Volumes 62-63 for 1987-88 (Combined)
[New Series]

JOURNAL
OF THE
ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BOMBAY

Editors
K. P. JOG
KAMALA GANESH
SHANTA TUMKUR

Published by the Asiatic Society of Bombay
Town Hall, Bombay - 400 023
Maharashtra State (India)
1992

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London Agents :
ARTHUR PROBSTHAIN
41, Great Russell Street, London, WCIB 3PH.

Statement Showing Ownership and other particulars about the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay

FORM IV

(Sec Rule 8)

1.	Place of Publication	Bombay
2.	Periodicity of Publication	Annual
3.	Printer's Name Nationality Address	Smt. Shailaja G. Barve Indian 41 Budhwar, Jogeshvari Lane, Pune 411 002
4.	Publisher's Name Nationality Address	Smt. Vimal N. Shah Indian Hon. Secretary, The Asiatic Society of Bombay, Town Hall, Fort, Bombay 400 023
5.	Editor's Names Nationality Address	K. P. Jog, Kamala Ganesh and Shanta Tumkur Indian The Asiatic Society of Bombay Town Hall Fort, Bombay 400 023
6.	Names and Adress of Individuals who own the newspaper and partners, shareholders holding more than one percent of the total capital	The Asiatic Society of Bombay, Town Hall, Fort, Bombay 400 023 Maharashtra State (India)

I, Smt. Vimal N. shah, hereby declare that the particulars given above are true to the best of my knowledge and belief.

Vimal N. Shah,
Signature of Publisher.

EDITORIAL

We are happy to place this issue of our Jounal in the hands of our readers just about one year after the last. We are also hopeful that we shall be able to bring out our next issue to them in some short future.

This issue contains three lectures delivered at our society during the course of the last year. One deals with the so-far-least-studied commentator of the most ancient text of the Aryans (viz. the Ṛgveda). It presents a few specimens of the linsuistic studies of the ancient text by an orthodox commentator. The other seeks to bring out the anthropological elements in ancient India's mortuary ritual in relation to the frame-work of the world's mortuary rituals. The third presents how, during the 6th Century A. D., a Christian monk knew and vividly depicted India; it throws light on the geographical information available to modern scholars from the writings of early centuries.

A matter of topical interest is the Islamic contribution to Indian Culture in its various aspects and this has been ably dealt with in one article. Thus, the old and the new aspects of Indian Social life are presented together.

This picture attains its fullness through the remaining articles that deal with visual and literary arts. In one article, the author informs us how he learned to understand the temple through Indian eyes, or rather, learned 'to look at the temple, and not merely in Western terms.' His article thus seeks to bring South Asians and his American companions into a dialogue on the visual in South Asian culture. Two articles, one on the sculptures in the Sun Temple at Moḍherā and the other on the possible site of Vikramaśilā Mahāvihāra (at Antichak), present conclusions based on Archaeolugical finds. And lastly, but not the least importantly, an article on the celebrated Sanskrit writer Bāṇabhaṭṭa attempts to trace the creative writer's impulse to writers of Sanskrit on Poetics.

The number of reviews in this issue is very small though, they discuss certain important contributions of authors in various fields of Oriental scholarship.

We are thankful to Dr. Smt. Vinaya Kshirsasar of Deccan College Pune for proof-reading and to Smt. Sandhya Abhyankar for various services towards the preparation of the Journal and, lastly yet importantly, to Smt. Shailaja Barve and Sarvashree Barve for ably printing this issue of the Journal in a very short time.

While we conclude this editorial, we have to convey to our readers the following communication from our predecessors in relation to their editorial in the last issue of the Journal. It reads : "It has come to our notice that, to some of our readers, the editorial seemed to attribute the delay in its publication, at least partly, to our predecessor Dr. Smt. Devangana Desai. Therefore, we affirm that there was not the slightest hint meant about our scholarly predecessor's responsibility for the delay, since she was no longer the editor of the Journal after the publication of our number 56-39 for 1981-84 (i.e. since 1986). We regret if any injustice is inadvertently done to her."

●●●

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Reviews

Mādhavabhaṭṭa, The Earliest Known Commentator of The Ṛgveda (Inaugaral address : 12th September 1990)

K. P. Jog.

Mr. President Sir, The Hon. Secretary, and Friends,
Please let me state, at the outset, that I feel a heavy sense of responsibility while I have to deliver, as the Director of the MM. Dr. P. V. Kane Research Institute of our society, my inaugural address to this August gathering of scholars. I feel a double difficulty, viz. I should not speak on some light subject and, at the same time, I have to keep from talking on some abstruce matter. I have, therefore, chosen to follow what is known as the Middle Path (मध्यम मार्ग) and to introduce to you some important aspects of the earliest known commentary on the oldest literary work of India, viz. the Ṛgveda Saṁhitā. This commentary is known by the name *Ṛgvedavyākhyā* and is available to us only in a fragment[1], though not to a negligible extent. It discusses the first 121 hymns of the Ṛgveda Saṁhitā and presents some such features which are important for a linguist and have not as yet received attention of even Vedic scholars. Also, it is to be noted, this commentary does not attach greater importance to the ritualistic details which are customarily associated with the Ṛgvedic hymns. It considers the linguistic material in them from a view-point that should arouse attention of modern linguists. It can be said that the author of this commentary has anticipated a number of methods in modern linguistic research.

It is here necessary to give some information about the author of this commentary, viz. Mādhavabhaṭṭa. This name Mādhavabhaṭṭa was mentioned by Sāyaṇa, the great polymath of the 14th century A. D., in his comment on the 1st verse of the 86th hymn in the 10th Book of the Ṛgveda[2]. And, for some time, scholars felt that it referred to a Mādhava who was the son of Veṅkaṭārya and Sundarī and whose commentary on the entire text of the Ṛgveda has now become available[3]. This Mādhava, commonly known as Veṅkaṭa Mādhava, belonged to the 10th century A. D. But later discovery of the *Ṛgvedavyākhyā* soon showed that Sāyaṇa referred to its author and not to Veṅkaṭa Mādhava[4]. A telling proof of this was provided by a large number of citations from Mādhavabhaṭṭa's *Ṛgvedavyākhyā*, in the commentary on the Vedic *Nighaṇṭu*s (difficult words) by Devarāja who belonged to the end of the 13th century A. D. or the begining of the 14th century A. D.[5] — but, in any case, earlier than Sāyaṇa. These references are not traced in the commentary of Veṅkaṭa Mādhava.

One more Mādhava needs to be mentioned here; he is the commentator of the Sāmaveda Saṁhitā which presents the verses of the Ṛgveda in a different arrangement[6]. Suffice it to say that this Mādhava's comment on the verses

of the Sāmaveda does not show any correspondence with Devarāja's citations from Mādhavabhaṭṭa mentioned earlier.

Mādhavabhaṭṭa, it is claimed by scholars, belonged to somewhere about the 6th or the 7th century A. D. while Veṅkaṭa Mādhava belonged to the 10th century[7]. I do not enter into the discussion of the dates of these Mādhavas, for it is sufficiently clear for the purpose of our discussion that Mādhabhaṭṭa's *Ṛgvedavyākhyā* is the earliest commentary on the Ṛgveda. Already, Veṅkata Mādhava mentions three earlier commentators in their chronological order, viz. Skandasvāmin, Udgītha and Nārāyaṇa[8]. The commentaries of the first two of these are available in fragments. Yet it is Skandasvāmin, from whom Veṅkaṭa Mādhava seems to be borrowing heavily. Also, it is claimed by scholars, Skandasvāmin could be a senior contemporary of Veṅkaṭa Mādhava and was posterior to Mādhavabhaṭṭa.

