent fragments of measuring instruments.

One example each of three kinds of burials was found: (1) partial burial, (2) symbolic burial and (3) pot-burial. The exposed burial of the first type (Pl. VII-A) consisted of five pots, three of them with lids, placed in an oblong pit. Of these, two pots, one occurring horizontally placed with its mouth towards south, and the other lying by its side, belonged to the Buff and Cream Ware and bore a graffiti of star. To the north of these two pots were placed three other small *handi*-type carinated pots with funnel-shaped mouth with lids of burnished black ware. Two of them were with a graffiti of star.

In the second type (Pl. VII-B) six pots were found in a circular pit.

The third type (Pl. VII-C) consisted of an oval-shaped vase of burnished grey ware with narrow mouth covered with a lid. A *kunḍa* — type vase of thick coarse ware was kept reclining against the oval pot by indenting its edge in order to fit it into the peripheral portion of the lid. The oval vase was full of ash. Only a few bits of bones, some of which were semi-charred, were found in the vase.

Examination of the charred grains from this cultural level by Kajale (1978 and per. com.) indicated that the people of this culture cultivated Wheat, Barley, Lentil, Grass Pea, Horse Gram, Hyacinth Bean, Lentil and Mung/Urd (Green Gram/Black Gram). Ber (Indian Jujube) were also consumed by these people.

Broadly, the assemblage of pottery of this Phase is divisible into the following five groups:

- (i) Black-painted Buff and Cream Ware,
- (ii) Black-painted Red Ware,
- (iii) Black, Black-and-Grey, Grey and Corrugated Wares of Ahar complex with or without paintings,
- (iv) Burnished Grey Ware, and
- (v) Thick Coarse Ware.

(i) *Black-painted Buff and Cream Ware*

(a) *The Technique*

This is the most important ceramic which characterizes the culture of Phase III. In contrast to the black-painted Late Harappan

Red Ware of the preceding phase which is of fine fabric and produced on fast wheel, the Buff and Cream Ware is, on the whole, of medium-to-fine fabric and made partly on a wheel and partly hand-modelled. This is suggested by striation marks nearer the rim, uneven thickness of the pots, and press-marks occurring on the inside of the shoulder, belly and bottom. The inside also shows marks of scooping. Microscopic examination of thin sections showed that the paste is dense and bereft of coarse material (Rajaguru, *per.com.*). The air-holes suggest admixture of vegetable matter in the clay. Very occasionally the core is pinkish or brick red in colour, otherwise the most common feature of the core of this ware is that in its mid-section it has a thin unoxidized band of dark grey or ivory black colour flanked by brown, pink or brick red. It is interesting to note that the above mentioned features of the Buff and Cream Ware are akin to those of the Cream-Slipped Ware of Phase I of Navdatoli (Sankalia, *et al* 1971) and the black-painted pottery of Period I of Paunar (Deo and Dhavalikar, 1968). On the outside the ware is treated with a thin slip which has been worn out at places in a large number of examples exposing the brown, red or pink underlying surface. The colour of the slip in majority of the cases is buff while specimens of cream or whitish coloured slip are comparatively much less.

A small quantity of potsherds resembling those of the Buff and Cream Ware have also been found in the levels of the Malwa Culture. But on careful examination they proved to be imitations.

(b) *The Paintings*

The painted designs have been executed in black. A noteworthy aspect of the paintings is that on the whole they have been carelessly drawn. Generally the thickness of the horizontal lines is not uniform and they are not straight (Fig. 2, 1, 2, 4, 17, 22; Fig. 3, 1-4, 10, etc.). The lines of the latticed diamond even run beyond the borders (Fig. 3, 1-5, 9, 10, 13). At times the lines are left unfinished (Fig. 2, 5, 6, 21). There is an example (not illustrated) in which the brush contained insufficient paint. In short the execution of paintings do not show refinement which is generally seen in those on the pots of the preceding and succeeding cultures at Daimabad. Interestingly enough the Cream-Slipped Ware of Phase I of Navdatoli (Sankalia *et al*, 1971, D6, D7, D102, D49, D103), the variant of Malwa Ware of Period I of Prakash (Thapar, 1967, Fig. 7, patterns G and Q) and the painted ware of Period I of Paunar (Deo and Dhavalikar, 1968, Fig. 4, 1A, 2, D1, D6, D7) show identical features. At Paunar the excavators opined, "Some of the

designs (D 14) are drawn very carefully with a sense of artistic precision. But a majority of them are crude, hurried and unsure" (Deo and Dhavalikar, 1968, 18).

The painted designs include (1) rim band (2) one or more horizontal bands, (3) multiple horizontal bands especially on the neck of the pot (Fig. 2, 1, 2 and 4; Fig. 3, 7; Fig. 5, 9 and 10; Fig. 6, 11, 15-20, 22 and 23; Fig. 7, 7 and Fig. 8, 11), (4) groups of vertical lines between horizontal bands (Fig. 2, 5, 9, 17 and 19), (5) groups of vertical wavy lines between horizontal bands (Fig. 2, 12, 15, 18, 20-23), (6) cross-hatched diamonds and a variant with elongated lower end (Fig. 3, 1-5 and 7-15), (7) parallel lines filled with strokes (Fig. 4, 5-7, 9, 10, 12 and 15), (8) chevrons formed by parallel lines filled with strokes (Fig. 4, 11), (9) vertical crinkled lines (Fig. 4, 19), (10) comb design (Fig. 4, 21), (11) handled-comb design (Fig. 4, 14, 17, 18 and 20-23 and Fig. 8, 12), (12) cross-hatched triangles (Fig. 5, 16), (13) elongated cross-hatched triangles (Fig. 5, 1, 5, 15 and 16), (14) elongated solid triangles (Fig. 6, 10), (15) chequer pattern (Fig. 6, 10), (16) a line crossed by horizontal strokes (Fig. 10, 4) and (17) animal motifs with stippled body (Fig. 4, 1-4 and 8). Of these, except No. 8, all the designs are found on the Cream-Slipped Ware of Phase I of Navdatoli (Sankalia, *et al*, 1971, D123, D35, D269, D103, D273, D149, D150, D47, D50, D159, D277, D264, D63 and D162). The variant of Malwa Ware of Period I of Prakash bears the designs 3, 5-8, 11, 14 and 16 (Thapar, 1967, Fig. 7, Q, V, G, Y, N, J, K and W; Fig. 12, 1-7). The designs 3, 6, 10 or 11, 16 are also found on the black-on red ware of Period I of Paunar (Deo and Dhavalikar, 1968, Fig. 4, 2, D1, D6, D7, D8, D9, D17; according to the authors the designs D3, D17 and D19 have parallels in the Malwa Ware designs from Navdatoli).

It should be mentioned that some of the above mentioned designs, especially Nos. 3, 6 and 10 are also found on the imitation Buff and Cream Ware occurring in the Malwa levels of Phase IV.

(c) *The Types*

The types included in this ware are varied. They are: (1) bowl with high concave sides, carinated base and outcurved rim (Fig. 5, 1-7, 13 and 15), (2) bowl with convex sides and outcurved rim (Fig. 5, 8, 9, 11, 12 and 14), (3) bowl with vertical sides and slightly outcurved rim (Fig. 5, 10), (4) bowl with incurved sides and blunt carination (Fig. 5, 16), (5) miniature globular pot (Fig. 5, 17), (6) vase with high narrow neck, globular body and beaded rim (Pl. VIII-A, 1 and 2), (7) vase with beaded rim and short incurved neck

(Fig. 6, 2-5, 7-9 and 19), (8) vase with high narrow neck and out-curved rim (Fig. 6, 6, 10, 11, 14, 17 and 22), (9) vase with nail-headed rim and concave neck (Fig. 6, 15), (10) vase with thickened outcurved ovaloid rim (Fig. 6, 21), (11) vase with grooved rim (Fig. 6, 12, 23 and 24), (12) vase with thickened rim and concave neck (Fig. 6, 13 and 16), (13) vase with internally incurved or "hooded" rim (Fig. 6, 20), (14) vase with short flaring featureless rim (Fig. 7, 1-10, 13 and 15), (15) vase with vertical narrow neck (Fig. 7, 11 and 12), (16) vase with incurved sides and narrow mouth (Fig. 7, 14), (18) vase with short vertical featureless rim and narrow mouth (Fig. 7, 17-19), (19) vase with splayed out mouth (Fig. 8, 1-13) and (20) vase with flat base (Fig. 9, 10 and 11). It will thus be seen that this ware at Daimabad has a large number of types. At Navdatoli the Cream-Slipped Ware of Phase I had very small number of storage vases and small vessels like bowls and *lotas* predominated.

The vase of buff ware with an externally oval-collared rim and depicting on the outside in black a man and a jungle scene (Pl. VIII-B; also IAR 1958-59, Fig. 8) collected in the season of 1958-59 belongs to the Buff and Cream Ware group. One of the trenches, DY 26, sunk by the author very close to the find-spot of this pot showed that the occupational deposit of the Buff and Cream Ware Culture there lay partly over the eroded surface of the weathered occupational deposit of the Late Harappa Culture and partly directly upon the black cotton soil. The above mentioned pot was found on the black cotton soil.

(ii) *The Black-painted Red Ware:*

A very small quantity of this variety of pottery was noted first in the lower levels of this Phase in the season 1977-78 and it appeared that it perhaps represented a degenerate Late Harappan Red Ware. But its further study and close observations during the season of 1978-79 showed that this variety of pottery occurs in all the levels of this Phase and that it does not represent the degenerate form of the Late Harappan Red Ware but only shows some resemblance to it.

This ware differs from the usual Buff and Cream Ware in some respects. It is mostly made on a fast wheel as is apparent from the regular striation marks on the inside. Of medium-to-fine fabric, it is treated with a thin slip which has turned red. The core in some cases is brick red and in some like that of the Buff and Cream Ware showing unoxidized thin band of dark grey or ivory black colour in the mid-section. In painted designs and types this variety of pot-

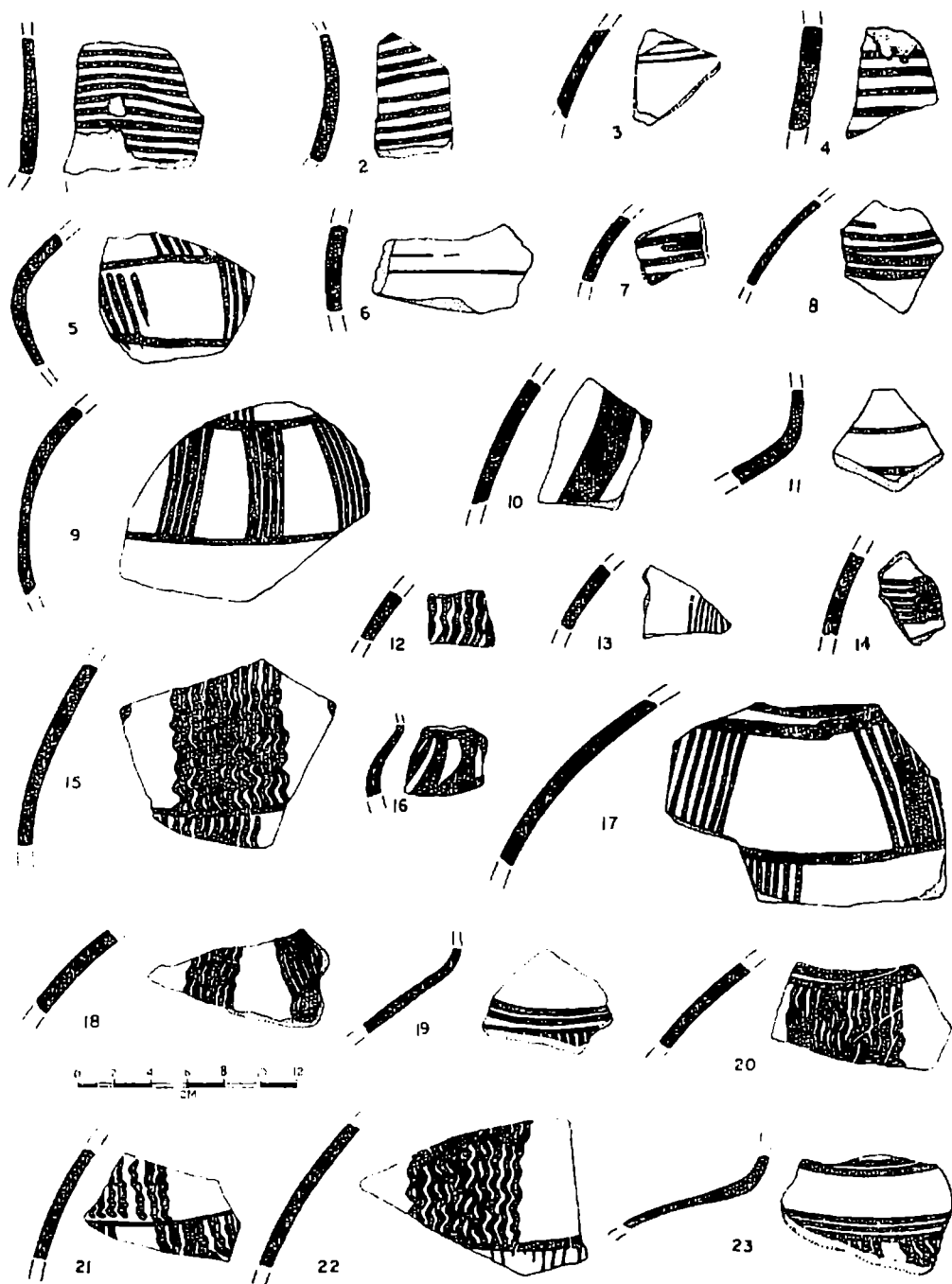


Fig. 2. DAIMABAD: Daimabad Ware, Phase III

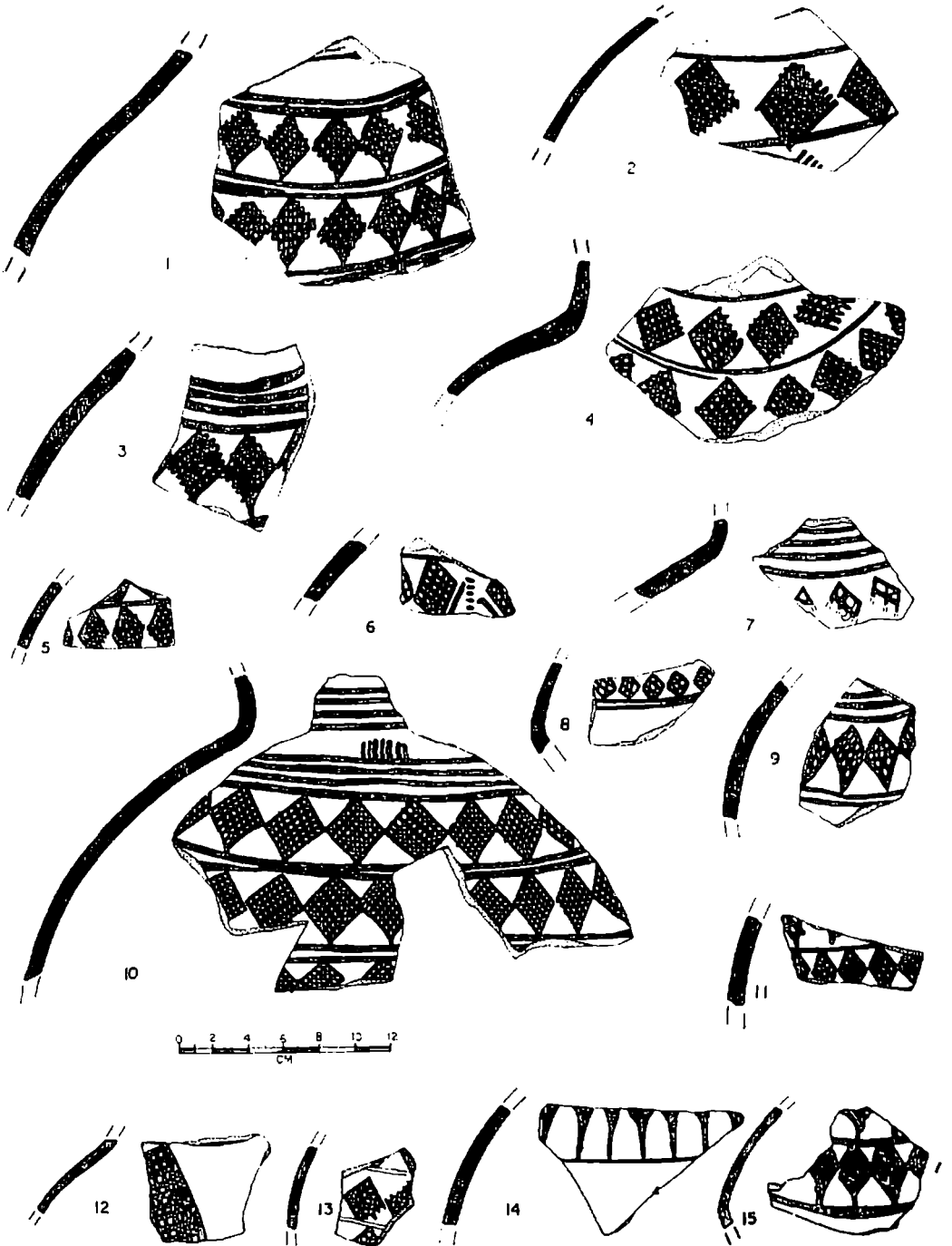


Fig. 3. DAIMABAD: Daimabad Ware, Phase III

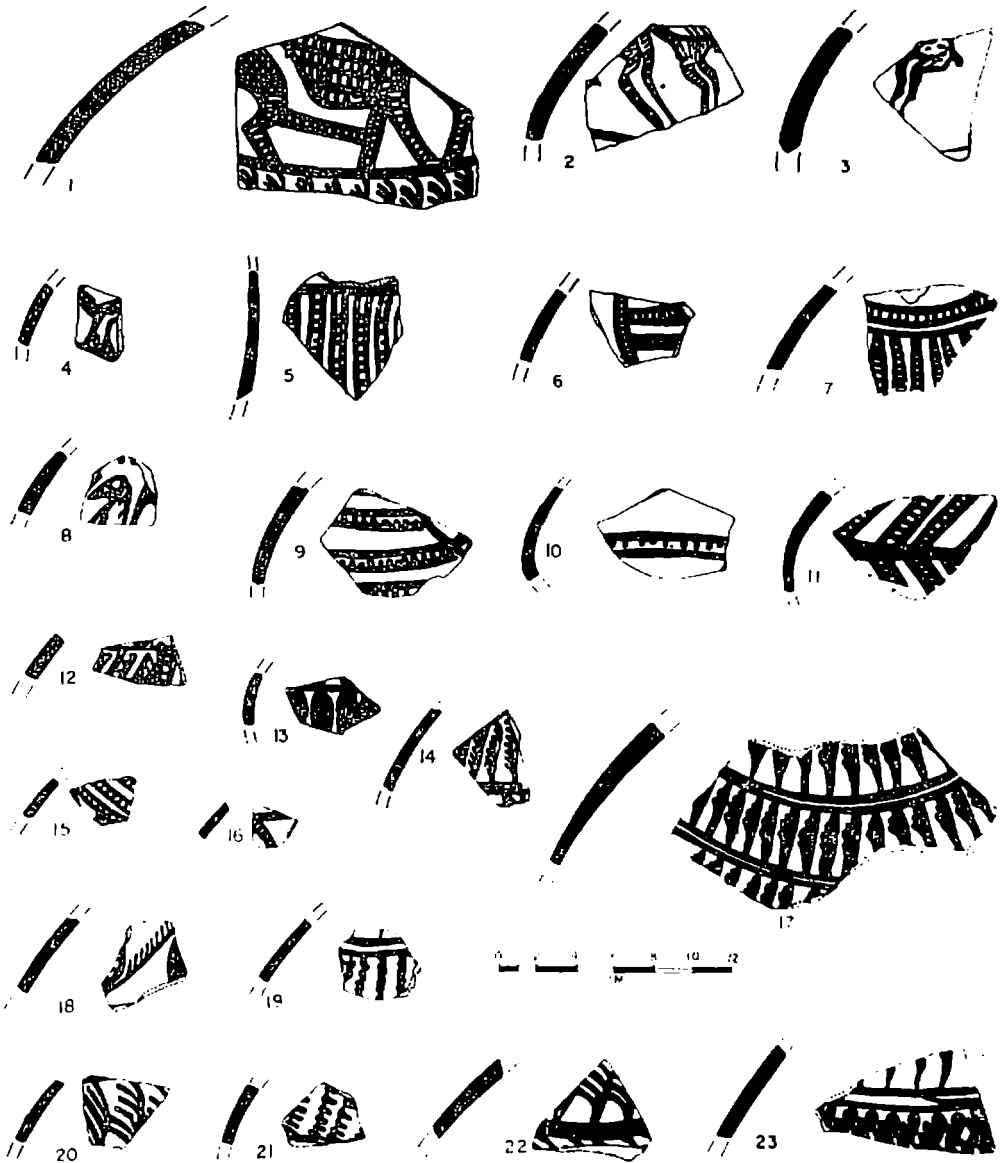


Fig. 4. DAIMABAD: Daimabad Ware, Phase III

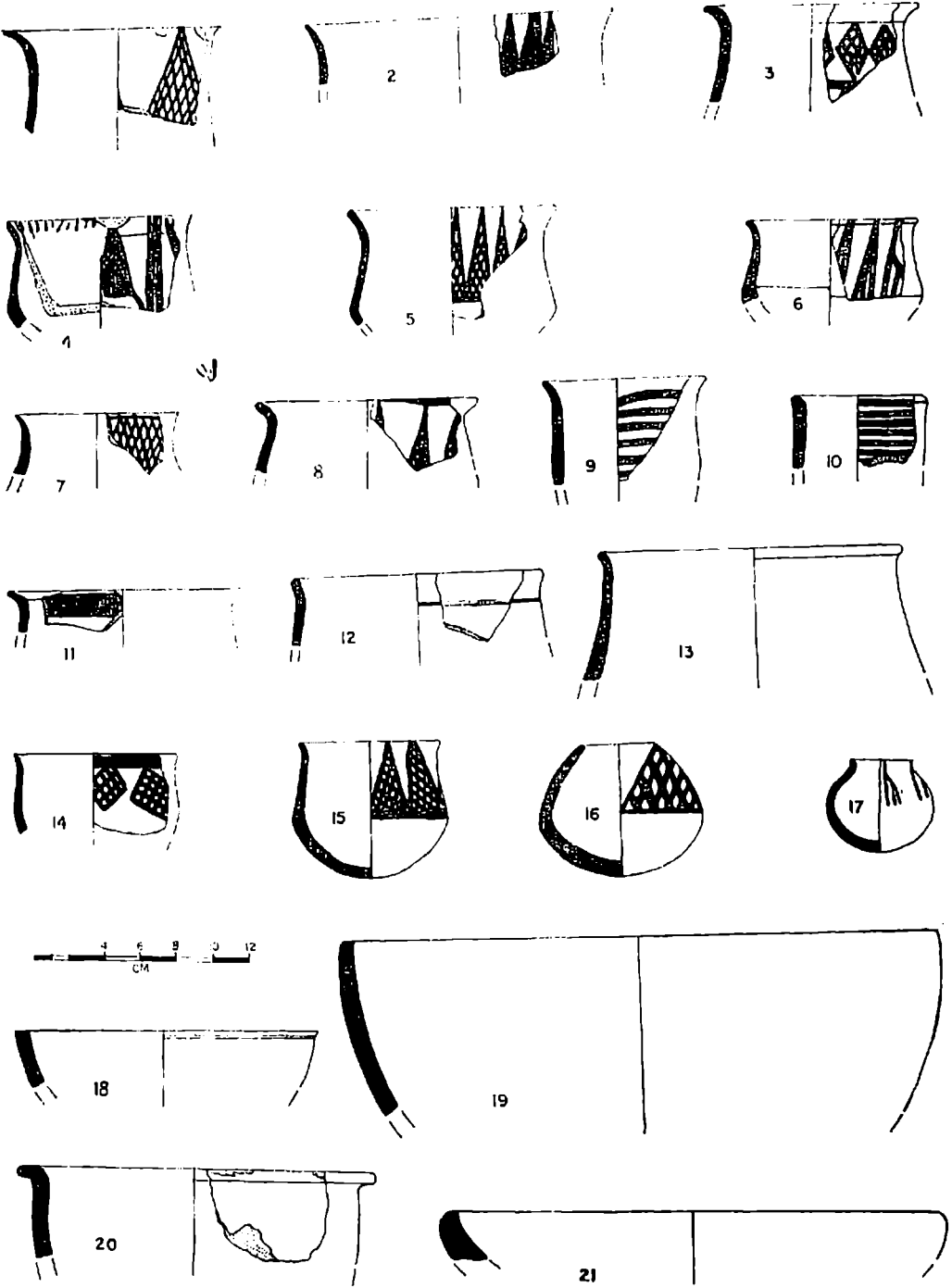


Fig. 5. DAIMABAD: Daimabad Ware, Phase III

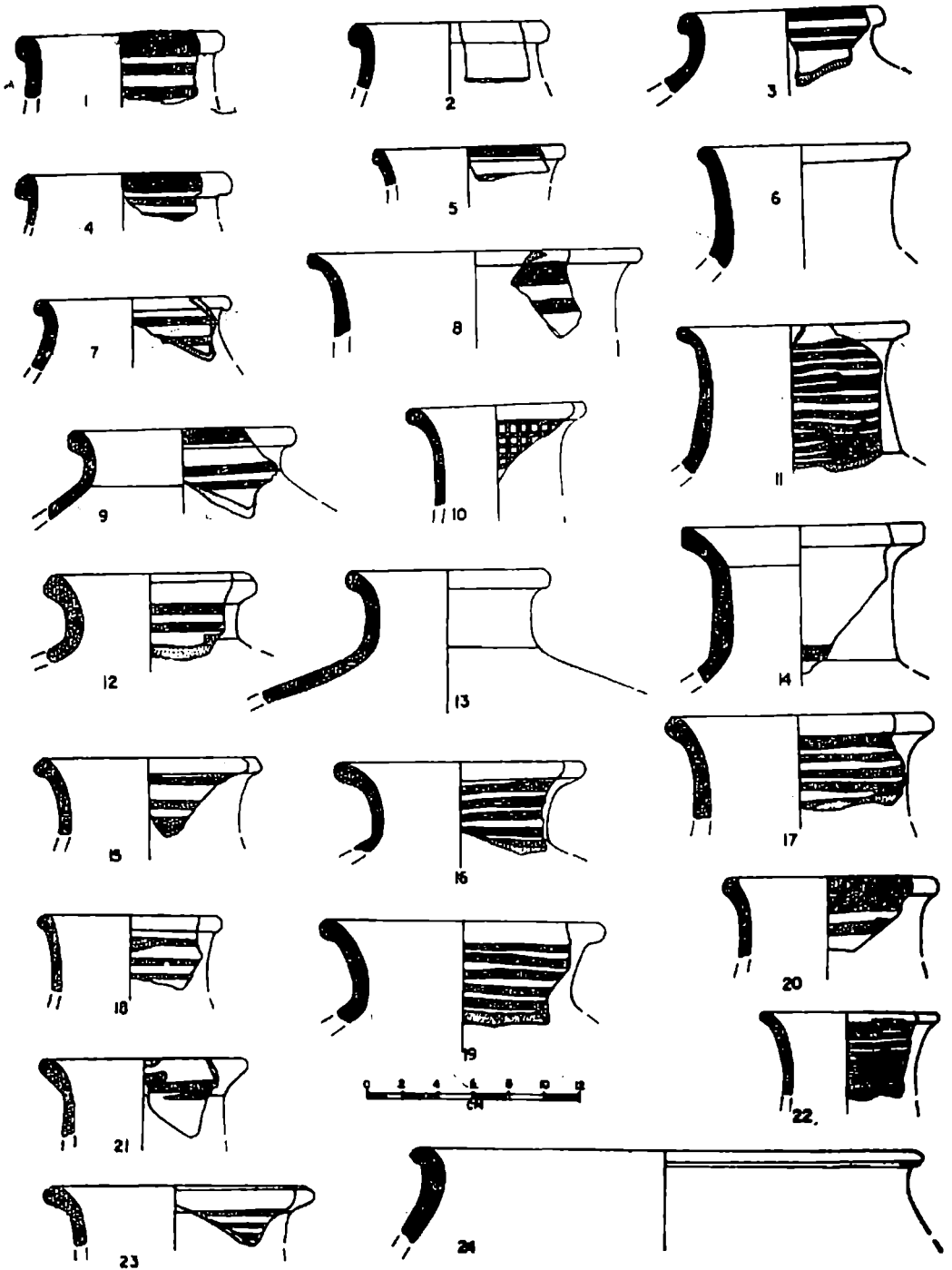


Fig. 6. DAIMABAD: Daimabad Ware, Phase III

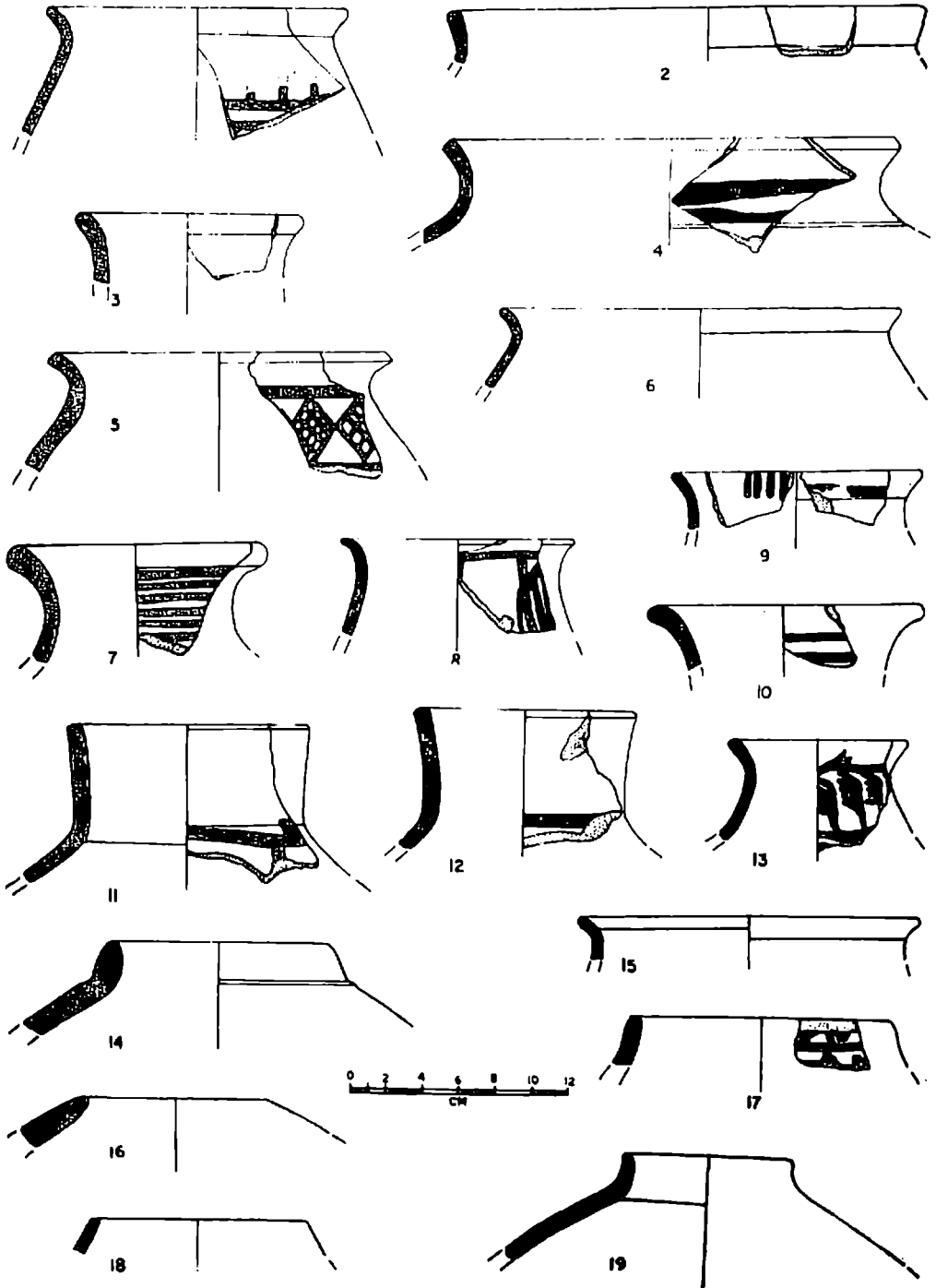


Fig. 7. DAIMABAD: Daimabad Ware, Phase III

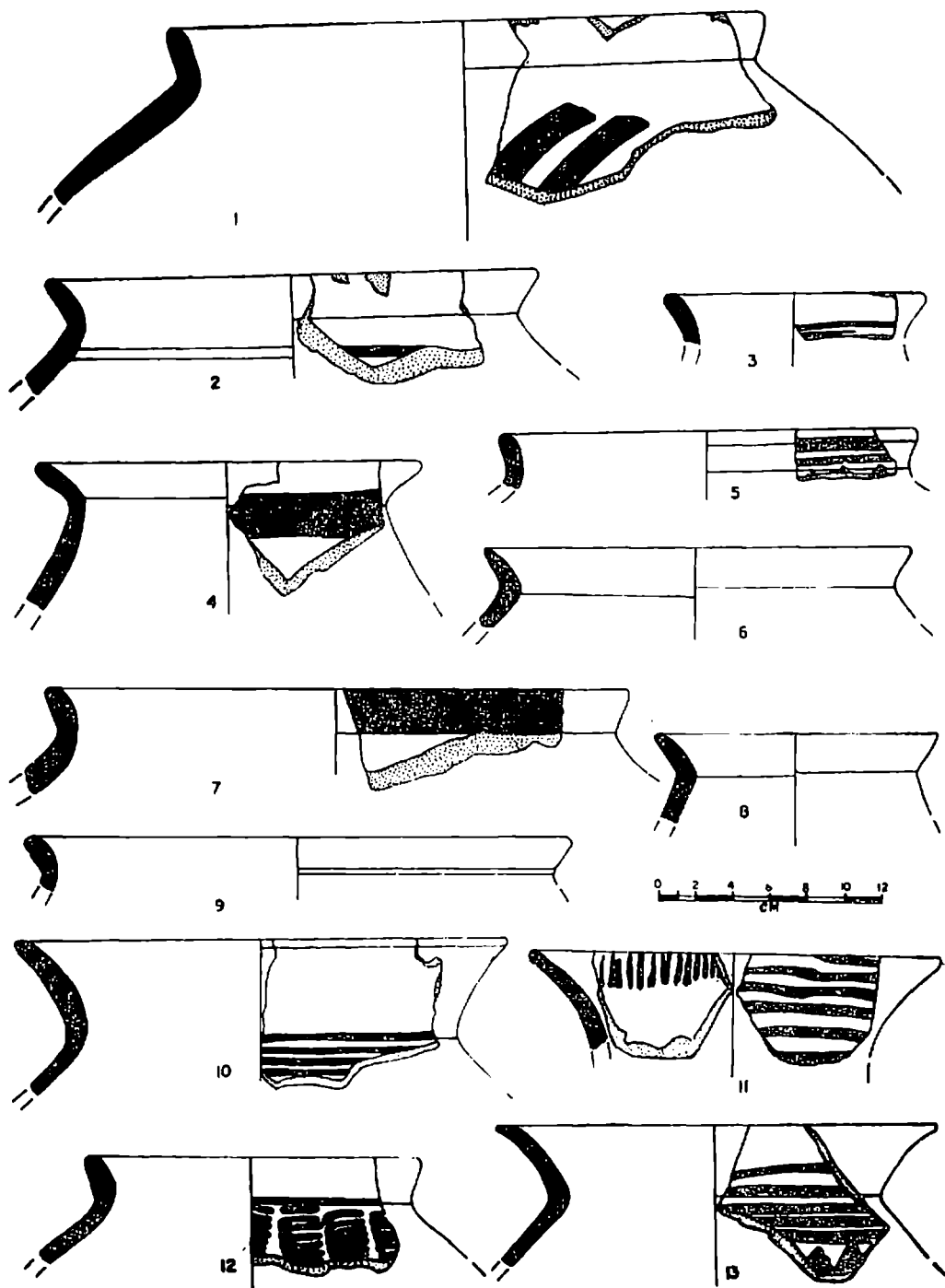


Fig. 8. DAIMABAD: Daimabad Ware, Phase III

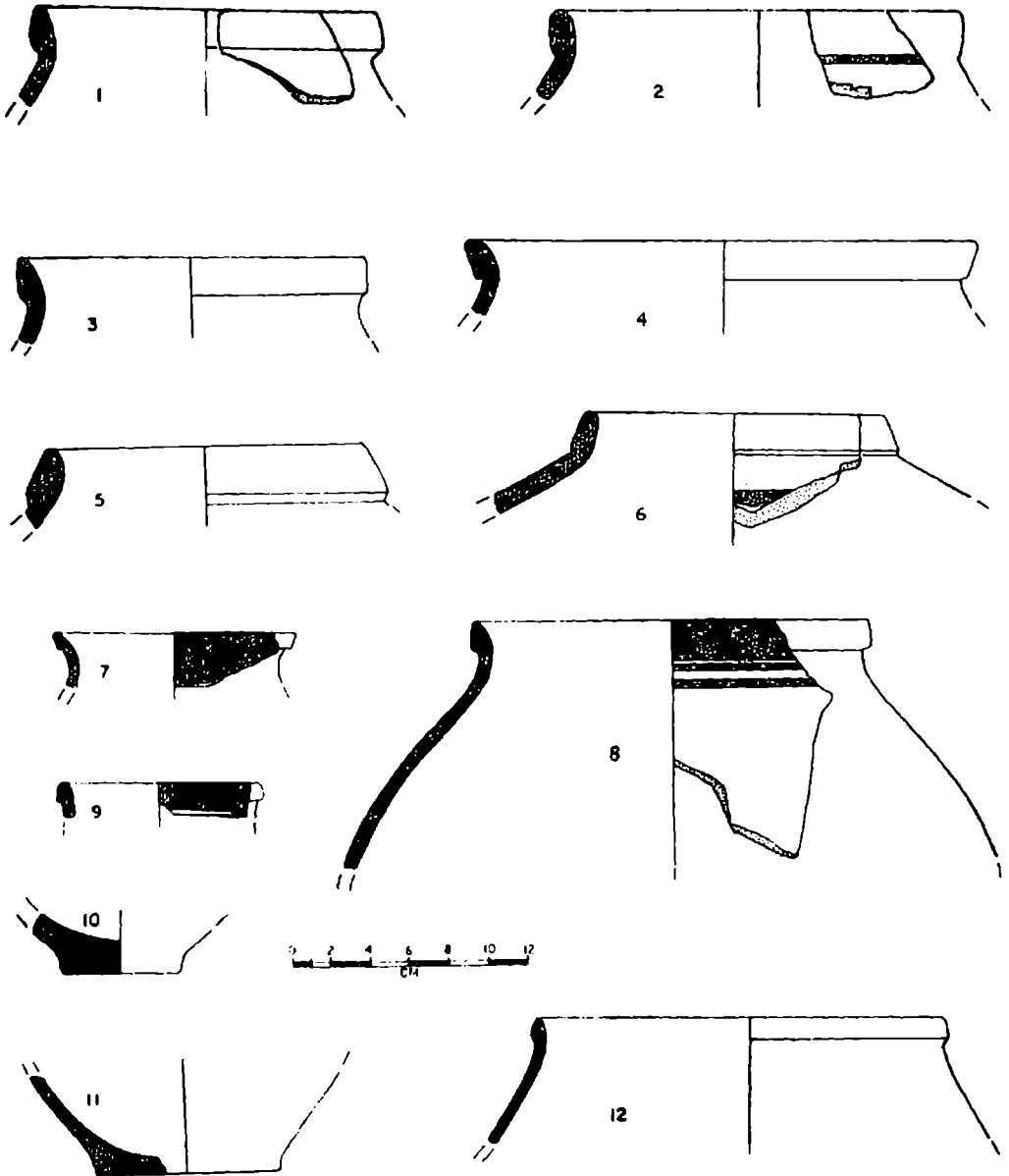


Fig. 9. DAIMABAD: Daimabad Ware, Phase III

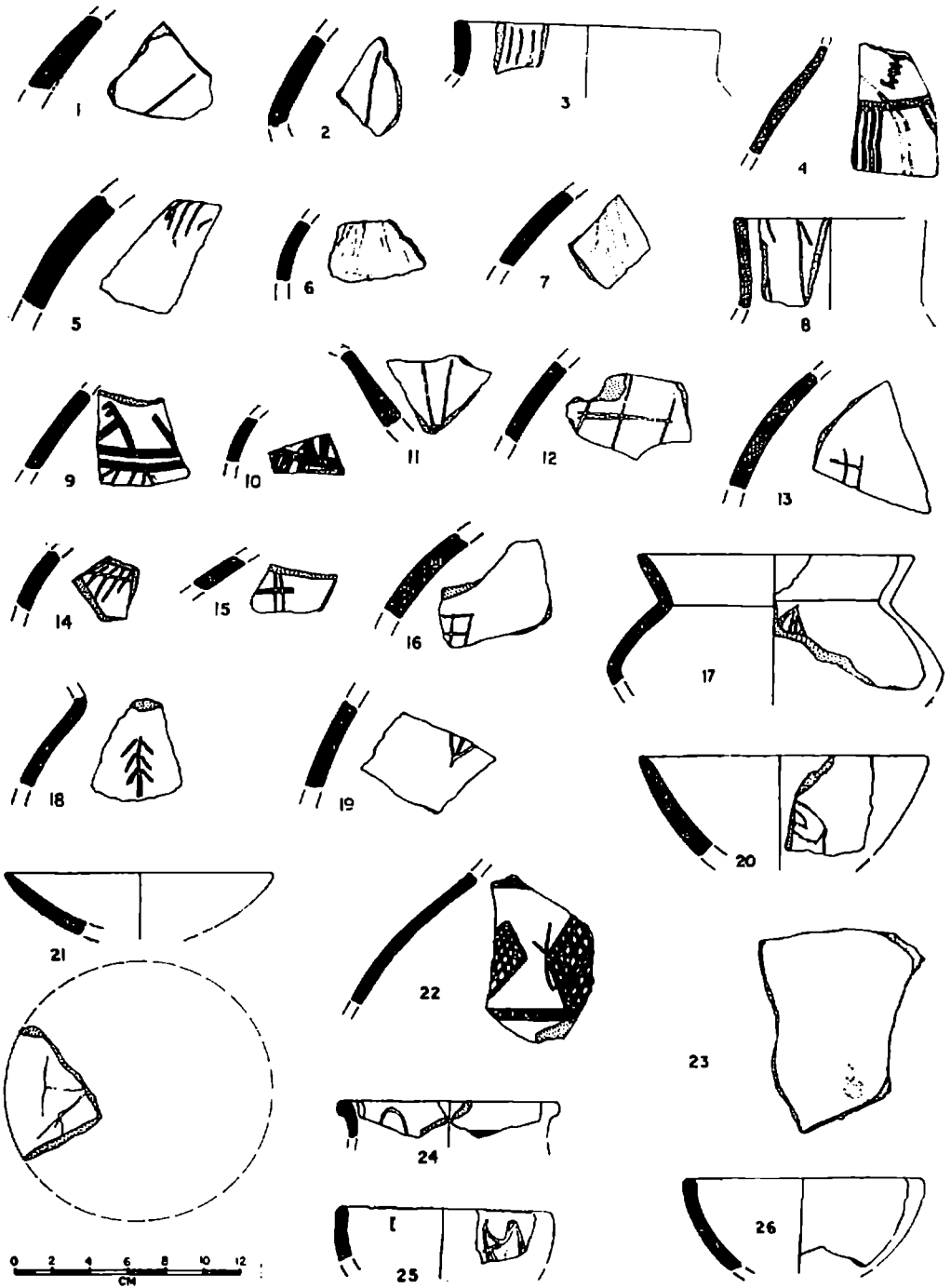


Fig. 10. DAIMABAD: Daimabad Ware, Phase III

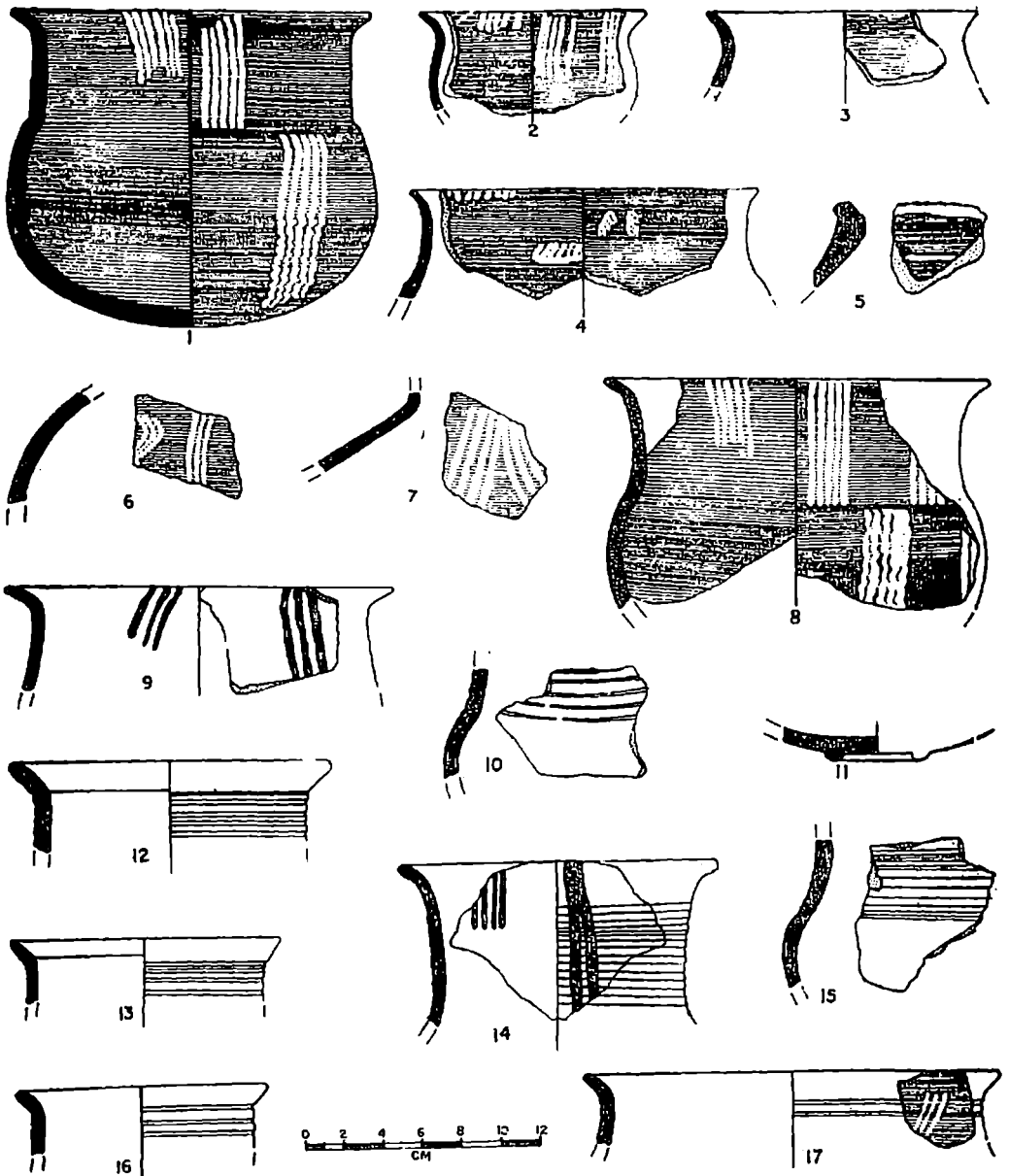


Fig. 11. DAIMABAD: Black, Black-and-Grey, Grey and Corrugated Wares of Ahar complex with or without paintings, Phase III

tery does not show any marked difference from those of the Buff and Cream Ware. The types T 39 A and T 39 Ai of the Metallic Matt Painted Ware of Phase I of Navdatoli (Sankalia, *et al* 1971, Fig. 60) have parallels in this ware (cf. Fig. 9, 8 and 12).

This variety of pottery, occurring in a small quantity, appears to be part and parcel of the Buff and Cream Ware group but it has been treated here separately because of the difference which it shows as detailed above.

(iii) *Black, Black-and-Grey, Grey and Corrugated wares of Ahar complex with or without paintings:*

Although small in quantity, this is a very important group of pottery in Phase III of Daimabad. All the above mentioned varieties of pottery are of medium-to-fine fabric, treated both internally and externally with a slip and burnished.

The paintings are in white (Fig. 11, 1-8 and 17) and in some cases in black (Fig. 11, 9, 14). Those in white include groups of vertical wavy lines on the outside and vertical short strokes on the inside on the rim (Fig. 11, 2), groups of vertical and curved lines (Fig. 11, 6), comb design on the inside and outside (Fig. 11, 4), horizontal band on the neck (Fig. 11, 5) and converging groups of lines (Fig. 11, 7). The paintings in black include group of three oblique lines both inside and outside (Fig. 11, 9) and a vertical line with an off-shoot on the outside and a group of lines on the inside (Fig. 11, 14).

The types represented are: (1) vase with an out-turned rim, vertical high neck and ledged shoulder (Fig. 11, 1, 4 and 8; in the corrugated variety, 10 and 12-16), (2) bowl with convex sides and out-turned rim (Fig. 11, 2), (3) vase with out-curved rim (Fig. 11, 3 and 17) and (4) vase with ring base (Fig. 11, 11).

Except the corrugated variety all the varieties of the above detailed wares occur in their typical forms in Period I of Prakash (cf. Thapar, 1967, pp. 28-35 and Fig. 3-5). The corrugated or ribbed variety has a parallel in Phase Ib of Ahar (Sankalia, *et al* 1969, p. 90; Fig. 46, T 109).

(iv) *Burnished Grey Ware:*

This ware is handmade and of coarse fabric. It is treated on the outside with a slip and burnished. The surface colours include grey, tan, pink, black and their shades. Occasionally the rim of the pots and lids in this ware is painted in ochre red colour. Some of

the types in this ware are: (1) *lota*-on-stand (Pl. IV, 3), (2) spheroid bowl (Fig. 5, 18 and 19), (3) deep bowl with almost vertical profile and splayed out rim (Fig. 5, 20), (4) shallow bowl with incurved featureless rim (Fig. 5, 21), (5) carinated *handi*-type vase with flaring mouth, (6) oval-shaped vase with narrow mouth, (7) vase with out-turned rim and bulbous body, (8) spheroidal miniature bowl, (9) vase with squat body and flaring rim and (10) lid with either flat-topped or conical knob.

(v) *Thick Coarse Ware:*

This ware is reddish in colour, handmade, thick and of coarse gritty fabric. It is usually devoid of slip but in some examples it is treated on the outside with a thin slip in the nature of slosh. The ware is decorated with incised and applied designs. The types met with in this ware are jar with convex sides, vase with vertical sides and vase with outcurved rim.

(vi) *Graffiti:*

On the Buff and Cream Ware and the burnished grey ware occur graffiti marks (Fig. 10). They include vertical single line, group of vertical lines, a vertical line flanked by a hooked line, vertical line with drooping strokes on either side, *triśūla* pattern, animal motif, squares, ladder pattern and star and Sun motifs.

3. DISCUSSION

As has been pointed out before, no evidence of overlap between the Phase II and the Phase III was found. On the contrary there is evidence to show that the site remained unoccupied for some period after it was deserted by the Late Harappans (Sali, 1977). There was also no evidence to indicate that the Buff and Cream Ware which characterized the culture of Phase III has been derived from the Late Harappan Red Ware. It, therefore, goes without saying that the authors of the Buff and Cream Ware Culture, when arrived and settled at Daimabad, had already possessed a developed cultural equipment of their own. This naturally poses a basic question of the origin of this culture and the region where from the people marched in Maharashtra.

In the preceding pages it has been made clear that the important characteristic features of the Buff and Cream Ware are also to be found in the black-painted variant of the Malwa Ware of Period I of Prakash, the Cream-Slipped Ware of Phase I of Navdatoli and the black-painted pottery of Period I of Paunar. Interestingly

enough at the first two sites, like Phase III at Daimabad, the white-painted black-and-grey or black-and-red ware of Ahar complex is also associated. At Paunar black-and-red ware is associated with the painted ware but it is not possible to know from the report if it is of Ahar complex although there is a mention of traces of a vertical wavy line painted in white on one of the sherds. The above said evidence is important from various points of view. For example, the presence of pottery of Ahar complex in Phase III at Daimabad will help fix a date for this Phase and besides, it has paved a way for searching the origin as well as the end of the Buff and Cream Ware Culture.

So far as the problem of dating various cultures exposed at Daimabad is concerned, primarily the dates were estimated on the basis of the dates of the Malwa and Jorwe cultures in Maharashtra arrived at with the help of the available C-14 determinations for the sites at Inamgaon (Dhavalikar, 1977), Chandoli (Deo and Ansari, 1965), Songaon (Deo, 1969) and Nevasa (Sankalia, *et al*, 1959; also Sankalia, 1974, Appendix II) and the chronology of the Harappa Culture.

The Malwa Culture at Inamgaon has been dated to 1600 B. C.—1400 B. C. and the early Jorwe 1400 B. C. — 1000 B. C. (Dhavalikar, 1977). It is but logical, therefore, to believe that dates for the Malwa and the Jorwe cultures at Daimabad may not vary much from these dates. It follows then that the dates for the cultures stratigraphically preceding the Malwa Culture should be earlier than 1600 B. C.

A period of 2300 B.C. — 1750 B.C. has been generally considered the most plausible for the Harappa Culture (Agrawal, 1965 in (eds.) Misra and Mate). Lal (1963) has rightly suggested that the Harappans in Gujarat and Rajasthan were on the move by about 2000 B.C. It is roughly this time that has been assigned to the arrival of the (Late) Harappans at Daimabad.

On the basis of the above considerations the dates for the Chalcolithic Phases at Daimabad have been estimated as under:

Phase V	Jorwe Culture	1400 B.C.-1000 B.C.
Phase IV	Malwa Culture	1600 B.C.-1400 B.C.
Phase III	Buff and Cream Ware Culture	1800 B.C.-1600 B.C.
Phase II	Late Harappa Culture	2000 B.C.-1800 B.C.
Phase I	Savaldia Culture	2200 B.C.-2000 B.C.

The C-14 dates so far obtained for the various Phases from the Physical Research Laboratory (PRL), Ahmedabad, and The Birbal Sahni Institute of Palaeobotany (BSIP), Lucknow, are given in the following table in stratigraphical order:

Phase/Culture	PRL No. and Date	BSIP No. and Date
Phase V, Jorwe Culture, (House No. 38)	---	BS-170 2970 \pm 100 (3050 \pm 100) 1100 B.C.
Phase V Jorwe Culture (Kiln No. 1)	---	BS-178 2950 \pm 100 (3040 \pm 100) 1090 B.C.
Overlap between Phase IV (Malwa) and Phase V (Jorwe)	PRL 441	3230 \pm 100 (3320 \pm 100) 1370 B.C.
Topmost layer of Phase IV, Malwa Culture	PRL 412	3250 \pm 100 (3340 \pm 120) 1300 B.C.
Lowest layer of Phase IV Malwa Culture		BS-181 2900 \pm 100 (3080 \pm 110) 1130 B.C.
Phase III, Buff and Cream Ware Culture	PRL 428 (3500 \pm 140) 1550 B.C.	BS-182 3130 \pm 90 3230 \pm 100 1280 B.C.
Phase III, Buff and Cream Ware Culture (lowest layer)	PRL 410 (3070) 1120 B.C.	BS-177 3400 \pm 105 (3500 \pm 105) 1610 B.C.
Phase II, Late Harappa Culture	PRL 420 (1410) 540 A.D. (The sample was contaminated)	---
Phase II Late Harappa Culture	PRL 420 (3710 \pm 210) 1700 B.C.	BS-180 3300 \pm 100 (3480 \pm 110) 1530 B.C.
Phase I, Savalda Culture	PRL 420 (3400 \pm 220) 1540 B.C.	BS-176 3590 \pm 90 (3695 \pm 95) 1745 B.C.

(The dates in parenthesis are based on the half-life value 5730 \pm 40 years).

The above table would show stratigraphical inconsistency between the dates of samples PRL 429, PRL 419, PRL 428, BS-176, BS-180, BS-182 and BS-181. The sample PRL 420 was contaminated having been found covered with later sand and silt deposited by the river.

On the determination of sample BS-177 for the Buff and Cream Ware Culture Rajagopalan of the Birbal Sahni Institute of Palaeobotany comments (per. com.) "Date younger than estimate. But lies within the 1σ error bar, probably the true age". Accordingly, this determination, when seen with the statistical error band, will lie within the age bracket of (1505 B.C.-1715 B.C.), that is, within the limits of 1500 B.C.-1700 B.C. Since there is no likelihood of the sample being younger than 1600 B.C. in the light of the age-limit assigned for the Malwa Culture in Maharashtra the age of the sample will have to be considered as lying somewhere between 1600 B.C. and 1700 B.C.

It has been pointed out before that the pottery of Ahar complex occurring in Phase III in association with the Buff and Cream Ware has parallels in the pottery from Ahar proper. The Period I, from which the parallels have been cited, is dated to 1725 ± 110 B.C. (Sankalia, *et al*, 1969, pp. 5-6). In the light of this evidence the estimated date of 1800 B.C.-1600 B.C. for the Phase III of Daimabad seems quite reasonable.

It needs to be mentioned that a kind of Buff and imitation Buff-slipped ware was found in Period Ia of Ahar (Sankalia, *et al*, 1969, Pl. III). It occurred in a very small quantity. Yet an interesting aspect about it is, it occurs in a fairly early horizon datable to *circa* 2000 B.C. Earlier, Agrawal (*IAR* 1955-56, 11) also reported a variety of painted pottery with black designs executed on whitish yellow surface from Period I of Ahar. Important is also the evidence from Nagda (*IAR* 1955-56, 11-19) where the ceramics of Period I, with 22 ft. thick occupational deposit, consisted of red or cream-coloured pottery bearing variety of designs.

Mention should also be made of the buff ware from Malvan which is similar to that found on the Harappan sites in Gujarat (Allchin and Joshi, 1970).

The evidence which carries great importance in the present context is that of the presence of Black-and-Red Ware of Ahar complex in Period I of Prakash and Phase III of Daimabad. This has left no doubt that the Aharians had contacts with the people of Maharashtra in *circa* 1700 B.C. Whether there was something more than the contacts or the Aharians contributed towards the make up of the Buff and Cream Culture cannot be said with certainty at this stage. Because, the problem of development of the Ahar Culture itself needs to be studied properly. From the evidence it seems that the Ahar influences do not appear to be confined to mere technique. It may be mentioned that certain styles of paintings on

the Ahar Black-and-Red Ware (Sankalia, *et al*, 1969, Fig. 4, D11 and D18; Fig. 6, D45, D50) show close resemblance with the black-painted designs on the Buff and Cream Ware of Daimabad (Fig. 4, 5-7 and 9-12; Fig. 3, 1, 2, 4; Fig. 4, 14, 18, 20; Fig. 7, 13 and Fig. 9, 13). They resemble so closely with each other that it has to be inferred that either the latter have been originated from the former or both have a common origin.¹

The evidence from Phase I of Navdatoli is no less interesting. "Phase I is remarkable for the simultaneous appearance or occurrence of three wares, viz. (1) the white-painted Black-and-Red Ware, (2) The Cream-Slipped Ware and (3) The Black-on-Red Ware Of greater importance, not only numerically, but considering its wide range of forms — bowls, goblets, dishes-on-stand, *lotas* and medium sized storage jars, is the Cream-Slipped Ware. Its genesis is still unknown". (Sankalia, *et al*, 1971, p. 80). The disappearance of the Cream-Slipped Ware by Phase II is also noteworthy as it indicates dominance of Malwa Ware. It has been rightly suggested that the former might be the inspiration behind the Malwa Ware (Sankalia, *et al*, 1967, 413). In Phase IV, viz. Malwa, of Daimabad occurs a small quantity of imitation Buff and Cream Ware.

It would now be clear from the foregoing that certain important features of the Buff and Cream Ware of Phase III of Daimabad are also to be found in the variant of Malwa Ware of Period I of Prakash, the Cream-Slipped Ware of Phase I of Navdatoli and the black-on-red pottery of Period I of Pauniar. It, therefore, seems quite likely that all these wares have a common origin. The association of the Black-and-Red Ware at all these sites is significant.

Neither in Phase I of Navdatoli the Cream-Slipped Ware, nor in Period I of Prakash the variant of Malwa Ware have been recognized as representing a full-fledged Chalcolithic Culture. The black-on-red ware of Period I of Pauniar is said to indicate "features associated, if at all, with degenerate Malwa Ware" (Deo and Dhavalikar, 1968, 7). This author is of the opinion that this ware belongs to the group of the variant of Malwa Ware of Period I of Prakash and of Buff and Cream Ware of Daimabad. At Pauniar the horizon of this Chalcolithic pottery occurs isolated in the lowest levels and there is no evidence to understand its stratigraphic relation with any of the known Chalcolithic Cultures. But at Daimabad the cor-

1. Incidentally it may be mentioned that the earthen *lota* from Prakash illustrated in Pl. 5 in *Potteries in Ancient India*, (1969, ed. D. P. Sinha) and typologically regarded as the ancestor of the modern Gujarati and Maharashtra *lotas* is in fact an ancestor of what is very popularly known in Maharashtra as the Marwadi *lota* (Please also cf. Pl. VIII-6 in this paper).

responding Buff and Cream Ware represents, in a stratified context, a full-fledged Chalcolithic Culture quite distinct, in particularly its ceramic industries, from the preceding Late Harappan and the succeeding Malwa cultures. Since this aspect has been recognized at Daimabad for the first time the author proposes the name Daimabad Ware for the Buff and Cream Ware and for the culture represented by it Daimabad Culture.

It appears from the available evidence that the Daimabad Culture was not the result of the local development at Daimabad or for that matter in Maharashtra. Its authors arrived from outside Maharashtra and settled at Daimabad with fully developed cultural material of their own. The excavation at Daimabad has thus showed that in about a period of two centuries early in the first half of the second millennium B.C. the region of Maharashtra witnessed two major waves of immigrants, the earlier being of the (Late) Harappans.

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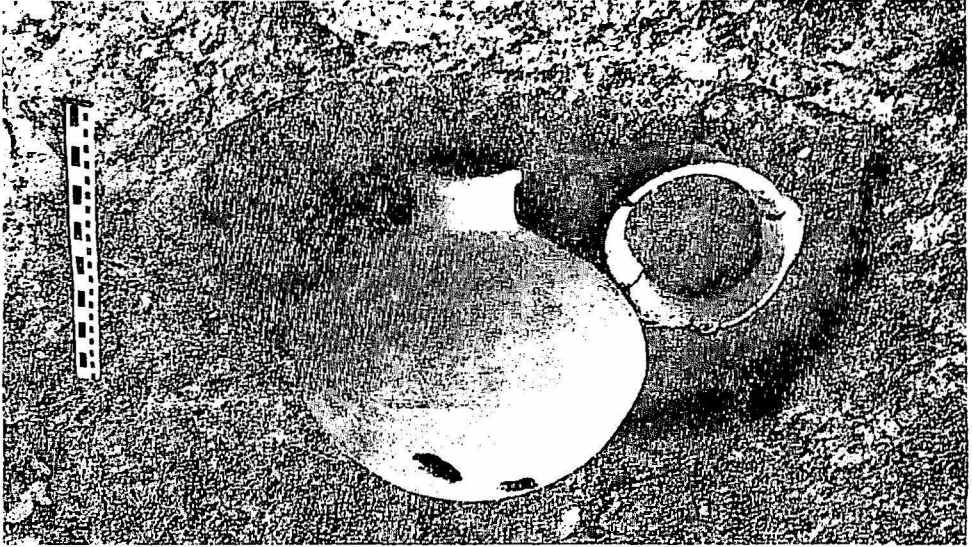
I am highly thankful to Sarvashri M. V. N. Krishna Rao, at present Assistant Superintending Archaeologist, Archaeological Survey of India, Konark, and D. M. Kulkarni, D. R. Patil, V. B. Mathadhikari, Surveyor, G. L. Gaikwad, Photographer Grade II, R. S. Trambake, Modeller and R. D. Ingale, Marksman, all of the South-Western Circle of the Survey for their assistance in the field. Thanks are also due to Shri G. L. Gaikwad for the photographs, Shri R. S. Trambake and Shri R. D. Ingale for pottery drawings and Shri Anokhi Lal Verma of the Central Circle of the Survey for preparing the map showing important Chalcolithic sites mentioned in the text.

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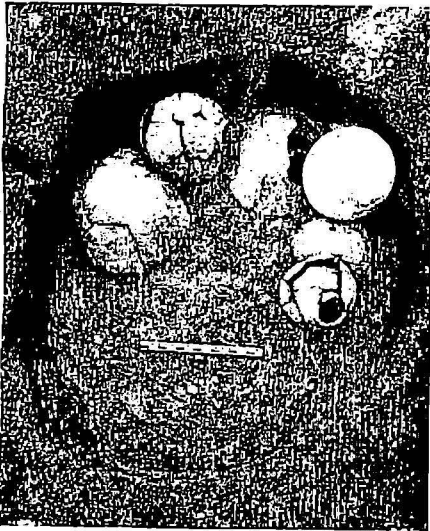
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A

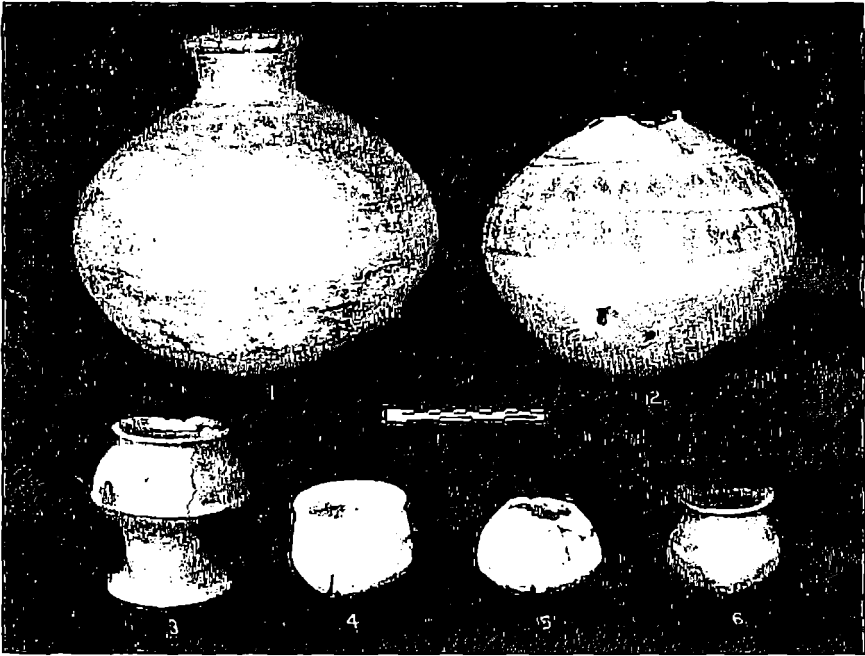


B

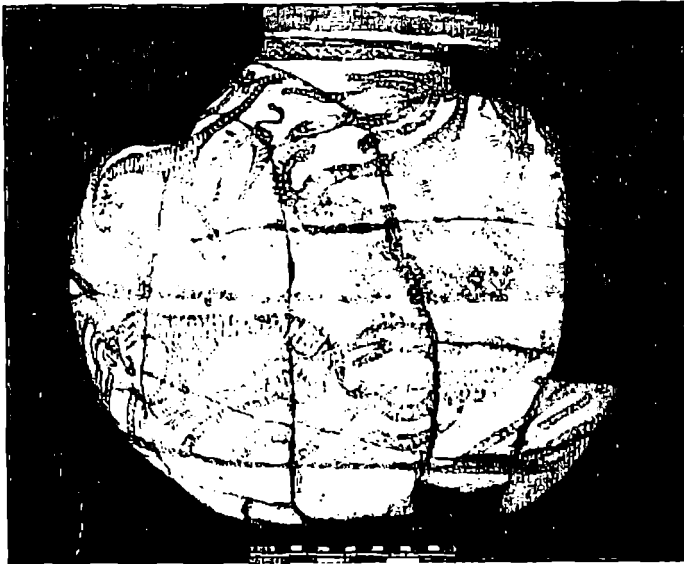


C

- A Two pots in a partial burial, Phase III
- B Symbolic burial, Phase III
- C Pot burial, Phase III



A Pottery of Phase III. 1, 2, 4 and 5 Daimabad Ware; 3, Burnished Ware; 6, lotā of Ahar black and grey Ware

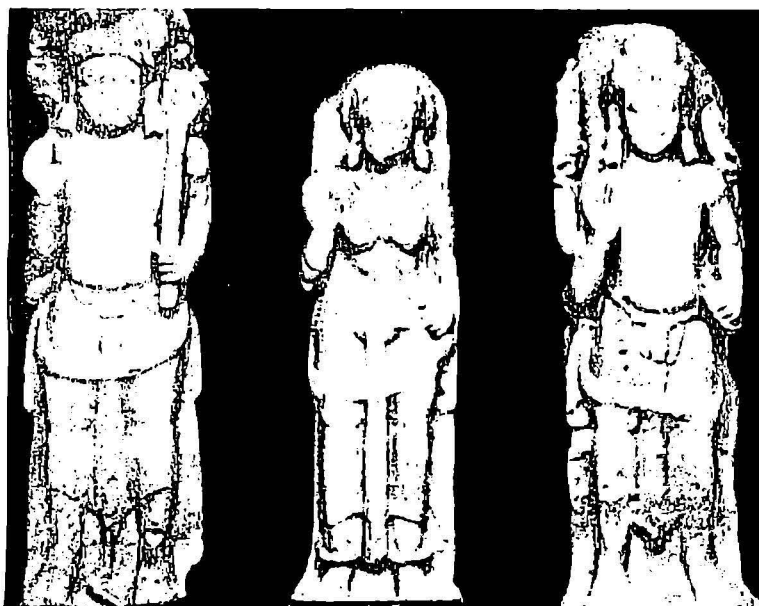


B Vase of Daimabad Ware found in 1958-59 season



A Śaṅkarṣaṇa on a silver coin of Agathocles, Afghanistan

B Kṛṣṇa (Viṣṇu) holding a wheel (cakra) on a silver coin of Agathocles, Afghanistan



C Ekānaṁśā group (Balarāma, Subhadrā and Kṛṣṇa), Patna Museum



A Kṛṣṇa uplifting mt. Govardhana, Mandor



B Scenes from Kṛṣṇa's Life, Badami. From left to right: Change of babies, Churning of butter, Pūtanā-vadha, Sakaṭa-bhaṅga

KRṢṢNA IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE— CONTRIBUTION OF KRṢṢNA SAGA TO INDIAN CULTURE

H. D. SANKALIA

INDIAN tradition, written as well as oral, has always maintained that Kṛṣṇa, the child-god of Gokul-Vrindāvana, the friend and adviser of Arjuna, and the narrator of the *Gītā* has continued to inspire Indians of all walks of life, poets, saints, philosophers, students as well as teachers, peasants and merchants all over India. For as the *Gītā* repeatedly affirms Kṛṣṇa combined in himself all the aspects and powers of other gods, such as Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva. And now Kṛṣṇa is conquering the West. He had already conquered southeast Asia — Thailand, Cambodia (Kampuchia). Viet Nam — thirteen centuries ago.

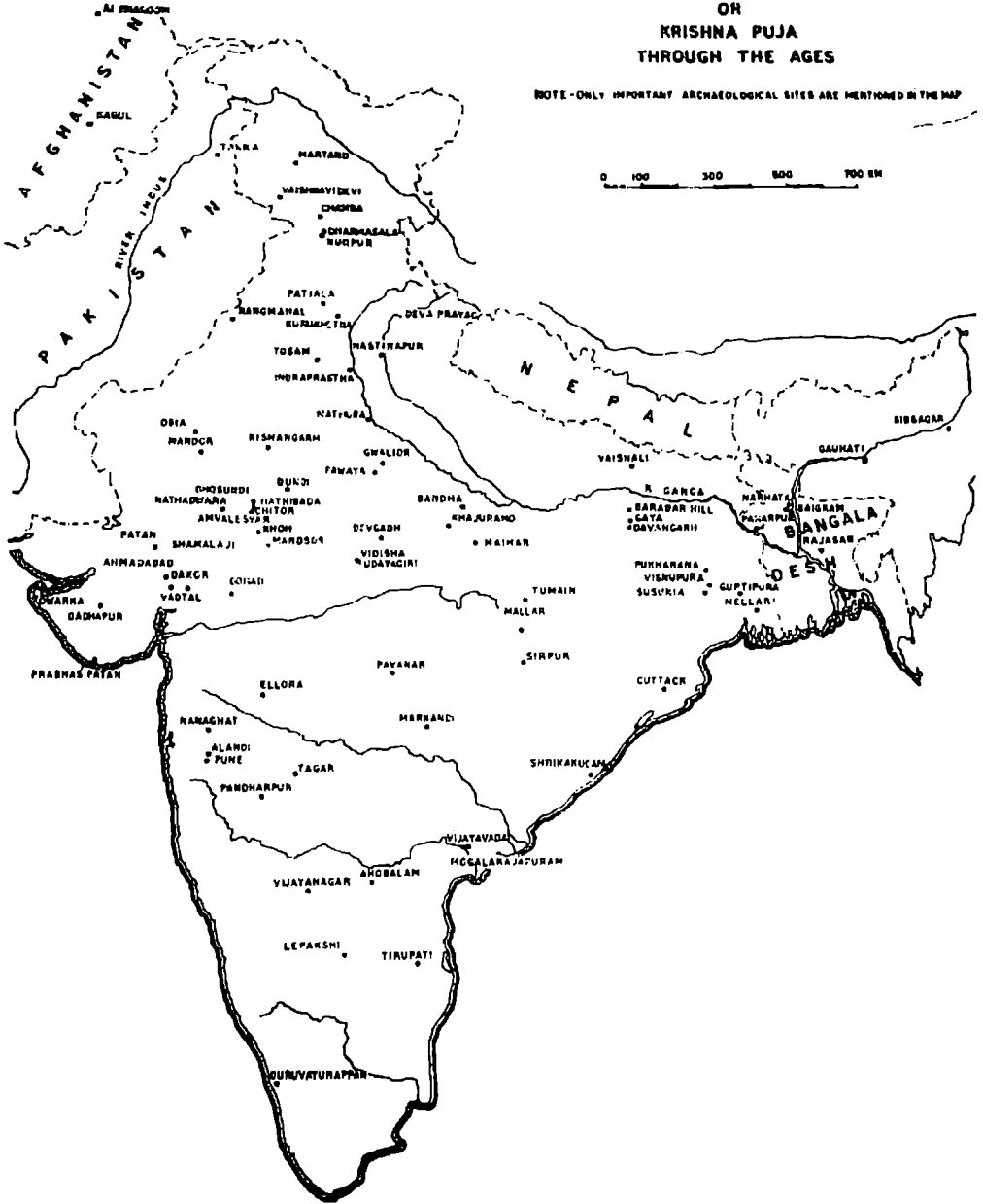
Today, barring Western Punjab (now in Pakistan), important seats of Kṛṣṇa-worship are located in Eastern Punjab, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Kashmir and Jammu, Assam, Bihar, Orissa, West Bengal, Bangladesh, Andhra, Tamil Nadu, Kerala, Karnatak, Maharashtra, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan. (Please see the map).

What is the source of all this inspiration? Selfless devotion and Love (*Prema*). Śiva is always feared, though he is easily pleased; so also the goddess (*Devī*). It is the Love which Kṛṣṇa first inspired among the simple cowherds (*gopas*) and *gopīs* in Gokul. This flame which is supposed to have been lighted 5000 years ago has never been extinguished. How it gradually spread all over India has been beautifully illustrated by Dr. P. Banerjee of the National Museum in *Life of Kṛṣṇa in Indian Art*.