To turn to the *Ṛgvedavyākhyā* proper. It begins with सारभूता सुसंग्रहा द्वादश्यनुक्रमणिका क्रियते ---[9] which means that the commentary on the Saṁhitā forms the 12th of the Anukramaṇīs (indices informative of the contents of the work). Also it means that he had written 11 indices before he took up the discussion/explanation of the contents of the Saṁhitā proper. We learn that these indices are : Ākhyāta (verb), Nāma (noun), Nipāta (particle mostly adverbial in nature), Gūḍhārthapada (significant word), Vibhakti (nominal-ending), Svara (accent), Samaya (some agreed or conventional technique of the word-isolate text (of the Saṁhitā)), Ṛṣi (seer), Chandas (metre), Devatā (deitic), Itihāsa (historical (i.e. quasi-historical) narrative), and Mantrārtha (the meaning of the *mantras* or verses (in the Saṁhitā)). It is evident from this list that Mādhavabhaṭṭa explained in these 12 so-called Indices various aspects of the Ṛgveda[10]. Yet it should be noted that the 12th Index is not merely an Index or introductory synoptic statement; it is fuller discussion or explanation of the *mantras* or verses. It stands in contrast with the synoptic statements in the first 11 Indices, or rather, it explains in detail the meaningful aspects (not each and every one of them) of the Saṁhitā text; the word *sārabhūtā* is a pointer to this. Let me digress just a little and state that these Indices were once taken to be the work of Veṅkaṭārya Mādhava, since they occurred in parts at the commencement of his commentary of each of the 64 Adhyāyas of the Ṛgveda Saṁhitā and Dr. C. K. Raja, who edited Mādhavabhaṭṭa's *Ṛgvedavyākhyā*, finally concluded that they are written by Mādhavabhaṭṭa. Proofs of this can be adduced from the *Ṛgvedavyākhyā*, but I refrain from adducing them. Let me turn to the features which would interest a linguist or critic of some language-text and offer my comments on the same.

The most distinguishing feature of the Ṛgvedic language is its accentuation; the accentuation of individual words; of words which are members of a compound; and of words which change their original accents for semantic consideration. Also, the remarks on Ṛgvedic repetitions - this is the feature of Maḍhavabhaṭṭa's commentary only.[11] It is Mādhavabhaṭṭa and Sāyaṇa (only at times Skandasvāmin) who discuss the accentuation of Vedic words;

nevertheless, only Mādhavabhaṭṭa considers it fully - more fully than modern interpreters of the Veda like Geldner, Grassmann and Renou. I avoid references to Oldenberg, Bergaigne and Lüders, for fear of giving tiring details. I shall now show this by citing a few examples.

Let me take up the simple particle of comparison *yáthā* which occurs in the Saṁhitā with an accent on the first syllable *(ādyudātta)* or without any accent *(anudātta)*. It has but one meaning, all the same; viz. 'as'. Now, Mādhavabhaṭṭa's cardinal principle is :

अर्थाभेदे तु शब्दस्य सर्वत्र सदृशः स्वरः ।
यदा न तं स्वरं पश्येदन्यथार्थं तदा नयेत् ॥ [12]

That is to say : Variation in accentuation of a word conveys difference of meaning and it is the duty of a commentator to point out that difference. Let us see how Mādhavabhaṭṭa does this under Rv. 1.25.1:

यच्चिध्दि ते विशो॑ यथा॒ प्र दैव वरुण व्र॒तम् ।
मि॒नीमसि॒ द्यवि॑द्यवि ॥

Here, the particle *yathā* is without any accent and Mādhavabhaṭṭa states यथेत्यस्यानुदात्तत्वं उपमार्थस्य भवति । प्रकारवचनस्य उदात्तत्वं वक्तव्यम् इति स्वरानुक्रमण्याम् उक्तम् । This comment of Mādhavabhaṭṭa can be clearly understood in the light of Rv.1.23.13 :

आ पूषन् चित्रबर्हिषमाघृणे धरुणं॑दिवः ।
आजा॑ नष्टं यथा॑ पशुम् ॥

Where the same particle is initially accented. Naturally, Mādhavabhaṭṭa has taken this accented form as *prakarāvacana* 'expressive of (some) manner (of doing an activity)', as this is hinted in यथेत्यस्यानु --- mentioned just above. The relevant passage from the Index to accentuation of Vedic words is :

प्रकारवचनः सोऽयं (यथाशब्दः) लौकिकाश्च प्रयुञ्जते ॥
येन प्रकारेण कृतं तेनास्माकं करोत्विति ।
(इव देवदत्ते कृतं न तु दृष्टं तथा क्वचित् ॥) (3.3.10-11).

Thus, Mādhava has pointed out that though *yathā* and *iva* are commonly understood as synonymous, they are not in their fullness and always so. Also it can be be surmised that *yathā* can occur at the beginning of a sentence while *iva* cannot occur so. Further, it is seen that *yathā* in the sense of *iva* occurs without any accent. This is supported by the following passages from the Ṛgveda:1.26.4; 30.1; 50.2,3 etc. It is necessary to note here that Mādhavabhaṭṭa concerned himself with semantic considerations more than mere formal considerations, for he has ignored Śāntanava's Phiṭ-Sūtra 85: यथेति पादान्ते which mentions यथा as accentless (सर्वानुदात्त). Also, if at the end of a foot of a verse. It is interesting to note that Sāyaṇa prefers to refer to the Phiṭ-Sūtra and not to the semantic consideration brought out by Mādhavabhaṭṭa.

I take up another word : विश्वाहा॑ in Ṛgveda 1.25.12 :

स नो विश्वाहा सुक्रतुरादित्यः सुपथा करत् ।
प्र ण आयूंषि तारिषत् ॥.

Mādhavabhaṭṭa's comment reads : विश्वाहेति निपातः सदापर्यायः । अपि वा द्वयोः पदयोः समाहारः । तत्रैकार्थ्यविगमात् । विश्वशब्दस्यान्तोदात्तत्त्वम् । यथा विश्वकर्मा विमनाः (Ṛgveda 10.82.2) इति । विश्वेदहानि तविषीव उग्र (Ṛgveda 7.25.4) इति । Mādhavabhaṭṭa's reference to Ṛv 7.25.4 points to the initially accented word विश्वा which qualifies अहानि. In विश्वाहा, one could see a Saṁdhi of विश्वा and अहा, (this latter form is noticd in Ṛv 1.50.7 वि द्यामेषि रजस्पृथ्वहा मिमानो अक्तुभिः । पश्यञ्जन्मानि सूर्य where Mādhavabhaṭṭa paraphrases अहा as अहानि); it is noticed in Ṛgveda 1.90.2; 100.19 etc., (and Mādhavabhaṭṭa has translated it as सर्वदा and सदा). I should invite attention to two linguisic facts: (i) the word *viśva* which is derived from root *viś* 'to pervade/enter' is ever initially accented and when it forms a compound with another word it is accented on the final syllable. (ii) Mādhavabhaṭṭa considers विश्वाहा as a compound word - this is what he means by the word समाहार; for if समाहार meant merely a euphonic combination, there would be two words in the Padapāṭha and they would have accents on both वि and श्वा (where अ of अहा has its accent). And Mādhavabhaṭṭa's remark विश्वशब्दस्यान्तोदात्तत्वम् puts one in the mind of his *Kārikās* (1.4.3 and 4) : विश्वशब्द आद्युदात्तः --- (cf. Ṛv. 1.3.9; 36.14...) and अन्तोदात्तः समासस्थः (cf. Ṛv. 1.23.20 : अग्निं च विश्वशंभुवमापंश्च विश्वभेषजीः) Now there arise questions on the basis of Grammar : What is the nature of the compound in विश्वाहा, i.e. विशेषण समास or बहुव्रीहि समास ? and what can be the proper explanation of the accent ? Mādhavabhaṭṭa does not mention the kind of compound in this word; he has satisfied himself with stating that विश्व in a compound changes its accent and does not find it necessary to consider whether it is a Tatpuruṣa or Bahuvrīhi compound. He has merely asserted that the initially accented word becomes finally accented. As against this, Sāyaṇa remains silent about विश्वाहा but explains under Ṛv. 1.23.13 the change of accent in the word विश्व (in the compounds विश्वशंभुवम् and विश्वभेषजीः) by citing विश्वं संज्ञायाम् (PA. 6.2.106) as an alternative for व्यत्ययेन पूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्वरत्वम्; this shows his vascillation. And, further, Grammar itself points out that विश्व undergoes the accent-change, when it occurs in a Bahuvrīhi compound (cf. बहुव्रीहौ विश्वं संज्ञायाम् PA. 6.1.106). Now, the word विश्वाहा cannot be a संज्ञा and, therefore, Sāyaṇa's vascillation in a similar case is easily understood. Mādhavabhaṭṭa, it appears, has chosen a more safe (or, perhaps, the correct) path. He has thus overlooked the grammatical consideration.