Strange as it may seem, the earliest archaeological evidence for the deification of Kṛṣṇa as Vāsudeva comes from a site (Ai Khanoum) in Afghanistan. On a silver coin of Agathocles, a Greek ruler of North-west India in 2nd century B.C. Kṛṣṇa is shown as the Kuṣāṇa King at Mathura, in a long coat, a *chudidar pyajama*, wearing shoes with upturned toes, and wielding a wheel (*cakra*) (pl. IX-A, B).

**BHAGAVATA DHARMA
OR
KRISHNA PUJA
THROUGH THE AGES**

NOTE - ONLY IMPORTANT ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES ARE MENTIONED IN THE MAP



**BHĀGAVATA DHARMA
OR
KṚṢṆA PŪJĀ THROUGH THE AGES**

Next are the three stone figures from a site near Gaya. (pl. IX-C) These figures are evidently of Kṛṣṇa of the *Mahābhārata* and not of Gokul.

Though two inscriptions in early Brāhmi of the 1st century B.C. refer to the images of five heroes of the Viṣṇīs in a stone temple, no sculptural evidence has so far come from Mathura until the Kuṣāṇa period.

On the contrary, recent excavations by a German expedition at Sonkh, near Mathura, have provided excellent evidence in the form of an aspidal temple of a Nāga, and the bronze figure of Skanda. This might signify, as I think (provided no further archaeological evidence is found in a future excavation at Mathura) that before the Kṛṣṇa cult arose at Mathura, Nāga-worship was prevalent there.

Kṛṣṇa first ousted the Nāga cult of Mathura, as the Kāliya-damana story would signify, and then a wonderful amalgamation of the two cults took place. The thousand-headed cobra became the couch of Viṣṇu and we have the famous images of Viṣṇu as Śeṣaśāyī at Deogarh, Trivendrum and elsewhere. Kṛṣṇa likewise eliminated the worship of Indra, the god of rain. Both these were remarkable achievements which brought together the various foreign and indigenous ethnic elements. This is also indicated in no uncertain terms by the Garuḍa Pillar at Vidiśā (Benagar) in Madhya Pradesh, which was set up by a Greek Heliodorus, an inhabitant of Taxila for the worship of the Bhāgavata Vāsudeva in the 2nd century B.C. Of the same period and nature are two inscriptions from sites at Nagari, near Chitor in Rajasthan. The Nanaghat inscription of Queen Nayanikā, of the Sātavāhana dynasty, is of an identical date and opens with an invocation to Saṅkarṣaṇa, Vāsudeva and other deities.

Thus we are assured that the worship of Saṅkarṣaṇa (Baladeva, elder brother of Kṛṣṇa) and Vāsudeva flourished from Afghanistan in the north to Maharashtra in the south in the earliest historical period. How exactly the cult of Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa (Kṛṣṇa of Gokul) started cannot be archaeologically documented. Probably it started in Mathura at about this period (2nd-3rd century A.D.) and not only got it identified with Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa and Viṣṇu, but slowly ousted that of Saṅkarṣaṇa, regarded as the elder brother of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa.

Henceforward though several *Purāṇas*, including the *Bhāgavata*, and the *Mahābhārata*, invariably mention Baladeva, the latter plays a very insignificant role, whereas exploits of Kṛṣṇa began to

be carved in large narrative panels, first in Rajasthan (pl. X-A) and later in Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh. This movement got a great fillip because the most powerful rulers of the time (4th-6th century A.D.) — the Gupta dynasty, ruling from Pāṭali-putra, declared themselves as *Parama-bhāgavatas* (great devotees of Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa).

This lead was followed by other rulers, and monuments of the Cālukyas of Bādāmi, Karnataka (pl. X-B), contain some of the finest and most detailed account of Kṛṣṇa's exploits in Gokul. We have to imagine that this could not have happened unless the artists (sculptors) knew the stories well. And this was possible in those days because the masses (though illiterate in our sense, not knowing reading and writing) frequently heard the recitation of the *Purāṇas* in cities as well as villages.

Similar was the case in other states — Andhra, Tamil Nadu, Orissa, Bengal, Gujarat, as the extant archaeological evidence proves. Not only were the exploits of Kṛṣṇa depicted in small and large panels in temples of other deities like Śiva and Sūrya, but temples devoted exclusively to Kṛṣṇa-worship were built.

When this movement received a setback in the 13th century and later, as iconoclasts began to destroy temples, the love and devotion for Kṛṣṇa found expression in miniature paintings.

Probably Gujarat gave the lead, where there was already an earlier tradition started by the Jainas. This movement spread like wild fire, fanned as it was by another parallel movement, namely devotional songs in regional languages. The echoes of the *Gīṭa-Govinda* were heard in the far off Gujarat, and a reference to the famous song of Jayadeva occurs in an inscription of the 12th-13th century king. Everywhere, the love of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, or Gopī-Kṛṣṇa, Rāsakṛīḍā and Gopī-Vastraharaṇa were the most popular themes in paintings.

While the facial features of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā are idealized by long eye-lashes, it is interesting to note Kṛṣṇa dressed in tight fitting *chudīdar pyjama*, and long flowing Moghul robe. (I think a modern artist would prefer to depict Kṛṣṇa in bell-bottom trousers, and long, dishevelled hair!).

Such paintings were not confined to manuscripts. Often times the wall and ceilings of palaces were decorated with such paintings. Even the austere Marāṭhās did not escape the influence. For recently manuscripts have been unearthed from the Bhārat Samshodhak Maṇḍal, Pune, and published by Dr. M. S. Mate and his pupils Dr.

Usha Ranade and Dr. Kamal Chavan in two excellent publications. Even the famous palace of the Peshwas at Pune, now in derelict Shanwarwada, once contained such wall-paintings.

These illustrated manuscripts as well as palace-paintings only touched the then elite, and were gradually forgotten, until rescued by manuscript-hunters and archaeologists. But it was the devotional literature, whether in Gujarat or Bengal, Andhra or Karnataka, Bihar, Orissa, Haryana or Kashmir that enthralled the masses. The devotional songs by Jayadeva, Mirābai, Suradāsa or Tukārāma are daily recited even at present, and thus have acquired a permanent place in the Indian mind. Philosophical background to the Kṛṣṇa-worship was given by Rāmānuja, Vallabhācārya and other saint-philosophers of the 16th century. Two centuries later Saha-jānanda or Svāmi-Nārāyaṇa used both the devotional songs as well as the philosophy to bring about a social reformation in Gujarat, which was praised by the then British rulers.

Not only the rich and poor among the merchant classes, and peasants, but Kāṭhis and Kolīs who had taken to highway robbery and a life of drinking and smoking opium were weaned away from such bad habits, but thousands were made *satsangis* (a life of purity and detachment). Swāmi-Nārāyaṇa and his followers have built a number of temples of Kṛṣṇa, not only all over India but even in Africa and the United States. And now a huge temple is being built in London.

But besides these external manifestations of the increasing popularity of the Kṛṣṇa-cult, what we should admire is the whole-hearted devotion of the followers of Srila Prabhupada. His translation of *Śrī Caitanya Caritāmṛta* in 17 colourful volumes, as well as the 10th Skandha of *Śrīmad Bhāgavata* are well known. In less than 15 years, his followers have not only revived the glory of Gokul-Vrindāvan, the birth-place of Kṛṣṇa, but by their practice of the traditional way of life of a Brahmācārī, — tonsured head, simple saffron clothes, personal purity — and ecstatic devotion, called *Dhun*, have given new value to these fast-vanishing aspects of Indian culture.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

MAP

- IX-A. Balarāma (Sankarṣaṇa) depicted on a silver coin of Agathocles, Afghanistan, c 2nd Century B.C.
 IX-B. Kṛṣṇa (Viṣṇu) holding a wheel (*cakra*) on a silver coin of Agathocles, Afghanistan, c 2nd Century B.C.
 IX-C. Ekānamśā group (Kṛṣṇa, Subhadrā and Balarāma), Gaya, c 2nd Century A.D.
 X-A. Kṛṣṇa uplifting mt. Govardhana, Mandor, Rajasthan, c 4th-5th Century A.D.
 X-B. Scenes from Kṛṣṇa's life, Bādāmi. From left to right: Change of babies, Churning of butter, Pūtānā-vadha, Śakata-bhaṅga.

SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL CONTENTS IN KAUTILYA'S ARTHASĀSTRA

MRINALINI SARPOTDAR

THE Vedic Age created vast and varied literature which can be said to be the earliest attempt of the Indo-Aryans in the field of intellectual activities. This literature is speculative in nature. During the fourth century B.C. for the first time, we see secular literature like *Arthasāstra*. The *Arthasāstra* is a treatise on Politics. The very fact that a separate treatise was thought of itself is a proof that the society was coming out of religious clutches and becoming analytical. From the 4th century B.C. the ancient Indian History stands on the firm ground of historicity. Ancient Indians had come into contacts with the Persians and the Greeks, which seems to have brought the change in the attitude of the society. The picture that emerges from the *Arthasāstra* is that of an advanced society with strong centralised government; having a definite state policy and looking after every aspect of mundane life with the help of Ministers and Superintendents.

In short, during the 4th century B.C., we see that the holistic view of life of the Aryan Society recedes into the background, and the secular attitude is being developed. From the point of view of the history of Science and Technological ideas, *Arthasāstra* has a special importance. It does not consist of scattered statements of scientific importance, but is a well arranged Book devoted to various "Sciences", chapter (adhyāyas) by chapter. It is an encyclopaedia-like work divided into 15 adhikaraṇas (sections) and 180 prakaraṇas (subjects) and 150 adhyāyas (chapters). Glimpses of this work reveal in (*Arthasāstra*) chapter XI, of Book II, which deals with Gemology, chapter XII, deals with Mining and Metallurgical operations, minting coins, Ocean mining, Salt manufacturing, etc. The chapters XIII and XIV deal with the duties of the superintendent of gold and goldsmith's workshop and malpractices in gold dealings. In the chapter XVII, various kinds of trees constituting the forest wealth are mentioned; giving some information on medicinal plants. A detailed discussion on weights and measures as also measurements of space and time, with astronomical tidbits,

form the subject-matter of chapters XIX and XX. The chapter XXIV is full of interest from the point of view of agricultural practices, cattle-rearing, animal husbandry; detailed information on horses and elephants, including their upkeep and uses in war and peace, are described in the chapters XXIX, XXX, XXXI and XXXII. Classification of agricultural land, meteorology, public health including sanitation as also several matters of scientific and technical interest characterize this unique ancient text.

There seems to be some kind of a "Science-Policy" in the Mauryan empire. Even a casual reader of this *Arthasāstra* will get the impression that Science and Technology received the fullest possible attention in Mauryan times. Utilization of this knowledge was made through the establishment of several government departments. They were charged with one or more technical subjects and were efficient and effective in working.

Here is an attempt to show the scientific and technical contents in the *Arthasāstra*.

After the customary salutation to the past authors like Śukra and Bṛhaspati, Kauṭilya first discusses the end, uses of sciences or the scope of various sciences (Book I, Chapter II, III, R. Shama-shastri). He also discusses a very important thing, and that is about the quality of a student who wants to study the sciences. (Book I, Ch. vi, vii). To Kauṭilya, in student there should be "total absence of discrepancy, (avipratipatti) handicap or defect in the perception of sound, touch, colour, flavour and scent by means of the ear, the skin, the eyes, the tongue and the nose". This indicates Kauṭilya's proper scientific approach. A person desirous of learning science should be a normal being. He should be without any organic handicap or defect as, the defective sense organ will bring defective observation and will not give a correct picture of a situation.

Kauṭilya does not seem to believe in auspicious or inauspicious influence of the stars over the destiny of men and kings. In fact, he condemns the frequent consultation of astrology on the parts of the kings. (IX: IV: 351).

He devotes a chapter on giving various clues to locate mineral deposits. This is no less modern. The description of the clues and the colours of oozes and exudations are also given for identification of ores of gold, copper and silver. The clues for locating bituminous deposits, tin ore, lead ore, etc. are quite scientific.

Kautilya's observation that faint colour, sandy layer, spots, holes, bad perforation and scratches are defects in gems are as modern as one can think.

The treatise is full of Scientific and Technical contents and these contents noted Bookwise are as follows:—

Book No. I:

- (1) Ideal Student absence of organic defect or handicap (avipratiptti) (I.VI.11). Idea of Proper Scientific approach
- (2) Measuring a day (I.VII.13 & I.XIX.38).
- (3) Mechanical Contrivance Building made to collapse, etc. (I.XX.40).
- (4) Idea of having Fire-proof place (I.XX.40).
- (5) Anti-dots to poisonous snakes — Remedies against poison I.XX.40).
- (6) Technique of administrating poison /subtle ways of killing (I.XX.41).
- (7) Ways of detacting the poison in food (I.XXI.43).
- (8) Physical symptoms of a person administrating poison (I.XXI.43).
- (9) Physicians and Experts Employment of almost modern methods for the personal safety of the king. (I.XXI.43-44).

Book No. II:

- (1) Making animals harmless by depriving their claws, teeth (II.II.49).
- (2) Methodical study of animals (II.II.50).
- (3) Veterinary doctors (II.II.50).
- (4) Qualitywise classification of animals (II.II.50).
- (5) Measuring the land (II.II.52, 53, 54).
- (6) Safety measures in forts (II.III.52).
- (7) Mechanical devices Turrent (II.III.53).
- (8) Machines (Yantras) can destroy 100 persons at once. (II.III.54).
- (9) Explosives — Agnisamyogas (II.III.54).
- (10) Measuring the distance (II.I & IV.45-46 & 56).

- (11) Underground chamber three floor height (II.V.57-58).
- (12) Movable Staircase (II.V.57-58).
- (13) Protection against fire, poison (II.V.58).
- (14) Rain-gauge (Varṣamāna) Measuring rain (II.V.58).
- (15) Counterfeit Coins and Coin Examiners (II.IX.58 & 69).
- (16) The division of time (II.VI, VII.60 & 63).
- (17) Gemology (II.XI.75, 76, 77, 78).
- (18) Knowledge of Tanning (II.XI.79-80).
- (19) Wool Technique of making rain-proof (II.XI.80-81):
- (20) Mining operation Scientific and analytic process like distillation (III.XII.82-83).
- (21) Metal Technology Processes known (II.Ch.XII. XIV.90).
- (22) Use of Magnet known (II.XIV.90).
- (23) Techniques employed for stealing gold (II.XIV.91).
- (24) Thorough knowledge of Botany (II.XVII).
- (25) Immovable, movable Machines — Armoury (II.XVIII. 101).
- (26) Measurement of Space and Time (II.XX.106).
- (27) Measures of Time (II.XX.107).
- (28) Measuring of Rain fall and their observations (II.XXIV. 115-116).
- (29) Forecast of Rain and Astronomical Observation (II.XXIV. 116).
- (30) Agricultural Observation When to sow and what to sow (II.XXIV.116).
- (31) Fermentation Knowledge of Chemistry and Botany various Arishtas and Āsavās (II.XXV.120).
- (32) Knowledge of granulated sugar; Molasses (II.XXV.121).
- (33) Observations regarding Animals and Animal Care (II. XXIX.130).

Book No. III:

- (1) A test of impotency Knowledge of (III. XVIII.193).

Book No. IV:

- (1) Remedies against National calamities like Rats, Locusts, Insects, Birds (IV.III.209).
- (2) Examination of sudden death *idea of Postmortem* (IV.VII.217-218).

Book No. VIII:

- (1) *Action against Science* A source of Downfall (VIII II.125).

Book No. IX:

- (1) Disbelief in the auspiciousness of lunar days and stars *No fatalism* (IX.IV.351).

Book No. XII:

- (1) *Secret Contrivances* to kill the enemy (XII.V.391, 410 & XIV.I.411).

Book No. XIV:

- (1) Secret means to injure an enemy: *Powders, Ointments and Smokes* (XIV.V.411, 12, 13).

Book No. XIV:

- (1) *Delusive Contrivances* renders fasting possible for a month etc. (XIV.II.415, 16, 17)).

From the foregoing list of the Scientific and Technical contents of Arthaśāstra, Kauṭilya seems to be a man of method. Method makes a system and systematised knowledge becomes a science. 'Hinderance to science brings destruction' is the firm opinion of Kauṭilya. A question was posed to Kauṭilya as to "which is better, a blind king or a king erring against the science?" Kauṭilya's answer to this was, "Blind king can be made by his supporters to adhere whatever line of policy he ought to. But an erring king who is bent on doing what is against the science brings about destruction to himself and his kingdom by maladministration". (VIII. II.325).

For references please refer Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra by Dr. R. Shamasastri, 8th Edn., 1967, Mysore.

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A JUNGIAN ANALYSIS OF THE BHAGAVADGĪTĀ

ARVIND SHARMA

I

Carl Gustav Jung (1875-1961)¹ has been, along with Sigmund Freud, one of the main formative influences in determining the relation of modern psychology to religion.² Among the "main points in Jung's system", which he termed analytical psychology rather than psychoanalysis, is "His classification of man into introverted and extraverted types" and "further distinctions resting on the idea that in each person one or more of four primary functions of mind (i.e. thinking, feeling, sensation and intuition) predominate".³ Jung began by identifying the "thinking type with the introvert and the feeling type with the extravert"⁴ but remarks that "A deeper elaboration of the problem proved this combination to be untenable",⁵ so that to the twofold classification of man as introverted and extraverted types was added the fourfold classification of the primary functions of the mind. These two schemes of classification were integrated in his *Psychological Types* to provide an eightfold classification among Extraverted Thinking, Feeling, Sensation and Intuitive Types and Introverted Thinking, Feeling, Sensation and Intuitive Types.⁶

The purpose of this paper is to examine the extent to which Jung's analysis can be applied to the *Bhagavadgītā*, which he cites at least once in *Psychological Types*.⁷ One is encouraged to do so by his remark that "When a problem is accepted as religious, it gains a psychological significance of immense importance; a value is in-

1. See Dr. Jolan Jacobi, *The Psychology of C. G. Jung* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co. Ltd., 1942), pp. 147-149.

2. See Erich Fromm, *Psychoanalysis and Religion* (Yale University Press, 1950), Chapter II.

3. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Vol. 13 (Chicago: William Benton, 1968), p. 135.

4. C. G. Jung, *Psychological Types of The Psychology of Individuation* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co. Ltd., 1923), p. 14.

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Ibid.*, Chapter X.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 243, according to the Index also on p. 244 but no such citation seems to be traceable.

volved which relates to the whole of man, hence also the unconscious (the realm of the gods, the other world, etc.)”⁸

II

Jung introduces his *Psychological Types* to the reader with the observation that “In my practical work with nervous patients I have long been struck by the fact among the many individual differences in human psychology there exist also *typical distinctions*: two *types* especially became clear to me which I have termed Introversion and the Extraversion Types”.⁹ Jung goes on to elaborate this distinction in a broader context thus:

From sheer necessity, therefore, I must confine myself to a presentation of principles which I have abstracted from an abundance of observed facts. In this there is no question of deductio a priori, as it might well appear: it is rather a deductive *presentation* of empirically gained understanding. It is my hope that this insight may prove a clarifying contribution to a dilemma which, not in analytical psychology alone but also in other provinces of science, and especially in the personal relations of human beings one to another, has led and still continues to lead to misunderstanding and division. For it explains how the existence of two distinct types is actually a fact that has long been known: a fact that in one form or another has dawned upon the observer of human nature or shed light upon the brooding reflection of the thinker; presenting itself, for example, to Goethe’s intuition as the embracing principle of *systole* and *diastole*. The names and forms in which the mechanism of introversion and extraversion has been conceived are extremely diverse, and are, as a rule, adapted only to the standpoint of the individual observer. Notwithstanding the diversity of the formulations, the common basis or fundamental idea shines constantly through, namely, in the one case an outward movement of interest toward the object, and in the other a movement of interest away from the object, towards the subject and his own psychological processes. In the first case the object works like a magnet upon the tendencies of the subject; it is, therefore, an attraction that to a large extent determines the subject. It even alienates him from himself: his qualities may become so transformed, in the sense of assimilation to the object, that one could imagine the object to possess an extreme and even decisive significance for the subject. It might almost

8. C. G. Jung, *op. cit.*, p. 239.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 9.

seem as though it were an absolute determination, a special purpose of life or fate that he should abandon himself wholly to the object.¹⁰

Though the text of the *Bhagavadgītā* does not explicitly refer to this distinction between the two Types, it is implicitly contained in the context of the situation it represents. For the "Gītā opens with a problem. Arjuna refuses to fight and raises difficulties. He puts a plausible plea for abstention from activity and for retreat from the world".¹¹ Thus the *Gītā* "raises the question whether action or renunciation of action is better ...".¹² Or, in the terminology of Hindu philosophy, the question of *pravṛtti* (tending to work) and *nivṛtti* (cessation from work) is raised.¹³ Jung defines Extraversion as "an outward-turning of the libido. With this concept I denote a manifest relatedness of subject to object in the sense of a positive movement of subjective interest towards the object. Everyone in the state of extraversion thinks, feels, and acts in relation to the object, and moreover in a direct and clearly observable fashion, so that no doubt can exist about his positive dependence on the object".¹⁴ Now *pravṛtti* is defined as: "Active life (as opposed to *nivṛtti* and to contemplative devotion, and defined as consisting of the wish to act, knowledge of the means, and accomplishment of object)".¹⁵

The convergence between the Jungian psychological concept and the Hindu philosophical concept is obvious. In the *Bhagavadgītā* Arjuna's condition until I.25 and in XVIII.73 may be described as one of Extraversion in Jungian terms and *pravṛtti* in Hindu terms.

C. G. Jung defines Introversion as "a turning inwards of the libido, whereby a negative relation of subject to object is expressed. Interest does not move towards the object but recedes towards the subject. Everyone whose attitude is introverted thinks, feels, and acts in a way that clearly demonstrates that the subject is the chief factor in motivation while the object at most receives only a secondary value".¹⁶ Now *nivṛtti* is defined as: "Ceasing from worldly acts, inactivity, rest, repose (opposed to *pravṛtti*)".¹⁷

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 10-11.

11. S. Radhakrishnan, *The Bhagavadgītā* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1958), p. 66.

12. *Ibid.*

13. Surendranath Dasgupta, *A History of Indian Philosophy*, Vol. II (Cambridge University Press, 1952), p. 507.

14. C. G. Jung, *op. cit.*, p. 542.

15. Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1974), p. 694.

16. C. G. Jung, *op. cit.*, p. 567.

17. Monier-Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 560.

The convergence between the Jungian psychological concept and the Hindu philosophical concept can be detected here too. Arjuna's condition after I.25 in the *Gītā* is one of increasing Introversion. In I.47 he is described as casting away his bow and arrow and in II.5 he starts preferring begging to setting out to slay his kinsmen in battle. Thus Arjuna's condition may here be described as one of Introversion in Jungian terms and *nivṛtti* in Hindu terms.

That such indeed is the case is further confirmed by a perusal of the Introduction to "probably the earliest commentary now available"¹⁸ on the *Gītā* — that of Śaṅkara (788-820 A.D.). Śaṅkara writes:

The Lord created the universe and wishing to secure order therein He first created the Prajāpatis (Lords of creatures) such as Marichi and caused them to adopt the Pravṛtti-Dharma, the Religion of Works. He then created others such as Sanaka and Sanandana and caused them to adopt the Nivṛtti-Dharma, the Religion of Renunciation, characterised by knowledge and indifference to worldly objects. It is the twofold Vedic Religion of Works and Renunciation that maintains order in the universe. This Religion which directly leads to liberation and worldly prosperity has long been practised by all castes and religious orders (varṇa-āśrama) — from the brāhmaṇas downwards — who sought welfare.¹⁹

This classification of the two-fold Vedic religion on the basis of *pravṛtti* and *nivṛtti* can easily be seen as the religious response to the two basic psychological types identified by C.J. Jung — the Extravertive and the Introvertive. And Śaṅkara further states in the concluding paragraph of the Introduction that "The *Gītā-Śāstra* expounds this twofold Religion, whose aim is Supreme Bliss."²⁰

Thus though the *Bhagavadgītā* does not explicitly refer to *pravṛtti* and *nivṛtti*,²¹ its context so clearly implies that commentators from very early times have looked at it in these terms.

18. Surendranath Dasgupta, *op. cit.*, p. 437.

19. A. Mahadeva Sastri, *The Bhagavadgītā with the Commentary of Śrī Śaṅkarācārya* (Madras: V. Ramaswamy Sastrulu & Sons, 1961), p. 2.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 6.

21. It may be pointed out that though the words *pravṛtti* and *nivṛtti* occur in the *Bhagavadgītā* (XVI.7), they are used in a different sense. It may also be pointed out that not all commentators on the *Gītā* use them in the sense Śaṅkara uses them. Thus Abhinavagupta in his gloss on *Bhagavadgītā* XVI.7.8 uses them to mean "creation" and "dissolution".

III

C. J. Jung's discussion of the four primary functions of the mind and their relative predominance in the individual is again, though not explicitly mentioned in the *Bhagavadgītā*, seems to be clearly implied. This fourfold classification of mental functions into Thinking, Feeling, Sensation and Intuition is implied in the doctrine of the three main *yogas* the *Bhagavadgītā* espouses — those of Jñāna, Bhakti, and Karma.

The reader must be warned here against what may be called the fallacy of exclusive predication of a particular *yoga* vis-a-vis the *Bhagavadgītā*. While it is true that Śaṅkara (788-820 A.D.),²² Rāmānuja (1017-1037 A.D.)²³ and Bal Gangadhar Tilak (1857-1920 A.D.)²⁴ have respectively interpreted the *Bhagavadgītā* as predominantly espousing Jñāna, Bhakti and Karma Yoga respectively, they were too thorough students of the *Gītā* to maintain that it preached those *yogas* exclusively. They interpreted the *Gītā* in such a way as to subordinate the other *yogas* to their favourite one. A more detached reader of the *Bhagavadgītā* must come away with the feeling that it practises a kind of philosophical kathenotheism so far as the *yogas* are concerned.²⁵

The three main *yogas*²⁶ can be seen as corresponding to at least three of the four types identified by Jung on the basis of the predominance of a functional characteristic.

On Thinking, C. J. Jung remarks that it is "that psychological function which, in accordance with its own law, brings given presentations into conceptual connection."²⁷ Thus a person in whom this aspect dominates will be called a Thinking Type. Is there any *yoga* in the *Gītā* which corresponds to this type? Franklin Edgerton is to an extent correct in pointing out that the word *jñāna* in the *Bhagavadgītā* means "really intuitional perception; it is not, and is not intended to be, based on rational analysis,"²⁸ but this is

22. Eliot Deutsch and J. A. B. van Buitenen, *A Source Book of Advaita Vedānta* (Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1971), p. 213.

23. See J. A. B. van Buitenen, *Rāmānuja on the Bhagavadgītā* [S-Gravenhage: H. L. Smits, 1953 (?)], *passim*.

24. D. Mackenzie Brown, The Philosophy of Bal Gangadhar Tilak, *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. XVII, No. 2 (Feb. 1958), *passim*.

25. See A. L. Herman, *An Introduction to Indian Thought* (New Jersey, Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall Inc., 1976), p. 158 ff.

26. The *Bhagavadgītā* contains references, for instance, to *abhyāsayoga* (VIII.8: XII.9); *dhyanayoga* (XVIII.52): etc.

27. C. J. Jung, *op. cit.*, p. 611.

28. Franklin Edgerton, *The Bhagavad Gītā* (New York: Harper & Row, 1964), p. 193.

not entirely true. In *Bhagavadgītā* XVIII.70 the word *jñānayoga* is clearly used in a sense which does not imply non-discursive knowledge and this view is strengthened by the fact that the *Gītā* refers to *svādhyāya*²⁹ explicitly which means "Study of the Holy Word" — and thus clearly carries an intellectual rather than a trans-intellectual implications. What is being suggested, now, is that the word *jñānayoga* seems to carry a double sense in the *Bhagavadgītā*; that in one sense it implies intellectual activity and that in this sense it corresponds to the Thinking Type of C. J. Jung; that is to say, the *Gītā* implies that this type of *yoga* is appropriate for the Thinking Type.

C. J. Jung next counts Feeling "among the four basic psychological functions,"³⁰ and when the "total attitude of the individual is oriented by the function of feeling, we speak of a feeling-type."³¹ C. J. Jung states that "The conceptual capacity of the intellect proves incapable of formulating the real nature of feeling in abstract terms,"³² but that it can be seen expressing itself in valuations such as "like", "dislike",³³ etc. It is easy to see that in the scheme of the three *yogas* this type would correspond to Bhakti.

Next, "A man whose whole attitude is oriented by the principle of sensation belongs to the sensation type."³⁴ "Sensation or sensing is that psychological function which transmits a physical stimulus to perception."³⁵ Jung goes on to say that "sensation is *sense-perception* i.e. perception transmitted *via* the sense organs and 'bodily senses'."³⁶ Since the *Gītā* repeatedly refers to the activity of the senses in relation to *karma*,³⁷ this type may be seen as corresponding to Karma Yoga.

Similarly, the Intuition³⁸ can be easily related to Jñāna Yoga, the word *jñāna* being used this time in the sense of intuitive rather than discursive knowledge.

C. J. Jung made two basic kinds of classifications: of the two types based on Extraversion and Introversion and the four types

29. See *Bhagavadgītā*, IV.28: XVI.1; XVII.15.

30. C. J. Jung, *op. cit.*, p. 543.

31. *Ibid.*, p. 547.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 545.

33. *Ibid.*, p. 543.

34. *Ibid.*, p. 587.

35. *Ibid.*, p. 585.

36. *Ibid.*, p. 586.

37. *Bhagavadgītā*, IV.27; etc.

38. C. J. Jung, *op. cit.*, pp. 567-569.

based on Thinking, Feeling, Sensation and Intuition. The first classification; it was shown, can be brought neatly into relation with the *Bhagavadgītā* through the concepts of *pravṛtti* and *nivṛtti*. The second classification, it has now been shown, can be brought into relation with the *Bhagavadgītā* through the concept of the triple Yogas of Jñāna, Bhakti and Karma. In this case, however, the correspondences were not as neat as in the first. For one, the meaning of the word *jñāna* had to be semantically bifurcated to accommodate a fourfold division in terms of a threefold division. For another, Jung uses the term *Sensation* in a broader sense than is evident from the above discussion. For under the term *sensation* he includes "the *aesthetic sensational attitude*."³⁹ It is difficult to find anything corresponding to this in the *Bhagavadgītā*. The word *ānanda* does not seem to occur in the *Bhagavadgītā* at all; the word *rasa*⁴⁰ occurs but without any aesthetic implication. While it is true that in the Hindu religious tradition the aesthetic approach to God finds a due place subsequent to the *Gītā*,⁴¹ and perhaps even prior to it, yet it does not seem to find an appreciable place within the *Gītā* itself.

IV

If these difficulties are regarded as minor there is one major way in which Jungian analysis of types is hard to use to advance our understanding of the *Gītā*. The difficulty arises from the fact that in the *Bhagavadgītā* an effort is made to reconcile *pravṛtti* and *nivṛtti* and this tends to blur the distinction between the two whereas Jung, on the other hand, not only maintains the distinction but by crossing his twofold division of Extraversion and Introversion with the fourfold division of Thinking, Feeling, Sensation and Intuition finally ends up with a list of eight types: (1) the Extraverted Thinking Type; (2) the Extraverted Feeling Type; (3) the Extraverted Sensation Type; (4) the Extraverted Intuitive Type; (5) the Introverted Thinking Type; (6) the Introverted Feeling Type; (7) the Introverted Sensation Type; and (8) the Introverted Intuitive Type.⁴² While it was possible to apply the twofold classification *by itself* to the *Gītā* as well as the fourfold classification, it does not seem to be possible to apply this eightfold classification which results from mating the first two.

39. *Ibid.*, p. 587.

40. See II.59; VII.8.

41. See Ruth Katz and Arvind Sharma, *The Aesthetics of Abhinavagupta*, *The British Journal of Aesthetics*, Vol. 17, No. 3 (Summer 1977), pp. 259-265.

42. C. J. Jung, *op. cit.*, Chapter X.

The reason is not far to seek. If Jung is the founder of *analytic* psychology, by contrast the approach of the *Gītā* is, on the whole, synthetic. Thus in the case of *pravṛtti* and *nivṛtti*, in the *Gītā* "A happy compromise is brought about between the two paths taught of old — *pravṛtti* or action and *nivṛtti* or renunciation. The spirit of renunciation is preserved even without abandoning activity."⁴³ In the case of the *yogas* as well, the *Gītā* seems to hint that one leads to the other.



To conclude: a Jungian analysis of the *Gītā* along the line of the two mechanisms: (1) Extraversion and Introversion and (2) the Four Psychological Basic Functions is possible when the two mechanisms are employed *independently*, but when they are employed *jointly* the synthetic character of the *Gītā*, seems to impede the analysis.

43. T. M. P. Mahadevan, *Outlines of Hinduism* (Bombay: Chetana Ltd., 1971), p. 86; also see Surendranath Dasgupta, *op. cit.*, pp. 507-508.

ON GRAMMARIAN VYĀḌI

J. M. SHUKLA

Vyāḍi is a famous name among ancient Indian grammarians. In the ancient and medieval works on Sanskrit Grammar, we find a number of references to Vyāḍi, to his writings and to his opinions. He is referred to as a great grammarian, a poet, a rhetorician, a Sāṃkhya writer, a writer on medicine, a Mīmāṃsā scholar and an authority on accent and recitation of *Ṛgveda*. It is likely that all the references to Vyāḍi, do not refer to one individual, but to different scholars named Vyāḍi, who lived at different times and in different places. However, the majority of references understand him as a famous authority on Sanskrit Grammar, who lived before Patañjali and Kātyāyana. He was perhaps a contemporary of Pāṇini. Early references to Vyāḍi are found in the *Ṛgveda-Prātisākhya* (*Rg Prat.*), Kātyāyana's *Vārttikas* (*Vārt.*), Patañjali's (*Pat.*) *Mahābhāṣya* (*MBh.*), Bhartṛhari's (*Bh's*) *Mahābhāṣyadīpikā* (*MBh. Dīp.*), and the *Vṛtti* on *Vākyapadīya Brahmakāṇḍa*.

Vyāḍi is referred to as Dākṣāyaṇa, a descendent of the family of Dakṣa. Dākṣāyaṇa was the author of *Samgraha* as noted by Patañjali who praises his work.¹

The word Dākṣāyaṇa was already famous in Patañjali's time, for, we find him using the word Dākṣāyaṇa elsewhere also, as an illustration.² Dakṣa who founded the family and his descendents, were well-known sacrificers. Many villages, towns and cities were named after the word Dākṣi. They were Dākṣikūṭa, Dākṣipiṅgala, Dākṣihṛda, Dākṣighoṣa and Dākṣigrāma. Students hailing from these places were jocularly called *Kumarīdākṣāḥ*, because they studied the works of the writers of the Dakṣa family, only to get brides.³ Such students held a staff in their hands.⁴ The word

1. *Śobhanā khalu Dākṣāyaṇasya Samgrahasya Kṛtiḥ* 1. Mbh. on Pāṇini Sūtra (Pā. Sū.) 2.3.66; Kāśikā repeats the line with the reading: "vicitrā hi" instead of *śobhanā khalu*.

2. (a) *yañīṅḥ fakyatiprasaṅgo bhavati / yatheha bhavati gārgyāyaṇaḥ dākṣāyaṇaḥ* / Pat. on Vārttika 9, on Pā. Sū. 4.1.1. (b) *lhobhayaṃ prāpnoti Dākṣi dākṣāyaṇaḥ* / Pat. on Vārt. 7, on Pā. Sū. 6.1.91.

3. Kāśikā on Pā. Sū. 6.2.29.

4. *Dākṣāḥ daṇḍamānavāḥ* / Pat. on Pā. Sū. 4.1.104; Vārt. 23.

Dakṣaka, Dakṣa, Dākṣāyaṇa and Dākṣi or Dākṣī are put to service by Patañjali for illustrating Pāṇini's rules.⁵

The above discussion proves that Dākṣāyaṇa who belonged to the Dakṣa family, wrote a book called *Samgraha*, which was as good and praiseworthy as Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*.

The name of this scholar is identical with Vyāḍi. This identity is established on the evidence supplied by Bhartṛhari. According to him fourteen thousand topics are discussed in *Samgraha*.⁶ Bhartṛhari further says that *Samgraha* belonged to the Science of Grammar, that Vyāḍi, its author, was an authority on grammar and therefore, Kātyāyana following Vyāḍi, had used the term *siddha* in sense of *nitya* (eternal).⁷ Nāgeśa while commenting on the statement of the Bhāṣyakāra, refers to a tradition which says that *Samgraha* had one hundred thousand verses.

Samgraha was a work both in prose and verse, as can be understood from a number of verses and prose citations quoted by the commentaries on *Vākyapadīya*. The majority of these references are found in the *Vṛtti* on the first Kāṇḍa of *Vākyapadīya*.

The word *Samgraha* suggests that it was a compendium of all kinds of tenets, grammatical as well as philosophical. Patañjali while explaining the sūtras of Pāṇini and the Vārttikas on them, has added summary-verses pertaining to the discussion which went before. These cannot be from the pen of Vyāḍi. Such verses, repeated in Kāśikā on Pā. Sū. 4.2.8,9; 6.1.68; 8.1.69; 108 and so on, are called summary-verses (*saṃgrahaślokaḥ*). However some of the śloka-vārttikas quoted by Patañjali might have been from the pen of Vyāḍi.

The words Vyāḍi and *Samgraha* have been current from very early times. In the gaṇa-list referred to in Pā. Sū. 4.2.60, we have the word *saṃgrahaḥ* along with the word *Vṛttiḥ*. It suggests a kind of work in which a number of topics and their discussion is found. Similarly in the *Krauḍyādi* gaṇa-list referred to in Pā.Sū. 4.1.80, we have the word Vyāḍi juxtaposed with Āpiśali. It suggests that Vyāḍi was an early grammarian.

5. Pat. on Pā. Sū. 1.1.39; 1.1.72; 1.2.37; 2.2.3; 2.3.66; 4.1.1; 4.1.17; 4.1.95; 4.2.104; 6.1.91.

6. *Caturdaśasahasraṇi vastūnyasminsamgrahagranthe / Mahābhāṣyadīpikā* (Mbh. Dip.) p. 21, 1.4.5.