This instance of Mādhavabhaṭṭa's overlooking Grammar is noticed in quite a few other places also; but let it not be supposed that he was altogether regardless of Grammar. His regard for it is indeed very great, but his attempt to achieve the utmost accuracy in explaining Vedic Grammar has led him at times to overlook traditional Grammar. His explanation of the accent on दृशेयम् in Ṛv.1.24.2cd: स नो मह्या अदितये पुनर्दात् पितरं च दृशेयं मातरं च ॥ is as follows : अहममृतः सन् पितरं च पश्येयं मातरं च । अपर्यवसितार्थत्वात् आख्यातम् उदात्तम् । दृशेयमिति चवायोगे प्रथमा (PA. 8.1.59) इति चाधीमहे । यत्राख्यातयोरितरेतरापेक्षा नास्ति तत्र द्वे अपि उदात्ते

भवत: । यत्र त्वपेक्षा तत्र विवक्षायां पूर्वमुदात्तम् । अविवक्षितश्चेत्सोऽर्थोऽनुदात्त एवेति वैयाकरणा: । इति ।; it shows his regard for the Grammarians. (I avoid any discussion about the procedure of applying Pāṇini's rule, under the constraint of time and for fear of becoming too technical.) Yet I must observe that Mādhavabhaṭṭa has attached greater importance to the inter-relation of words/verbs in one sentence; mere connection of a verb with च and/or वा is not for him of greater significance.

Now, I should cite a case of accent-variation in a word merely on account of semantic consideration. The word अहीनाम् Gen. plu. of अहि occurs with two accents: अहीनाम्, initially accented (आद्युदात्त everywhere) from अहि 'river' and अहीनाम् barrytone (मध्योदात्त) at 10.139.6. Mādhavabhaṭṭa has noted this accentual difference and accounted for it as resulting from semantic change; thus under Ṛv. 1.32.3 अहीनाम् असुराणाम्--- इन्द्रो दक्षं परि जानादहीनाम् इति मध्योदात्तो नदीवचन इति । Sāyaṇa refers it to मेघ 'clouds' and Geldner to 'cows'. All that one can say in this case is that Grammar does not offer any help !

Many more instances of this kind can be adduced, but I should turn to the singular feature of Mādhavabhaṭṭa's treatment of Ṛgvedic repetitions. One remembers here Bloomfield who studied these in recent times.[13] He has taken his cue from Śākalya, the author of the Padapāṭha, who has treated the repetitions in some technical way, called *Samaya* in very old tradition and the system of *Galita*s (Sanskritised form of vernacular *Gaḷanta*s). Śākalya dropped what he probably considered as repetitions in their fullness while he gave the word-isolates of the *mantras* involving only apparent repetitions.

Thus, for example :

(i) The words सुजाते अश्वसूनृते (the third *pāda*) in 5.79.1 is repeated fully in 5.79.2-10. Therefore, Śākalya did not recite these words again; they are *Galita*s.

(ii) Words विद्मा हि त्वा in 1.10.10 are similarly treated by Śākalya at 3.42.6; 8.45.13; 81.2.

So also, (iii) words इमा उ षू श्रुधी गिर: in Ṛv.1.26.5 are seen repeated at 1.45.5 and 2.6.1. But, in all the cases of such repetitions, Śākalya does not follow this procedure !

Therefore, Mādhavabhaṭṭa (alone) asks: 'What could be the reason(s) for this ?' and he tries to answer this question also; thus[14] :

पुन: पदानि नाधीते तेषामर्थ: स एव चेत् ।
विभक्तिस्वरसाम्ये च तस्मिन्नेव क्रमे सति ॥

पदोपादानहानाभ्यां बव्हाश्चर्यमदीदशत् ।
कृतव्याख्यैव तेनेयमृषिणा दाशतय्यभूत् ॥

In brief, this is the purpose of Śākalya : If, in the case of words (to be precise, more than two words), there is noticed repetition of some earlier passage in such a way that even the case-forms, accents and order/sequence of them would be just the same, Śākalya does not repeat them. In case

the condition is not fulfilled, he repeats them. In these two ways, he has in some measure explained the meaning of the ten Books.

I take up just one case from Mādhavabhaṭṭa's commentary; i.e. from the comment on Rv.1.16.3:

इन्द्रं॑ प्रातर्हवामह इन्द्रं॑ प्रयत्यध्व॑रे ।
इन्द्रं॑ सोमस्य पी॑तये ॥

The 2nd line of this verse is repeated in Ṛv.8.3.5 (as its 2nd line) but Śākalya recites it, i.e. does not drop it in the Padapāṭha; Mādhavabhaṭṭa ventures to point out that the word अध्वरे in Ṛv. 8.3.5 refers to all of the three sessions of the sacrifice; whereas in Ṛv. 1.16.3 it refers only to the the middle sessions (or the two later sessions) of the sacrifice. In Ṛv 3.42.4 also the 3rd line of our verse is repeated, but it does not form a complete unit of meaning by itself as in our verse. It reads : इन्द्रं सोमस्य पीतये स्तोमैरिह ह्वामहे Therefore, Śākalya has not dropped it from his Padapāṭha. It is repeated also in Ṛv. 8.97.15 cd:--- भूर्णिमश्व॑ नयत् तुजा पुरो गृभेन्द्रं सोमस्य पीतये ।; Śākalya repeats it in the Padapāṭha and Mādhavabhaṭṭa observes: the line इन्द्रं etc. does not make a complete sense; it fulfils the expectancy aroused by the first two lines, or the word अश्वम् might be understood as a necessary qualifier of इन्द्रम् and therefore the meaning of the line has remained incomplete. And yet once more the line is repeated in Ṛv. 8.92.5: तम्वभि प्रार्चतेन्द्रं सोमस्य पीतये where it qualifies तम् occurring in the preceding line and, therefore, (Mādhavabhaṭṭa argues) Śākalya has repeated the words in the Padapāṭha. Thus he brings out the significance of this procedure in his *Kārikās*[15] :

सकृत्प्रदर्शितपदान्मन्त्रान्नाधीयते पुनः ।
नाधीयते पुनः कांश्चित् किं नु स्यात्तत्र कारणम् ॥

काकुर्ह्यावृत्तितो भवेत् ---
तिलमात्रे भिद्यमाने पुनश्चाधीयते पदम् ॥ 14 ॥

Mādhavabhaṭṭa has thus tried to study the nature of the repetitions in the Ṛgveda Saṁhitā. He is the only early commentator who has done so. All other commentators have totally ignored this procedure in Śākalya's Padapāṭha.

I should only mention that Śākalya has adopted in his Padapāṭha a number of procedural techniques and Mādhavabhaṭṭa has tried to explain quite many of them. I leave them for discussion on some later occassion.

While concluding, I should stress the need for examining the entire commentary of Mādhavabhaṭṭa and thereby ascertaining the worth of his methods for arriving at proper meaning of the Saṁhitā.

Notes

1. *Ṛgvedavyākhyā (Mādhavakṛtā)*, Adyar Library, Madras, Parts I and II, 1939 and 1947 - only on the first Aṣṭaka of the Ṛgveda, i.e. Ṛgveda 1.1-121.