7. *Samgrahopyasyaiva śāstrasyaikadeśaḥ / Tattraikatantratvādvyaḍeśca prāmānyādīhāpi tathaiiva siddhaśabda upāttaḥ / Mbh. Dip. p. 23, 1.19, 20.*

8. (a) *Ado vṛścikalāṅgūlam tena ca taiḥṣnyam lakṣyate / Viśiṣṭo adah taiḥṣnyam yasya Vyāḍeḥ tasyāpatyam vyāḍiḥ / Mādhavīyadhātuvṛtti. p. 82.*
(b) Nyāsa on Kāśikā on Pā. Sū. 7.3.7 explains *vigato adah vyaḍaḥ*.

9. *Āpiśalapāṇinīyavyāḍiyagautamiyāḥ / Pat. on Vārt. 1 on Pā. Sū. 6.2.36.*

10. *Saṃgrahasūtrikaḥ Pat. on Pā. Sū. 4.2.60.*

The word Vyāḍi is derived in a fanciful manner by Kāśikākāra and Sāyaṇa. According to this derivation Vyāḍi was the son of one Vyāḍa, who was wild or haughty by temperament. Along with the grammatical works of Āpiśali, Pāṇini and Gautama, Vyāḍi's work was extensively studied by students. Such students were called Āpiśalāḥ, Pāṇinīyāḥ, Vyāḍīyāḥ and Gautamīyāḥ.

The word *Samgrahasūtra* is used as the name of a work and he who studied it was called *Sāmgrahasūtrikaḥ*. The word *sūtra* does not denote here the work in a *sūtra* style. We may conjecture that the original name of the *Samgraha* was the *Samgrahasūtra*.

While explaining *Ṛtaśca* (Pā.Sū. 7.4.92) Patañjali praises a serious student of grammar, provided he conjugates the intensive form of the root *Kṛ*. He says that "he who can conjugate in the present tense the intensive form (*yauḷuk*) of *Kṛ*. and of other roots ending in long *ṛ*, is considered by me to be a person who has attained the right knowledge, of the employment of the augments *r*, *ri* and *rī* and he has attained the right use of words."¹¹ This verse which is also found in Kāśikā has been understood as referring to Vyāḍi's *Samgraha*. The Science of Grammar takes note of current word-forms (*iṣṭi*) and frames rules for arriving at new word-forms (*prāpti*). The word *prāptijñā*, here in the above reference, may refer to Vyāḍi. The word *Samgraha* generally means right knowledge or the right use of knowledge. It may also mean Science of Grammar. In the present state of our knowledge we cannot conclude anything from the reference.

Dharmadāsa the author of *Candrapṛtī*, while explaining *Cāndrasūtra* 4.1.62, gives two illustrations viz. *pañcakaḥ saṅghaḥ* and *aṣṭakani pāṇinīyam*. The first illustration should not be understood as referring to the five adhyāyas of *Samgraha*. Dharmadāsa has wrongly juxtaposed the two illustrations. Kāśikā points out that the word *saṅgha* does not refer to a collection of adhyāyas but it refers to a collection of living beings.¹²

There is an interesting reference to Vyāḍi's contribution as found in the following references from Kāśikā:

1. On Pā. Sū. 2.4.21 *Upajñopakramaṁ tadādyācikyāsāyām*, Kāśikā says, *Paṇinyupajñamakālakaṁ vyākaraṇam*, *Vyāḍyupajñāṁ duṣkaraṇam*.

11 *Kiraṭiṁ carakaritāntaṁ pacatīyatra yo nayet / Prāptijñāṁ tamahaṁ vande prārabdḥastena saṅgrahaḥ //*

12. *Naṁ ca dhyaṇyasamūhaḥ sūtrasaṅgha eva bhavati / Naitadasti / Prāṇi-samūhe saṅghaśabdo rūḍhaḥ / On Pā. Sū. 5.1.58.*

2. On Pā. Sū. 4.3.115 *Upajñāte*, Kāśikā says, *Pāṇinīnā upajñātāṃ pāṇinīyaṃ akālakaṃ vyākaraṇam Kāśakṛtsnam Gurulāghavam Apīśalam Huskaraṇam.*
3. On Pā. Sū. 6.2.14 *mātropajñōpakramacchāye napuṃsake* Kāśikā says, *pāṇinopajñāmakālakaṃ vyākaraṇam Vyāḍyupajñāṃ duṣkaraṇam Apīśalyupajñāṃ gurulāghavam.*

In the above references the characteristics of the grammatical systems of Pāṇini, Kāśakṛtsna, Apīśali and Vyāḍi are stated. The word *akālakaṃ* is used for the Pāṇinian System. Nyāsakāra states on the illustrations given in No. 1 and 2 that *akālakaṃ* means "without the terminology of tenses (and moods)".¹³ Haradatta also explains the word *akālakaṃ* as "that which does not contain the technical terms regarding tenses" found in earlier grammars.¹⁴ Nyāsakāra does not comment on the Kāśikā statement in No. 3 above. He also ignores explaining the characteristics of the grammars of Apīśali and Kāśakṛtsna.

The more important among the references are *vyāḍyupajñāṃ duṣkaraṇam*, in references No. 1 and 3 and *huṣkaraṇam* in reference No. 2. Nyāsakāra does not explain the above Kāśikā-statements in No. 2 and 3. On the Kāśikā statement in No. 1 Nyāsakāra says that Vyāḍi having created the ten *huṣkaraṇas* coined technical terms for the earlier time.¹⁵ S. C. Chakravarti, the editor of Nyāsa, on the testimony of his manuscripts, favours the reading *huṣkaraṇāṃ* against the other more or less corrupt readings *duṣkaraṇāṃ*, *dhuṣkaraṇāṃ* and *puṣkaraṇāṃ*. The word *duṣkaraṇāṃ* is explained by Haradatta as "the Science of Grammar where the technical term *duṣ* is used (Padamañjarī on Kāśikā on Pā. Sū. 4.3.115). It is likely that the word *huṣ* in *huṣkaraṇāṃ* means either the ten classes of roots or the ten tenses and moods. Maitreyarakṣita in *Tantrapradīpa* (Note by S. C. Chakravarti, Nyāsa on Kāśikā on Pā. Sū. 2.4.21) tries to explain the statement of Nyāsakāra and says that Vyāḍi first conceived the ten tenses and moods and then arranged them in the order of tenses showing earlier time.

The above discussion proves Vyāḍi's important contribution to Sanskrit Grammar in the topics regarding tenses and moods.

The earliest references to Vyāḍi are found in the *R̥gveda Prātisākhya* (R̥g. Prā.).

13. *So svasmingranthe kālādhikāraṇi na Kṛtavān / and Kālaparibhāṣārahītam /*

14. *Pūrvāṇi vyākaraṇāṇi adyatanādikālaparibhāṣā yuktāni tadrahītaṃ tu vyākaraṇam /*

15. *Vyāḍirapyatra yugapatkālābhāvināṃ vidhināṃ madhye daśahuṣkaraṇāṇi Kṛtvā paribhāṣitavān pūrvam pūrvam kālāmiti /*

1. Śākalya and Ānyatareya emphasise the distinguishing features (*dharmāḥ*) of the accumulated accent (*pracayaśvara*). Vyāḍi points out the usage of the grave accent in a different manner. According to him, the usage should be with regard to the syllables that follow a word ending with *iti* or a syllable which has become one with *iti*, if those two accents (i.e. acute and circumflex) follow.¹⁶

2. Some scholars opine that the last mora (matra) of the prolated vowels in *āsiḥ* and *vinatī* of the second and third illustrations given in paṭala 1.16(31) (*Ṛgveda* X.129.5 and X.146.1), is lower than a grave in the accumulated accent (*pracaya*). Vyāḍi however, says that both the above-mentioned moras have the same accent.¹⁷

3. The sixth paṭala treats *abhinidhāna* (holding and supressing a sonant sound) and points out places where it takes place. Vyāḍi however says that *abhinidhāna* does not take place anywhere.¹⁸

4. Along with Śākalya and Gārgya, Vyāḍi gives the name *samāpādyā* (requiring restoration in the pada-text) to the changes *ṣ* and *ṇ* the *samāvāsa* combination and the sibilation of the *visarjanīyā*.¹⁹

5. According to Vyāḍi, *anusvāra* is either a pure nose-sound or a nasalised sound.²⁰

The above references prove that Vyāḍi held independent views on some of the very subtle aspects of the pronunciation of the Vedic texts. In four out of five references, he controverts the opinions held by others.

An early work fathered on Vyāḍi is *Vikṛtivallī*, a small work on *Ṛgveda*-recital.²¹ It is a work of twenty eight verses. After the first benedictory verse, the ancient writers viz. Śākala, Śākalya, Bharadvāja and Bṛhaspati are respectfully praised. The fourth verse refers to the summary explanation, by the great sage Vyāḍi,

16. *Parigrahe tvanārsāntattena vaikāṅkṣariktāt /*

Paresān nyāsamācāraṁ vyāḍistau cetsvarau parau // Rg. Prāt. III.14(23)

17. *Ubhe Vyāḍiḥ samasvare /* Rg. Prāt. III.17(28)

18. *Vyāḍeḥ sarvatrābhinidhānalopaḥ /* Rg. Prāt. VI.12(43)

The English rendering is based on Maṅgaladeva Shāstri's translation of *Ṛgveda Prātisākhya*.

19. *Samāpādyān nāma vadanti śatvam tathā natvaṁ sāmavaśānśca sandhin /*

Upācāraṁ lakṣanataśca siddhamācāryā vyāḍiśākalayagārgyāḥ //

Rg. Prā. XIII. 12(31)

20. *Anantasthān tamenusvāramāhur vyāḍirnāsikyamanunāsikaṁ vā /*

Rg. Prā. XIII. 15(37)

21. Abhyankar, K. V. and Devasthali, G. V. *Vedavilāṅkṣaṇasamgrahaḥ /* (VVLS).

of the eight modes of Vedic recital, beginning with *Jaṭā*. In verses five to twenty are given the names of eight modes (*vikṛtayah*) of the recital of *Ṛgveda* and the mode called *jaṭā* is explained in some details. The remaining modes are described in verses twenty one to twenty eight. The work ends abruptly.

Vikṛtivallī seems to have been popular among scholars studying the modes of recitation of the *Ṛgveda*. It has a commentary called the *Vikṛtikaumudī* by Gaṅgadhara Bhaṭṭāchārya, who calls the *Vikṛtivallī*, an ancient work (*purātana granthaḥ*).²² We have another commentary called *Jaṭāpaṭalakārikāvyaḥyā* by Anantācārya, a great scholar who lived around 1625 A.D., and who wrote a number of commentaries on *Śuklayajurveda* (Kāṇva recension), *Prātisākhya*, *Sātapatha Brāhmaṇa*, *Nighaṇṭu* and the śrauta rituals. Anantācārya has commented on the *jaṭā*-section (*jaṭāpaṭala*) that is verse four to nineteen of the *Vikṛtivallī*. Anantācārya also respects Vyāḍi as an ancient teacher.²³

We are inclined to surmise that Vyāḍi referred to in *Ṛgveda-Prātisākhya* and Vyāḍi the author of *Vikṛtivallī* are not identical. The latter work discusses the eight modes of *Ṛgvedic* recital. These modes are not referred to or discussed in *Ṛgveda Prātisākhya* which emphasises and discusses *Sāmhita*, *Pada* and *Krama* recitals.

Another work fathered on Vyāḍi is the *Paribhāṣāsūcana*, discovered and edited by the late Prof. K. V. Abhyankar.²⁴ This work is a commentary on ninety three *paribhāṣās* or metarules, written by Vyāḍi. The grammatical tradition in India considers Vyāḍi as the first writer of *paribhāṣās*. This has been stated by Haribhāskara at the end of his *paribhāṣā*-work, the *Paribhāṣābhāskara*.²⁵

The ninety three *paribhāṣās* could be sub-divided into six sections. In the first section, we have twenty two *paribhāṣās* which are useful in understanding the meanings of Pāṇini's *sūtras* and their mutual relation. In the second section we have thirteen *paribhāṣās* directing specific interpretation of the *sūtras* of Pāṇini. In the third section we have eleven *paribhāṣās* which discuss the nature of *augments* and *substitutes*. In the fourth section we can arrange forty *paribhāṣās* which discuss the relative strength of rules and the priority of application in case of conflicting rules. In the fifth section we can consider seven *paribhāṣās* which deal with

22. *Grantha Vikṛtivallyākhya vyāḍiprokta purātane* / introductory verse 3a.

23. (a) *Munirvyādistu bhagavānanyasākhyaalakṣaṇakṛt* / VVLS. p. 43.

(b) Anantācārya himself belonged to *Śuklayajurveda*, while Vyāḍi belonged to *Ṛgveda* (*Śaiśirīya Samāmnāya*).

24. *Paribhāṣāsūcana*, Poona, 1967.

25. *Paribhāṣābhāskara*, p. 317 ff.

the relation of words with their senses. In the last or the sixth section we have four *paribhāṣās* which give general instruction regarding the use of words in a language.²⁶

We have a separate list of *Paribhāṣās* fathered on Vyāḍi, which is called the *Paribhāṣāpāṭha*, by Prof. K. V. Abhyankar. It seems that this *Paribhāṣāpāṭha* is later and there were many additions to it at different times.

The ninety three *paribhāṣās* commented upon in the *Paribhāṣāsūcana* constituted, we should say, the original list of Vyāḍi's *Paribhāṣās*. This list can be called *Paribhāṣāsūcana* and the commentary on it can be called the *Paribhāṣāvṛtti*, because the introductory words of the commentary are: "Now we shall explain the *Paribhāṣāsūcana*".²⁷

We cannot conclude that the *Paribhāṣāsūcana* fathered on Vyāḍi was composed before Kātyāyana. The reference to Vyāḍi, in a *Vārttika*, having favoured the view that words denote a substance,²⁸ cannot determine anything, because all the *Vārttikas* found in the *Mahābhāṣya* are not the work of Kātyāyana.

Prof. Abhyankar opines that the *Paribhāṣāsūcana* was written before the *Mahābhāṣya*. Out of the ninety three *paribhāṣās* of the *Paribhāṣāsūcana*, twenty three are not found in the *Mahābhāṣya*. It is possible that Patañjali may have known some of the *paribhāṣās* listed in the *Paribhāṣāsūcana*. In the present state of our knowledge, we cannot say with certainty whether the *Paribhāṣāsūcana* was later than Patañjali. However the discovery of *Paribhāṣāsūcana* by Prof. Abhyankar is important as we have found in it the earliest *paribhāṣā* list, with a commentary, both being earlier than Patañjali.

The above reference to works fathered on Vyāḍi concern Vyāḍi's views on accent, recitation of the Veda and metarules in the Pāṇinian system of Sanskrit Grammar. We have about a dozen references to Vyāḍi's views found in the *Vārttikas* on Pāṇini's sūtras, in the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali in Bhartṛhari's *Mahābhāṣyadīpikā*, the *Vṛtti* on *Vākyapadīya* and in the statements of Viṣabhadeva, Puṇyārāja and Helārāja in their commentaries on the first, second and third Kāṇḍas of Bhartṛhari's *Vākyapadīya*. These views concern the semantic and philosophical aspects of the grammatical system of Pāṇini.

26. *Paribhāṣāsamgraha*, intro. p. 15.

27. *Atha paribhāṣāsūcanaṁ vyākhyāsyāmaḥ* — *Paribhāṣāsamgraha*, p. 1.

28. Pā. Sū. 1.2.64 vā. 65.

According to the earliest reference found in the Vārttikas of Kātyāyana, Vyāḍi opined that a word denoted substance that is a particular.²⁹ Patañjali explains that the teacher Vyāḍi believed that a word denoted the particular. Vyāḍi was perhaps the only grammarian who advocated this view. According to Patañjali, Pāṇini held the view that a word denoted both the particular and the universal, as can be understood from the sūtras I, 2.58 and I.2.64. Neither the Vārttikakāra nor Patañjali are dogmatic regarding the denotation of a word. Grammarians after Patañjali sided with the Mīmāṃsaka view that words denoted the Universal. Bhartṛhari in his *Vākya-padīya* has discussed elaborately these two views in the Jāti Samuddeśa of the third Kāṇḍa. He has favoured the view that words denote the Universal. He has further said that whereas *Jāti* or the Universal refers to the real element, *Vyakti* or the particular refers to the unreal.³⁰ For those who accept *dravya* or the particular as the denotation of a word, the particular is not a concrete object but it is a mental image.³¹ Thus the grammarians have emphasised *Jāti* or the Universal as the denotation of a word.

In the introductory section (Paspasāhnikā) of *Mahābhāṣya*, Patañjali refers to Vyāḍi having discussed the views with regard to words being eternal (*nitya*) or produced (*kārya*). Giving prominence to this discussion, Vyāḍi examined the merits and the demerits of both these views and stated the purposes for the acceptance or the rejection of these views. In course of the discussion Vyāḍi had concluded that irrespective of the views as regards words being eternal or produced the science of Grammar should continue its discussions.³²

In Vyāḍi's *Samgraha* the word *siddha* was understood as *nitya* i.e. eternal as opposed to *kārya* i.e. produced.³³

Bhartṛhari explains that the book called *Samgraha* was part of the Science of Grammar. The discussion regarding *nitya* words being part of the Science of Grammar and Vyāḍi being an authority regarding grammatical rules, the word *siddha* has been accepted in the place of *nitya* in the *Vārttika*.³⁴

29. Mbh. on Pā. Sū. 1.2.64, vārt. 65.

30. *Satyam yattatra sã jãtirasatyãvyaktayaḥ smṛtãh/ VP. III.1.32.*

31. *Anupravṛtti rūpã yã prakhyãtãmäkr̥tim viduḥ / VP. III.1.19a.*

32. *Tatra tvesa nirṇayo yadeva nity. athãpi kãryaḥ ubhayathãpi lakṣaṇani pravartyamiti Mbh. (Keilhorn and Abhyankar) p. 6, 1.13, 14.*

33. *Samgraha tãvatkãryapratidvandvibhãvãnumanyãmanãhe nityaparyãyavãcino grahanãmiti / Mbh. p. 6, 1.22, 23.*

34. *Samgrahopyasyaiva śãstrasyaikadeśaḥ Tatraikatantratvãd vyãdeśca prãmã-ñyãdihãpi siddhasãbda upãttãh / Mbh. Dīp. p. 23, 122, 23.*

A number of references to the views propounded by Vyāḍi in *Samgraha* are found in the commentaries on *Vākyapāḍīya* (VP). We shall understand them one by one. It should be remembered that many of these references are found in the commentary called *Vṛtti* which is supposed to be from the pen of Bhartṛhari himself.

1. While discussing the nature of an expressive word (*upādānaśabda*), Bhartṛhari says that there are two elements in the expressive words, one is the cause of the words and the other is used to convey meanings.³⁵ The *Vṛtti* on this verse quotes a view from *Samgraha*. According to this view the expressive word (*upādānaśabda*) has its own form, if we accept the theory that an undivided word conveys its meaning (*avyutpattipakṣa*). According to the view that a word can be divided into meaningful parts (*vyutpattipakṣa*) the meaning limits the formation of a word.

There are others who opine that the word which conveys its meaning, does not express it but suggests it. In this manner alone, the use of the relation of identity of the word with its meaning in the form, "It is this (*soyam*)", would be possible.³⁶ As *Samgraha* has offered a clear explanation of the word *upādāna*, the *Vṛtti* does not further discuss the meaning of the word *upādāna*.

2. Bhartṛhari points out that the distinctions in time belonging to the primary sound are attributed to the *sphoṭa*. (VP.I.76). While explaining the verse the *Vṛtti* says that sound (*dhvani*) is of two kinds, primary and secondary. The primary sound is responsible for the perception of the form of the *sphoṭa*. The secondary sound is responsible for the uninterrupted perception of *sphoṭa*. This explanation is based on a verse, of *Samgraha*, which is quoted in the *Vṛtti*. According to this verse, the primary sound is the cause of the first perception of the word (*sphoṭa*); the secondary sound becomes the cause of the perception of the difference in the modes of utterance.³⁷

3. Bhartṛhari discusses different views regarding words (*abhidhāna*) and meanings (*abhidheya*). When a word is uttered by the contact of the articulator (*Karaṇa*) with the places of utterance,

35. *Eko nimittam śabdānāmaparorthe prayujyate.* VP.I.44 b.

36. *Evam hi Samgrahē paṭhyate vācaka upādānaḥ svarūpavānavyutpattipakṣe / Vyutpattipakṣe tvarthāvahitam samāśritam nimittam śabdavyutpattikarmaṇi prayojakam/ Upādānadyotakaityeke/ Soyamitivyapadesēna sambandhopayogasya śakyatvāt/*

37. *Evam hi samgrahakāraḥ paṭhati — Śabdasya grahaṇe hetuḥ prakṛto dhvanirīṣyate/ Sthitibhedanimitatvam Vaikṛtaḥ pratipadyate//* Prof. W. Rau (*Vākyapāḍīya*, Wiesbaden, 1977) reads "sttitibhedanimitatvam" I.78c.

the word has a form (*pratyāyakasvarūpa*), but the form of the meaning conveyed by that word (*pratyāyyasvarūpa*) cannot become the object of utterance with the help of an articulator and a place of utterance. The *Vṛtti* on this verse quotes a couple of lines from *Samgraha* according to which "The form of the word as the conveyed (*abhidheya*) never comes under the organs of articulation (*Karaṇa*). When the conveyor form (*abhidhāna*) comes under the organs of articulation, the conveyed, which has the same form, appears to be uttered, even though it does not come under the organs of utterance.

4. While commenting on VP.I.26, the *Vṛtti* discusses a number of points and in the course of the discussion quotes a number of views regarding words, their meanings, the relation between them, the kinds of such relations and their purpose for the common usage as well as for their use in religious matters. The grammatical tradition found in Pāṇini, Vyādi, Kātyāyana and Patañjali has considered words, meanings and their relation as eternal. The eternal relation is called natural (*svābhāvika*), inseparable (*abhinna*) and in the form of mutual compatibility (*yogyatārūpa*). The *Vṛtti* in course of this discussion quotes two verses from *Samgraha*. According to these verses, "Words and their meanings are naturally inseparable; we find them used separately only for the worldly usage. The unity of words and their meanings is already established. Neither in the world, nor in the Veda is there any individual who can create the relation of words with their meanings. How can one create the relation of words with their meanings through words?"⁴⁰

5. In the second Kāṇḍa of *Vākyapadiya* (verse No. 263), Bhartṛhari discusses the nature of the primary meanings and the secondary meanings. Normally each word has only one meaning and that is its primary meaning. However, long usage or the lack of it, determines the distinction between the primary and the secondary meanings. Others declare that a meaning depending on context or the presence of other word or words is considered to be secondary. The next verses (264 and 265) are quotations from *Samgraha* as stated by the *Vṛtti* on verse No. 264. Puṅyarāja also says that the verse in question is a quotation from *Samgraha*. According

38. VP.I.65.

39. *Na hi svarūpaṁ śabdānāṁ gopiṇḍādivatkarāṇe sanniviśati Tattu nityam abhidheyamevābhidhānasanniveśe sati tulyarūpatvīdasanniviśtamapi sanuccāryamānatvenāvāsīyate/*

40. *Śabdārthayorasambhede vyavahāre pṛthakkriyā/
Yataḥ śabdārthayostatvamekaṁ tatsamavasthītam//
Sa eva punarāha —
Sambandhasya na kartāsti śabdānāṁ lokavedayoḥ/
Śabdairēva hi śabdānāṁ sambandhaḥ syātkrtaḥ katham//*

to these verses, a word when uttered by itself denotes its well-known meaning which is its primary meaning; but the word, which conveys its meaning through the use of another word and by means of a special effort, is understood as giving rise to secondary meaning.⁴¹

6. In the second Kāṇḍa of *Vākyapadīya* (verse No. 208) Bhartṛhari refers to the differences of meanings of individual words in a compound and the meaning of a compound as a whole. According to one opinion, the meaning of a compound is the same as the meaning of its constituent words. According to others the meaning of a compound is different from the meanings of its constituent units.⁴²

The *Vṛtti* on the above verse quotes a passage from *Samgraha*. According to the author of *Samgraha* the collections of words are of four kinds: (1) Those in which the sounds are traced but not the meanings, e.g. the words *gaurakhara* (wild ass) and *aśvakarṇa* (a tree). These words have a meaning different from the meanings of the constituent words; (2) Those in which the meaning is traced but not their sounds e.g. *śrotriya* (a reciter of a Veda) and *vaidūrya* (a jewel); (3) Those in which both the sounds and the meanings of the constituent units can be traced, e.g. the words *rājapurūṣa* (a royal servant) and *nīlotpala* (a blue lotus); and (4) Those in which neither the sounds nor the meanings of the constituents are traced, e.g. the words *musalam* (a pestle) and *balāhakaḥ* (a cloud).

7. The grammarians after Patañjali have discussed the function of prepositions (*upasargāḥ*) and post-positions (*Karmapravacanīyāḥ*) in context of verbs and nouns. They opine that the prepositions sometimes express the action and sometimes suggest it. Bhartṛhari discusses this topic in the second Kāṇḍa of *Vākyapadīya* (verses 188-204). The *Vṛtti* on VP.II.187 quotes an opinion of *Samgrahakāra*,⁴³ according to which prepositions do not express

41. *Arthaprakaraṇāpekṣo yo vā śabdāntarāḥ saha/
Yuktaḥ pratyāyayatyartham taṁ gaṇnamapare viduḥ//
Suddhasyocārane svārthaḥ prasiddho yasya gamyate/
Sa mukhya iti vijñeyo rūpamātranibandhanah//*

42. *Arthavadbhyo viśiṣṭorthaḥ saṁghāta upajūyate/
Nopajūyata ityēke samāsasvārthikādīṣu//*

43. *Tathā hi saṁgrahakāraḥ pathati/ Trividhā samudāyāḥ śabdānvayaḥ śabdānvayinorthānvayinaḥ śabdārthānvayinaśca/ Śabdānvayino gaurakhara aśvakarṇa iti / Arthānvayinaḥ śrotriyo vaidūryaḥ pāraśava iti / Śabdārthānvayino rājapurūṣaḥ nīlotpalaṁ brāhmaṇakambala iti/ Sa evāha-niranvayānapi samudāyan rūḍhīśvanu gacchantīti tad yathā musalam ulūkhala balāhaka iti/* The *Vṛtti* in this context quotes an opinion of *Dhyānagrahakāra* the author of an early grammar work called *Dhyānagraha*, which is referred to in *Mbh. Dpk.* p. 261, 1.20-21 and *Bhāmaha's Kāvyaśālikāra*, VI.i — “*dhyānagrahabṛhatplavam*”.

meanings but only suggest them. The function of the prepositions is to specify one of the peculiarities which are present in the action denoted by a verb. The preposition is called suggester or revealer because it specifies meaning.⁴⁴ Bhartṛhari, however, refers to other opinions regarding the function of prepositions when he says (VP.II.188) that they are expressive (*vācaka*), suggestive (*dyotaka*) and helpful for the meaning of the root (*dhātoḥ sahakāri*).

8. The case of post-positions (*Karmapravacanīyāḥ*) is similar to that of the prepositions (*upasargāḥ*). According to Bhartṛhari a post-position neither suggests an action nor does it directly express relation nor does it supply a verb but it specifies a relation. Initiating the discussion on post-positions, Bh. says (II.197) that an action sometimes creates a relation and disappears. Sometimes when the verb is heard a relation is produced.⁴⁵ The *Vṛtti* on this verse quotes a few lines from *Samgraha* which state two kinds of relations: (1) that which is understood when a verb is not used (*tirobhūtakriyāpadaḥ*) and (2) that which is understood when a verb is used (*sannihūtakriyāpadaḥ*).

9. The grammarians beginning with Pāṇini have always given importance to a sentence as a significant unit of speech. For them the division of a sentence into words, of words into syllables and of syllables into their parts is only for the grammatical operations. The *Vṛtti* on VP.I.26 quotes a verse from *Samgraha* which emphasises the above view. According to it the form of a word is not fixed. Its form and meaning are produced from the meaning of a sentence.⁴⁶ A verse quotation expressing alternative view is also found in the *Vṛtti* on the same VP. verse. According to the quotation which seems to have been taken from *Samgraha*, "The word along with its meaning is understood from the meaning (of a sentence). It is through the words that the meaning of a sentence is determined and it is through the groups of letters that a word is understood."⁴⁷

10. The early Indian tradition regards Prākṛit languages including Pāli and Apabhraṃśa as having developed from Sanskrit. We have a list of the faults of pronunciations in the *Prātisākhya*

44. Śabdāntaropagrahamantareṇa sambhavi sanmalabdhanīyamō
yorthastān dyotako niyamayan vācakatāmatīkērāmatīti samgrahakāra āha/

45. Janayitvā kriyā kācitsambandham vinivartate/
Śrīyamāṇe kriyāśabde sambandho jāyate kvacit//

46. Samgrahēpyuktam —
Na hi kiñcit padam rūpeṇa niyatam kvacit/
Padānām rūpamartho vā vākyārthādeva jāyate//

47. Arthātpadam sābhidheyam padādvākyārthanirṇayaḥ/
Padasamghātajam Vākyam varṇasamghātajam padam//
Vṛṣabhadeva says. samgrahoktalingamāha arthādīti/

works and in *Mahābhāṣya*. Early Indian grammarians regarded these mispronunciation as having given rise to Prākṛit languages. Besides these conservative and extralinguistic views, the existence of Prākṛit and Apabhraṁśa words has been noted by Kātyāyana and Patañjali. The latter refers to scholars well-versed in Vedic lore and yet speaking corrupt words in their daily usage but not in ritual practices. We find in Bhartṛhari's *Vākyapadīya* (I.175-183 Rau,) an important discussion regarding the expressiveness of Apabhraṁśa words. According to him an inability to pronounce a Sanskrit word properly, led to the use of a mispronounced word which in course of time became current as an independent Apabhraṁśa word, e.g. Kisi for Kṛṣi or Devadiṇṇa for Devadatta. Some of the Apabhraṁśa words were used independently as signifying a particular meaning e.g. the word *goṇi* did not signify a cow but a round bag. The expressiveness of a word depends upon context, irrespective of it being a correct or a corrupt word. The correct as well as the corrupt words are capable of conveying a meaning. This discussion in *Vākyapadīya* about Apabhraṁśa words has its basis in the statement of *Samgraha* noted in the *Vṛtti* on V.P.I.147 (Poona) which says that a corrupt Apabhraṁśa word has its basis in the correct words.⁴⁸

11. We find among Sanskrit Grammarians of the Pāṇinian school a very important and detailed discussion on the nature of gender. In the *Mahābhāṣya* on *strīyām*,⁴⁹ a number of verses are quoted which discuss how gender is determined in common usage or in grammar. Patañjali first discusses the popular view on gender and finds it unsatisfactory. He discusses the Vaiśeṣika view according to which gender is a universal manifested by sex-signs. This view is also found unsatisfactory. Hence Patañjali emphasises that the grammarians should formulate their own view regarding gender. Patañjali finally states a view which is akin to the Sāṁkhya views.

While explaining the conception of the feminine gender and masculine gender, Patañjali uses the words *apāyena yujyate* and *vardhate*. These are explanatory words for *saṁstyāna* and *pravṛtti* or *prasava*, which signify the femininity and masculinity. These words are used by grammarians earlier than Patañjali. Verse No. six quoted by him states that the grammarians should formulate their concept of gender from decrease (*saṁstyāna*) and increase (*pra-*

48. *Śabdaprakṛtirapabhraṁśaḥ.*

49. Pā. Sū. 4.1.3.

sava), which should regularly bring about the notions of feminine and masculine genders.⁵⁰

The two words *saṁstyāna* and *prasava* are used along with a number of their synonyms, in a long quotation from *Samgraha*, which is found in Helārāja's commentary on Vā. Pa. III.13.1-2.

Coagulation, compactness, removal of dullness, incapacity, cessation, obstruction of activity, disappearance, these are the characteristics of femininity. Activity, all round spreading, ability for increase, employment of the conduct, predominance, activity and appearance, these are the characteristics of masculinity. Evenness, stableness, cessation of longing, prevention of the correlation between parts and the whole and isolation, these are the characteristics of the neuter.⁵¹

Similar quotations on philosophical and semantic aspects of words could not be obtained from grammar works which belong to systems other than that of Pāṇini, because they seldom discuss semantic and philosophical aspects of language. It is likely that we may find many more *Samgraha* views from pre-Bhartṛhari grammar-works like *Dhyānagraha* and from the *Vṛtti* work of the Vṛttikāra who is quoted in the *Mahābhāṣyadīpikā*, provided we are able to find them.

From the above quotations of *Samgraha* we can surmise that *Samgraha* was a work in prose and verse form and that it discussed grammatical, philosophical and semantic problems from many angles without siding with any particular view. A similar method is found in Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* and Bhartṛhari's *Vākya-padīya* and *Mahābhāṣyadīpikā* and later on in Nāgeśa's *Mañjuṣā-triad*.

The study of *Samgraha* gradually declined and the work ultimately went into oblivion. Bhartṛhari states reasons for this condition. Even before Patañjali, there were signs of the decline of the study of *Samgraha*. According to Bhartṛhari the *Samgraha* studies came to a halt because students of grammar became fond of abridgements, for they did not have a proper background of the different śāstras which was required for the appreciation of the complexities, the deep and scholarly treatment of topics and the diverse

50. *Samstyāna-prasavau lingamāstheyau svakṛtāntataḥ /
Samstyānaṁ styāyaterdṛat strī sūteḥ sap prasavaḥ pumān //*

51. *Samstyānaṁ saṁhananam tamonvṛttiraśaktiruparatih pravṛttipratibandhasti-
robhāvaḥ strītvam /
Prasavo vibhāvo vṛddhiśaktirvṛddhilābho'bhrūdrekaḥ
pravṛttirāvīrbhāva iti punistvam / Avivakṣatāḥ sāmyam
sthitirautsukyānivṛttiraparārthatvamāṅgūṅgibhāvanivṛttih
kaivalyamiti napuṁsakaṁ /*

views on philosophical aspects discussed in the *Saṁgraha*. Patañjali accumulated in his *Mahābhāṣya* whatever was good and useful in *Saṁgraha*. It can also be said that Patañjali was also indirectly responsible for the final decline of the *Saṁgraha*. This is not to suggest that *Saṁgraha* was totally lost to both Patañjali and Bhartr̥hari, because we find them quoting views which were handed down by tradition, if not through the *Saṁgraha* extant in their time.

52. *Prāyeṇa saṁkṣeparucīnalpavidyāparigrahān /
Saṁprāpya vaiyākaraṇān saṁgrahestamupāgate // VP. II. 476 (Rau. 481)*

THE ROLE OF ŚRĪ AND THE CONCEPT OF PURUSAKARA

K. K. A. VENKATACHARI

Introduction:

THE Viśiṣṭādvaita tradition recognises Bhakti as an instrument of worship for the glory of the realisation of the Ultimate. It accords supreme significance to the role of the consort of the Lord. She is known as Śrī, the very embodiment of the most magnificent and resplendent form. The Vedas describe Śrī as possessing divine attributes, the foremost among them being mercy or benign compassion. Ālavandar (Yāmuna), the great Vaiṣṇava savant of the 10th Century A.D. sings Her praise as,

श्रीरिवेव च नाम ते भगवति (*catuśślokī*)

Ālavandar had conceived of the vital role of Śrī in granting salvation to parched souls, but had not elaborated on this theme. It was left to the Ācāryas of the post-Rāmānuja period, from about the 12th century A.D. onwards, to develop the concept of the succour rendered by Śrī, as one of the basic tenets of Viśiṣṭādvaita Philosophy. This came to be recognised as "Puruṣakāra" in Śrī Vaiṣṇava parlance; the word as such was not used then though the underlying principle of this concept could be traced in their many beautiful hymns.

Role of Śrī:

Śrī as the Universal Mother and the inseparable Consort of the Lord plays the unique role as the guardian angel of the soul. In the work entitled, "Lakṣmī-Tantra", the origin of the word and the significance of Śrī are described. It can be seen that Śrī, besides being resplendent and possessing all-embracing powers, has that quality of propitiation and assuaging the anger of the Lord towards erring human souls. It may be appropriate to quote excerpts from an English translation,¹ which runs as follows:

1. *Lakṣmī Tantra*, A Pāñcarātra Text, tr. and notes by Sanjukta Gupta, E.J. Brill, Leiden. 1972, Chapter 50, verses 79b-82.

“I listen to (śṛṇomi) (my devotee's) lamenting propitiation and I demolish (śṛṇomi) the misfortunes of the honest. I cover (śṛṇomi) the world with my guṇas and I protect (śaraṇa) it eternally. I am Hari's body (śarīra) and the gods desire (īpsitā) me with faith (śraddhā). When in the state of śānta, the substratum, I rumble (rantī) as paśyā (sound) produced from the navel (i.e. the sound (om)). (Then) as the initiative (preraṇī) I, madhyā, urge the minds (to activity) and I occupy the mouth in the form of the creator of sounds (arṇas-varṇa). Present, thus in four manners distinguished by śāntā, paśyā etc., I take shelter in (Viṣṇu), whereas I myself give shelter to the Śaktis (such as Jayā etc.). I destroy (remi) (the sins of the protected) and at the same time fulfil their wishes (rāmi). I am the most resplendent and most beneficent rati (revelling capacity) of the Śakti, desired (by all). It is thus that the masters in meaning of the Vedānta recognize me directly as ŚRĪ. Nevertheless, the master, my universal power (vibhūti), the three worlds, together with the creator and the gods do not account for even a sixteenth part of my sound (body).”

श्रूणोमि करुणां वाचं श्रूणोमि दुरितं सताम् ॥ ७९ ॥

श्रूणोमि च गुणैर्विश्वं शरणं चास्मि शाश्वतम् ।

शरीरं च हरेरस्मि श्रद्धया चेप्सिता सुरैः ॥ ८० ॥

शान्ताधारपदस्थास्मि पश्या रन्ती च नाभिजा ।

प्रेरणी च धियां मध्या सृष्टिवक्त्रे तथाणंसाम् ॥ ८१ ॥

चतुःस्थानस्थिता चवं शान्तापश्यादि भेदिनी ।

श्रयामि श्रयणीयास्मि शक्तिभिः रेमि रामि च ॥ ८२ ॥

(लक्ष्मीतन्त्रे पञ्चाशोऽध्यायः)

Puruṣakāra:

Puruṣakāra, in the Śrī-Vaiṣṇava tradition, means the intercession of some one between the Soul and God. Śrī is looked upon as the first Puruṣakāra and plays the role of the mediator between the Soul and God.