2. Read : माधवभट्टास्तु वि हि सोतोरित्येषर्गिन्द्राण्या वाक्यमिति मन्यन्ते *Ṛgveda - Saṁhitā* Vol. IV, Vaidika Saṁśodhana Naṇḍala, Poona, 1946, p. 588.
3. *Ṛgveda with commentaries,* in 8 volumes, V. V. R. I., Hoshiarpur (1965-66).
4. *Ṛgvedānukramaṇī,* ed. C. K. Raja, Madras, 1932, introduction.
5. *Ṛgvedavyākhyā,* cited above, Foreword, pp. X-XI.
6. *Sāmaveda Saṁhitā,* with the commentaries of Mādhava and Bharatasvāmim, ed. C. K. Raja, Adyar Library Publication 26, 1941.
7. Refer to "the Chronology of Vedabhāṣyakāras", C. K. Raja, Journal of Oriental Research, Madras, No. 10; 1936. And *History of Vedic Literature* (Hindi) by Bhagavad Datta, Dayananda Sanskrit Granthamala, No. 10, Pt. 1, Lahore, 1927.
8. C. K. Raja, *"The Chronology...",* cited above and "The Valabhī school of Vedabhāṣyakāras", VI AIOC. Patna, 1930
9. Cf *Ṛgvedavyākhyā* cited above, p. 1
10. In the same work, Foreword, p. X.
11. Read : *saptamy anukramaṇikā śākalyam anudhāvati /*
    Vyākhyātaivaṁ hi teneyaṁ saṁhita padadarśanāt //
    (Separate the words *Saṁhitā* and *padadarśanāt*). Appendix IV, p. cix, in *Ṛgvedānukramaṇi* cited above.
12. Cf *Ṛgveda with commentaries,* cited above, p. 829 *(Kārikā* 1.8.2)
13. Cf. *Rig-Veda Repetitions,* H. O. S. 20; 1916.
14. Cf. Appendix IV. In the *Ṛgvedānukramaṇi* cited above, p. cix.
15 Cf. *Ṛgveda with Commentaries,* cited above, Part IV, pp. 2136-37.

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On
The Anthropology of the Mortuary Ritual
(with special reference to ancient Indian texts)[1]

L. P. Van Den Bosch

Introduction

Religious representations and customs in which death has a central place have always been of paramount importance for the scientific study of religion. That is not surprising, for what is more universal than death ? Man is born and man dies. For this reason the author of an ancient Indian text begins his reflections on the cremation ritual by stating[2] :

'Verily, it is true that every man who is born dies; one has to realize that. For this reason, one should neither rejoice when someone is born nor despair when someone dies. Why a creature is born remains a question and why it dies remains a question. Therefore, the wise consider birth and death equally. Two rites of passage (*saṃskāra*) are therefore obligatory for all who are born: the rite of passage at birth and the rite of passage at death. By the rite of passage at birth one conquers this world, by the rite of passage at death one conquers the world beyond'[3].

The reflections of this author on the inevitability of death do express matter-of-factness, but in no way do they explain the variety of detailed prescriptions he gives for the various situations concerning death — let alone the emotional reactions to it[4].

The universality of death is in contrast with the variety of representations and customs, in which various cultures express their view on death and — consequently — on life. These differences can be perceived in — for example — the attitude towards the mortal remains. Should they be buried or cremated, or cremated and buried, strewn or interred? Or does it suffice to leave them behind somewhere, to throw them into a river or to give them up as a prey to the vultures ?[5] Besides, the procedures of giving the corpse a provisional or a final place are surrounded with rituals of a various character, like sacrificial rituals to the deceased[6].

However, a culture's reaction to death is not accidental or without meaning. The rituals by which the dying and the dead are surrounded are highly significant. They express a culture's representations of and feelings on death. Consequently, they are expressive of a culture's religious perspective. But rituals not only express this perspective, they also evoke it in the participants and cast their emotions into fixed patterns[7]. I would like to illustrate this by mentioning an example from the ancient Indian funeral tradition, according to the *pitṛmedha* texts[8]. After the procession for the cremation has been composed in accordance with precise perscriptions, the mourners prepare themselves to leave the village

and go to the funeral pyre, situated in the wilderness. At that moment they have to loosen their hair and mess it up. They have to strew dust over their heads and shoulders and when they leave the village no one should look back. Thus they are expected to express their feelings of mourning at the moment that the deceased is being taken out of the village to his last destination. At this moment of separation the prescribed behaviour can evoke and canalize their emotions.

Notwithstanding the enormous diversity of reactions to death, many attempts have been made to find a general human explanation of funeral rites. These were often based on the assumption of the so-called 'psychological unity of mankind'. All around the world people would have the same emotional and cognitive qualities. As every man is confronted with death, general human reactions would be likely. These reactions would be expressed by so-called 'universal symbols'[9] : for example, customs concerning head-dress or making loud noise by ringing bells or striking gongs; or, to mention another category, symbols concerning rotting and decomposition. A further analysis, however, of these so-called universal symbols has proved that in their cultural contexts they often have various connotations; or, to put it differently : in no way do these much-cited universal symbols have one universal, uniform signification. Therefore, a general human explanation of specific funeral rites is not satisfactory[10].

The three aspects of death: the corpse, the soul and the relatives

The statement that funeral rites canot be properly explained by a theory that is based on universalia, indicates a deviation from a long tradition in the scientific study of religion. In his book *Primitive Culture*, published in 1871, Edward Tylor tried to give an explanation of the origin of religion by introducing the theory of animism.[11] Tylor paid much attention to funeral rites, to ancestor worship and representations of the hereafter. According to him, primitive man would have tried to give an answer to the threat of death by creating the concept of the human soul[12]. Man would have gathered this concept from experiences during dreams and visions, which he considered as long journeys of the soul that are made independently of the body. At death this soul would loosen itself definitively from the body and pass to the realm of the ancestors, where it would live on. From the representations of the hereafter with the ancestors, the death-cult would have evolved and, eventually, the belief in supernatural spiritual beings like ghosts and gods. So, the belief in the actual presence of the dead would have evolved into a belief in gods. According to Tylor, the origin of all religious phenomena can thus be explained as an attempt to face the threat of death.

It goes without saying that Tylor's speculative and — in many respects — one-sided theories have proved to be controversial. His intellectualistic ideas on the origin of religion were clearly influenced by his own, West-European culture. They ignored the function of religion for the whole of society. Religion,

however, is — and must be explained as — part of a larger social system. This idea has been elaborated by Emile Durkheim and his pupils. Durkheim argued that religion, its collective representations and rituals should be explained by sociological factors.[13] According to him, the main function of religion consists in strengthening the social ties and the structure of a group, by evoking feelings of togetherness and solidarity.[14]

Durkheim's ideas on funeral rituals have been elaborated by one of his disciples, Robert Hertz. In 1907 Hertz published an important essay : "Contributions to the study of Collective Representations of Death."[15] Central to this essay is the research after certain funeral customs in Borneo, in which the corpse is given its definitive place after the process of decomposition has been completed. This procedure of giving a provisional and a final treatment of the corpse is found in many of the world's cultures. Hertz distinguishes two stages in funeral rituals : the intermediate stage — that begins as soon as a person dies — and the definitive stage — in which the corpse is given its final place.[16] In both stages Hertz distinguishes three components : the corpse, the soul and the relatives. In this, he focusses especially on the relations between these three so-called *dramatis personae*. For, during both stages the corpse, the soul and the relatives are symbolically connected to each other — like actors in a ritual drama. The state of the corpse is a model for the state of the soul. The process of the body's decomposition parallels with the journey of the soul to its eventual destination. Likewise, the destiny of the soul is to be compared with the destiny of the mourners, who are segregated from the rest of society from the very moment their dear relative dies. According to Hertz, all three components go through an analogous process. The starting-point of his discussion, however, is the state of the corpse. Just like certain sacrificial rites — that aim at taking part in the world beyond — require the destruction of the sacrificial material in this world, the dead has to be destroyed by (gradual) decomposition, in order to be admitted to the hereafter[17]. In the final stage a reintegration takes place. During the solemn ceremonies the bones, which are purified of the mortal flesh, are buried for ever. At that moment the soul of the dead is admitted to the realm of the ancestors and the relatives stop mourning in order to reassume their usual social relations. The funeral ritual has restored society's continuity and durability, that was threatened by the death of one of its members.