The origin of the word 'Puruṣakāra' though obscure, may be taken as from the Sanskrit word 'Puraskāra' — meaning keeping some one in between.

The word 'Puruṣakāra' has been used for the first time in *Ārāyirappāṭi* — the commentary on *Tiruvāymoḷi* by Pillān.² In a later period, the Ācārya was acknowledged as the Mediator or Puruṣakāra between the Soul and Śrī to God. It is but natural that the

2. *Tiruvāymoḷi*, 6-10, Avatarikā.

later Ācāryas built the concept of Puruṣakāra around Śrī, because Śrī or Lakṣmī has been described as the mother in earlier literature.³ These Ācāryas also got an insight into and interpreted the *Vālmāki Rāmāyaṇa* from the angle of this envisaging concept. Hence some incidents from the *Rāmāyaṇa* have been interpreted by the Ācāryas as demonstrating Puruṣakāra or the Intercession of Śrī, with mother's natural love for her children, on behalf of those erring ones.

Rāma's kindness:

Parāśara Bhaṭṭar, in his *Śrī Guṇaratna Kośa* cites two incidents from the *Rāmāyaṇa* as revealing the qualities of compassion and mother — Love of Śrī, who is always ready to intercede with the Lord on behalf of the Soul. One such incident concerns Kākāsura who began teasing Sītā with a view to outrage her modesty. Rāma, enraged at this behaviour of Kākāsura, wanted to kill him but the latter escaped with his life only because Sītā took pity on him and pleaded with Rāma to spare him. Another incident took place in the Aśokavana. After Rāvaṇa was killed, Hanumān who came looking for Sītā, wanted to punish the demons for having given her trouble. But Sītā prevented him from doing so, demonstrating that the demons were merely carrying out the behest of their chief Rāvaṇa. And surely, it was not a sin to carry out the orders of the ruler.⁴

Now, Puruṣakāra is taken to describe the intercession of Śrī with the Lord on behalf of the erring children. And only the former incident concerning Kākāsura fits in with this description. The latter incident concerning Hanumān and the demons can at best be taken as demonstrating the mother's natural tenderness of heart and sympathy for the erring children and interceding on their behalf with not third persons but with the Lord Himself directly. It is not Puruṣakāra in the accepted sense of the term. This only shows the eagerness of the later Ācāryas to seek authority for the concept of Puruṣakāra in early literature including *Vālmāki Rāmāyaṇa*.

Lord Is Decision:

Based on Bhaṭṭar's description of these two incidents from *Rāmāyaṇa* as illustrating the Puruṣakāra, qualities of Śrī and on the remarks made by other Ācāryas, the later Ācāryas developed further the concept of Puruṣakāra. They quoted not only the above

3. *Śrīsūktam*, 12.

4. *Śrī-guṇaratna kośam*, 50.

two incidents but also profusely from the Hymns of the Āḷvārs in support of the concept of Puruṣakāra.

Periyāḷvar says that even granting that the goddess Lakṣmī might point out certain negative traits of the devotees, the Lord, because He is independent (svatantra), would say: "My devotees cannot commit any sin. Even if they do so, it is not a sin. Virtue is what I like. So when I like what my devotees do, even if it is a sin, it becomes a virtue".⁵ The Lord's independence of action is stressed here. From the expression "Even if Lakṣmī were to find fault", in which the subjunctive is used, it is clear that Āḷvār thinks that Lakṣmī will not point out the sins of the individual. Also Nam-māḷvār in his *Tiruvāymoli* says that he seeks refuge at the feet of the Lord Venkaṭam: "O Lord, you who have the Lady who came out of the lotus dwelling on Your chest, (the lady) who is there with the intention of never being separated from You even for a second." The commentators interpret this reference as seeking refuge first with Lakṣmī in an attempt to seek her intercession by associating Lakṣmī's name with the Lord. This is the principle of Puruṣakāra. In fact, the commentators say that this whole decade (6 : 10) describes Śaraṇāgati (surrender) and Puruṣakāra (intercession). In the same way, commentators feel that when Rāmānuja first seeks refuge with Śrī (Lakṣmī) in his *Gadyatraya*, his act is based on Puruṣakāra principle.⁷

The Lady Wins:

It goes to the credit of Periyavāccān Piḷḷai who first systematizes Puruṣakāra and describes it elaborately in his work *Paranta Rahasyam*. He visualises an imaginary conversation that takes place between the Lord and Śrī, wherein the Lady emerges as a victor of compassion. When the Lord is in angry and stern mood, Śrī softens Him by Her argument and cools his temperament and thus Lakṣmī prepares Īśvāra to listen to Her plea for the welfare of the souls. Then She begins the campaign.

Śrī (Pirāṭṭi): You please accept this cetana.

Īśvāra (sternly): This individual has committed sins and insulted me: "All the scriptures are My commandments, but he has disobeyed them.

Pirāṭṭi: You take all these sins as an object for Your compassion (Ta. porai)".

5. Periyāḷvar *Tirumoli*, 4.2.

6. *Tiruvāymoli*, 6-10-10.

7. *Śaraṇāgati Gadya*.

Īśvara: For the sake of porai do you want me to ignore the Śāstric injunctions?

Pirāṭṭi: For the sake of Śāstric injunctions do you want to ignore Your compassion?

Īśvara: Suggest a way in which Śāstric injunctions together with compassion can be followed without any clash.

Pirāṭṭi: You make the vimukha (those against you) the object for Your Śāstric injunctions and the abhimukha (those in favour of You) the object of Your compassion.

Īśvara accepted this compromise and thus eventually the Lady emerges as a victor of compassion.

By relating such an imaginary conversation between Śrī and Īśvara, Periyavāccān Piḷḷai illustrates the role of Śrī as the intercessor. He further states that although the cetana has the same relationship with both the Lord and Pirāṭṭi, the Lord happens to be the Supreme (Puruṣottama) and has the quality of harshness (Kāṭhiṇya).

In His role as the father He has power for the welfare of the cetana, while as the ruler (nirvāhaka) of the entire creation He can also be severe and strict. To balance these qualities, Pirāṭṭi, who is a lady, has the quality of softness. Because She is the mother of the entire creation, She has innate affection (vātsalya), and because She does not have the direct responsibility of ruling the universe, She is always pleasant. Consequently, She can be a Puruṣakāra and balance the contrasting qualities of the Lord.

Ācārya Essential:

In another work of his by name *Māṇikka Mālai* Periyavāccān Piḷḷai discusses the need of two Puruṣakāras, wherein "ŚRĪ" functions between the Soul and the Lord and "Ācārya" between the Soul and Śrī.

The Ācārya as an intermediary between the Soul and Śrī has an essential function. He introduces the cetana to Śrī and briefs Her on the need to give succour to the hungry Soul, though it might have erred and countermanded the commandments of the Supreme. Being Omnipotent, and all powerful, the Lord takes cognisance of all that an individual does, including his defects. It is then that Pirāṭṭi, with the prior recommendation of the Ācārya, pleads with the Lord and influences Him to ignore the defects of the individual, who has sought protection at Her lotus feet.

Ācārya as Puruṣakāra helps the individual in giving him the assurance, not to be worried, by sins committed by him. He also gives the hope that Lord will forgive him. Śrī (Pirāṭṭi) will influence the Lord to ignore the defects of the individual who has sought protection. Therefore two Puruṣakāras are essential. The translation of relevant passage of *Māṇikka Mālai* is given under:—

“When the attainment of God is the inseparable quality of the individual and vice versa, where is the need to accept mediation (Puruṣakāra)? Mediation is essential because the individual when he enters this world and gets this body, they cause him to forget the essential qualities, namely that he is a subject of God alone, is dependent upon God, and the Soul is different from the body, and they cause him to lose his proper existence, and thus finally he becomes full of defects. The intercessor approaches God, who is independent, and omnipotent, to persuade Him not to punish the individual once his defects are seen.”

If the Lord and the Goddess (Śrī) both should be objects of attainment how can the Goddess be an intercessor? Because, although God has both independence and accessibility, the Goddess has only the quality of accessibility. What is the need for accepting two intercessors, one the Goddess (Śrī) and other the Ācārya?

Nānciyar answers, “We accept the (intercessors) in order to remove the shortcomings of the protector (Lord) and the protected (we) enabling both of them to attain their essential nature (Svarūpa). “The defeat of the individual who takes refuge is removed when he approaches God remembering the lineage of his Guru. The protector’s shortcomings are removed when that individual approaches God through the Goddess. How can the protector (the Lord) have defects? The defect of the protector (the Lord) is, having the independence, by which, He can point out the defects of the individual who lives in this world. In so doing, He treats this inferior world as though it were on par with the heavenly world. But when he approaches the Goddess, this defect is removed. When the Lord takes the individual’s soul (for protection) He takes it through the Ācārya and the Goddess. When the individual soul approaches the Lord, he also approaches Him through the Ācārya and the Goddess. This can be well seen in the cases of Śrī Vibhīṣana Perumāl, Guhapperumāl, Tiruvati (Hanumān), Mahārājar (Jatāyu). The Lord should get His essential nature (Svarūpa) only through protection (of individual). The Goddess gets Her essential nature only through causing individuals to be protected. Only by teaching these truths does the Ācārya attain his essential

nature, by causing individuals to be protected. When it understands these truths, only then does the individual soul attain its essential nature. The Āsrama duties will be fulfilled only when he follows them without any desire for pleasure and wealth. Vaiṣṇava-ness will be obtained only when I-ness and Mine-ness are forgotten. These two are obstacles to attaining God.

Conclusion:

It can be observed from the foregoing that the Lord is Supreme and all powerful and has traits which are not tinged with mercy. In contrast, His Consort Śrī is the very embodiment of kindness and compassion. She takes pity on the erring soul and by clever argument wins over the Lord and makes Him grant pardon to the errant individual and ultimately render it acceptable to the Lord as worthy of salvation. In essence She is Puruṣakāra Prime. The Ācārya, being well acquainted with the disciple and having free access to Pirāṭṭi, functions as an essential ingredient in introducing the individual to Śrī and recommending him for compassionate consideration. It is thus that the Ācārya is also a Puruṣakāra, though only secondary to Śrī.

Thus the role of Śrī and the concept of Puruṣakāra in Śrī-Vaiṣṇava tradition has gained currency in granting salvation to the Soul, for the greater glory of the Lord Supreme.

THE RASA THEORY—ITS ESSENCE

P. N. VIRKAR

ALL the details which the *Rasa* theory has been made up of as also the way in which the details happen to be presented to us may not be acceptable to each and every thinker. Why take the case only of the modern scholars? The interpretation of Bharata's *Rasa-sūtra* put forth by Bhaṭṭa Lollaṭa was improved upon by Śrī Śankuka. Bhaṭṭa-nāyaka criticised both his predecessors and Abhinavagupta differed a good deal from Bhaṭṭa-nāyaka also. It is interesting to note, by the way, that all these interpreters took Bharata's *Rasa-sūtra* as a basis and attempted to interpret it as they thought fit.

Would these interpreters deny the debt they owed to Bharata? Even though Bhaṭṭa Lollaṭa's interpretation might have been discarded by the later critics, was he not, in a sense, the pioneer who had been instrumental in inviting their attention to the *Rasa-sūtra* and in making them devote their thought to interpreting the *Rasa-sūtra* in the way they chose to? Even Abhinavagupta did accept, though partially, the concept of *Sādhāraṇīkaraṇa* first put forth by Bhaṭṭa-nāyaka.

Howsoevermuch, therefore, we may differ regarding the details of the *Rasa* theory, and whatever the extent to which we may not feel like accepting in toto the explanation offered by Sanskrit rhetoricians in regard to terms such as *Sādhāraṇīkaraṇa* and the like, we shall have to admit that the essence of the *Rasa* theory is all important at all times. By 'details' I mean such matters as the number of *Rasas*, whether *Rasas*, *Bhāvas*, etc. should be held to be of different kinds, whether the *Sthāyī Bhāvas* mentioned by Bharata are of the same nature or not (some *Sthāyī Bhāvas* may, for example, be occurments and some, mental dispositions) and so on. It may also be questioned whether both mental states and bodily states deserved to be classed as *Vyabhichārī Bhāvas*. The present article is an attempt to show what the core of the *Rasa* theory is and how that core is of vital importance at all times.

Before proceeding to examine the nature of that 'core', it will be necessary to take into account what the main aim or at least one

of the main aims of producing great literary works is. To enable us to know this, the first question that will have to be answered is whether a great literary artist produces a literary work exclusively for himself or whether in his heart he cherishes a desire that *Rasikas* should appreciate it. Even Bhavabhūti who (though somewhat desperately) says that his attempt is not for those who do not approve of it, तान् प्रति नैष दत्तः, is obliged to express a hope that someone who shares his views will be born one day or the other or may even be existing at that very time in some corner of the world.

If, then, a fine piece of art is produced at least for some selected members of the society, it cannot be denied that at least those few *Rasikas* are expected to get delight from it. Delight has, therefore, to be admitted as one of the main aims of all artistic production. That is the view put forth by the great Bharata over two thousand years ago, when he said:

दुःखार्तानां श्रमार्तानां शोकार्तानां तपस्विनाम् ।
विश्रामजननं लोके नाट्यमेतद् भविष्यति ॥

(*Nāṭyaśāstra* 1.114-15)

Viśrāmajananam means 'giving peace of mind'. A little later, (ibid 1.124), however, he uses the word '*Vinodajananam*', i.e., 'giving delight'. Abhinavagupta in his *Locana* says that of the aims of poetry, delight is of the greatest importance.¹ Mammaṭa calls delight as the 'crest-jewel of all the objectives of poetry.'² In the *Sangīta-Ratnā-kara* (1.1.25-30) we are told that music gives supreme delight to everyone, from God Śiva down to non-human animals like the young-one of a deer.

And if we think of a piece of literature or of any work of art from the point of view of a reader or a spectator or a listener instead of from that of an artist, what is it that he takes recourse to a work of art for? Does he not do so with a desire to entertain himself, i.e., to get some delight from it? I have heard so many people observe — 'Well, I love to read the *Śākuntala* for enjoyment. The whole charm, however, is lost when I am forced to study it for an examination.' This joy or delight, moreover, is certainly different from worldly joy. "*Sadyaḥ paranirvṛtaye*" says Mammaṭa (*Kāvya-prakāśa*, p. 8). This joy is described as '*Brahmānanda-sahodarah*' by many Sanskrit rhetoricians, including Jagannātha. It must be admitted that the joy rises to a much higher plane than that one experiences on hearing such communications as 'I shall

1. तथापि तत्र प्रीतिरेव प्रधानम् । *Dhvanyāloka* (*Locana*), Kāśī edition, p. 40.

2. सकलप्रयोजनमौलित्वम् । *Kāvya-prakāśa*, Zalkikar's edition, p. 6.

give you money' or 'A son has been born to you.' But in what respects is this joy of appreciation different from wordly joys? Why is it said to be resting on a higher plane? Obviously because thoughts about one's own self, one's daily life and surroundings are out of one's mind when one is engaged in appreciating a work of art. One is 'concentred all' or 'concentred a good deal' at least in relishing the beauty of the work that one has before oneself. Abhinavagupta tells us that one of the causes that bring about *Sādhāraṇīkaraṇa*³ is 'anusandhāna', i.e. repeatedly pondering over the 'expressed sense' that the reader or spectator has understood on reading a poem or seeing a play that is being staged. This understanding is the same as a knowledge of the *Vibhāvas*, *Anubhāvas*, etc. that the poet or the dramatist might have described. Now, why does a *rasika* spectator feel like doing this 'anusandhāna' or repeated thinking of the expressed sense? Of course because the poet has arranged and described the *Vibhāvas*, *Anubhāvas*, etc. beautifully. It is that beauty of description that attracts the reader's attention. Great works of literature produced by master-minds are so powerful that they draw the *rasika*'s attention perforce towards them, as if that attention were 'turned by reins.'⁴ He cannot but think almost only of what has been presented before him by the poet.

And Abhinavagupta further tells us that as a result of this *anusandhāna* (and also because of the capacity to appreciate that a *rasika* may be gifted with), *Sādhāraṇīkaraṇa* not only of the *Vibhāvas* etc. but of the spectator himself,⁵ is also brought about. The idea of *Sādhāraṇīkaraṇa* occurred for the first time to Bhaṭṭanāyaka. He, however, held that it is *Vibhāvas*, *Anubhāvas*, *Vyabhi-chārī Bhāvas* and the *Sthāyī Bhāva* that undergo *Sādhāraṇīkaraṇa*. I would not, here, deal with the different interpretations of the word *Sādhāraṇīkaraṇa* that have been offered or are likely to be offered. I should instead, like to explore what *Sādhāraṇīkaraṇa* may mean, or, rather, what may actually be happening in the mind of the spectator at the *Sādhāraṇīkaraṇa* stage. To me it seems that the spectator, when he is absorbed in seeing a play (or reading a poem) must be setting aside all thoughts about the minor and hence quite secondary details regarding the *Vibhāvas* etc. He must be thinking only of the reactions of the parties on the stage to the

3. We need not at this stage be confused by the different interpretations of the term *sādhāraṇīkaraṇa*. We shall see a little later the main idea underlying it.

4. Cf. *Raghuvamśa*, II, 28:— रश्मिज्जिवादाय नगेन्द्रसक्ततां निवर्तयामास नृपस्य दृष्टिम् ।

5. Vide the words प्रमुष्टपरिमितप्रभातृत्वादिनिजधर्मेण प्रमात्ता । *Rasagāṅgādhara* (p. 25), *Kāvya-mālā* edition.

situations arising and of the emotions, attitudes etc. that those reactions may be suggestive of. He must also be aware, of course, of and hence enjoying the beauty with which the emotions etc. happen to be delineated. And this very experience must be being shared by the so many spectators who may be engaged in appreciating. So this, i.e., the sharing of similar experiences by all who happen to be witnessing and enjoying — is one meaning of the term *Sādhāraṇīkaraṇa*, or rather, '*Sādhāraṇībhavana*' and there should be no dispute regarding this state of affairs at least. To turn now to the second and more important implication of the term in question. We have seen that the spectator is aware only of the emotions etc. presented and of the beauty with which they may be presented. At that time such details as this is so and so, he flourished so many years ago, he is wearing such and such a dress and so on, are forgotten, or at least fall into the background for the time being. This should be taken to be the simple implication of the term *Sādhāraṇīkaraṇa* of *Vibhāvas* etc. and that of the *Sthāyī Bhāva*. Concentration of the spectator on the main thing delineated, that is, the emotions, and on the exquisiteness with which they are being depicted — this should be taken as the sum and substance of the concept of *Sādhāraṇīkaraṇa*, so far as it concerns *Vibhāvas*, *Anubhāvas*, etc. and the *Sthāyī Bhāva* that is depicted. It of course goes without saying that this happens in the case only of those *Rasikas* who happen to be engrossed in appreciating or enjoying the play and in the case only of those dramatic works or similar works of art in which an emotion is the principal thing manifested.

But Abhinavagupta, while accepting Bhaṭṭanāyaka's concept of *Sādhāraṇīkaraṇa*, extends its field much further. *Sādhāraṇīkaraṇa*, he tells us, does not stop with the *Vibhāvas* etc. and the main emotion, but it influences the spectator or the reader himself. Now what are we to understand by the *Sādhāraṇīkaraṇa* of the spectator being brought about? To understand that, we have to proceed on the same lines on which we proceeded a short while ago. The spectator, for some time, loses the awareness of his own limited world, i.e. of his everyday surroundings and identifies himself with the world presented before his mind by the poet's genius. This identification does not, of course, take place wholly. He does not so lose himself as to react to the situations as the original characters appear to do. *Āhāryajñāna*, that is, the awareness that he is not actually one of them, is certainly there. But he does lose contact with his everyday affairs, for those moments at least.

And do not the two worlds — the one consisting only of one's own selfish interests and the other wherein the thoughts of one's

limited self and concerns are out of one's consciousness stand on two different levels? I am tempted, in this context, to quote the following few lines written by J. A. Froude, a well-known English essayist: 'The essence of true nobility is the neglect of self. Let the thought of self pass in, and the beauty of a great action is gone, like the bloom from a soiled flower.' And it is exactly because while engrossed in appreciating a great work of art one forgets one's small world and 'enjoys' what the author or the artist has erected before him that Abhinavagupta calls that joy as '*ulaukika*'. '*Alaukika*' means just 'not *Laukika*', that is, one that is removed from selfish and hence narrow worldly joys which one experiences when one gets money or when a child happens to be born to one.

The well-known Marathi novelist, Shri Hari Nārāyan Apte has said: 'That is enlightened literature which serves to elevate man from beastliness to godliness.' Such literature or such a great work of art raises us above our low, selfish plane by keeping us engrossed, may it be for some moments only, in a fairly unselfish and hence a purer joy. Works of master-minds improve our taste and hence constant or frequent appreciation of such works of art is said to be a ladder helping to take us nearer *Brahmānanda*.

Life is pervaded by disappointment and misery, to a great extent. 'The paths of glory lead but to the grave' says the English poet, Gray.⁶ Even in modern times what do we find? Many of the people who indulge in drinking do so only because that for some-time makes them forget their daily worries. Many in western countries take to such undesirable and even harmful drugs such as L.S.D. Why? Even those suffering from physical pain or mental agony or sleeplessness are given sedatives by physicians or psychiatrists, with a view to relieving them of their pain or agony for some time. When we happen to be aggrieved by the loss of someone dear and near to us, sight seeing or a change of climate is very often recommended. All such measures are intended solely to take out of our mind the thoughts that are 'too much with us.'

Such being the case, the value of appreciating great works of art (and particularly when one is a *rasika*, fond of such works) can never be over-estimated. What a great consolation, what a healthy and invigorating influence is exercised by works of master-artists! We cannot even dream of comparing that influence with the one

6. Cf. a similar idea in the *Mahābhārata*, *Strīparva*, II-3.

सर्वे क्षयान्ता निचयाः पतनान्ताः समुच्चयाः ।

संयोगा विप्रयोगान्ताः सर्वमृत्पादि भङ्गुरम् ॥

exercised by sedative drugs and less still with that caused by such harmful habits as drinking. In his poem entitled. 'The Scholar', Robert Southey speaks thus about his favourite books:

'My never-failing friends are they,
With whom I converse day by day.

.....

With them I take delight in weal
And seek relief in woe,
And while I understand and feel
How much to them I owe,
My cheeks are often bedewed
With tears of thoughtful gratitude.'

It is in the light of this objective, viz., getting '*alaukika*' joy, that we have to look at and estimate the value of the *Rasa* theory, propounded decades of centuries ago. We simply cannot do away with the main principle underlying it and choose to send that principle 'to a museum'. Such impulses arise, it appears to me, either because one is lacking in the insight capable of going deep enough into all that is said about the theory or because one attaches an unnecessarily great importance to details of presentation with all of which we may not agree. Details or outward presentation put forth for the first time must not impress us so much as to lose sight of the core, the spirit.

To turn now to what this 'essence' is made up of. Ānandavardhana brought it out clearly that our words sometimes 'suggest' a meaning that is quite distinct from the meaning they express. His more noteworthy contribution is that the suggested sense conveyed by the words of great poets⁷ is highly beautiful, and the greater the poet, the greater is the charm of the suggested sense. Both the expressed sense and the suggested one have to be beautiful, if the poem or the work of art has to be recognised as great. The poem, says Ānandavardhana, must be *lalitocita sanniveśacāru* (p. 45). He also insists that in a *Dhvanikāvya* (i.e., in an *Uttama Kāvya*) the suggested sense must be principal or more beautiful than the expressed sense:

7. प्रतीयमानं पुनरन्यदेव वस्त्वस्ति वाणीषु महाकवीनाम् ।

यत्तत्प्रसिद्धाव्यवातिरिक्तं विभाति लावण्यमिवाञ्जनानाम् ॥ —*Dhvanyaloka*, I-4

(१) तस्य हि ध्वनेः स्वरूपं सकलसत्कविकान्योपनिषद्भूतमतिरमणीयम् ।
(p. 35)

(२) यत्रार्थः शब्दो वा तमर्थमुपसर्जनीकृतस्वार्थो ।
व्यङ्ग्यतः, काव्यविशेषः स ध्वनिरिति सूरभिः कथितः ॥ (I-13)

(३) चारुत्वोत्कर्षनिबन्धना हि वाच्यव्यङ्ग्ययोः प्राधान्यविवक्षा । (p. 114)

Anandavardhana has, thus, laid emphasis on both the beauty of the expression and the beauty of that which is suggested. And although he has said thus about a poem or a play, his line of thinking is applicable to any work of art. Beauty of form certainly has its place, but the whole of that beauty must serve only to enhance the beauty of the import. That is what is meant by *Lāvāṇya Yojanam*,⁸ i.e., investing a picture with beauty. The artist must direct all his efforts towards heightening the charm of what he wants to suggest mainly, of what he intends to impress upon the minds of the spectators or readers.

And of the various kinds of the suggested sense, an emotion is the most powerful. It is a feeling that impresses the reader most. A work of art appears to be living, to be full of life if it manifests an emotion, of course, beautifully.

Who, then, can deny even in modern times, that it is a feeling — whether we call it an emotion or a sentiment is immaterial — that endows a poem or a work of art with livingness? Even those of the moderners, some of whom hold that western aestheticians alone have been true aestheticians, will do well to bring to mind Wordsworth's famous lines:

“Poetry is the spontaneous overflow of powerful feelings, re-collected in contemplation and worked upon by imagination.” So a poet (or dramatist or any artist) should compose a poem (or an artist should produce a work of art) with the main intention of depicting a feeling beautifully which is the essence of the *Rasa* theory. That is exactly the purpose which is served by saying that *Bhāva Yojanam* and *Lāvāṇya Yojanam* are the main *aṅgas* of a picture. Wordsworth also has the same message to give to would-be poets when he speaks of an overflow of powerful feelings ‘worked upon by imagination’. When this is done, the purpose of any work of art is more than achieved.

What else does the *Rasa-sūtra* of Bharata tell us? *Vibhāvas*, *Anubhāvas* etc. may not be the causes or effects of an actual

8. रूपमेदाः प्रमाणानि भाव-लावण्ययोजनम् ।
सादृश्यं वणिकाभङ्ग इति चित्रं षडङ्गकम् ॥

feeling, but they are certainly the means that an artist employs to present a *Sthāyī Bhāva*⁹ beautifully. He must, of course, hit upon the proper Vibhāvas etc. and must direct or exploit all his workmanship to lend splendour to the *Sthāyī Bhāva*.

Ānandavardhana has said that of the three kinds of the suggested sense, 'Rasādis' (that is, *Rasas*, *Bhāvas* etc.) are of supreme importance:

प्रतीयमानस्य चान्यप्रभेदवर्शनेऽपि रसभावमुखेनैवोपलक्षणम्,
प्राधान्यात्

He urges all poets to make every effort to see that they depict *Rasādis* alone, as the principal thing, when composing poems. Then only will their composition be of the highest quality. I shall quote only a few sentences from the *Dhyanyāloka*:

(अ) व्यङ्ग्यव्यञ्जकभावेऽस्मिन् विविधे संभवत्यपि ।

रसादिमय एकस्मिन् कविः स्यादवधानवान् ॥ (IV.5)

(ब) कविना प्रबन्धमुपनिबध्नता सर्वात्मना रसपरतन्त्रेणैव भवितव्यम् ।

....न हि कवेरितिबृत्तमात्रनिर्वहणेन किञ्चित् प्रयोजनम्, इतिहासादेव तत्सिद्धेः।

(p. 336)

(स) रसादयो हि द्वयोरपि तयोर्जीवितभूताः । (p. 401)

(द) परिष्पाकवतां कवीनां रसादितत्पर्यविरहे व्यापार एव न शोभते । (p. 497)

Hence it is that Abhinavagupta also says emphatically:

तेन रस एव वस्तुत आत्मा, वस्त्वलङ्कारध्वनी तु सर्वथा रसं प्रति पर्यवस्थेते ।

(*Locana*, p. 85)

A word about the *Karuṇa Rasa* before I come to a close. *Soka* (grief) is said to be the *Sthāyī Bhāva* of the *Karuṇa Rasa*. The question that has been often raised is this: If aesthetic experience consists of joy, how can the experience of *Soka* serve to give joy? Is *Soka* something pleasurable?

This question could thus be answered. If the appreciation of a tragedy were not pleasurable, people would not have witnessed tragedies at all, or, at least, would not have seen it a second time. But we hear of so many people reading or seeing the same tragedy more than once. So even tragedies must be giving people pleasure enough to make them read or witness tragedies.

9. The word *Sthāyī Bhāva* may point to permanent feelings that are latently stationed in everyone's mind. In the field of art, however, the word *स्थायी* means *आप्रबन्धं स्वीयमानः* i.e. which lasts in the *rasika's* consciousness so long as he is appreciating a work of art.

Well, but *why* should a tragedy be capable of giving pleasure? That is the question. The probable reasons may be these: When one loses a very dear person, one experiences a deep sorrow. When his plight is seen by a friend or relative, he also is affected. But is the sorrow of the friend or relative exactly the same as that of the person on whom a calamity has actually befallen? Obviously not. The sorrow of the observer is mixed with a feeling of sympathy, and it is not a sorrow on account of a loss to himself. The sorrow of the sage Vālmīki when he saw one of the pair of Kraunca birds killed by a hunter could not be said to be exactly of the same kind as that of the surviving bird. Vālmīki's emotion contained a good deal of sympathy, in addition to an overflow of wrath for the cruelty of the hunter.

It is this sympathy which not only distinguishes, but elevates and serves to purify the feeling which the observer experiences on seeing an aggrieved party. That is why Abhinavagupta says:

न तु मुनेः शोकः इति मन्तव्यम् । एवं हि सति तद्दुःखेन सोऽपि दुःखित इति
कृत्वा रसस्यात्मतेति निरवकाशं भवेत् । न च दुःखसन्तप्तस्यैवा दर्शयति ।

(p. 86)

This discussion reminds me of the following verse from Bhāsa's *Svapna-Vāsavadatta*:

दुःखं त्यक्तुं बद्धमूलोऽनुरागः । स्मृत्वा स्मृत्वा याति दुःखं नवत्वम् ।
यात्रा त्वेषा, यद्विमुच्येह बाष्पं । प्राप्तानृणया याति बुद्धिः प्रसादम् ॥

(IV.6)

If the memory of the bereaved person aggravates our grief, why don't we do our best to forget him? Why do we remember him and shed tears? The reply is given in the last two lines quoted above. We cannot repay the debt of gratitude which we owe to the person who is no more, simply because that person is not living. So the only recourse left to us is to shed tears for him. That gives us some satisfaction that we have at least felt intensively for him, that we have at least tried to repay the debt to the best of the ability that we now have. This satisfaction makes the sorrow bearable to the observer. The sorrow, moreover, of the original character (or of the actor) is not actual. It is the semblance of sorrow, 'recollected in contemplation' by the poet. And even that semblance he paints with exquisite workmanship. It is the charm lent to the image of sorrow by the poet's power of imagination, that serves to give the reader a joyous experience.

As the great English poet Shelley has said:

“Our sweetest songs are those
That tell us of the saddest thoughts.”

And the songs of even the ‘saddest’ thoughts are the ‘sweetest’ (that is, highly joyous) because they are ‘songs’ (that is, works of *art*).

SANSKRIT WORKS ON THE GAME OF GAÑJIPHĀ

SIDDHARTH Y. WAKANKAR

IT is a matter of great surprise that Sanskrit scholars hardly pay due attention to the Sanskrit literature other than the Vedic and Classical. This has given rise to the general impression of the absence of any material in Sanskrit literature which is connected with the everyday life and hence, more appealing to the general public. No wonder that Sanskrit is taken to be the language of the elite in the society and the general masses have nothing to get from it, since, the Sanskrit language and literature have no social orientation. The fact remains that the Sanskritists have not been much successful in projecting the social motivation of the literature couched in the Sacred Language of this Blessed Land of ours. There are very few Sanskrit scholars who can claim even a cursory acquaintance with the work known as *Ṣaṇmukhakaḷpa* — which deals with the Science of Stealing — (*cauryaśāstra*). Similar is the case with the games, some of which have acquired international acceptance. Moreover, many an educated and learned scholar might not be aware of the fact that India has the distinctive credit of the inventions of the games such as Chess (*Caturaṅga*), Gañjiphā (Playing Cards), the concept of zero and Magic Squares,¹ etc. Here is an humble attempt to attract the attention of scholars as well as lovers of Sanskrit literature to Sanskrit literature dealing with games. This may prove the existence of such literature in Sanskrit that catered to the needs of the masses and the educated class as well. With this ambition in mind, I started collecting data, mainly manuscripts on the two very popular, interesting and absorbing games, viz. Chess and Playing Cards. I succeeded in collecting 5-6 Mss. and some books in Sanskrit on *Caturaṅga* (Chess) Here, in this paper, I propose to acquaint the readers with the Sanskrit material that has come to my notice, on the game of Playing Cards, popularly known as Gañjiphā.

Gañjiphā is a Persian word for the Playing Cards. It can be said that this word is derived from the Sanskrit verb Gañj (to make

1. See: "Magic Squares of Sanskrit Origin", Siddharth Y. Wakankar and S. D. Khadilkar, *Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda*, Vol. XXX. No. 3-4. March-June 1981.

noise, loud sound etc.), because, during the course of the game, the winner always shouts due to elation at his victory over the other players. This is just a plausible explanation.

It is an interesting fact that though the game of cards is current in India for centuries and is referred to in many Sanskrit works, actual Sanskrit works describing this game are in minority. Hardly any attempt seems to have been made in India to prepare a bibliography of Sanskrit works on the game of Gañjiphā, although a couple of articles were written on this game in Marathi, English etc. (in India). I could successfully collect some Sanskrit and Marathi works dealing with this game. Dr. Rudolf von Leyden* of Vienna, the greatest living authority on Playing Cards, is carrying out a thorough, systematic and critical study of the available literature on this game, which enjoys a world-wide popularity.² I give below a bibliographical account of the known Sanskrit works on this game.

1. *Gañjaphākhelanakramah*: This work is available in only one Ms. which is deposited at the Anup Sanskrit Library, Bikaner (No. 3843). Maharaja Anup Singh (1638-1698 A.D.) was known for his patronage to learning and for his habit of collecting literary works from the places he visited. For many years, he was in the Deccan. He was posted at Aurangabad as a regent by Aurangzeb in 1677-78. This is why many Sanskrit works, composed in Maharashtra, like the present one, found their way to Bikaner and enriched his personal library.

The present work, containing only nine verses, was written at Jūrnapura (i.e. modern Junnar in Maharashtra) by one physician (*bhīṣak*) named Vireśvara, who was a son of Dattājī and a resident of Ahmednagar in Maharashtra. The work starts with a salutation to Lord Gaṇeśa. The second verse ascribes the invention of this game to the beautiful daughter of Shah Tamaj and aunt of Shah Baz. The next verse gives the eight names of the suits of the cards, such as Suphed, Samsher, Gulām, Tāja, Suruk, Kumāch, Sabarāt and Chang. The first four of these suits are strong, (Besavāra, i.e. veśavara, variṣṭha) and the last four are weak (Kaṁbarā-kāmavara Kaṁṣṭha).

Afterwards the poet describes the manner the game is played, definitions of some technical terms etc. There are plenty of Persian words in the text, which is not written correctly. As a

* Dr. Leyden expired while this article was in the Press (*Editor*).

2. I am extremely grateful to Dr. R. Leyden for fruitful discussions with him and the information he willingly supplied to me.

result, it is very corrupt and hence, not much clear. It is also very difficult to reconstruct the text in the absence of any other Ms. for collation. I, however, give the text here for the benefit of those interested in it. The last two verses are very important from the historical point of view. It is a bit difficult to know whether Dattājisūnu Vireśvara of verse 8th and Dattātreyasamudbhava Anant (who put these rules in verse — *niṣpādita*) were the same persons. In the last verse, the poet specifically mentions that he composed this set of Gañjiphā rules at the instance of his master Sajawar Khan at Jūrṇapura, i.e. modern Junnar. Students of history know it very well that Sajawar Khan was the son of the well-known Mogul Nobleman Lashkar Khan Abul Hasan. Sajawar Khan was employed in various campaigns. He helped Azam Khan in his Deccan campaign of 1630 A.D. In 1636, he participated in the siege of Ausa, in the Osmanabad district in the Deccan. He was promoted to the Mansab of 3000. He was also employed in the campaign against Qandhar in the contingent of Dara Shukoh, the elder brother of Aurangzeb. In the seventeenth year of Shah Jahan's reign (i.e. 1644 A.D.), Sipahdar Khan, the commander of the fort of Junnar (i.e. Shivaneri) died and Sajawar Khan was appointed to that post. He must have been there for a long time. He also held the Deputy Governorship of Sultanpur and Nandurbar (Dhulia district of Maharashtra). He went to the court of Shah Jahan in about 1655 A.D. and was favoured with an increase in his Manaśab and the Deputy Governorship of Sarkar (Dist.) of Tirhat (Tirubhakti) in Bihar. On reaching there, he died in the same year.³

The reference to Sajawar Khan clearly indicates that this poem must have been composed in the middle of the seventeenth century.

2. *Gañjiphākhelanam*⁴ of Giridhara, son of Śaṅkara and grandson of Śiva.

This poem has 31 verses. The poet clearly says that this game of Gañjiphā is to be played for entertainment (*Sukhārtham cittasya* — v.3) by three or four persons (*Čaturbhir vā Vidbhīstribhiratha cakhelakramavidhiḥ* — v.3). There are twelve (*Ravisāṅkhyā*) cards (*Patrāṇi*) with design (*Ādhyacitrāṇi*) in each suit, which are eight in number (*Tajjātyaṣṭakam* — v.2). In all there are 96 cards.

In suits Chang, Mohar, Kumach and Barat, the cards from 1-10 are successively strong, while, in the remaining four suits, i.e. Taj,

3. I am very grateful for this information to Shri Setu Madhavrao Pagedi, a well-known authority on Maratha and Moghul history.