By this interpretation of the 'double disposal' Hertz has contributed substantially to the understanding of funeral rituals — even if it's in no way a general theory. Hertz does not explain why many peoples do not know such a double burial. Edward E. Evans-Pritchard has described the significance of this essay as follows[18] :

'We do not understand what the double disposal of the dead in Indonesia means till we know also the beliefs held about the ghosts of the dead and also the rules of mourning, but once we have grasped the pattern of these three sides to death — corpse, soul and mourners — we see that each expresses

the same idea of transition.'

In Hertz' essay, the relations between the corpse, the soul and the mourners are relevant on various levels. According to Huntington and Metcalf these relations can be illustrated by asking the question why a corpse is feared.[19] Hertz thinks that answering this question by referring to stiffening and decomposition of the corpse is not satisfactory. In most cultures hygiene and bad smell are in no way decisive. Besides, he finds that the degree of fear a corpse can evoke varies considerably. Among the Dayak of Borneo the corpse of a slave, a young child or a stranger is hardly feared, whereas the corpses of important persons strike them with fear and horror. Obviously, the status of the dead is expressed by the degree in which the corpse evokes frightful reactions among the relatives. However, this sociological explanation — in which status plays a major part — does not succeed in explaining why a corpse in itself can evoke frightful reactions. The answer Hertz gives to this question is based on the ideology of the tribes he studied. The corpse is feared because it remains the soul's point of entry as long as it is not completely decomposed. When this process has been completed the soul stops wandering, and passes to the realm of the ancestors. Therefore, the relatives fear that the soul might re-take possession of the decomposing corpse, and turn into a corpse-ghost. Apart from these two explanations Hertz also gives third one. It refers to the restrictions that the relatives of the deceased have to obey. They are considered impure. This impurity does not primarily proceed from bodily contact with the deceased, but from the fact that these persons are related to the deceased. That's why they are set apart. The length and quality of these restrictions vary in accordance with the degree of kinship. To close relatives these inhibitions apply as long as the corpse is not completely decomposed and till it has received its final disposal. As soon as the social person of the deceased has faded — during the intermediate stage - and his soul has been incorporated among the ancestors, these restrictive rules are abolished. So, this third explanation does not refer so much to the fear of the corpse as to the mourners' fear of the spirit of the dead.

Many objections can be raised against Hertz's essay — his conception of the soul is certainly obsolete. However, his ideas have much heuristic value. As appears from recent publications they are still fruitful in analyzing 'double disposals.[20]'

Hertz's ideas are often combined with those of Arnold van Gennep, who published an important book on the so-called *rites de passage* in 1909.[21] These rites — which are to be found all over the world — serve to celebrate the passage of a person or a group of persons from one social status to another. Among these rites are birth-rituals, initiation-rituals and marriage-rituals, but funeral rituals too mark such a transition of status. This passage is not a sudden event, but a gradual social process which takes quite some time. Typical of all these 'rites of passage' are three stages which are closely related to each other. Van Gennep distinguishes *rites of segregation,*

rites of transition and *rites of incorporation*. Rites of segregation separate a person from his former status; in the rites of transition the person concerned doesn't have a clear-cut status any more, but is in a twilight stage; by rites of incorporation he is integrated into his new state and is provided with a new status.[22] This three-partite structure is based on the insight that one discriminating criterion — for example : death — calls into being two categories: the quick and the dead. From this three stages proceed : a stage in which one is counted among the quick, a stage in which one is counted among the dead, and a stage wherein one is in between.[23] Van Gennep points to the fact that in funeral rites not the rites of segregation are the most important ones, but the rites of transition.[24] During this stage of transition the persons concerned cross the borderline of ordered society and find themselves in a kind of no-man's-land. They have neither the former, nor the latter status. They are — to use an expression cherished by Victor Turner — 'betwixt and between' their social roles.[25] They can't be properly classified and do not have a clear-cut position in the social structure. Consequently, ambiguity and paradoxes are typical of the transition-rites in this liminal or twilight stage.[26] The things associated with it are thought of as dangerous or impure. This is expressed by using symbols that refer to biological processes like decomposition and growth.[27]

As I have pointed out above, representations of death have been of great importance for research into the origin of religion. In Tylor's evolutionary theories, an important role was attributed to the individual, who tries to find an answer to death. Durkheim and his followers rather looked for the origin of religion in society. Religion serves to maintain or to restore a social balance. This balance is threatened whenever an important person dies. Social life is disturbed then and the cohesion of the group is in danger. Following Durkheim's tracks, the British social anthropologist Branislav Malinowski formulated this notion as follows :[28]

'The ceremonial of death which ties the survivors to the body and rivets them to the place of death, the beliefs in the existence of the spirit, in its beneficent influences or malevolent intentions, in the duties of a series of commemorative or sacrificial ceremonies — in all this religion counteracts the centrifugal forces of fear, dismay, demoralization, and provides the most powerful means of reintegration of the group's shaken solidarity and of the reestablishment of its morale.'

During the past decades this functionalist point of view has met with growing criticism. Malisnowski's theory would be much too rough and would not be able to explain social and cultural change. The facts are selected in a much too biased way, so that they will always fit in the researcher's theory. Dysfunctional aspects of religious behaviour and changes in the religious system are often completely ignored.[29]

Here it's proper to realize that all theories I have discussed so far voice

the 'outsider's point of view.' The outsider thereby applies his own notions and explanations that the people who live in that culture are not likely to recognize.[30] In more recent cultural anthropological studies, therefore, a plea is made for a more refined approach, which remains closer to the participants' culture.[31] The main task then is to trace the meaning of symbols, in order to understand the underlying structure by means of which man orders his experience. This interpretative approach can be found in the work of the American cultural anthropologist Clifford Geertz. Geertz tries to integrate the points of view that are expressed by the traditional cultures he has stutied.[32]

It's obvious that this semantic approach can be fruitful for the study of religious rituals, for the vital topics of a culture are expressed in the symbolic language of rituals. In a recent study Loring M. Danforth has applied these notions to funeral rites in rural Greece.[33] Just like Geertz, Danforth states that these rituals try to propagate a religious perspective in the face of death. In this religious perspective the ultimate reality of death is denied by referring to a social order that transcends everyday experiences. In virtue of this perspective normal reality can be accepted.[34]

This is not the proper occasion for discussing various theories on religious rituals. It's clear, however, that a shift has taken place in favour of an interpretation that uses explanatory concepts which are to be found in the cultural traditions of the participants themselves. Geertz has compared this approach with the way literary critics work.[35] This comparison, however, is not without problems, for it suggests that descriptions have to be available before interpretations can be made. For this reason, the question remains how an adequate description can be made.

The significance of burial versus cremation: funeral rites in ancient India

The question mentioned above can be partially answered with respect to the religious rituals of ancient India, to which I will restrict myself in this paper, for there are no other cultures from antiquity whose rituals we know so well as those of the Hindus. Ever since the first millenium B. C., the brahmins, who were charged with transmitting the religious traditions and knowledge, recorded all their sacred rituals in a very scrupulous, but compact way in *sūtra* texts.[36] In addition to these, they wrote theological reflections — called *brāhmaṇas* — in which they explained the essence and effects of these rituals.[37] They also recorded collections of *mantras* and in course of time they wrote extensive commentaries. Beside the great sacred rituals based on *śrūti* texts[38] they also noted down the many domestic rites which mark man's successive stages in life.[39] The detailed descriptions of the funeral ritual should be understood in the light of this meticulous culture in which the whole of life is ordered, in which everything and everyone has its own place.[40]

In the first place, then, it must be noted that in these prescriptions a sharp distinction is drawn between those who have to be buried and those who

have to be cremated.[41] Children who haven't received the ritual tonsure have to be buried :[42] they don't have a clear social status. At this ritual tonsure — that is often given at the age of about three years — the child's hair is cut in accordance with the customs of the family and the *gotra*. Thus the child receives a clear distinguishing mark at the moment that it is expected to go beyond the family boundaries. This rite prepares the child to his transition from the domestic realm to the public realm. It is bestowed with a clear social status which is also expressed in the regulation that a child who dies after the tonsure should be cremated. Consequently, the prescriptions concerning mourning and impurity change: they become increasingly stringent, in accordance with the stage of life and the status of the person concerned.[44]

The monk and the wandering ascetic, who have broken away from traditional society, must also be buried after their death. The usual socio-religious prescriptions that aim at maintaining traditional society no longer apply to them. Even while they are alive they are dead to society. They are 'betwixt and between'; they don't have a social status any more.[45]
The prescriptions for the cremation-ritual depend on the status of the deceased. In ritual texts the standard is the cremation of the mortal remains of a married man, who belonged to one of the three superior ranks (*varṇas*) in traditional Indian society. He is expected to have founded a household and to have fulfilled his religious duties. In order to further the well-being of the family he has brought — as *pater familias* — sacrifices in the domestic fire-place or — if he was a representative of the great sacred sacrificial tradition — in the three special sacrificial fires, the *śrauta* fires.[46] On account of his marriage he is considered a 'complete person' — he and his wife are qualified to perform the sacrificial rites.[47] In the crematinon-ritual this fact plays a major role, because only married persons are burnt in their own sacrificial fire or the three sacred fires — if they have maintained them. This status-difference is also expresed in many other ways. The mortal remains of children who have received the tonsure but haven't been initiated into the Vedas, are cremated in a profane fire and receive a ritual without Veda-texts being recited. In this respect they are to be compared with members of the fourth rank, the servants (*śūdras*) who remain devoid of the Vedas as well.[48]

In ancient Indian funeral rituals these status-differences are expressed in detail. A person is considered a more valuable member of society as he has passed through more successive, culturally defined stages of life. These stages are marked by *rites of passage*, called *saṃskāras*. They prepare the individual to a new stage in life, that will raise his social personality to a higher level.[49] This level should be expressed after his death. In the injunctions concerning the funeral ritual the hierarchical character of a society is expressed. The individual is commemorated on account of its former social status. As this status is higher, the death of the individual concerned is surrounded with more ritual display and mourning-rules.[50] For this reason the extent of the

cremation-ritual and the amount of restrictions should not be regarded so much as an expression of individual mourning by the relatives. Primarily it has to be regarded in connection with the loss society suffers.

On account of this, one can conclude that the cremation-ritual in ancient India — as distinct from the burial-ritual — presupposes a specific acknowledged social relationship between the deceased and the relatives, in which a process of status-acquisition has taken place.

Cremation as transition and sacrifice

In funeral texts the cremation-ritual is referred to in two ways: as a rite of passage and as a sacrifice. In the first case, the term *saṃskāra* is used. Central to this is the idea that man has to be prepared before he can pass from one stage of life to another. In itself a person is not fit to pass on his own. Therefore, the term *saṃskāra* is sometimes translated as rite of consecration or 'sacrament'.[51] Consequently, this also indicates that death is not considered as a final stage, but rather as a passage. By cremating him the deceased is turned into the right state to start his life in the hereafter. In numerous texts the necessity of male offspring is emphasized because the performance of the funeral ceremony and the sacrificial rites in honour of the ancestors are primarily a duty of the son.[52] At the beginning of the cremation-ritual the son therefore has to formulate his intention, his *saṃkalpa*:

'Today on this and this day I will perform the 'sacrament' of cremation to my father, whose official first name is so-and-so and whose *gotra* name is so-and-so.[53]'

The idea that the cremation is a sacrificial ritual whereby the dead is sacrificed is expressed by means of three terms. The first is the description of cremation as *pitṛmedha*, the 'sacrifice of the father' (*pitṛ*).[54] The term *médha* is very significant in this expression. This term is also used to indicate a sacrificial victim and the specific sacrificial rituals during which a sacrificial victim is slaughtered.[55] By a special way of preparing the sacrificial animal in the fire, it partakes in the world of the gods and is bestowed with superior bliss.[56] Ideas that originate from animal-sacrifice can be found in the description of the cremation-ritual. For example: the statement that the deceased has to be boiled till he is well-done. When the pyre, with the deceased on it, has been lit, Agni, the fire-god, is addressed by this stanza:

'Do not burn him, do not hurt him, o Agni; don't scorch his skin and limbs — When thou hast cooked him well thou mayst send him to our fathers.[57]'

Agni mediates between this world and the world beyond.

Beside the expression *pitṛmedha* the term *antyeṣṭi* is used to indicate the cremation-ritual. This expression can be translated as the last sacrifice :[58] as institutor of the sacrifice the deceased *pater familias* is sacrificed with all his sacrificial utensils.[59] Finally, the term *homa* and *āhuti* are used to characterize the cremation-ritual. These terms refer to a sacrifice in the fire,

a burnt-offering. As the sacrifice is destroyed, it partakes in the world beyond. Therefore, a number of manuals of the funeral rituals begin with these words :

'Now we shall explain the cremation in accordance with the rite of *pitṛmedha* (the sacrifice of the father). Agni prefers the offering that consists of man — so it is taught.'[60]

This idea that the cremation-ritual is a sacrifice has been elaborated in various texts. The general prescriptions that refer to the selection of a place fit for sacrificial worship also refer to the selection of a place for cremations, but there are differences. The sacrificial place has to decline to the north or to the east — the direction of gods and the direction of man. The cremation-ground, however, has to decline to the west or to the south — the direction of the ghosts and the dead.[61] This difference is also expressed in the direction one uses for orientation, and in a number of other prescriptions concerning — for example — using the right or the left hand, the way in which the sacred thread should be carried, turning or walking around, and the question, what side of the body should be turned towards specific objects. It is significant that in rituals of death — if compared to rituals for worshipping the gods — many acts are performed in a reversed way.[62] This stresses the contrast between death and life.

In sacrificial rites, in worship of the gods one always turns one's face towards the east, for the gods are believed to live in this direction — unlike the evil spirits, that are located in the west. In all performances concerning the dead one turns towards the south, whereas the north is considered the direction of man. For this reason the pyre is really always oriented to the south.[63] The deceased is put with his head pointing towards the south. In all sacrificial rites to the dead the performers turn their face towards the south. Whereas the east and north are considered favourable, the west and south are believed to be unfavourable. Therefore, all mourners who escort the deceased must take some steps in the northern direction after they have brought the corpse to the cremation-ground — for, according to some *sūtra* texts, this is the lucky direction of gods and man.

'To this direction they stride after them and withdraw from the direction of the ancestors — that is: the direction of death.'[64]

A sharp distinction is drawn between the use of the right or the left hand in ritual prescriptions concerning the gods and the deceased. In the sacrificial worship of the gods one uses the right hand and one carries the sacred thread over the left-hand shoulder and under the right-hand arm, whereas in the worship in honour of the dead this is exactly the other way around. The right-hand side is favourable and the left-hand side is unfavourable. This also expresses the ambivalence towards the dead. The deceased may be beloved, they are also impure and dangerous. In evil rituals by means of which one tries to bewitch and overpower one's enemy — the so-called *abhicāra*-rituals — the same prescriptions apply as in rituals for the dead.[65] In funeral rituals

this ambivalent attitude is also expressed in many other injunctions, like the circular move. According to the texts, one should circumambulate the corpse in a direction contrary to the move of the sun, in order to avert the evil influence emanating from it.[66] In this context, I cannot discuss all these rituals which refer to a complex system of classification.