4. Printed in *Kāvya-mālā* Series, Part XIII, pp. 81-84, Bombay, 1916.

Rupa, Samsher and Gulam, cards from 10-1 are successively strong (*Jayakartryaḥ*-winning cards). First, the king is played, then the minister etc. The person on the left hand side is stronger and the one on the right hand side is weaker (*Uttamaḥ* and *Hinabalaḥ*). Then the author describes the rules and the manner of playing the game. In the last verse he says that this game removes the laziness of mind (*Chittālasyanivāranāya*) and is also liked (literally asked for) by children (*Bālairapi prārthitāṃ*). Alertness in watching keenly the cards played necessarily removes one's mental laziness and helps him in winning the game. Catholicity of mind, generally difficult to be found in traditional Sanskrit scholars, is evinced by the poet Giridhara, when he declares in v. 30 that there is no demerit (*doṣa*) in a thing that gives pleasure in the end. (*Na doṣaḥ sakale vākye yenānte sukhamedhate*). Hence, it is perfectly all right to play games, especially if pleasure or happiness is derived from it, just as we respect a lotus, even if it is born out of mud (*Garhitātpaṅkato jātam paṅkajam kathamādr̥tam* — v.28).

3. *Śrītattvanidhi*^s by Krishnaraja Wodeyar III the King of Mysore (1794-1868 A.D.).

This work has nine chapters, known as *Nidhis* (Treasures). The last chapter is termed as *Kautukanidhi* and is commented on in Kannada (the script is Devanāgarī) by the author himself. Here in this book, the cards (*Gaṅjiphā*) are known by the name *Chada*, possibly because, the cards are to be concealed from other players. The author describes 13 varieties of these as under, along with the No. of cards required for each variety:

- (1) *Cāmuṇḍeśvarīchada*: This pack consists of 16 suits of 18 cards each, plus 25 *Cakravarti* (i.e. trump) cards + 7 stray = 320.
- (2) *Jaganmohanachada*: Cards — $18 \times 18 + 27$ trumps + 9 stray = 360.
- (3) *Navīnadaśāvatārachada*: Cards — $12 \times 18 + 17$ trumps + 7 stray = 240.
- (4) *Navagrahachada*: Cards — $12 \times 18 = 216$.
- (5) *Pañcapāṇḍavachada*: Cards — $12 \times 18 = 216$.
- (6) *Devīdaśāvatārachada*: Cards — $10 \times 18 = 180$.
- (7) *Dikpālachada*: Cards — $10 \times 16 = 160$.
- (8) *Manoharachada*: Cards — $9 \times 16 + 9$ trumps + 7 stray = 160.

- (9) *Sarvamāṅgalachada*: Cards — $8 \times 18 + 16$ trumps = 160.
 (10) *Navaratnachada*: Cards — $9 \times 16 + 9$ trumps + 7 stray
 = 160.
 (11) *Kṛṣṇarājachada*: Cards — $4 \times 18 = 72$.
 (12) *Sadyojātādichada*: Cards — $6 \times 12 = 72$.
 (13) *Navīnarāmachada*: Cards — $4 \times 9 = 36$.

In the Sanskrit text and the Kannada commentary, the author describes the different colours of the suits, such as golden, reddish, moss-green, silver, yellowish etc. In the com. on the first verse itself, the author specifically mentions that this game is to be played on the pattern of the Mogul Gañjiphā (*Mogalāyi Gañjiphīnamerige* etc.). The fact that the author composed a com. only on this chapter clearly suggests that at his time also the game needed to be explained due to its not being much in vogue. In the forthcoming article of the present author, a detailed treatment of these varieties will be found.

4. *Kṛīḍākauśalyam*,⁶ Twentieth chapter of the *Mīśraskandha* of *Bṛhajjyotiṣārṇava*-composed in Śālivāhana Śaka 1793 by Hari-krishna, son of Venkataram. He was an Audicya Brahmin and a resident of Aurangabad in Maharashtra.

This is the only book in Sanskrit which describes different games, such as Gañjiphā, Chess, Snakes and Ladders, dice and many others that are current in Maharashtra and Gujarat. The speciality of this book is that the only Sanskrit description of the *Daśāvatāri Gañjiphā*, so popular in Maharashtra is to be found here only. The book describes the game of Playing Cards (*Patrakṛīḍā*) in verses 186-240.

The author gives three varieties of this game:

- (1) *Caṅg* or *Caṅgkaṅcan* (verses 186-216) — Mogul Gañjiphā. There are 8 suits of 12 cards each. Names of the suits are Chang, Barat, Taj etc. Only three persons can play this game.
 (2) *Hūṇadesajā* (vs. 217-224) Foreign, that is European. Total cards 52 divided into 4 suits of 13 cards each. The game is to be played like the Chang (*Khelanam Caṅgvat kāryam* — v. 224).
 (3) *Daśāvatāri Gañjiphā* (vs. 225-240). The pack in this consists of 120 cards, divided into 10 suits (corresponding to

the 10 *Avatāras* of Viṣṇu) of 12 cards each. Only three persons can play this game. It is played like the *Caṅg-kāñcan* (*Caṅgakāñcanavat sarvam khelanam cātra* — v. 237). While playing during day-time, Rāmā is the King, i.e. trump and Balarāma or according to some Kṛṣṇa will be the king when the game is played at night. According to some other local tradition, Narasiṁha is the king when the game is played in the evening. Towards the end (v. 692) the author just mentions the *Rāsigañjiphā* and says that it is played like the *Dāsāvātāri Gañjiphā*. A separate article on this also is under preparation.

5. There is a work named *Kṛīḍānidhi* on Playing Cards by Itaghunātha, surnamed Deva. Nothing except its name is known. It is mentioned on p. 141 of Vol. V of the *New Catalogus Catalogorum*, University of Madras, 1969.

6. The Sarasvati Bhavan Library, Varanasi, has a work called the *Gañjiphākhelanaprakāraḥ*, No. 45470, mentioned on p. 148, Vol. 12 of *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Mss.* deposited in the S.B. Library, Varanasi. It is an incomplete work, written in Devanāgarī script on paper and has only two folios.

From the available sources (e.g. the *Gañjaphākhelanakrama*, composed at the instance of the master and *Śrītatvanidhi*, written by a King himself), it appears that this game enjoyed royal patronage and consequently, was played mainly by members of the royal families and their close acquaintances. Hence, it can be termed as a Class-game, since, very few signs of its currency in the common folk are visible. As there was not much demand, the cards were produced on a smaller scale and the rulers, i.e. patrons must have introduced some variations in the complicated rules as well as the designs on the cards. As the production was not on a mass-scale, it seems that in those days also the cards were naturally costly, and could hardly be afforded by the ordinary persons. The heavy price, possibly due to the fact that the cards were hand-made, must have been one of the reasons that prevented the general public from owning the *Gañjiphā* sets. One more reason for the gradual disappearance of this game, particularly the *Dasāvātāri Gañjiphā*, from the land of its birth, appears to be the big number of cards, say 96, 120, 160, 360 etc., which were definitely not handy. This probably is the reason why the game lost its charm and appeal, though it was a good memory exercise to play the game successfully. In course of time, the game lost its currency in the royal families also and thus became almost obsolete. This is possibly the reason why

Vireśvara says in the last verse of his *Gañjaphākhelanakrama* that this game is inaccessible (*durlabha*) even to the experts. This same circumstance must have made Harikṛṣṇa to compose his *Kṛīḍākauśalya* probably to keep the game alive. Again, it is just possible that in order to revive the game, Krishnaraja Wodeyar, a King, composed the *Kautūkanidhi* and wrote a commentary on this portion only. It is very unfortunate that with the disappearance of the different royal States in India, this game has almost fallen into oblivion and the persons, knowing this game, but, who are generally above 70 years of age, say that they have forgotten the rules of this game, especially the *Daśāvatāri Gañjiphā*, because they have not played the game for the last 30-40 years. There is only one Parsi lady named Miss Piroja Narielwalla of Bombay (she is also above 70) and her two relatives who still play the game — the *Mogul Gañjiphā*.

The future of this Indian game seems very bleak as the European cards have already won wide popularity with the masses, of course, due to change in the taste of the masses.

॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

'स्रष्टुं जगद्धारित^२बोद्धमवेन जेजुं^३ बलि यो हरिणापि 'बन्धुः ।

महेश्वरेण त्रिपुरं विजेतुं ध्यातः स दद्यात् गणराट् शुभानि ॥ १ ॥

कन्या स्याहृतमाजस्य स्याहबाजपिश्रु^४स्वता ।

अतिलावण्यरूपादद्या तथा खेलोऽस्ति निमित्तः ॥ २ ॥

सुफेदसमशेरगुलामताजाः सुखकुमाचौ सवरातचंगौ ।

ते बेसवाराः खलु कंभराश्च क्रमाच्चतस्रस्त्विह गञ्जिफायाम् ॥ ३ ॥

हीनो वर्कस्त्याजनीयो हि पूर्वं वर्कत्पश्चादाफताब् त्याजनीयः ।

द्वौ द्वौ वर्कावाफता^५ विप्र देयौ राजन् द्वाभ्यां खेलभागभ्यां स खर्चः ॥ ४ ॥

अथ सखालक्षणम्

हुकुम् यदा स्यात् सखा तदा स्यात् हुकुम् यदा नैव बहुम् तदास्यात् ।

फिञ्चित्तु तस्मादधिकेन राजन् वर्केण वर्कः खलु ताडनीयः ॥ ५ ॥

चेद्दक्षिणाद्याति स हीनवर्कः स वामभागात्त्वधिकेन ग्राह्यः ॥ ६ ॥

अथ बीजबहुम् लक्षणम् ।

एकत्र वर्कः सह भेलनं यत् बाजीबहुम् खेलकरैस्तबुक्तम् ।

अथ वस्तहुकुमूलक्षणम् ।

दस्तो भवेद्वर्कचतुष्टयेन हुकुम् तथा स्यात् त्रिभिरेव वर्कः ॥ ७ ॥

यावद्भस्ते सर्ववर्का नव स्युस्तावत् सर्वा न्यूनवर्कैर्बहुमस्यात् ।

अह्मवानगरस्थेन श्रीमद्दत्ताजिसूनुना ।

दीर^६श्वरेण भिषजा कुतोऽयं गञ्जिफाक्तमः ॥ ८ ॥

श्रीमज्जूर्णपुरे सजावरविभोराज्ञाप्रदानान्मया
 वत्तात्रेयसमुद्भवेन कविनामन्तेन निष्पावितः ।
 ये ये खेलकरेष्वतीव निपुणास्तेषामयं दुर्लभः
 शुद्धाबद्धनिमित्ततस्तु विबुधाः कोपं न कुर्युर्मयि ॥ ९ ॥

॥ इति गञ्जफाखेलनक्रमः ॥

1	It should be	सष्टं;	5	It should be	पितृ;
2	" " "	वारितः उद्भवेन;	6	" " "	आफताब्
3	" " "	जेतुः;	7	" " "	वीरेश्वरेण;
4	" " "	वन्धः;	8	" " "	श्रद्धा;

ADDENDA

FURTHER LIGHT ON THE SANSKRIT WORKS ON THE GAME OF GAÑJIPHĀ

I am happy that further research has brought one more work to light — namely *Cetovinodanakāvya* — wherein also occurs a detailed description of Gañjiphā-*Daśāvatāri* as well as Chaṅg-kāñchan. In fact, my senior colleague and a Research Officer in the Oriental Institute, M. S. University, Baroda — Shri P. H. Joshi — kindly brought this Ms. to my notice, for which I am extremely grateful to him. The sudden discovery of this work has made me amend my earlier statements.

The Work: The present work, known as the *Cetovinodana-kāvya*, is primarily devoted to the descriptions of the places of pilgrimage that are scattered through the length and breadth of India. Surprisingly, the author, one Dāji Jyotirvid, describes from verses 173 to 409, the different indoor games, such as Chess, *Dyūta*, Playing Cards, etc. This portion of the work is definitely '*Cetovinodana* — entertaining to the mind.' In this paper, only the description of the Gañjiphā will be brought to light for the first time. Incidentally this is the longest — and possibly the best and most systematic — description of the *Daśāvatāri* Gañjiphā (from verses 357-399), available to this day. From verse 400-409(2) is described the Mogul Gañjiphā, popularly known as the Chaṅg-kāñchan. The comparison of this portion with the one found in the *Kṛīḍā-kausalīya* will be done in a separate paper in due course.

The New Catalogus Catalogorum, Vol. VII, p. 73, gives only one place — RASB. IV. 3095 — where the Ms. of this very rare work is deposited. But, the Oriental Institute, Baroda, also has in

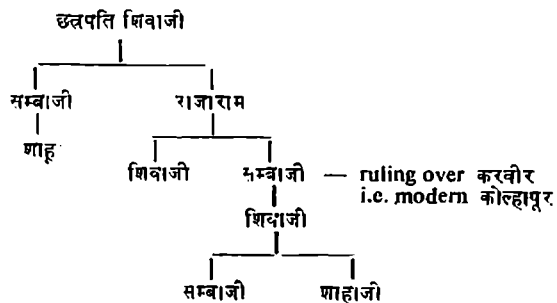
its very rich and varied collection, a copy of this work. The present paper is based on the description of this Ms. only. I give below in brief the contents of this description:

The verse No. 357 describes the two varieties of this game, viz. the one beginning with the *Matsya* (incarnation of Viṣṇu, that is *Daśavatāri Gañjiphā*) and the other beginning with the *Chang* (that is *Chang-kāñchan* or the *Mogul Gañjiphā*). Then the next verse describes the ten suits of the D.G. corresponding to the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu. Then are described the emblems, the colours of the suits, the shape of the cards, the number and strength of the cards. From verse 367 are given the details regarding the beginning of the game, the kings, the trumps, that is the manner of its play, the rules governing the game, the technical terms etc. at a greater length, till verse No. 399. For this information, the interested scholars are requested to refer to my article "Playing Cards and Sanskrit Tradition" from the *Acharya Baladeva Upadhyaya Felicitation Volume* being published by the Ganga Nath Jha Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeeth, Allahabad.

From verse 400 to 409(2) is described the *Mogul Gañjiphā*, popularly known as the *Chang-kāñchan*. Here also the names of 8 suits of 12 cards each, their colour, their emblems, the total number of playing cards and their relative strength etc. are described. In this variety, the *Svarṇa*, the King during day time, and *Raupya*, the King at night, will commence the game.

The Author: The author of this work, viz. Dāji Jyotirvid, gives very clearly on folios 48 and 49 of this work, the details regarding the genealogy of his patron¹ as well as some details con-

1. The Geneology of the Patron of our Author.



This शाहाजी ascended the throne in 1822 A.D. and died on 29-11-1838. He was the Patron of our author who composed this poem in Śaka 1745, Vikrama Samvat 1879, which corresponds to 1822-23 A.D.

Cf. सम्बाजिसंज्ञे प्रथमात्मजेऽस्य तु प्राप्ते शूलोकं सहस्रं ततोऽवरे ।

शाहाजिसंज्ञे धरणीं प्रशासति ग्रन्थोद्यमोऽयं तु तदाश्रितस्य सन् ॥ 66 ॥ f. 48b

cerning his family, the place and date of the composition and completion of this work, which can be summarised as under: He was a protege of Shivājī, the King of Kolhapur and the great great grandson of Chhatrapati Shivājī, who started his own era. The author gives the names of his four brothers as follows: (1) Rāmacandra, a great scholar and a donor; (2) Nārāyaṇa; (3) Jīva, a great scholar of Jyotiṣa; (4) Rāghava, an expert in the Vaiśeṣika school and (5) the author himself — Dāji. Further the author states that he composed this poem, viz. *Cetovinodanakāvya*, while he was on his journey from Kolhapur to Varanasi undertaken in order to perform the *Tīrthaśrāddha* of his father. Then the author gives the very important detail of the place and exact date when the poem was composed and completed. He says that this poem was composed on the bank of the river Ganga, in the City of the Lord Śiva, that is Kāśī, in Śaka 1745 and Vikrama Saṁvat 1879.²

The Language: The language of this poem is very simple and elegant. The most striking point in this particular description is the word *Jina* used instead of the regularly accepted word *Buddha* for denoting the ninth incarnation of Lord Viṣṇu. It may, however, be said in defence of this that the primary meaning attached to the word *Jina* is “a monk of either the *Jain* sect or the *Bauddha* sect”. Another peculiarity is the word *Talpa* or *Talya* used to indicate an ordinary card to be played with the King in the *Daśāvātāri* Gañjiphā. The significance of this “lower card” is: it is considered to be the *Āsana* for the King. In this sense the word *Talpa* — bed, couch — can be said to be correct. The case of the word *Talya* also can be explained as follows: *Tala* is the surface and *Talya* is a card which is played as an *Āsana* for the King, because the King should not be made to sit on the floor. He must have his (*Sivha*) *āsana* in the form of a card. The different metres employed by the author exhibit his command over them. The special quality of the author is his minute observation, mixed with his skill in giving appropriate examples from different *Śāstras* such as *Dharma*, (v. 384), *Jyotiṣa* (v. 408) etc. The author indicates a difference of opinion either by mentioning the name of the autho-

2. दाजिसमभिधानेन गतेन पित्र्यकार्यार्थम् ।

ऋषीरात्कार्थी प्रति रचितं चेतोविनोदनं काव्यम् ॥ 75 ॥ f. 49b

शके श्रीविक्रमाङ्कस्यः ङकमुनिधृतिमिते (1879) कतरे ॥

. . . कार्यां गङ्गातटे . . . काव्यमेतत्समाप्तम् ॥ 76 ॥ f. 49a

श्रीशालिवाहनशके अम्बुधिचेदरुस्तगतमिते (1744) पशुपतेः पुरि . . . ।

. . . इदं सुकाव्यं . . . विरचितं प्रयातम् ॥ 77 ॥ f. 49a

शके 1745 सुभानौ मार्गशीर्षवद्यदशम्यां समाप्तिमगमत् ॥ 80 ॥ f. 49b

The references to folio verse numbers are from the चेतोविनोदनकाव्यम् Ms.

available at the Oriental Institute, M.S. University, Baroda, Acc. No. 8209.

rity (e.g. Raghunātha in v. 396) or the scholar, or by using the words *Kecit* (v. 82), *Ke'pi* (v. 83), *Kati* (v. 396) etc. The clear reference to the name of Raghunātha is very significant, as there is a work — *Kriḍānidhi* — going under his name mentioned earlier. This proves that though the work of Raghunātha is lost to us, our author knew it and possibly used it also. Another important name referred to in this description is *Padamañjarī* (v. 409). It is very difficult at the present state of our knowledge to definitely say who is the author of this *Padamañjarī* and what exactly is its subject-matter. But one thing is certain that this work also was in existence at the time of our author and he did draw on it. The mention of the *Yāvanī* terms in the verse No. 408 shows the upto-date knowledge of the author in his field of interest and specialization in Jyotiṣa, wherein many foreign-Greek-technical terms have been assimilated in course of time.

अथ पत्रक्रीडा

पत्रक्रीडा तु द्विधा स्यात्प्रथमा सहिता भवेत् ।
 मत्स्यादिभि (र्) द्वितीया तु चङ्गाद्यैः सहिता मता ॥ ५७ ॥
 मत्स्यकछपवराहनृसिंहा वामनः परशुराम इति द्वौ ।
 रामकृष्णजिनकल्किन एतेऽस्मिन्देशे किल नायका मताः ॥ ५८ ॥
 मत्स्यः कूर्मो वराहश्च सिंहकुम्भी (म्भौ) परश्वधः ।
 धनुश्चक्रे शङ्खखड्गौ दश तल्लांछनान्यपि ॥ ५९ ॥
 प्रत्यवतारे राजा तत्तच्चिह्नासनातपत्राह्वयः ।
 मन्त्री तु हयारूढः तत्तल्लक्षणयुतो विधातव्यः ॥ ६० ॥
 कार्याः प्रत्यवतारे तु द्वादश द्वादश छदाः ।
 वृत्ताः (ः) स्थूला रक्तपृष्ठास्तत्त (च्) चिह्नयुताः शुभाः ॥ ६१ ॥
 औत्तरास्तु चतुष्कोणाः दक्षिणात्यास्तु वर्तुलाः ।
 छदास्तेषां दक्षिणात्याः सुचाल्य (रु)त्वादिहोत्तमाः ॥ ६२ ॥
 रक्ता मत्स्यकपठयोः, पीताः किटिरामयो,जिनसिन्धूतोः ।
 नीला, हरिवागन्धो हरिताः, क्लृषाश्च कृष्णभागन्धयोः ॥ ६३ ॥
 एवं विशत्युत्तरशतसंख्याफारुद्धा भवन्तीह ।
 इतरेतरछदान्^१नवलोकयन्तस्त्रयोऽत्र खेलन्ति ॥ ६४ ॥
 एकस्मि नृप एकस्मिन्सचिवोऽपि च तथा वशान्तानि ।
 एकं द्वे त्रीणोति च तत्तल्लक्ष्माणि परिलिखेत्पत्रे ॥ ६५ ॥

1. इतरेतरछदान् + अनवलोकयन्तः ।

मत्स्यादिषु नृपसचिवैकव्याघास्तुत्तरोत्तरं न्यूनाः ।
 तद्वच्च भार्गवादिषु पञ्चसु नृपसचिववशनवाद्या (:) स्युः ॥ ६६ ॥
 श्रीरामोऽहनि, रात्रौ श्रीकृष्णो जात इत्यहं मन्ये ।
 क्रीडारम्भस्तु दिने रामाद्रात्रौ तु जायते कृष्णात् ॥ ६७ ॥
 दिवा रामो, निशायां तु कृष्णो यन्निकटे भवेत् ।
 तस्य षड्दलसम्प्राप्तेनियमात्र पराजयः ॥ ६८ ॥
 न्युब्जानि पत्राण्यखिलानि भूतले त्यक्त्वा विमिश्राणि विधाय राशिम् ।
 कृत्वा ततोऽर्धं निदधीत कौ नरस्तद्वक्षगः शेषमिहार्पयेत्परः ॥ ६९ ॥
 न्युब्जां—छदांस्तु चतुरश्चतुरश्चतुरो ददातु ना त्रिभ्यः ।
 निजदक्षगमारभ्योत्तानादावौ करोतु चान्तेऽपि ॥ ७० ॥
 रामं दिवा निशायां तु कृष्णं नादौ समर्पयेत् ।
 गतावपि गृहीत्वान्यपुञ्जपृष्ठदलं त्यजेत् ॥ ७१ ॥
 एवं प्रविभज्यान्यं पुञ्जमपि समर्पयेत् छदांस्तावत् ।
 चत्वारिंशत्प्रत्येकं जायन्ते तु यावत्ते ॥ ७२ ॥
 आदावधिकं, तस्मान् न्यूनं तत्पृष्ठतस्ततो न्यूनम् ।
 तत्पृष्ठ, इति क्रमतो मत्स्यादिषु लाभयेद्दलानीह ॥ ७३ ॥
 रात्रौ कृष्णं दिवा रामं ससहायं त्यजेद्भुवि ।
 अन्याभ्यां प्रतिपत्रं तु पत्रं देयं न चाधिकम् ॥ ७४ ॥
 द्विविधोऽपजयो यावत् पत्राभावस्तु तृणशलाकाद्यः ।
 प्रथमो मुख्यश्चत्वारिंशन्न्यूनछदत्वमनोऽन्यः ॥ ७५ ॥
 आद्ये जाते सति तं मत्त्वा वा क्रीडनस्पृहा तु पुनः ।
 चेत्स्थार्त्तर्हि प्रथमक्रीडारम्भवसौ कार्यः ॥ ७६ ॥
 अन्यस्मिन्नसति चत्वारिंशतः इह यस्य यानि पत्राणि ।
 न्यूनानि तेन तावन्त्यधिकदलाय प्रदेयानि ॥ ७७ ॥
 उत्तमर्णेनाधमर्णात् तेनाप्राह्याः छदास्तु ते ।
 चत्वारिंशत्तोधिका ये क्रीडाया विरमे सति ॥ ७८ ॥
 तावन्ति निजपत्राणि देयानि च निजेच्छया ।
 उत्तमर्णयुगे त्वादावौ वामसंस्थस्ततोपरः ॥ ७९ ॥
 द्वावधर्मणौ चेत्स्तोऽप्रे वक्षणात्तस्तु वामगतात् ।
 ग्राह्यमृणं संमिश्रितनिजपत्राणि क्रमेण देयानि ॥ ८० ॥
 निष्कास्य पृष्ठसंस्थान् मुखसंस्थान् वामुकान् छदान् घेयाः ।
 अमुके छदा मवीया इति रीत्या ग्राह्यमृणमिह स्वीयम् ॥ ८१ ॥

मुखगाः पृष्ठगता वाप्युभयस्या वा निजेच्छया ग्राह्याः ।
 केचिद्वदन्ति मुखं पृष्ठगतं दलमयाचनीयमिति ॥ ८२ ॥
 आयुर्घृतमितिवदिहापि शलाकाभङ्गाहेतुभूतत्वात् ।
 ऋणमपि भङ्गोऽत्रैतत् धनदानात् कोऽपि वारयन्त्यवुधाः ॥ ८३ ॥
 न्यूनस्याधिकायाधिकाय तर्थाख्यपत्रदानं स्यात् ।
 अधिके गते स मुख्यः पितरि मृते सति यथा सुतो भवति ॥ ८४ ॥
 एकेनैवाधिकेनैतत् पत्रं ग्राह्यमथापि वा ।
 तत्पत्राधिकपत्रादयेन चैतत् निजेच्छया ॥ ८५ ॥
 अव्यवहिताधिकस्यैव तल्पदानं न यावदखिलानाम् ।
 पत्रप्राप्तिस्तावत्तत एकव्यवहितस्यापि ॥ ८६ ॥
 यस्मै तल्पं देयं तत्तच्चिह्ननाङ्कितछवनेनैव ।
 कति तदभावे न्युञ्जेनापि दलेनाव्यवहितस्यैव ॥ ८७ ॥
 असहायेन मुख्येन नप्तृतल्पं तु गृह्यते ।
 सर्वेषु सदलेष्वेव न्युञ्जतल्पं विधीयते ॥ ८८ ॥
 तल्पं नामुख्याय प्रवेयमथवाखिलेषु सदलेषु ।
 उत्तीर्य मुख्यमापितमुख्यत्वात्प्रवहिताय तद्देयम् ॥ ८९ ॥
 तल्पप्रदातुरबलो दक्षणागो वामगस्तु सबल (:) स्यात् ।
 सबलेन दलयुतेन स्वीकृतमपि नाबलस्तु गृह्णाति ॥ ९० ॥
 अबलोऽन्यदलयुतेनाधिकेन गृह्णाति तल्पदलमिह चेत् ।
 सबलः सहायपत्रं गृह्णातु ततोधिकेन चेदिच्छा ॥ ९१ ॥
 तस्मादबलः सबलो यथा न गृह्णाति तावृशदलेन ।
 गृह्णात्विच्छा स्याद्यदि दश चैके चात्र बन्धसंज्ञाः स्युः ॥ ९२ ॥
 तल्पं यो गृह्णाति स ददातु तल्पं करोतु वीतरणम् ।
 अन्येन सहायदलं गृहि (हीं) तमिह चेत्स एव तत्कुर्यात् ॥ ९३ ॥
 परं तूत्तरणीयानि बुकूलादीनि तेन वै ।
 आदौ तल्पगृहीत्रं पश्चादन्यस्तु खेलतु ॥ ९४ ॥
 अव्यवहिताच्छदा इह बुकूलसंज्ञास्तदादिमो मुख्यः ।
 चेदुत्तीर्याश्चरमावाधि नो चेत्तदवधिप्रवृद्धाः स्युः ॥ ९५ ॥
 राजनि सत्येव भवति खेलस्तत्पदानभावंश्यम् ।
 इति कति वदन्ति, रघुनाथवैदिकाद्यास्तु तन्न मन्यन्ते ॥ ९६ ॥
 कथमपि तल्पवितरणायोग्यत्वे सति निजेच्छया वा स्यात् ।
 उत्तरणं तत्तु भवेद्यावन्मुख्यछदत्यागः ॥ ९७ ॥

तस्मिन् यो न त्यक्तो दग्धोऽसौ स्थात्तदन्तःकरणवदिह ।

देयं दलं पुनश्चेत्खेलाप्तिरसौ न कार्यं इति केचित् ॥ ९८ ॥

मुख्ये सत्यूनः स्थाञ्चोरः सोऽन्तेन धार्यं इह चेत्स्थात् ।

स ऋणवता यद्यन्ते धृतः स निखिलात् ऋणात् विमुक्तः स्यात् ॥ ९९ ॥

॥ इति दशावतारपत्रक्रीडनवर्णनम् ॥

॥ अथ ऋणादिपत्रक्रीडनम् ॥

द्वितीयायां क्रीडयितृखेलनादि च पूर्ववत् ।

परन्तु यो विशेषोऽस्ति तत्र तं प्रवक्ष्याम्यहम् ॥ १०० ॥

चंगं स्वर्णं बरातं च खुमासं ताजमेव च ।

गुलामो रौप्यखड्गौ चेत्यष्टौ सन्त्यत्र नायकाः ॥ १ ॥

कलुषाः प्रथमस्थ, ततो युगस्य हरितस्ततो युगस्थापि ।

पीतास्ततस्त्रयाणां रक्ता नीला विलोहिताः क्रमशः ॥ २ ॥

तच्चिह्नानि शङ्खचक्रं पुस्तकमयोधबर्हसुमे ।

नासितचक्रमसिरिति छदेषु लेख्यनि पूर्ववदिहापि ॥ ३ ॥

नृप आद्यः स्त्रीभानुद्वितीय इह हरिग इभगतः षष्ठः ।

सप्तम इन्दुस्तत्र चिह्नश्छत्रादिशालिनोऽन्येषु ॥ ४ ॥

क्रीडारम्भो विवसे भानो, रात्रौ विधोर्भवत्येतौ ।

सदलौ त्याज्यावेतौ यस्यापजयो स नो दिवारात्रौ ॥ ५ ॥

चंगाद्या नृपसचिवकद्वित्रीति क्रमेण लाप्या (:) स्युः ।

ताजादयो नृपामात्यदशनवेति क्रमेणेह ॥ ६ ॥

सर्वे छदाः षण्णवतिनियताः प्रतिनायके ।

द्वादश द्वादश प्राग्वत् सचिवाद्याखिलं भवेत् ॥ ७ ॥

चंगताजादयः संज्ञा यान्योऽपीह सम्मताः ।

इंसराफेकवालाद्याः संज्ञा ज्योतिषिके यथा ॥ ८ ॥

पदमञ्जरीवदेत् समेवखेलत्रयस्य लक्ष्मेह ।

कथितं न्यूनाधिकतायवहारादत्र सज्जनैः ज्ञेया ॥ ९ ॥

कृत्वा संत्यक्तचित्रप्रकरदलततेस्तुल्यसंख्याकपत्रान् ।

न्युब्जान् न्युब्जान्मुखस्थछदनपरिगताङ्गकौघसंपूर्णसंस्थान् ।

ग्लौपुञ्जस्थछदन्तःसति तु दलचये शिष्ट एतद्युतांस्ता-

इयुब्जान्छान्सर्वपर्यैरपि च विरहितान्यस्तु शेषोऽद्य एषः ॥ ९ ॥ २ ॥

॥ इति चंगादिपत्रलेखनम् ॥

THE MULTIPLE AUTHORSHIP OF MAHĀBHĀRATA: A STATISTICAL APPROACH

PAPER II

M. R. YARDI

[In paper I* we made the simple assumption that since the great war between the Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas is the kernel of Mahābhārata, the 'war' books of *Bhīṣma*, *Droṇa*, *Karṇa*, *Śalya* and *Sauptika parvas* must contain portions of the original Vaiśampāyana text. A study of the linguistic style of the three *parvas*, *Bhīṣmaparva*, *Karṇaparva* and *Sauptikaparva* showed that they exhibit two distinct styles. The 64 *adhyāyas* of *Bhīṣmaparva* (41-60, 71-94, 95-117), all the 58 *adhyāyas* of *Karṇaparva* and 9 *adhyāyas* of the *Sauptikaparva* (1 to 10 excluding 7) exhibited a homogeneous style (named the A-style) with a variance due to variation within *adhyāyas* of 269.38 with 1179 degrees of freedom. The remaining 50 *adhyāyas* of *Bhīṣmaparva* and 9 *adhyāyas* of *Sauptikaparva* exhibited a significantly different style (named B-style) with variance due to variation within *adhyāyas* of 83.50 with 531 degrees of freedom. On the basis of this stylistic evidence, it was postulated that, subject to assumption made therein, the A-style represented the style of the Vaiśampāyana text and the B-style was the style of a later addition, which included the 18 chapters of the *Bhagavadgītā*. In this paper we take up the study of the linguistic styles of *Droṇa*, *Śalya* and *Strī parvas*.

The *Droṇaparva* is divided into eight *sub-parvas*, (1) *Droṇābhīṣeka*, (2) *Samśaptaka*, (3) *Abhimanyuparva*, (4) *Pratijñā*, (5) *Jayadrathavadha*, (6) *Ghaṭotkacavadha*, (7) *Droṇavadha* and (8) *Nārāyaṇāstramokṣa*. As interpolations have taken place overlapping the first four *sub-parvas* of the *Droṇaparva*, it will be best to consider the groups of *adhyāyas*, which do not exhibit the A-style and then consider whether the remaining *adhyāyas* are in the A-style. The first twelve *adhyāyas* of *Droṇaparva*, omitting *adhyāya* 2, which consists mainly of long metre stanzas, have 9467.4 as the *sum of squares* due to variation within the *adhyāyas* with

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the variance of 95.6303 (d.f. 99). For the next group 26-49, the sum of squares is 18530.7 with variance 85.7903 (d.f. 216). The next group of *adhyāyas* 52-63 has the sum of squares with variance 117.4981 (d.f. 108). The following Table summarises this information:

TABLE A

Group	<i>Adhyāyas</i> of <i>Droṇaparva</i>	Sum of squares due to variation within <i>adhyāyas</i>	Variance	d.f.	F	n_1	n_2
1	1-12 (11) omitting 2*	9407.4	95.6303	99			
2	26-49 (24)	18530.7	85.7903	216	1.1147	99	216
3	52-63 (12)	12080.8	117.4981	108	1.2304	108	99
	(47)	40687.9	96.1889	423			

*as it consists mainly of long metre stanzas.

In order to test the homogeneity of these three groups of *adhyāyas*, we take the ratio $F > 1$ of variances of groups 2 and 3 with the variance of group 1 of *adhyāyas*. The values of F with their degrees of freedom are shown in the Table A. The values of F are clearly not significant. All the 47 *adhyāyas*, therefore, form a homogeneous group with a variance of 96.1889 due to variation within *adhyāyas* with 423 degrees of freedom. Comparing this with the 59 *adhyāyas* having B-style of *Bhīṣma*, *Karṇa* and *Sauptika parvas* 83.50 with 531 degrees of freedom, we get $f = 1.1520$, $n_1 = 423$, $n_2 = 531$. This value too is not significant, as the value of F derived from the approximate formula given by Boukef and Lieberman (p. 563) comes to 1.1971. Hence all these 47 *adhyāyas* are written in B-style.

The remaining *adhyāyas* of the first four *sub-parvas* of the *Droṇaparva*, namely 13-25 and 50 and 51 have the sum of squares 30630.4 due to variation within *adhyāyas*, with variance 226.8919 (d.f. 135). The *Droṇaparva* would then start with *adhyāya* 13 abruptly without any mention that Droṇa was made the general after Bhīṣma. In order to avoid this, *adhyāya* 6 has been added to this group, which brings the variance to 220.2222 for d.f. 144.

If we take the 11 *adhyāyas* 64-74 of *Jayadratha-parva*, we find that the variance due to variation within *adhyāyas* is 216.1242 with d.f. 99. For the next group of *adhyāyas* 81-102, omitting 94 which consists wholly or mainly of long metre stanzas, the variance due to variation within *adhyāyas* is 272.9698 with d.f. 189. The next

group of ten *adhyāyas* 112-122 has 275.0645 as the variance due to variation within *adhyāyas*, with 90 degrees of freedom. In the *Ghaṭotkacavadhaparva*, for the group of *adhyāyas* 131-154 omitting 138 and 154 which consist mainly of long metre stanzas, the sum of squares within *adhyāyas* is 53432.8, with variance 269.8626 (d.f. 198). In *Droṇavadhaparva* and the *Nārāyaṇāstramokṣaparva*, for the group of *adhyāyas* 155-173, the sum of squares within *adhyāyas* is 50840.8 with variance 297.3146, with d.f. 171. The above information is tabulated below:

TABLE B

S. No.	<i>Adhyāyas</i> of	Sum of squares due to variation within	Variance	d.f.	F.	n_1	n_2
	<i>Droṇaparva</i>	<i>adhyāyas</i>					
1.	0, 13-25 50, 51	(16) 31712	220.2222	144	1.2254	198	144
2.	04-74	(11) 21390.3	210.1242	90	1.2486	198	90
3.	81-102 (omitting 04*)	(21) 51591.3	272.9098	189	1.0115	180	198
4.	112-122 x (omitting 115*)	(10) 24755.8	275.0645	90	1.01928	90	198
5.	131-154 (omitting 138 & 154*)	(22) 53432.8	269.8626	198			
6.	155-173	(19) 50840.8	297.3146	171	1.1017	171	198
		(99) 238729	262.3221	891			

*as containing wholly or mainly long metre stanzas.

Again we test the homogeneity of these groups of *adhyāyas*, by calculating $F > 1$, the ratio of the variance of the groups of *adhyāyas* with the variance of the group 5 of the *adhyāyas*. The values of $F > 1$ with their degrees of freedom are shown in the Table B. The values of F are clearly not significant. All the 99 *adhyāyas* are, therefore, homogeneous with 262.3221 with 891 degrees of freedom. Comparing this with variance 269.38 (d.f. 1179) of the 131 *adhyāyas* of *Bhīṣma*, *Kaṛṇa* and *Sauptika parvas* written in A-style, we find that the value of $F = 1.0269$ with degrees of freedom $n_1 = 1179$, $n_2 = 891$. This value is not significant, showing that all these 99 *adhyāyas* of the *Droṇaparva* are written in the A-style and form part of the Vaiśampāyana text.