Cremation is a transition-ritual whereby one tries to prepare the deceased for his life in the hereafter by sacrificing him in the fire. This preparation is completed when Agni in his identity as the 'flesh-devouring god' has taken away all impurity.[67] The ritual usually takes ten days, during which the relatives are considered impure as well[68]. They have to obey a range of restrictions. During these ten days it is the duty of the son to perform a daily sacrifice to his father, consisting of a ball of rice (*piṇḍa*) and water.[69] In later funeral texts — like the *pretakalpa* of the Garuḍa-purāṇa — this sacrificial ritual is explained by the following teachings. During this intermediate stage the soul, which is deprived of its body, receives a few new limbs every day. After ten days the spiritual body is complete, so that the soul can descend into it in order to start its last journey. In this context mention is made of a 'body of ascent' (*ūrdhvadeha*) and the ritual whereby this is effected is called *aurdhvadehika.*[70] After ten days the bones are collected — usually by an odd number of old women.[71] This part of the ritual begins with a sacrifice to Agni:

'Deliver him to the ancestors, o Agni, he who has been sacrificed to you with the formula *svadhā*. Clothing himself by life he has to pass to the rest of the ancestors. He has to unite himself with a radiant body.'[72]

The purified bones are gathered in an urn and are finally buried in the bowels of the earth. Nowadays it is customarly to strew the ashes and the remains of the bones into a flowing river.[73]

In the ritual of double disposal Hertz perceived an analogy between the corpse, the soul and the relatives. At the final burial the soul would be incorporated among the ancestors. The relatives would stop mourning and be reintegrated into society.[74] In India this analogy does not in itself apply.[75] The burial marks the end of a period of impurity and the soul is bestowed with a new body but the deceased is not yet incorporated among the ancestors. He can merely start his journey to the realm of the ancestors.[76] During this journey he is dependent on the provisions his relatives offer. Therefore, during the first year every month special offerings are made to him, consisting of a rice-ball (*piṇḍa*) and water.[77] During this period the liminal position of the deceased is expressed by calling him *preta*: 'he who has passed away.'[78] In sacrificial rites the deceased is addressed by the words: 'To the *preta* called so-and-so'.

At the end of this year the incorporation of the *preta* among the ancestors takes place during a specific ritual in which his three male deceased ascendants are invoked.[79] During this ritual the incorporation is symbolized by splitting

the *piṇḍa* of the *preta* in three parts and by adding it to the three *piṇḍas* of the ancestors. The destination of these three balls of rice is redefined. The oldest ancestor drops out and disappears into anonymity. The other two move up and together with the *preta* they make up the three ancestors, which are explicitly venerated. The restrictions which some priests-schools prescribe for the oldest son thereby come to an end. The widow of the deceased is usually considered impure during the rest of her life. Therefore she is kept in isolation. Her social identity, which she derived from her husband, is affected by his death. In the past it was often considered a lofty virtue when a wife followed her husband into death, and sacrificed herself voluntarily. In this way she completed him again in the hereafter. The custom of *satī* must be understood in this context.[80]

The ancient Indian cremation-rites are characterized by unusual complexity and detail. I haven't been able even to pay superficial attention to a few aspects. In 1896 the scholar Willem Caland has proved to be so deserving as to publish a systematic description of the funeral ritual on the basis of the ancient ritual Sanskrit texts. By standing in the ancient Indian tradition itself and by describing it from the native's point of view, he has demonstrated how the ancient Indians have tried to bridge the gap between life and death by means of a range of symbols.

Reflections on the inevitability of death are recurrent in the Indian religious tradition:

'Those who are born are sure to die and those who have died are sure to be reborn. This is inevitable.'[81]

This inevitability is put into a religious perspective — the perspective of rebirth in the hereafter. This is expressed by the ancient funeral ritual in many ways. It is in this perspective that the cremation of the dead, witnessed by the relatives, should be understood. From the ordered world of the living the *preta* goes through the no-man's-land of death to the ordered world of the ancestors. This pursuit of order and, consequently, the fear of chaos are clearly expressed by the funeral rites. This fear has to be curbed. For example : when the funeral procession leaves the 'civilized' world of the village in order to descend into darkness, as it is metaphorically called, the eldest persons have to walk in front and the younger ones have to follow them according to age. When they return to the village the younger walk in front. One of these stanzas adds to this custom :

'Like one day is succeeded by the next, and like the seasons alternate orderly, let so their span of life be, O Creator, lest a younger one passes away before an older one.'[83]

It's obvious, however, that death has never let itself fit into the ancient Indians' order of life.

On account of the preceeding observations one can conclude that cremation

is a rite of passage by means of which the status of the dead is expressed in the presence of the relatives. By cremation man's mortal remains are separated from the imperishable parts. A process of purification takes place in which the soul — conceived as the imperishable person — is prepared for its journey to the realm of the ancestors. It is explicitly incorporated among them, in accordance with its status, and takes part in their offerings — till the moment it achieves its completion and disappears into the anonymous category of ancestors.

Conclusion

The study of other cultures and religions is not an insignificant matter. It may sharpen the perception of developments in one's own culture. This holds especially good for the changes in the funeral ritual that have taken place in western society during the last decades. A striking feature of Dutch society is the increase of the number of cremations : in 1950, 2%; nowadays, more than 40%.[84] These changes in the funeral ritual can't be understood but in connection with changes in the representations of death and the hereafter in the Wesstern world — especially a weakening of the hope of resurrection and a changed awareness of dying. Philippe Aries described these changes in a number of publications.[85] According to him, the history of the attitude, in western society towards death can be summarized as a series of exclusions. This series begins in the room of the dying person and ends in the society's shunning of the family of the dead. Aries concludes that western man is no longer capable of continuing old rituals — a development he thinks to be closely connected with the massive privatisation and fragmentation of Western society.

'By not going to the house of mourning, the church, the cemetery, by not making calls of condolence and by avoiding conversation with the mourning, society expresses that death and everything connected with it does not belong to its domain — the social area — but rather to the private domain. Just like many other phenomena death begins to belong to the private area. Talking publicly about death or mourning for the death by weeping is becoming as indecent as performing sexual acts in public.[86]

The question that remains then is: to which collective representations do the new stylized cremation-rituals refer? Are these rituals — by which the funeral industry tries to fill up the gap — 'open' rituals, which can be connected with various world-views or do they rather express a number of implicit notions that are typical of modern Western society ?

NOTES

1) Lecture delivered at the Asiatic Society of Bombay on 15.1.1988.

2) Baudh. PMS, 3.1. ed. C. H. Raabe, *Bijdrage tot de kennis van het*

Hindoesche doodenritueel, tweede en derde hoofdstuk van het Baudhāyanapitṛmedhasūtra. Tekst met aantekeningen, Leiden 1911. (Thesis Utrecht 1911). Chapter 3 is attributed to an author other than one of chapter two; see p. XV ff.

3) Similar ideas are found in Bhg.2.27; Vi.20.29; Rāmāyaṇa 2.84.21.

4) Detailed prescriptions are given, for instance, with respect to the corpses of pregnant women, *saṃnyāsins,* and small children who have not reached a specific age; see Raabe, o.c., pp. 34 ff. For the many detailed prescriptions in *dharmaśāstra* literature see further e.g. P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra,* Vol. IV, Poona 1973, pp. 179-333.

5) This enumeration does not aim to be complete.

6) For a recent anthropological approach see R. Huntington and P. Metcalf, *Celebrations of Death, The Anthropology of the Mortuary Ritual,* Cambridge 1979.

7) See e.g. C. Geertz, Religion as a Cultural System, in: *The Interpretation of Cultures,* New York 1973, pp. 87 ff., esp. 94 ff.

8) See W. Caland, *Die Altindischen Todten-und Bestattungsgebräuche, mit Benutzung handschriftliche Quellen dargestellt,* Amsterdam 1896, pp. 19 ff. (Royal Academy, N. R. I,6).

9) See Huntington and Metcalf, o.c., part I, Universals and Culture, pp. 23 ff. In this context the authors discuss the nearly 'universal' custom of weeping at funeral ceremonies. The meaning of weeping at various occasions by various groups of persons is analysed with the help of the material on the inhabitants of the Andaman islands, which was collected by A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, *The Andaman Islanders,* New York 1964.

10) Huntington and Metcalf, o.c., p. 58.

11) E. Tylor, *Primitive Culture: Researches into the Development of Mythology, Philosophy, Religion, Language, Art and Descent,* London 1871 (repr. New York 1958).