As regards the other *adhyāyas* of the last four *sub-parvas* the group of 75-80 *adhyāyas* has 5761.2 as the sum of squares due to

variation within *adhyāyas* with variance 106.6889 (d.f. 54). In the next group 103-111, the sum of squares due to variation within *adhyāyas* is 8937.9 with a variance of 110.3444 (d.f. 81). For the *adhyāyas* 123-130, the sum of squares due to variation within *adhyāyas* is 5630.2 with variance 78.1972 (d.f. 72). The following Table C gives the relevant information:

TABLE C

Group	<i>Adhyāyas</i> of		Sum of Squares due to variation within <i>adhyāyas</i>	Variance	d.f.	F.	n_1	n_2
	<i>Droṇaparva</i>							
1.	75—80	(0)	5701.2	106.0889	54			
2.	103—111	(0)	8937.9	110.3444	81	1.0343	81	54
3.	123—130	(8)	5630.2	78.1972	72	1.3644	54	72
	(23)		20829.3	98.2092	207			

Comparing the values of variance with the variance of group 1, we get the values of $F > 1$ as shown in the above Table. These two values of F are not significant for the degrees of freedom shown against them. The variance for all the 23 *adhyāyas* comes to 98.2092 with 207 degrees of freedom. If we compare this with the variance of 59 *adhyāyas* in B-style of *Bhīṣma*, *Karṇa* and *Sauptika-parvas* i.e. 83.50 with 531 degrees of freedom, we get $F = 1.1762$. This value of F is not significant for degrees of freedom $n_1 = 207$, $n_2 = 531$, which go to show that these 23 *adhyāyas* are in B-style. If we take all the 69 *adhyāyas* in B-style, the variance comes to 96.5146 with 630 d.f., giving the value of $F = 1.1559$, $n_1 = 630$, $n_2 = 531$. The calculated value of F from the formula given by Boukef and Lieberman (p. 563) is 1.1782, and so the above value of F is not significant.

As regards *Śalyaparva*, it consists of four *sub-parvas*, (1) *Śalyavadha*, (2) *Hradapraveśa*, (3) *Tirthayātrā* and *Gadāyuddha*. The *Śalyavadhaparva* consists of first 16 *adhyāyas*, which has 29628.5 as its sum of squares due to variation within *adhyāyas* with variance 205.7535 (d.f. 144). The next *sub-parva* consist of ten *adhyāyas* 17-27, omitting *adhyāya* 19 which consists mainly of long metre stanzas. This group of *adhyāyas* has 23427.6 as its sum of squares, with 260.3067 (d.f. 90) as its variance. *Adhyāyas* 28-37 of the *Tirthayātrāparva* has the sum of squares 248.5856 due to variation within *adhyāyas*, with 90.1051 as variance (d.f. 90). The remain-

ing *adhyāyas* of this *parva* seem to contain some *adhyāyas* in B-style. The five *adhyāyas* 38-42 has the sum of squares due to variation within *adhyāyas* 3926.2 with variance 87.2489 (d.f. 45). Similarly the group of *adhyāyas* 49-54 has the sum of squares 5588.7 with variance 103.4944 (d.f. 54). Both together form a sizeable number 11 of *adhyāyas* with 9514.9 as the sum of squares with variance 96.1101 (d.f. 99). If we compare this with 59 *adhyāyas* in B-style of *Bhīṣma*, *Karṇa* and *Sauptika-parvas*, we get $F = 1.1510$. $n_1 = 99$, $n_2 = 531$, which is not significant. These *adhyāyas*, therefore, belong to the B-style group.

If we now take the remaining *adhyāyas* 43-48 and 55-64 the sum of squares due to variation within the *adhyāyas* comes to 34050.2 with a variance of 236.4597 (d.f. 144). The information about the A-style groups of *adhyāyas* of *Śalyaparva* is summarised below:

TABLE D

S. No.	No. of <i>Adhyāyas</i>		Sum of squares due to variation within <i>adhyāyas</i>	Variance	d.f.	F.	n_1	n_2
1.	1-16	(10)	20628.5	205.7535	144	1.1492	144	144
2.	17-27* (omitting 19)	(10)	23427.6	260.3067	90	1.1008	90	144
3.	28-37	(10)	22372.7	248.5856	90	1.0513	90	144
4.	43-48 55-64	(10)	34050.2	236.4597	144			
		(52)	100470	238.0205	408			

*as it consists mainly of long metre stanzas.

Again we test the homogeneity of these four groups of *adhyāyas* by calculating $F > 1$ as the quotient of the variances with the variance of the last group. The values of F so calculated are shown in Table D and are clearly not significant. If we take all the 52 *adhyāyas* and compare the variance 233.9295 (d.f. 468) with the variance 269.38 (d.f. 1179) of 131 *adhyāyas* of *Bhīṣma*, *Droṇa* and *Sauptika parvas*, the value of F comes to 1.1515, $n_1 = 1179$, $n_2 = 468$, against the calculated value 1.1685 using the formula given by Boukef and Lieberman. The value of F is, therefore, not significant and so all these 52 *adhyāyas* belong to the A-style group.

The *Strīparva* has three *sub-parvas* (1) the *Viśokaparva*, *adhyaṅgas* 1-8, (2) *Strīparva*, *adhyaṅgas* 9-25 and (3) *Jalapradānikaparva* and *Śrāddhaparva*, *adhyaṅgas* 26 and 27. However, according to the stylistic evidence, the first fifteen *adhyaṅgas* form a distinct group and have 5575.8 as the sum of squares due to variation within *adhyaṅgas*, with a variance 41.3022 (d.f. 135), which is significant from the other two A and B-style groups. We, therefore, call this the α -style group.

For the remaining 12 *adhyaṅgas*, the sum of squares is 7968.9 with a variance of 73.7398 (d.f. 108). Comparing this with the variance 83.50 (d.f. 531) of the 59 B-style group of *adhyaṅgas* of *Bhīṣma*, *Karṇa* and *Sauptika parvas*, we get $F = 1.1323$ which is not significant for $n_1 = 531$ and $n_2 = 108$. Thus these *adhyaṅgas* too belong to the B-style group and were written after the *adhyaṅgas* of α -style group.

To summarise, we notice three distinct styles in the *Droṇa*. *Śalya* and *Strī parvas*. 99 *adhyaṅgas* of the *Droṇaparva* and 52 *adhyaṅgas* of the *Śalyaparva* (Table 1) are written in the A-style and these include all the principal events of the war, namely the death of Abhimanyu, Jayadratha, Ghaṭotkaca and Droṇa in the *Droṇaparva* and the deaths of Śalya, Śakuni and Duryodhana in the *Śalyaparva*. These *adhyaṅgas* must have formed part of the *Vaiśampāyana* text. It may also be noticed that the *Strīparva* contains no *adhyaṅgas* written in the A-style.

We next come across a new style in the first 15 *adhyaṅgas* of the *Strīparva*, which have a variance of 41.3002 (d.f. 135) due to variation within *adhyaṅgas*. This style is entirely different from the A-style and the B-style. I have named this the α -style. In these *adhyaṅgas*, Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Gāndhārī mourn over the death of Duryodhana and are consoled by Vidura and Vyāsa. Śrīkṛṣṇa, anticipating that Dhṛtarāṣṭra may cause harm to Bhīma in his anger against him over the death of Duryodhana, produces an iron statue of Bhīma. Blind Dhṛtarāṣṭra embraces this statue and crushes it (*adhyaṅga* 11). Ultimately Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Gāndhārī are pacified and become reconciled to the inevitable. (*adhyaṅgas* 12, 14). Kuntī meets her sons, the Pāṇḍavas. The relevant information has been shown in Table 2.

The remaining 69 *adhyaṅgas* of the *Droṇaparva*, 11 *adhyaṅgas* of the *Śalyaparva*, and 12 *adhyaṅgas* of the *Strīparva* (Table 3) in all 92 *adhyaṅgas*, exhibit the B-style, with a variance of 93.1406 due to variation within *adhyaṅgas* (d.f. 729).

The first twelve *adhyāyas* of the *Droṇaparva* relate to the investiture of Droṇa as the second general of the Kauravas' army with the consent of Karṇa. Then the death of Droṇa is announced to Dhṛtarāṣṭra, whereupon he mourns over his death and extols the deeds of Lord Kṛṣṇa, saying that both he and Arjuna are the incarnations of Nara and Nārāyaṇa. The next 14 *adhyāyas* of the B-style relate to the fight between Bhagadatta and Arjuna and the exploits of Abhimanyu before his death at the hands of Kaurava warriors. With the omission of these *adhyāyas* from the Vaiśampāyana text, Abhimanyu's death comes to be announced to Arjuna on his return from the war with Samśaptakas with a more telling and dramatic effect. The next group of *adhyāyas* 52-63 and 75-80 do not add any significant events to the war, except that in *adhyāya* 56 Kṛṣṇa tells his charioteer Dāruka to keep his chariot ready in case of need. The *adhyāyas* 103-111 describe the exploits of Bhīma in his fight with Karṇa and seem to have been added to boost up the exploits of Bhīma. They are, however, inconsistent with his ignominious defeat later at the hands of Karṇa in *adhyāya* 114. The only significant part of *adhyāyas* 128-130 are felicitations offered by Kṛṣṇa to Arjuna and Yudhiṣṭhira's panegyric of Kṛṣṇa.

As regards the *Śalyaparva* we find that all the *adhyāyas*, entitled *sārasvatopākhyāna* (*adhyāyas* 38-42, 50 and 53), the story of Jaigīṣavya, (*adhyāya* 49), the story of the old maid (*adhyāya* 51), the importance of Kurukṣetra (*adhyāya* 52) and the arrival of Balarāma at Syamantapañcaka (*adhyāya* 54) belong to the B-style group and were added later on. With these also were added the *adhyāyas* 16-27 of the *Striparva*, which depict Gāndhārī's divinc vision of the battle-field, her lament over the death of her sons, Duryodhana, Duṣśāsana and Vikarṇa, her son-in-law Jayadratha, Bhīṣma, Droṇa, Karṇa and Bhūriśravya, son of Somadatta, and Arjuna's son Abhimanyu. *Adhyāyas* 25-27 describe her excessive grief which resulted in her cursing Śrikṛṣṇa, the performance of the obsequies of the dead heroes and the secret of Karṇa's birth as the virgin son of Kuntī.

The results of this study are summarised in Table 4.

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TABLE I

A-Style : Count of Long Syllables

Parva	Adhyāyas	No. of ślokārdhas											Sum of squares	Sum of products	Sum of squares due to variation within adhyāyas	d.f.	Variance due to variation within adhyāyas.						
			1	2	3	4	8	9	10	11	12	16											
Drona																							
	6, 13—25,																						
	50, 51 (16)	1612	934	1034	1104	908	1219	979	885	1378	794	1391	10716	832378	1204498	31712	144	220,2222					
	64—74(11)	1163	617	775	796	720	885	721	607	998	573	990	7751	614379	888207	21396	3	99	216,1242				
	81—102 (21) excluding 94*	2309	1344	1440	1627	1300	1757	1413	1130	2040	1256	1936	15303	1332777	1928318	51591	3	189	272,9608				
	111—122 (10) excluding 115*	1141	626	672	828	703	805	712	586	975	565	960	7432	673878	994978	24755	8	90	275,0644				
	131—154 (22) excluding 138, 154*	2425	1290	1514	1677	1484	1760	1514	1279	2112	1233	1975	15838	1459428	2155056	53432	8	198	269,8626				
	155—173 (19)	2400	1383	1551	1728	1630	1778	1534	1476	2133	1303	2056	16572	1884436	2749887	50840	8	171	297,3146				
	(99)	11140	6194	6986	7760	6805	8204	6873	6023	9636	5724	9817	73612	6797276	9920944	233729	801	262,3221					
Salya																							
	1—16 (10)	1602	923	995	1151	1030	1185	1029	859	1452	889	1402	10015	800859	1176311	29628	5	144	205,7535				
	17—27 (10) excluding 19*	1128	621	713	803	669	802	654	565	1008	615	948	7398	614112	808628	23427	6	90	260,3067				
	28—37 (10)	1257	733	814	895	785	808	742	705	1099	661	901	8323	779241	1143647	22372	7	90	248,5856				
	43—48 } (16)	1788	1000	1175	1236	1153	1202	1024	996	1518	888	1428	11620	1035094	1545700	34050	2	144	236,4507				
	55—64																						
	(52)	5835	3277	3697	4085	3637	4087	3449	3125	5077	3053	4769	38256	3229306	4764286	109479	408	233,9295					
																Total	..	1359	252,5445				

* as containing wholly or mainly long metre stanzas.

TABLE 2

α—Style : Count of Long Syllables

Parva	Adhyāyas	No. of ślokār- dhas											Sum	Sum of squares	Sum of products	Sum of squares due to variation within adhyāyas	d.f.	Vari- ance due to variation within adhyāyas	
			1	2	3	4	8	9	10	11	12	16							
		X																	
Strī	1—15 (15)	708	405	437	507	450	510	442	403	605	374	551	4689	174124	256055	5575.8	135	41.3022	

TABLE 3

B—Style : Count of Long Syllables

Parva	Adhyāyas	No. of ślokār- dhas	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	16	Sum	Sum of squares	Sum of products	Sum of squares due to variation within adhyāyas	d.f.	Vari- ance due to variation within adhyāyas
Drona	1—12 (10) excluding 2,6	764	454	479	538	461	564	477	442	661	425	617	5118	326882	468362	8885.8	90	93.1756			
	26—40 (24)	504	847	951	1029	964	1183	905	874	1284	778	1286	10101	497647	712670	18530.7	216	85.7903			
	52—63 (12)	956	549	610	672	655	696	550	545	826	509	795	6416	421004	605212	12689.8	108	117.4981			
	75—80 } 103—111 } (15)	1207	607	761	817	730	890	754	637	1056	673	1028	8049	456991	662225	14699.1	135	108.8822			
	123—130 (8)	573	338	375	383	351	406	354	312	491	296	450	3756	184338	272926	5630.2	72	78.1972			
	(60)	5004	2885	3176	3430	3107	3739	3049	2810	4318	2681	4176	33440	1886862	2721395	59935.6	621	965146			
Śalya	38—42 (5)	369	195	241	263	282	262	222	216	333	219	305	2488	120472	185535	3926.2	45	87.2489			
	49—54 (6)	401	284	330	338	294	358	280	322	418	262	403	3280	215649	312311	5388.7	54	103.4944			
		800	479	571	601	526	620	502	538	751	481	708	5777	345121	497846	9514.0	99	96.1101			
Strī	16—27 (12)	775	459	471	520	426	546	442	439	639	374	613	4929	244653	371667	7963.9	108	73.7308			
	(92)																	77414.4	828	93.4956	

TABLE I
List A (A-Style)
Vaiśampāyana Text

<i>Purva</i>	<i>Adhyāyas</i>	<i>ślokas</i>	Long metre stanzas	Total No. of verses
<i>Droṇa</i>	6,13—25	800	10	810
	50,51 (16)			
	64—74 (11)	581.5	1	582.5
	81—102 (excluding 94) (21)	1154.5	2	1156.5
	94	—	18	18
	111—122 (excluding 115) (10)	570.5	13	583.5
	115	8	16	24
	131—154 (excluding 138 and 154) (22)	1212.5	32	1244.5
	138	10.5	24	34.5
	154	10	53	63
155—173 (10)	1245	27	1272	
Total	(103)	5508.5	106	5704.5
<i>Śalya</i>	1—16 (16)	831	47	878
	17—27 (10) (excluding 10)	504	13	577
	19	2	24.5	26.5
	28—37 (10)	628.5	6	634.5
	43—48 } 55—64 } (16)	894	13	907
	Total	(53)	2010.5	108.5	3023
<i>Droṇa</i> and <i>Śalya</i> Total	(156)	8518	200.5	8817.5
List α (α-Style)				
<i>Stri</i>	1—15 (15)	354		354
List B (B-Style)				
<i>Droṇa</i>	1—12 (10) excluding 2,6	382	7	380
	2		37	37
	20—40 (24)	752	27	770
	52—68 (12)	478	2	480
	75—80 } 103—111 } (15)	603.5	—	603.5
	128—180 (8)	280.5	5	291.5
	(70)	2502	78	2580
	<i>Śalya</i>	38—42 (5)	184.5	4	188.5
49—54 (6)	245.5	7	252.5	
(11)	430	11	441	
<i>Stri</i>	16—27 (12)	387.5	4	391.5
Total for <i>Droṇa</i> , <i>Śalya</i> , <i>Stri</i>	(93)	3319.5	93	3412.5

THE ASIATIC SOCIETY'S ĀRANYAKA PARVAN*

(Review article)

SHRIDHAR ANDHARE

THE controversy of the origin and development of Pre-Mughal painting and its influence on the development of early Rajasthani painting has been a constant source of inspiration to scholars of Indian painting since a long time. New developments were duly recorded in journals and books from time to time, as and when new material came to light. Shri Khandalavala and Dr. Moti Chandra have never been slow in putting their views on this subject relating to establish a correct and logical view point of the Pre-Mughal painting. I should say, their main subject of research has been the Pre-Mughal painting since the last two decades, which has assumed the form of Sultanate painting now. The credit of bringing Sultanate painting on to the international map of Indian miniature painting goes to them.

With the advance of knowledge and discovery of fresh material to study in recent years, this subject had become more and more complicated until such time a monumental volume entitled *New Documents of Indian Painting — A Reappraisal*, was published by the team in 1969. This enormous study eschews all valid suggestions and possibilities offered by the material and scholars from time to time.

The monograph on the Asiatic Society's *Āranyaka Parvan* is in my opinion a gist of their view-points on the dating and probable provenance of certain illustrated MSS. This is strengthened by the discovery of the two dated MSS namely the Pālam *Mahāpurāṇa* of A.D. 1540¹ and the *Āranyaka Parvan*, painted at the river fort of Kachhauva near Delhi in A.D. 1516.² The latter forms the subject of the present monograph.

The authors have dealt with all the problems very methodically dividing the book in four parts. Beginning with the controversial dating of the *Hamzā Nāma*, Emperor Akbar's first major

* Karl Khandalavala and Moti Chandra, *An Illustrated Āranyaka Parvan in the Asiatic Society of Bombay*, The Asiatic Society of Bombay, 1974, Price: Rs. 100.

undertaking from A.D. 1567-82, the authors proceed with the problems connected with the styles and dating of the group of paintings known as *Laur-Candā-Caurapañcāśikā*³ series, such as the *Tübingen Hamzā-Nāma*,⁴ *Sikandar Nāma*,⁵ *Prince of Wales Gīta Govinda*,⁶ *Suri Rāgamālā*⁷ and others, and then give a brief historical account of the stories mentioned in the different MSS, with comparative plates at the end.

However, on going through the monograph, a constant note is struck emphasising that almost all the MSS, whether complete or incomplete, should have been painted in Northern India and the probable region should be the Delhi-Jaunpur belt of Uttar Pradesh, with great emphasis and reasoning on which there are two opinions between groups of scholars in India and abroad. They believe that the Bombay *Gīta Govinda*, the two *Bhāgavatas*⁸ in *Caurapañcāśikā* style, the *Caurapañcāśikā* and other sets may have been painted at a place somewhere in Rajasthan, perhaps in Mewar. The authors further argue that the entire painting activity was restricted to Delhi-Jaunpur belt only, though there have been literary and actual evidences of paintings in Mewar since very early period. One of the known MSS. is that of *Supāsanahācariyūm* painted at Delwada in A.D. 1422-23. The others namely the *Caurapañcāśikā* and the Bombay *Gīta Govinda* were obtained from Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh border and Mewar respectively. Taking into account the wide popularity of a subject in a particular area for years together, it stands to reason that the Vaiṣṇavite themes like the *Bāla Gopāla Stuti*, *Gīta Govinda* and the *Bhāgavata Purāṇas* may have been painted in Rajasthan and Gujarat rather than the Muslim courts of the Lodi Sultans of Delhi.

Stylistically, the common cliché of flowers, leaves, lines and rosettes observed at the bottom margin of the *Gīta Govinda* and *Caurapañcāśikā* series are common to Mewar painting which can be observed in the paintings of the seventeenth century and later. The cliché of flowers and leaves is perhaps associated with love and romance as well as certain other occasions. In one of the folios of the dated *Bāla Kāṇḍa* of *Rāmāyaṇa*¹⁰ of the Prince of Wales Museum, the same cliché is observed. Similarly the flowering meanders, curling cloud patterns, dark skies and the prominent feature of depicting incidents against dark patches of colour and marked compartmentalization is more akin to Mewar painting than any other school. Therefore it is possible that some of the above MSS. may have been painted in Rajasthan (Mewar) or North Gujarat which is borne out by many scholars working in this field.

With regard to the hypothesis of the *Bhāgavata*¹¹ of *Sā Nānā* and *Sā Mithārām*, I wish to put forward my views. Firstly, we are not aware of a single instance wherein the artists or the owners have put their names on the body of the painting or on the top margin of a folio in any MS. or set. As a rule such information is generally written at the end of the MS. in the colophon or in case of paintings of later dates, on the reverse or on top margin. Only in Mewari paintings of certain sets the artist's name appears on the bottom margin.¹² Secondly, there appears a great difference in the calligraphy of the text on the folios and the subsequent writings of the names of *Nānā* and *Mithārām*. Thirdly, even if the theory of division of folios between the two owners is accepted, we observe that there are some folios which do not have any writings at all.¹³ How do we account for these folios? There is yet one more name which appears as *Hirbai*¹⁴ on certain folios. Was she also a claimant at the time of the division of property? If so how is it that the names of *Hirbai* and *Sā Nānā* appear on the same folio?¹⁵ To us these names still remain a mystery.

There is an evidence in Mewar area of the name *Nānā* being popular and it clearly indicates that *Sā Nānā* means *Śreṣṭhi Nānā*, the *Sāhs* in Mewar and Rajasthan have been money lenders and merchants. In a stone inscription of Shāntinātha temple at Jawar (Mewar) dated A.D. 1421¹⁶ there is a reference to *Sā Nānā's* family. Apparently the name *Nānā* was prevalent in Mewar.

It is interesting to note that some of the foremost scholars from USA have even gone to the extent of calling *Nānā* and *Mithārām* as the painters of these folios.¹⁷

With regard to the *Laur-Candā* series on the whole it again stands to reason that it was an Avadhi romance popular in Eastern Uttar Pradesh which showed all prominent features of the *Kulāh-dār* group. What about the newly discovered *Laur-Canda* MS. of the Berlin Library? To me it is closer to the *Laur-Canda* folios of the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Banaras, but there appears a strong affiliation to the Orissan paṭa painting in colouring, line and to certain extent the costume and alarmingly elongated and stylized figures.

However, in spite of strong arguments and evidences put forward by the authors of the *Āraṇyaka Parvan*, the provenance of Delhi-Jaunpur belt for all the Sultanate material does not seem to solve the problem completely. We have perhaps to look to Gujarat, Rajasthan and Central India¹⁸ also for proper and careful solution.

The publication is very fruitful and complete in all respects. It is an excellent repository of cultural and social life of the people

displayed in its illustrations. There is a unique mixture of indoor and outdoor scenes which the plates illustrate in black and white in the monograph. The plates given at the end are very important for comparison. Special attention has been paid to exact rendering of the colour plates, which is generally not observed in any such publications.

This monograph therefore is an excellent example of research, printing and production which will go a long way in putting an example of scholarship before the younger scholars.

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9. Muni Punyavijayji. *Supāsanahācarium ni hasta likhalit pōthi mā nā rangīn citrō* (Gujarati). *Acharya Sri Vijayavallabha Suri Smarak Grantha*, Bombay, 1956, pp. 176-180.
10. Moti Chandra, "Paintings from an illustrated version of the *Rāmāyana* painted at Udaipur in A.D. 1649." *Prince of Wales Museum Bulletin*, No. 5, 1955-1957, pp. 33-48, see fig. 16.
11. *Op. cit.*, col. pl. 21.
12. Karl Khandalavala, "Leaves from Rajasthan", *Mārg*, Vol. IV, No. 3, 1950, pp. 2-24, see fig. 1.
13. W. G. Archer, *Rajput Miniatures from the Collection of Edwin Binney 3rd*. Portland Art Museum, Portland, Oregon, USA, 1969, See 1a, p. 4.
14. *ibid.*, 1.6.
15. *ibid.*, col. pl. 1c (Attack on the citadel of Narakasma).
16. Harbilas Sarda, *Maharana Kumbha*, Vedic Yantralaya, Ajmer, 1932, II edition, Bibliography No. 8. See Jawar Shantinatha Temple of A.D. 1421.
17. Stuart Cary Welch. *A Flower from Every Meadow*. Asia Society, New York, 1973. See p. 25. Also See Welch and Beach. *Gods, Thrones and Peacocks*, Asia Society, 1965, Nos. 3, pp. 115, 116.
18. Anand Krishna: "An Illustrated Manuscript of the *Laur-Chandā* in the Staatsbibliothek, Berlin", *Chhavi-2*, Rai Krishnadasa Felicitation Volume, Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras, 1981, pp. 275-89.

REVIEWS

ŚILOPADEŚAMĀLĀ BĀLĀVABODHA OF MERUSUNDARAGAṆI:
Ed. by H. C. BHAYANI, R. M. SHAH AND GITABAHEN
RAIJI, L.D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad, pp. 30 + 192
Price: Rs. 10/-.

It was generally believed that prose was conspicuous by its absence in Old Gujarati literature, but recent researches have shown that hundreds of prose-works are written in Gujarati from the 13th to the 18th century. The majority of these works are translations of Jaina Canonical or religious works or of Brahmanical works like the *Bhagavadgītā*, *Bhāgavata*, *Gītagovinda*, *Cāṇakya Nitiśāstra*, etc. or of popular story-books like the *Pañcatantra*, *Vetālapañcaviṃśati*, *Sīmhāsanadvātrīṃśikā*, etc. It was only in exceptional cases that prose was cultivated from the artistic and aesthetic point of view, as in the case of the *Prthvīcandracarita* (1422 A.D.) of Māṇikyā-sundarasūri and in various Varṇakas or set descriptions of which a collection (*Varṇakasamuccaya*, Vols. I-II, Baroda, 1956-1959) has been published by the present reviewer.

Old Gujarati prose-translations of mainly Jaina religious works are known as Bālāvabodhas ('Works meant for the guidance of the Bāla or beginner'). They are the Gujarati counterparts of Sanskrit commentaries and some of them are so detailed and extensive that the reader can acquire a good knowledge of the subject-matter without any acquaintance with Sanskrit or Prākṛit. Not infrequently, we find that one and the same text has been translated and commented upon by more than one author.

The *Śilopadeśamālā* is one of such popular texts. It is a didactic work and was composed in 114 Prākṛit Gāthās by Jayakīrti (circa tenth century A.D.). At least nine Bālāvabodhas on it by different authors (some of them anonymous) are known so far (vide Introduction, p. 3 and one by Merusundara is composed in V.S. 1525 (1469 A.D.)). This is a critical edition of Merusundara's *Bālāvabodha*.

Merusundara is a prolific writer and his Bālāvabodhas on *Ṣaṣṭi-śataka Prakaraṇa*, a Prākṛit work on Theology, and *Vāghabhaṭṭālan-kāra*, a Sanskrit treatise on Poetics, are published earlier (in 1953 and 1975, respectively) by the present reviewer.

This edition of the *Śilopadeśamālā Bālāvabodha* is based on six manuscripts. The text of the Prākṛit gāthās and the Gujarati Bālāvabodha has been prepared very carefully and the Introduction presents a grammatical and linguistic analysis of the Gujarati text. The *Bālāvabodha* contains a number of well-narrated parables and tales which deserve a study from the view-point of comparative folklore and story-motifs. Of course, the Editors have not attempted that, as it is not, strictly speaking, the part of the Critical Edition and deserves an entirely separate treatment.

An Index of important Old Gujarati words with modern Gujarati meanings has been given at the end of the book. But it is curious that nowhere except in a few cases where the Editors have some doubt about meaning — the reference of the text is given and the reader has no opportunity to see actual context in which the word is employed. Do the Editors assume that the meanings given by them should be accepted as final? There would not have been any additional work on the part of the Editors if they had given the references in the Index. In a number of places the meanings given appear to be doubtful or tentative, but I should not discuss here interpretation or elucidation of individual vocables for want of space.

On the whole, the Edition of *Śilopadeśamālā Bālāvabodha* is an important addition to the corpus of Old Gujarati prose-literature published so far; and the editors deserve congratulations for their commendable work. The entire prose-literature in Gujarati composed at least before the 16th century A.D. should be critically edited and published, as it is of great importance not only for the history of Gujarati language and literature, but also for the study of Older forms of various other Indo-Aryan languages.

—B. J. Sandesara

KṚTYAKALPATARU OF BHATṬA LAKṢMĪDHARA: Vol. IX, 1st Edn., *PRATIṢṬHĀ KANḌA* Ed. by K. V. RANGASWAMY AIYANGAR, Oriental Institute, 1979, pp. viii + 240, Rs. 53/-.

Bhaṭṭa Lakṣmīdhara's *Kṛtyakalpataru* is easily the most important as well as the most complete digest (*Nibandha*) of Dharmasāstra that has come down to us. It is also the earliest now extant. It must have been written between 1100 and 1150 A.D., and probably in the second quarter of the twelfth century A.D. It is sometimes described as simply *Kalpataru* and sometimes it is paraphrased into *Kalpadruma* or *Kalpavṛkṣa*.

Bhaṭṭa Lakṣmīdhara devotes different sections to different topics like the duties of a Brahmācārin, of a Gṛhastha — the first two Āśramas — the daily routine of the Dvija, and especially of a Brāhmaṇa, Śrāddha, Dāna, Vrata, Tirtha, Pratiṣṭhā (installation and dedication of places) Pūjā (objects of worship, as representing divinities, and the manner in which each such divinity should be worshipped), Śuddhi, Rājadharmā, Vyavahāra, and Mokṣa.

More than half of this work *Kṛtyakalpataru* has survived in solitary manuscripts. It has made the task of editing the work one of exceptional difficulty. Bhaṭṭa Lakṣmīdhara's successors in the field of Dharmasāstra show great deference to the readings of ancient texts that he adopts. A work whose integrity and accuracy have commanded such respect demands the most scrupulous care in editing it. Late K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, the editor, has executed his task in an admirable and excellent manner.

—V. M. Kulkarni

PRAŚNAVIDYĀ OF BĀDARĀYAṆA, WITH A COMMENTARY OF BHAṬṬOTPALA: Ed. by J. S. PADE. Oriental Institute, Baroda, 1972, pp. 2 + 26; Rs. 2.50/-.

Every human being, whether educated and cultured or otherwise, is anxious about knowing his future. This tendency underlines the science of *Jyotiṣa*. The science of *Jyotiṣa* is divided into two: (1) *Grahaḥjyotiṣa* and (2) *Phalaḥjyotiṣa*. The latter also is further divided in two: (1) *Jātaka* and (2) *Praśnajātaka*. Generally, the *Praśnajātaka* is made more use of since many persons are interested in knowing the future events of their life by going to a fore-teller with questions of every-day life. They are very keen on getting quick answers to their problems. Though the *Praśnajātaka* is more popular with the masses, it is a matter of great surprise that there are only a few works on *Praśnavidyā*, such as the *Daivajñavallabhā* of Varāhamihira, *Ṣaṭpañcāsikā* of Pṛthuyāsa, the son of Varāhamihira, *Praśnavaiṣṇava* based on *Tājika Nīlakaṇṭhi* by Siddha Nārāyaṇadāsa, while books on *Jātaka* galore. Hence, the present work under review is a welcome addition to the meagre or paltry number of books on *Praśnavidyā*.

The Bādarāyaṇa *Praśnavidyā* is a very rare and important work on *Praśnajātaka*, dilating on the possible fruits of different kinds of *Praśnas*. The importance of this work is that in only 75 verses, it deals with almost all sorts of queries generally asked by the ordinary folk. It is definitely helpful to a layman as well as to a student

and a scholar alike. Hence, it is welcomed by all the persons interested in *Jyotiṣa*.

A few words may be said about some important points:

(1) The respected editor has said in the preface that the "Mss. of this work are available in the libraries of Indian institutes". But, some more information of such institutes as well as the Mss. would have definitely proved very helpful for future scholars and researchers. (2) Secondly, it is said in the very preface that the "works of earliest known authors are known only in name." Here also a mention of some such works as *Praśnanārādī*, *Praśnakaumudī*, *Praśnavidyā* of Gaṅgācārya, *Praśnasaṅgraha* of Haribhaṭṭa as also other works with their authors and possible dates would have proved conducive to the further study of this very fascinating and engrossing subject of perennial interest almost to all. (3) Despite very careful and meticulous proof-reading, many printing mistakes have crept in, particularly, pp. 19, 20, 22, are full of mistakes. (4) At a few places, one feels that a recognised scholar of the repute of Padeshastriji should have given the benefit of his erudition to the interested persons by giving explanatory notes. For example, the verse No. 4. Here in this verse, the words *Janmasamayasyaḥ* (*yaḥ syāt*) *Bhavatīti* read a bit awkward and require clarification. Shri Shastriji is acknowledged as one of the best scholars of Baroda and his deep and sound study of *Śāstras* such as *Āyurveda*, *Dharma*, *Vedānta*, *Jyotiṣa*, *Vyākaraṇa* (in which he has secured the coveted Bhandarkar Prize of the Bombay University) has proved very fruitful to almost all the scholars of Baroda and elsewhere in their intellectual pursuits. But, it may be said that the scholars are deprived of his subtle and deep scholarship in this particular book, since, he has not given any notes.

I conclude the review of this book by congratulating the revered Shastriji on his bringing this rare work to light.

—S. Y. Wakankar

VAIDIKA VĀṄGMAYĀTĪL PRAŚNOTTARE by M. A. MEHENDALE, (in Marathi), University of Poona, Poona, 1980, pp. 1-114, Rs. 11/-.

The book under review comprises five lectures delivered by Dr. M. A. Mehendale under the late Shri Bhau Vishnu Ashtekar Vedic Lectures at the Poona University, Pune. Dr. Mehendale has collected a number of 'Questions and Answers' from the Vedic literature and arranged them chronologically, starting from the *Ṛgveda*, to which he devotes two chapters. He devotes the third chapter

to the Brāhmaṇas, the fourth to the Upaniṣads and the fifth to the *Nirukta*. The fifth chapter dealing with the *Nirukta* is added with a view to point out the 'questions-answers' in a Vedāṅga, an ancillary of the Veda, though, strictly, it is not expected to be included in a discussion dealing mainly with the Veda. Actually the questions and answers from the *Nirukta* are on a different footing than those of the first four chapters. They deal with etymology and such controversial topics as whether the *mantras* have any meaning, though such minor topics as 'who is Vṛtra', 'how many are gods', etc. are touched by the *Nirukta*.

Speaking about the nature of the questions and answers of the *Rgveda*, Mehendale divides them into three topics, namely: (i) Questions regarding the various gods, including the doubt whether a particular god would come to the help of the seer-sacrificer; (ii) Questions regarding creation, which mark the last phase of Rgvedic *mantra*-creation; and (iii) Dialogues.

Starting his actual elaboration on these types of questions, the learned scholar refers to certain riddles in the *Rgveda*. He says that in certain cases, the seer has himself given the answers for the questions, while in the case of certain others the answers are difficult. One such riddle is where the seer mentions a bird, from whose head his 'Cows' take the milk (RV I.164.35). He refers to Lüders in this connection who, according to him, has tried to plausibly explain the image, and rightly so, as the imagery of rain. The bird is the sun, in whose orb watery vapours from the earth are collected after evaporation. He refers to other riddles or, images involving riddles, based on the concept of the cow. But, except for a reference to Lüders as noted above, he does not think it necessary to explain the images. Obviously, he had planned to only collect such images, as is the case with other accounts he has collected, never trying to explain anywhere. He refers to the riddle of the child that wanders in his chariot (RV X.135), calling it a riddle-hymn; and referring to some other accounts of a similar nature states that, as the seers have not tried to give any explanation, they wanted to indicate that the riddles are very difficult to explain (p. 6)! Whether we should accept the author's suggestion is itself a 'question' that need not be 'answered'!! It should, however, be noted that fresh efforts have been made to explain many of these riddles. Why the author did not even mention them is a riddle! And this riddle is to be solved with the answer that the author's intention was only of collection and never elaboration or explanation. Questions and answers about various gods such as Agni, Indra, Varuṇa, Sūrya, are thus collected. Writing about the questions-

answers regarding creation, he simply gives a summary of the hymns of the *Puruṣa* (X.90) or of the *Nāsadiya* (X.129). The discussion on the creation of the universe from a human body would be expected to touch if similar ideas are found elsewhere, say, for example, in the Assyrio-Babylonian mythology or (near home) in the Chinese mythology in the legend of Chin-pu-a-Ku. And it would be expected to know in what category the *Puruṣa*-myth fits in the worldwide motif of such creation. Again, in the discussion of the creation from 'Sat' or 'A-sat' or something beyond these two — the total darkness waters — one would expect to know how far this ancient Indian concept compares, and in what categories, with other ancient accounts, say for example with the Egyptian concept of the Nun, the Abyss that creates the first ray, often symbolized by a flower. Writing about the Dialogue-hymns he takes a general survey of prominent work done on this type; but in the case of the actual hymns of dialogue, he does not go beyond giving a summary (X.108 *Saramā-Paṇi*; I.165, 170, 171 *Indra-Maruts-Agastya*) and so on. Even about *Purūravas-Urvaśī*, he does the same and does not refer to important literature trying to explain the dialogue and its background. The same is the case with the important hymn (RV X.86) about *Vṛṣākapi* and *Indrāṇi*, and about that of *Yama* and *Yamī*.

The questions and answers from the *Brāhmaṇas*, deal with ritual details and, as is the style of the *Brāhmaṇa* texts, they are explained. Thus Mehendale has rightly classified the questions and answers as those based on Etymology, those based on numerical figures, those relating to expiation and so on. In this chapter the tales of *Manu*, *Videgha*, *Mādhava*, *Cyavana* and others are recorded. We have also the legend of *Suparṇa*, explaining the letters in certain metres. An important type of the question-answer method is the 'Brahmodya', wherein questions and answers relating to certain cosmic activities and also regarding common daily usages are noted. The learned scholar admits that he is unable to explain the exact purpose of these *Brahmodyas* (p. 85). The questions-answers in the *Upaniṣads* touch certain philosophical discussions, and the author says that these questions-answers indicate how the thinkers of that period wanted to know if there was something beyond the sacrifice. The last chapter deals with certain questions-answers in the *Vedāṅga*, the *Nirukta*. Here he touches such points as the four types of speech, whether word is temporary or everlasting. Actually here we have a short summary of the main topics in the *Nirukta*. While discussing the question — "Who is *Vṛtra*", he tries to explain the Vedic concept about *Vṛtra* and also the imagery about the

holding of the waters by Vṛtra. He also cites the opinions of some scholars like Lüders and R. N. Dandekar. While concluding the lecture series, Mehendale says that a question indicates the first step for the gain of knowledge or exploration, and that this method is to be found in India, as also in other countries. He accepts that his purpose for this series was only to point out, and that too in a representative manner, how the question could be of various types.

One can say that this limited purpose is fully served by these lectures. But one feels that Prof. Mehendale, with his vast experience in and contribution to the field of Vedic research, could have had a broader base for the purpose of the lectures. The thought cannot leave one's mind that these lectures are rather of an introductory nature and that a lay audience is being introduced to certain topics in the Vedic question-answer methodology. The types of questions, again, are not numerous; nor have they been so delineated. What face us more prominently in these lectures are the accounts of rituals and legends in the Vedic literature. And fresh interpretation, at least, in important cases is expected. Such concepts, for example, as *śipiviṣṭa* (p. 26) should have been examined afresh. When the question is put to Viṣṇu, "what is censurable in your name-*Śipiviṣṭa*?", the point of censurability has to be probed. *Śipiviṣṭa* is equated with the dwarf (*Mai Sam.* 12.2.13). Actually here we have a world-wide belief regarding the potentiality of the dwarf; and when the *Śat-Br.* (V.2.5.4) says that "a dwarf is sacred to Viṣṇu", one has to explore a social belief rather than simply identify Viṣṇu with the dwarf (*Vāmana*). The identification Dwarf = Viṣṇu is exterior to the belief in the Dwarf as such. The point marks a contrast between the earlier stage when a dwarf was acclaimed as auspicious and the later when he was considered censurable. Why Viṣṇu is now so called is the question; and more so when *śipiviṣṭa* becomes the gods' epithet. The *Taitt. Sam.* (I.11.9) connects this epithet with the cattle and fertility. This point has to be supported by the concept of Viṣṇu being the one directly associated with the conception of the new life. (cf. *RV.* X.184.1). The answer to the question lies in connecting *śipi* with *śepa* (the male organ), here associated with Viṣṇu. The question that is asked in *RV.* X.129 (p. 32) regarding the First Principle, that gets heated and then expressed, could be better answered by comparing this Vedic concept with that of Nun and Atum in the ancient Egyptian imagery. Instead of saying that the sixth verse in the *Vṛṣākapi* hymn (*RV.* X.86) is vulgar (*aślīla*, p. 49) the better way to explain it is in connection with a ritual well embedded in the tradition, and mentioned by the *Ṛgvidhāna* (III.119ff), which leaves no doubt about this and other verses in the hymn being a charm for fertility.

True, the purpose of the series was only to point out the questions and answers and their types; but that, in itself, would not satisfy an eager reader, who would like to get help to know the implication of these answers. And what about the questions that occur in the *Aitāsapralāpāḥ* (*Atharva* V.20.129-132 etc.) and the *Prahvalikāḥ* (*Ibid* 133 and other texts)? What is their type and real source? The point has not be touched in the 'Lectures'.

—S. A. Dange

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE IN INDIA by T. K. MANN, Concept Publishing House, New Delhi, 1979, pp. 206, Rs. 60/-.

The book is an interesting study of the growth and expansion of British judicial system in the Punjab.

The first chapter outlines the establishment and working of courts in presidency towns of Bombay, Calcutta and Madras by the East India Company around the middle of 17th century and traces the growth and history of these courts, and their replacement by subordinate Civil and Criminal Courts and the High Courts in India after Queen's proclamation of 1858. Besides pointed remarks on the administration of justice since 1947, the author, Dr. Trilochankaur Mann, maintains that, "Trained as they (Indian judges) are, they conduct themselves in a manner very much resembling the British. Indian judges are much more British than even the English could afford." The author regrets, that even the Law Commission established after Independence has not made any headway at all and "no radical measures have been attempted, to overhaul the system, to bring it in tune with the Indian genius and culture." Recent amendments made in the Codes of Civil and Criminal procedure have not improved the matter. We are still under the evil spell of the outdated theory of "innocence of the accused." This was bitterly criticised and attacked by Mr. Cursetjee, Judge of the Small Causes Court, Bombay as far back as 1855.

With this background in the first chapter of her book, the author, as was her aim and object, traces the evolution of judicial institutions in the Punjab right from the time of Ranjitsingh who came to power after the downfall of the Mughal empire. Seven chapters are devoted to detailed information and sources of the working of the Adalats, i.e. Courts of Justice, from Independence to the present day.

Important parts of the book are Chapters 9 and 10 which deal with defects in our judicial system, suggested remedies and re-

forms. The author's contention is that much litigation could be avoided if more care and diligence is exercised in preparing and filing the cases in courts. She also refers to the dilatory processes of law, an evil inherent in the prevalent system; the dogmas of precepts and precedents laid down in the Evidence Act and Codes of Civil Procedure and Criminal Procedure. Judges and lawyers, guided by their personal outlook and views, play no small role in the matter of courts' delays. The author also refers to the adverse working conditions of the staff, including the judges, which constitute the view through which the justice is processed.

The author deserves rich compliments for her deep study and outspoken views and radical suggestions made for stamping out the injustice felt by us all in the working of administration of justice. Would the powers that be wake up before it is too late?

—L. V. Deshpande

UMARAŚATAKAM: A SANSKRIT VERSION OF THE RUBAI-YATS OF OMAR KHAYYAM by N. G. SURU, Madhu Malati Suru, Pune, 1981, pp. 13 + 34, Rs. 15/-.

A thing of beauty is a joy forever, so said poet Keats. Omar Khayyam's Rubaiyat is such a beautiful thing. And Edward Fitz Gerald who rendered the original Persian into English made the poem a world classic, a bright diamond in world's literature!

It has taken nearly eight centuries for the Rubaiyat to be rendered in an evergreen and graceful Sanskrit. The author is the well-known Professor N. G. Suru; the publication is posthumous.

One has to be adept and expert in both languages while rendering the original into another language. The effective test is: The soul of the original must be reflected and must shine as brilliantly as the original.

The Rubaiyat in English has itself become the original, for the English-speaking people. Professor Suru's rendition into Sanskrit from the English version has all the features of an elegant translation.

He has chosen an appropriate metre, Mandākrāntā for his composition. It is rapturous with its sweet melodious, slow movement. It reminds one of Kālidāsa's *Meghadūtam*.

The late Professor Pangu, Marathi and English scholar, once aptly remarked that a beautiful literary piece shines out with equal splendour when transposed into another language. It is like "an

eternal soul migrating from one body to another for pleasure's sake”.

An eloquent example is the following:

A Book of Verses underneath the Bough
A Jug of Wine, a Loaf of Bread and Thou
Beside me singing in the Wilderness,
Oh, Wilderness were Paradise enow!

बृक्षच्छाये ललितललितः पद्यबन्धोऽथ भोज्यं
हात्पापूर्णं रुचिरकलशो वल्लभे त्वं च पार्श्वे ।

उद्गायन्ती गहनविपिने मञ्जुलेन स्वरेण
हन्तेदं स्याद् गहनविपिनं नन्दनं दिव्यभोगम् ॥

This is the philosophy of Omar Khayyam. It is not a philosophy of despair or dejection; it is a living philosophy of Paradise, even in the Wilderness. The bough, wine, loaf, verse and sweetheart are symbolic terms. Life here and now is all Bliss. Arise and live in Paradise. This is the message. It is mystic, but to be deeply felt and experienced in transcendental supra-consciousness.

The bough is God's grace, wine is vigour, loaf sustenance, verse intuning music and sweetheart, a joy of creation. Omar echoes eternal truths proclaimed by seers, sages and saints all over the world in all ages.

Another instance:

I sent my Soul through the Invisible
Some Letter of that After life to spell
And by and by my Soul returned to me
And answered "I myself am Heaven and Hell."

आत्मा मेऽसावुपरि समनुप्रेषितो ऽध्यक्तदेशे
ज्ञातुं साक्षाल्लवमपि परश्रायुषो वर्णकस्य ।

कालेनायं पुनरथ परावृत्य मां प्रत्यबोचत्
"योऽसौ स्वर्गो य उत निरयः सोऽहमात्मा तर्बव" ॥

Towards the end the Poet sings out:

Ah Love! Could you and I with Him conspire
To grasp This sorry Scheme of Things entire
Would not we Shatter it to bits and then
Re-mould it nearer to the Heart's Desire!

यद्यावां हे हृदयवयिते सार्धमस्मद् विद्यात्रा
संमित्येमां नियतिरचनां दुःखदुःखानुबन्धाम् ।

आच्छेत्स्यावस्तदनु नहि किं खण्डशस्तां प्रमृष्ट
हृत्संकल्पानुसरणनवां संविधास्याव एनाम् ॥

Omar Khayyam's undaunted spirit inspires us to conspire with the Creator to destroy this world of woes and worries, and to endeavour to remould it to our heart's content.

What better message can there ever be!

It is no exaggeration to say that the Sanskrit version उमरखतकम् is a jewel. Many thanks to Mrs. Suru and friends for bringing out the book. It shows once again that Sanskrit is a living language.

—L. V. Deshpande

THE SDOK KAK THOM INSCRIPTION: Part II: Text, Translation and Commentary by ADHIR CHAKRAVARTI, Sanskrit College, Calcutta, 1980, pp. lxxvii + 255, Rs. 100/-.

The inscription on the four faces of the Sdok Kak Thom stele consists of 194 lines in Sanskrit and 146 in Khmer; its characters vary in size from four to ten millimetres. Three estampages of the inscription are in existence in Paris. The stele was severely damaged in 1958 when a fire broke out in the National Museum of Bangkok, where it was on display. Four earlier translations of the inscription were made, three in French by French scholars, and one, nearly 30 years ago, by the late Dr. R. C. Majumdar, in English.

Briefly, the inscription records the installation of a *liṅga* in the Sdok Kak Thom temple in Śaka 974 (A.D. 1052), the genealogy of king Udayādityavarman II and king Sadāśiva, the introduction of the cult of Devarāja, details of attendant priests and their families, endowments to them and to the temple, and so on. The inscription is not bilingual; the Sanskrit version is of a general nature, details of which are supplied in Khmer in the third and fourth face of the stele. Points of difference and correspondence, in the texts have been summarised in a table, which no doubt would be valuable to students.

The book is a monument to the erudition of Professor Chakravarti, his mastery of Sanskrit, and his fluency in Khmer. He has not hesitated to question nor to show the inaccuracies of Majumdar, Dupont, Coedes, Finot, Barth and Aymonier, his predecessors in the field.

The translation, especially of the Sanskrit text, could have been made more effective and comprehensible if it was rendered in Standard English. In places it is excessively literal; elsewhere ambiguous and abstruse; and not infrequently, elusive and discordant. A few instances are cited: The translation of X, XI, XVI, LXVIII,

LXXIII and CXXVI verses and several others could be refined. Some English equivalents have been chosen at random, such as "under the pretext of reciting prayers" (IX); "genuine town" (XXXII); "constant receptacle of all that was good" (LXII); "he affected to the supreme god" (LXXXV).

Inconsistencies and ambiguities in general are noticeable, viz. Camka is a place, not high ground (LXXXIII); the abrupt use of the first person singular in verse LXV besides being confusing, is not commented on; botanical terms are used in CV and CVI, but common names in CIV, CVII and CVIII; "He was the warehouse of wealth . . . the faraway source of the jewel, cat's eye" (LXVI), (cat's eye is not the same as lapis lazuli); "he erected a linga on the Mount Yashodhara which was as beautiful as the king of the mountains" (XLIII).

There are some fanciful expressions such as: "cowpen full of cows" (LXXXI) and "Odoriferous onyx" (CVIII).

The translation of the Khmer text is more fluent and not as literal as the Sanskrit. An interesting innovation is the use of 'His Majesty' as an equivalent for *vrah*, *vrah pada*, *vrah dhuli pada*, which is also applied to Kamraten An (p. 198, 77-85), and the rendering of *sten* as 'monsieur' (p. 110, 10-14).

Fanciful expressions continue to occur in the Khmer translation, as well as in the commentary, such as "little hope of receiving anything more than shambles" (note 4, p. 92, line 12); "went to exercise lordship over (the city of Mahendraparvata. . .)" (p. 94, 69-71); *travan* = an "artificial piece of water", *trapan* = a "natural piece of water" (note 15, p. 157, 3-5); "cowpen" used in LXXXI, is repeated on p. 157, 48-50; "was solicited to and received as a free gift" (p. 165, 54-57).

Inconsistencies and protracted discussions are noticeable: *camka* which was annotated as 'highland lying beyond the reach of flood-water (LXXXIII) is now confirmed to be a place in Amoghapura (p. 159, 50-52); "expert (or surplus) slaves" (p. 168, 57-61) should read "well-disciplined slaves." A reference to this interpretation is made to a study entitled "L'economie sociale du Cambodge d'apres l'epigraphie" which has NOT yet been published (p. 171, note 13) and hence cannot be referred to.

The ingenious explanation of verse CXXIII (p. 66) particularly the date of installation as well as the age of the moon on that day, signified by "fishes and female breasts ($12 \times 2 = 24$)" and "seas and female breasts ($7 \times 2 = 14$)" respectively, may need reassess-

ment since the author has second thoughts on it when he says "their exact import is obscure" (p. 202, note 14).

The discussion and comments on the identity of Sten An Sikha (p. 122, note 2) extends to over 1000 words without the problem being solved and the interpretation of "*karmadharmā*" (p. 172, 61-63) in note 5 on page 173 is a masterpiece of the same length, replete with eight quotations.

There are many grammatical and orthographical errors in the book and three sets of 'errata' on pages xi, 233 and 235 to 237; the diacritical marks are unique; and the five photographs, four of which are perforated at the top, lack detail and are difficult to decipher. The binding and general get-up of the book priced at Rs. 100 leaves much to be desired, and gives the impression that both the literary and the mechanical effort was done in a hurry.

—O. C. Kail

INDIA — THE TURBULENT HALF DECADE by K. N. SUBRAHMANYA, Southern Economist Pvt. Ltd., Bangalore, 1981, pp. vi + 200, Rs. 65/-.

Though the book is a collection of 35 editorials written by the author for the Southern Economist, it is not, to use his own words, a recycled product. Taken as a whole, it is an interesting and balanced analysis of the political situation in India from 1975 to 1981; besides, an important contribution to contemporary history and a source of reference for students of political science long after the events of the "turbulent half-decade" are forgotten.

Mr. Subrahmanya traces the causes of the unrest which followed the Bangladesh campaign; the total revolution advocated by the late J. P. Narayan which led to the declaration of the emergency in mid-1975; gives an appraisal of the emergency; the ballot revolution, and the advent of the Janata government; its collapse, and the return of Mrs. Gandhi.

The chapters or pieces entitled "Return to Gandhian values" and "Can't we live without corruption" could have been excluded as, then and now, they have no relevance. Particularly interesting is "A shameful chapter" and his description of Mr. Charan Singh, who "had accomplished the rare feat of defeating his own government," "who permitted himself to sign a list of supporters which contained the names of many who were in the other camp . . .

fraud is too strong a word," "the coup stage-managed . . . by master-minding defections from his own party," "where does a political leader who in his lust for power, make peace with his own tormentor, who had kept him in prison for over 17 months," "the sordid drama of back-stabbing . . ." "demonstrated a degree of consistency even in an act of treachery," and "on being appointed the Prime Minister exclaimed 'I have realised my life's ambition'."

His assessment of Mr. Morarji Desai's personality and his fads is less scathing and he is rather more sympathetic towards Mr. Jagjivan Ram whom he thought could have put together a stable government.

"Presidential Indiscretions" is an academic exercise; it has the flavour of wishful thinking and is better forgotten. "The reckless action of the President may have set the nation on the wrong course . . . Had Mr. Reddy given a chance to the Janata party, he would not only have enabled a Harijan leader to become the Prime Minister . . . but would have reduced the chances of authoritarian forces getting back to power."

Mr. Subrahmanya has made two predictions: that the ultimate stage in the process of political disintegration would be the take over either by a fascist demagogue of the right or of the left. This remains to be seen. The second prediction of an India-Pakistan war in 1981 based on the theory that India has witnessed a war on the completion of almost every decade, has fortunately not come to pass.

The book is studded with a number of touching expressions and quotations, such as, "a real tiger or a paper tiger"; "political carpentry — cabinet making is nothing but that" and "it was said of Cleopatra that her nose caused the launching of a thousand ships"; besides the allusion to Gresham's Law.

It is seldom one comes across a book free from printer's errors and this is no exception, for example: "Her another propaganda point"; "for being left intact"; "befatedly"; "snake and ladders"; "Zig saw puzzle"; "skeptism" and "Mr. Sharad Joshi."

The index is useful but appears to be hurriedly prepared by an amateur. Entries such as Rolls Royce, Buddhism etc. need not have been included if Hindustani Andolan had to be omitted; 'Populism' occurs twice; and words are not listed alphabetically, under each letter of the alphabet.

—O. C. Kail

TRISANKUḤ by D. D. BAHULIKAR, Rendered into English and Marathi by ARVIND MANGRULKAR, Introductions by D. D. BAHULIKAR, ARVIND MANGRULKAR and N. G. SURU (in Sanskrit, Marathi and English respectively), K. S. Arjunwadkar, Pune, 1980, pp. 27 + 188, Rs. 40/-.

Trisankuh, an anthology of new original Sanskrit stanzas, is divided into three parts: the first deals with Nature, the second with mythology and the third is miscellaneous. These three parts contain 114, 105 and 192 *muktakas* respectively. The original Sanskrit Stanzas are accompanied by their renderings in Marathi and English by Prof. Mangrulkar. The anthology itself is prefaced with three introductions in three languages ('*Kimcīt Prāstāvīkam*', in Sanskrit, by the author; '*Trisankucya Ākāśāta*', in Marathi, by Prof. Mangrulkar and 'Foreword' by Prof. N. G. Suru). The author justly lays claim to his creative imagination striding over new tracks leaving the beaten paths. Both Prof. Mangrulkar and Prof. Suru highly praise the poet for his unorthodox, novel and original approach to the themes of depiction — although the themes themselves are, in most of the *muktakas*, conventional. The two professors rightly and justly praise the author for his sustained allegory *Rathyā* 'the Highway or Road' running over fifty-one verses and in which the author "projects his life's Philosophy, based on an agnostic's cynicism, a contempt for idols, installed to represent godhead, which itself is man-made and, therefore, may not exist thus doubting the efficacy of Faith and Devotion, not believing in a life after death, which is the last punctuation mark of a full point, indicating the end of the life's journey on this everlasting highway". In their Introductions the two professors also draw out attention to some of the exquisite stanzas from the anthology. In fact, these introductions and renderings in Marathi and English greatly help the reader in fully understanding and appreciating the import and significance of the rather difficult original Sanskrit verses. Prof. Mangrulkar and Prof. Suru, who bestow high praise on the author, do not fail to lay their finger on this demerit. The difficulty of his writing is equally due to the author's novelty of thought and fancies as well as his kinship with Māgha and Bhavabhūti. Naturally we miss in his stanzas the charming simplicity, the grace, the sweetness and the lucidity of the style of Kālidāsa, Bhartṛhari or Amaru. Even a well-informed and well-read student of Sanskrit language and literature will have to seek the help of a Sanskrit lexicon to understand the meaning of many out-of-the way or uncommon words. This demerit apart, the author deserves to be warmly congratulated for his splendid contribution to modern Sanskrit poetry

and the publisher, Prof. K.S. Arjunwadkar, for making available this 'Anthology of New Original Sanskrit Verses' to the lovers of Sanskrit in a book-form.

—V. M. Kulkarni

EARLY HINDĪ DEVOTIONAL LITERATURE IN CURRENT RESEARCH: Ed. by WINAND M. CALLEWAERT, Department Oriëntalistiek Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, Belgium, 1980, pp. 242, Rs. 60/-.

The University of Leuven founded in 1425 in Europe has a rich tradition in Oriental Studies. It is well known that the Catholic University of Leuven was divided into two independent universities i.e. the Universite Catholique de Louvain and the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven in 1968. Each of these has its own Oriental Institute which has brought out studies in the field of Indology. Scholars academically engaged in the study of Modern Hindi in Europe rightly felt a lack of communication in the field of research on the *Bhakti Literature in North India between the 12th and the 17th century A. D.* In view of the need of such communication a conference was organized in the Department Oriëntalistiek of the Katholieke Universiteit Louvin in 1979. The present volume contains papers contributed by various scholars in this colloquium covering Middle Hindi Bhakti Literature which is accepted to be important, not only for its religious content but also from the linguistic and philological point of view.

The colloquium begins with the welcoming address delivered by A. Schoors, Dean of the Faculty of Letters and list of publications given by R. K. Barz of the Australian University. Among the papers contributed to this volume the one viz. "Toward a Critical Edition of Surasagar" gives an idea of the project which K. E. Bryant undertook in collaboration with Dr. John Hawley, University of Washington. Not only does this paper solicit the advice of scholars on textual studies but takes care to indicate the discussion that the author had with other scholars working in the field. "Secret Vocabularies of the 'Great Renouncers' of the Rāmānandī Sect" by R. Burghart puts forward an interesting study on the theme of language used by Rāmānandī ascetics. A. Entwistle's study of Manuscripts of the Eight Gaddī of the Vallabha Sampradāya throws light on the works of poets like Shri Lalaji, Keval Ram and opens up the possibilities of further study. "Materials for the study of *Hit Caurāsī*" by R. Snell brings together interesting information about the collection of Padas attributed to Hit Hari-

varṅsa Gosvāmī taken to be the founder of Rādhāvallabh Sampradāya. C. Vaudeville's account of "Recent Publications and Information of Further Research" is bound to prove extremely useful to researchers in the field. His contention that there is a close connection between the Kṛṣṇa-Gopāla and the Devī-cult' has found general acceptance. Research in Braj speaks of the ambitious project undertaken by F. Delvoye of France. Mysticism of Mirābāi and Mechtild von Magdeburg by S. Eveland points to the problems facing the woman as an artist in a generally hostile society. Report of Researches collected in this volume have enhanced the importance of this colloquium in the eyes of scholars interested in Bhakti literature in Hindi during the 12th and 17th century A.D. The Institute deserves congratulations. Contributions of Mahanubhavas to Hindi literature by Y.M. Pathan of Marathwada University adds an important dimension to the researches in Bhakti Literature. Usefulness of this interesting volume is considerably enhanced due to the Indexes prepared by G. Van Damme and Bibliography running over 12 pages. The present volume is therefore a valuable addition to Middle Hindi Bhakti Literature and the Editor as well G. A. Zograph, the Head of the S. and S. E. Asia Section, Institute of Oriental Studies, appropriately throw light on 'Recent Soviet Publications' on the Middle Hindi Bhakti.

—M. D. Paradkar

BHARATANU NĀṬYAŚĀSTRA (Sixth Adhyāya) with **ABHINAVABHĀRATĪ**: Sanskrit text and Gujarati translation, with Introduction and Commentary by DR. TAPASVI NANDI, Gujarat University, Ahmedabad, 1979, pp. 46 + 308, Rs. 16/-.

Bharata's theory of Rasa, expounded in the sixth chapter of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, has been an important basis for drama, poetics, aesthetics, etc. No serious student of Indian arts and aesthetics can afford to leave out its study. Dr. Tapasvi Nandi has translated this chapter on Rasa into Gujarati along with Abhinavagupta's valuable commentary on it. The Sanskrit text of the Gaekwad Oriental Series (second edition) has mainly been followed for the translation, along with some other readings from V. Raghavan, J. Masson and M. V. Patavardhan, particularly in the context of Śānta Rasa. However, in one of the titles, viz. "भरतने मते शान्त रस" (Śānta Rasa according to Bharata), the name Bharata could have been avoided in view of the unsettled controversy whether Bharata had recognized Śānta as the ninth Rasa.

Dr. Nandi, who has to his credit, *The Origin and Development of the Theory of Rasa and Dhvani in Sanskrit Poetics* and other works, has given a long and erudite introduction discussing the views of theoreticians such as Lollaṭa, Śaṅkuka, Bhaṭṭa Tauta, Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka and Abhinavagupta on the subject of Rasa. He provides a commentary, entitled *Harṣavati*, at the end of the book with critical notes to the translation and text. There are three appendices consisting of the text and Gujarati translation of (1) the *Abhinavabhāratī* on the *Nāṭyaśāstra* I, 107; (2) the *Locana* on the *Dhvanyāloka*, I, 18, on Rasa; (3) the *Locana* on the *Dhvanyāloka*, II, 4, on Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka.

This is the first systematic Gujarati translation of the important chapter of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and the *Abhinavabhāratī* which is published along with the Sanskrit text. It is highly creditable on the part of the Gujarat University to publish this book at the subsidized price which will be of use not only to students and teachers of *Alaṅkāraśāstra* and Literature but also to general readers interested in the subject.

—Devangana Desai

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF BOOKS RECEIVED

1. Akṣaya-Geet-Rāmāyaṇam (Ekottaraśat Saptapadi Geetātmakam) Saptapadi Poet Pandit Ogeti Parikshit Sharma. Ogeti Achyutram Shastri, Hyderabad, 1981, pp. 102; Rs. 12/-.
2. Index to *Journal of the Oriental Institute*: Vols. 1-XXV/1951-1976. Compiled and Edited by Navinchandra N. Shah. (M.S. University Oriental Series No. 11), Oriental Institute, Baroda, 1978, pp. vi + 185; Rs. 8/-.
3. Śrīdhara's *Laghukhecarasiddhi*, Edited by David Pingree, (M.S. University Oriental Series No. 12), Oriental Institute, Baroda, 1976, pp. 18; Rs. 4/-.
4. Base Critical Text of *Ayodhyākāṇḍa* (Sargas 1-49), General Editor A. N. Jani, Oriental Institute, Baroda, 1976, pp. 40; Rs. 7.50/-.
5. A Descriptive Bibliography of the Printed Texts of the *Pāñcarātrāgama*: Vol. II. An Annotated Index to Selected Topics. General Editor A. N. Jani, Gakwad's Oriental Series No. 168. Oriental Institute, Baroda, 1980, pp. xxxiii + 132; Rs. 41/-.
6. Ananda Coomaraswamy: A Study, by Moni Bagchee. Bharata Manisha, Varanasi, 1977, pp. xvii + 205. Rs. 30/-.

DR. B. N. SHARMA (1936-1981):

Dr. B. N. Sharma, popularly known as 'B.N.' among scholars and friends of Indian Museums and Indological circles suddenly left us on the 9th of February 1981. To all readers of Indian art, especially in the field of iconography of sculpture, he was a familiar name. Born in 1936, he obtained his Master's degree in Ancient Indian History and Archaeology from Lucknow University; Ph.D. from Delhi, and then the D.Litt. from Magadha University, Bodh Gaya.

Before joining the National Museum as a Keeper, Archaeology, he was a sub-editor of "Rajasthan through the Ages" — a project offered to him by the Government of Rajasthan. B.N.'s contribution in the form of books is well-known. He was the author of *Social and Cultural History of Northern India*, *Iconography of Sadāśīva*, *Festivals of India*, *Iconography of Vaināyakī*, and *Jaina Pratimāyen* (Hindi). His work is not only praiseworthy but commendable, looking to the short span of time in which he could accomplish this work. At the same time he was one of the regular contributors to various foreign and Indian periodicals and journals of repute, including the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay*. Over the years he made a substantial contribution to the study of Indian art especially in the realm of iconography of sculpture.

Dr. Sharma travelled extensively in India and abroad. He had organized an exhibition entitled "Indian Art through the Ages" in 1971 in the 'Man and his World' exposition held at Montreal. In 1973, he was invited by the U.S. Department of State and the American Museum's Association to represent India at the International Conference of Museologists, Washington, and also to attend a meeting of the American Association of Museums of Milwaukee. He was also awarded the Fellowship by the JDR 3rd fund, New York, to study Indian art collections in the U.S.A., U.K., Europe and Asia.

Dr. Sharma was an Honorary Fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain, Ireland and London, and was associated with various academic bodies and Universities.

B.N. as I knew him, not through his subject of study, which was different from mine, was a cheerful and everfresh personality, always eager to help and exchange views with others, fond of writing and getting it published. A profound lover of Sanskrit and textual material, he was a continuous source of inspiration to younger scholars and friends from all faculties of art.

Few months before his demise he was dining with us in Bombay when he was on way to Goa, and had expressed a desire to come back, but alas!! The news of his sad demise on the 9th of February 1981 was a blow from the blue which could never be sustained by us. Words are but poor substitutes to express our feelings for him.

—*Shridhar Andhare*

DR. V. P. DWIVEDI (1936-1981):

Dr. Vinod Prakash Dwivedi was born in 1936 and educated at Lucknow University from where he completed his Master's degree in 1958 and soon joined the National Museum, Delhi in 1959. His hard work and understanding of the subjects brought him a golden opportunity to work at the Cleveland Museum of Art, USA, as Assistant Curator of Oriental Art in 1966-67. Subsequently, he was awarded the much coveted 'Homi Bhabha Fellowship' to work on a project of "Studies in Rajasthani drawings and paintings". It was during this period again that he studied the Cleveland collection and my association with him grew up. Soon he became the Deputy Keeper of the Pre-Columbian and Western Art Section of the National Museum. Thereafter he became the Keeper, Public Relations and Special Exhibitions, of the National Museum, New Delhi, a post which he rightly deserved.

Vinod was byfar the most extensively travelled scholar among our contemporaries. He was twice appointed Curator of Indian Art Exhibitions which toured USA and France. Exhibitions, cataloguing, transportation and other matters had become his daily routine. Due to his ability and amiable nature he became a popular museum curator in India and abroad.

He put up an example of hardwork and discipline in research and produced his book *Indian Ivories* (1976) which was the subject of his Doctoral thesis. Thereafter he was engaged in several major and minor publications, viz. *A Brief Guide to Maharaja Banaras Vidya Mandir Museum*, *Les Bronzes Indiens*, 1978, *Museums and Museology — New Horizons* (Co-authorship with Smt. S. Baxi). His last publication on *Bārahmāsā* came out just few months before his departure.

Vinod was the Hon. Secretary of the Museums Association of India from 1976-78 but looked after the Association as his own duty till the end. He was the most beloved of the entire museum world and enjoyed everybody's favour. His hospitality and eagerness to help others knew no bounds. He was modest yet firm in his deal-

ings. Generosity and cordiality were writ large on his face. His end came as unexpectedly as the rains in the month of *Sāvan*. Had he lived he would have climbed the top of the ladder in his career.

—*Shridhar Andhare*

AMALANANDA GHOSH (1910-1981):

With the death of Shri Amalananda Ghosh on 25th August, 1981 a void has been created in Indian archaeological scene. The Archaeological Survey of India, of which he was the Director General from 1953 to 1968, has lost a most able guide.

Amalananda Ghosh joined the Archaeological Survey of India in 1937. During his thirty-one years in the Survey he made substantial contribution to different branches of archaeology. Under his stewardship, the Archaeological Survey of India in particular and archaeology in India made all round progress which led Sir Mortimer Wheeler to remark: 'Today, no part of the world is better served in archaeological matters than is the Republic of India.' This is no exaggeration since, as Director General of the Survey, A. Ghosh was responsible for conservation of monuments in different parts of the country; starting a new journal *Indian Archaeology — A Review*; enactment of the Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Sites and Remains Act, 1958; establishment of the Temple Survey Projects; launching of the Village to Village Survey of Antiquarian Remains; organization of the Centenary celebrations of the Archaeological Survey of India and the First International Conference of Asian Archaeology in 1961; establishment of the School of Archaeology in 1959; excavating and salvaging the ancient monuments at Nagarjunakonda, besides regularly bringing out publications of the Survey which attained highest international standards. At the same time, he gave active support and encouragement to various universities and research institutions in carrying out archaeological work.

Apart from his organizational and administrative skill, Shri Ghosh was a scholar *par excellence*; his writings are marked by remarkable brevity and objectivity. An ardent lover of Sanskrit literature, he was one of those scholars who combined in themselves the traditional knowledge of epigraphy and numismatics with modern methods of scientific archaeology. He took part in many excavations at important sites like Taxila, Sirkap, Rajgir, Ahichchhatra, etc.; his explorations of the Ghaggar valley between 1951 and 1953 extended the horizon of the Indus Civilization eastwards into the present day boundary of India and resulted in the discovery

of a number of Harappan, Painted Grey Ware and Rangmahal sites along the dry beds of the Saraswati and the Drishadvati. In recognition of his scholarly attainments and organizational capacity he was awarded the Padma-Shri by the Government of India in January 1962. He was also associated with various academic bodies in India and abroad and was the Honorary Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, London, and the German Archaeological Institute, Berlin-Dahlem; Vice-President of the Royal India, Pakistan and Ceylon Society; Member of the Permanent Council of the International Congress of Prehistoric and Protohistoric Sciences; the International Committee on Monuments, Artistic and Historic Sites and Archaeological Excavations, UNESCO; the International Committee of Museums, UNESCO; and several learned societies. In India he presided over various conferences and seminars including those of the Indian Archaeological Society, Numismatic Society of India, All India Oriental Conference, Indian History Congress, International Conference on Asian Archaeology, etc.

After his retirement from the Survey, of which he was appointed as the Honorary Correspondent, Shri Ghosh joined the Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Simla, and wrote *The City in Early Historic India*. He also edited the *Jaina Art and Architecture*, in three volumes, published by the Bharatiya Jnanapitha. He also taught for sometimes in the Jakarta University as Professor of Indology and was in Qatar, Bahrain and Saudi Arabia as the UNESCO Advisor on Archaeology.

Shri Ghosh was a man of few words and an indefatigable worker. Just before his death he had submitted to the Indian Council of Historical Research, the manuscript of the *Dictionary of Indian Archaeology* which he had edited.

Shri Ghosh's sad demise is mourned by everyone and in particular by those who had come in his contact.

—B. M. Pande

PROF. NIHARRANJAN RAY (Jan. 14, 1903-Aug. 30, 1981):

With the death of Prof. Niharranjan Ray on August 30, 1981, the world of scholarship in the fields of History, Art, Literature and Education has lost an eminent intellectual, a many-faceted and scintillating personality and a humanist. He was actively associated with numerous institutions in the country, including the Asiatic Society of Bombay. Prof. Ray was the Chairman of the Indian Council of Historical Research, Professor Emeritus of Calcutta University, Director of the Bennett Coleman and Company ("Times of India" and allied publications).

Niharranjan Ray took M.A. degree (with first class first) in Ancient Indian History and Culture from Calcutta University in 1926 and later had his doctorates from the Universities of Leyden (Holland) and London. He was appointed the Bageswari Professor of Calcutta University from 1945 to 1965. From 1953-54 he was a Visiting Professor to a number of universities in the U.S.A. and a UNESCO consultant. From 1954 to 1956 he was appointed cultural adviser to the Government of Burma. After his return to India he was nominated a member of the Rajya Sabha and occupied this seat until 1965. He was appointed the Founder-Director of the Indian Institute of Advanced Study in Simla in 1965, where he spent about ten years. Later he was appointed a member of the Pay Commission. He was a Visiting Professor to a number of universities, including those at Baroda, Chandigarh, Waltair and Tirupati. He was Chairman of the National Library, Calcutta, for three years.

Prof. Ray has to his credit a large number of books, articles and presidential addresses. He wrote several books on art and religion of Burma. His *Maurya and Sunga Art*, first published in 1945, emphasizes the social historical approach in the study of Indian Art. His *Banglar Itihas* (in Bengali), published in 1949, was acclaimed for initiating a new approach to Indian historiography. Instead of the history of kings and politics, it deals with the people. The book was written when Dr. Ray was in jail in connection with the 1942 Movement. He was an active member of the Congress Socialist Party. His book, *An Artist in Life*, on Rabindranath Tagore published in 1967, won the Sahitya Akademi award. His *Idea and Image in Indian Art* (1973) and *An Approach to Indian Art* (1974) are significant contributions toward the understanding of Indian art in terms of changing social process and evolving aesthetic values.

Dr. Ray was the first to deliver the Coomaraswamy Memorial Lecture of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, in 1979. He presided over the 30th Session of the All-India Oriental Conference at Shantiniketan in November 1980. In early 1981, some months before his death he led a movement and courted arrest in protest against West Bengal ruling left front's education policy.

Despite high positions and offices he held, he always kept free time to meet students and younger scholars. Prof. Ray will be remembered by all those who came in close contact with him for his inspiration and guidance as well as broad vision in work and life.

—Devangana Desai

**TRANSLITERATION OF THE
SANSKRIT AND ALLIED ALPHABETS**

अ	.....	a	औ	.....	au	ठ	.....	ṭha	भ	.....	bha
आ	.....	ā	क	.....	ka	ड	.....	ḍa	म	.....	ma
इ	.....	i	ख	.....	kha	ढ	.....	ḍha	य	.....	ya
ई	.....	ī	ग	.....	ga	ण	.....	ṇa	र	.....	ra
उ	.....	u	घ	.....	gha	त	.....	ta	ल	.....	la
ऊ	.....	ū	ड	.....	ḍa	थ	.....	tha	व	.....	va
ऋ	.....	ṛ	च	.....	ca	द	.....	da	श	.....	śa
ॠ	.....	ṛ	छ	.....	cha	ध	.....	dha	ष	.....	ṣa
लृ	.....	lṛ	ज	.....	ja	न	.....	na	स	.....	sa
ए	.....	e	झ	.....	jha	:	.....	pa	ह	.....	ha
ऐ	.....	ai	ञ	.....	ña	फ	.....	pha	ळ	.....	ḷa
ओ	.....	o	ट	.....	ṭa	ब	.....	ba			
		(Anusvāra)	.....	ṁ	×	(Jihvāmūliya)	.....	h			
		(Anunāsika)	.....	m	)	(Upadhmanīya)	.....	h			
		(Visarga)	.....	ḥ	ऽ	(Avagraha)	.....			

**TRANSLITERATION OF ARABIC AND
ALLIED ALPHABETS**

		ARABIC									
ا	a	ز	.....	z	ق	.....	q	ق	.....	i or e
ب	b	س	.....	s	ك	.....	k	ك	.....	u or o
ت	t	ث	.....	sh	ل	.....	l	ل	.....	ā
ث	th	ص	s	م	m	م	i, e
ج	j	ض	ḍ	ن	n	ن	ū, ō
ح	h	ط	t	و	w	و	ai, ay
خ	kh	ظ	z	لا	h	لا	au, aw
د	d	ع	ي	y	ي	silent t
ذ	dh	غ	gh	ع	ع	h
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