12) Tylor, o.c., I, p. 429 defines the soul as : 'a thin unsubstantial human image, in its nature a sort of vapour, film or shadow, the cause of life and thought in the individual it animates.' For a critical survey of Tylor's theories see e.g. M. Harris, *The Rise of Anthropological Theory,* New York 1971, pp. 201 ff. A survey of critical publications on Tylor's conception of the soul is to be found in H. Fischer, *Studien über die Seelenvorstellungen in Ozenien,* München 1965. See also L. Leertouwer, *Het Beeld van de Ziel bij drie Sumatraanse Volken,* Groningen 1977 (Thesis Groningen 1977), pp. 1 ff. In addition to this attention should be drawn to the important publications of E. Arbman about the ancient Indian conceptions of the 'soul' , *Untersuchungen zur primitiven Seelenvorstellungen mit besonderer Rücksicht auf Indien,* part. I, in:

Le Monde Oriental, Vol. XX (1926) (publie par K. V. Zetterlin, Upsala), pp. 86-226; idem part II, in: *Le Monde Oriental,* vol. XXI (1927), pp. 1-185.

13) E. Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life* (transl. by J. W. Swain), London 1971, pp. 415 ff. (original French ed.: *Les Formes elementaires de la vie religieuse,* Paris 1912).

14) Durkheim, o.c., pp. 389 ff. See also p. 412: 'When a society is going through circumstances which sadden, perplex or irritate it, it exercises a pressure over its members, to make them bear witness, by significant acts, to their sorrow, perplexity or anger. It imposes upon them the duty of weeping, groaning or inflicting wounds upon themselves or others, for these collective manifestations, and the moral communion which they show and strengthen, restore to the group the energy which circumstances threaten to take away from it, and thus they enable it to become settled. This is the experience which men interpret when they imagine that outside them are evil beings whose hostility, whether constitutional or temporary, can be appeased only by human suffering. These beings are nothing other than collective states objectified; they are society itself seen under one of its aspects'.

15) R. Hertz, Contribution á une etude sur la représentation collective de la mort. In: *Année Sociologique,* vol. X (1907), pp. 48-137. English transl. by R. and C. Needham in: *Death and the Right Hand,* London 1960 (with an introduction by E. E. Evans-Pritchard).

16) Hertz, o.c. (English transl.) pp. 29 ff. (intermediate stage) and pp. 54 ff. (final stage).

17) Hertz, o.c., pp. 43 ff.

18) E. E. Evans-Pritchard, Introduction (see note 15), p. 15.

19) Huntington and Metcalf, o.c., pp. 62 ff.

20) See e.g. Loring M. Danforth, *The Death Rituals of Rural Greece,* Princeton (New Jersey) 1982.

21) A. van Gennep, *Les Rites de passage,* Paris 1912. English translation by M. B. Vizedom and G. L. Caffee, *The Rites of Passage,* London 1960.

22) Van Gennep, o.c., pp. 10 ff. (English transl.)

23) Cf. Huntington and Metcalf, o.c., p. 9.

24) Van Gennep, o.c., p. 146: 'A study of the data, however, reveals that the rites of separation are few in number and very simple, while the transition rites have a duration and complexity sometimes so great that they must be granted a sort of autonomy.'

25) See V. Turner, *The Forest of Symbols, Aspects of Ndembu Ritual,*

London 1967 (1982[6]), chapter IV: Betwixt and Between : The Liminal. Period in the Rites of Passage'. This essay was published for the first time in *The Proceedings of the American Ethnological Society,* 1964.

26) See. V. Turner, *The Ritual Process,* London 1969. Chapter III deals with 'Liminality and Communitas'

27) Turner, o.c. (note 25), p.98.

28) B. Malinowski, *Magic, Science and Religion,* New York 1954, p. 53.

29) See e.g. Harris, o.c. (note 12), pp. 559 ff.

30) *ibidem,* chapter 20: 'Emics, Etics and the New Ethnography, pp. 568 ff.

31) So e.g. C. Geertz: 'From the Native's Point of View': On the Nature of Anthropological Understanding In: J. L. Dolgin, D. S. Kemnitzer and D. M. Schneider (eds.), *Symbolic Anthropology, A Reader in the Study of Symbols and Meanings,* New York 1973.

32) See also C. Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures,* New York 1973.

33) Danforth, o.c. (note 20), p. 32.

34) *idem,* p. 31.

35) Geertz, o.c. (note 31), p. 491.

36) For the ritual *sūtras* see e.g. J. Gonda, *The Ritual Sūtras,* Wiesbaden 1977 (A History of Indian Literature).

37) For a condensed survey of the *Brāhmaṇa* literature see J. Gonda, *Vedic Literature,* Wiesbaden 1975, pp. 339-422 (A History of Indian Literature).

38) For a general survey of these *śrauta* rituals see e.g. J. Gonda, Die *Religionen Indiens,* I, Stuttgart 1978, pp. 138 ff.

39) For these *gṛhya* rituals based upon *smṛti* see Gonda, o.c. (note 38), pp. 115 ff. See Further J. Gonda, *Vedic Ritual, The non-Solemn Rites,* Leiden 1980, pp. 364 ff. (Handbuch der Orientalistik).

40) See M. Douglas, *Natural Symbols,* Harmondsworth 1973 for anthropological reflections on the relation between social structure and ritual.

41) See Caland, o.c. (note 8), par, 49-50; Raabe, o.c. (note 1), pp. 39 ff. and Kane, o.c. (note 4) for the categories of persons who should be buried.

42) See e.g. Gonda, o.c. (note 39), pp. 90 ff. the ritual tonsure (*caula* or *cūḍākarman*). The texts acknowledge some variation with respect to time. Some *sūtra* texts prescribe that the child should be cremated as soon as the ritual tonsure has been performed upon it, or as soon as the child is in the possession of milk-teeth. See further R. J. Pandey,

Hindu Saṃskāras Delhi 1969[2], pp. 94-101.

43) Cf. P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra* Vol. II, part 1, Poona 1974,[2] pp. 260 ff. ; Pandey, o.c., pp. 98 ff. The tufts or locks of hairs should be modelled according to the family tradition. One until seven tufts — usually five or seven — are left (depending upon the family tradition), while the rest of the hair is shaved off. Pandey remarks in this context : 'This system of keeping a special nunber of tufts was tribal fashion and the insignia of the family'.

44) See e.g. Kane, o.c., vol. IV, pp. 277 ff.

45) Gonda, o.c. (note 38), p. 134 remarks in this context: 'Asketen, die sich im vierten Lebensstadium befanden, sogenannte *Saṃnyāsins*, wurden beerdigt weil sie schon zu Lebzeiten die 'Unsterblichkeit erlangt hatten und deshalb nicht mehr ins Jenseits hinüber geführt zu werden brauchten.'

46) In the *Sūtra* texts a principal distinction is made between the *yajamāna* who has spread the sacred fires(*āhitāgni*) and the *yajamana* who has not done this (*anāhitagni*). The first one performs the sacrifical rites according to the *śrauta* tradition with the help of the three sacred fires, while the latter one restricts himself to the sacrifical rites in the *gṛhya* fireplace. In the funeral tradition this distinction is carefully maintained. The *āhitāgni* should be cremated with the help of his sacred fires, the *anāhitāgni* with the *gṛhya* fire in which he sacrificed his oblations. Some hieratical schools deal with the cremation as a part of the *śrautasūtras*, while other schools regard it as a part of the *gṛhyasūstras*. A third group of schools devoted separate treatises to the cremation rites, the so-called *pitṛmedhasūtras*. The burning of the corpse of a householder who is further qualified as an (*an*)*āhitāgni* is the standard for the description of the cremation rite; cf, Gonda, o.c. (note 36), pp. 616 ff. See further Caland, o.c. (note 8), p. 4 an Kane, o.c., vol IV, pp. 210 ff.

47) On account of the wedding rites a man reaches the next stage of life and is qualified as a *gṛhastha*, i.e. as 'a person who is qualified to raise a household'. Without a lawful wife he is not yet regarded as a 'complete person'; See e.g. ŚB. 5.2.1.10; TĀ. 1.2.5; BĀU, 1.4.17; See also Kane, o.c, vol.II, part 1, p. 428.

48) Kane, o.c. vol. IV, pp. 190 and 288.

49) See Gonda, o.c. (note 36), pp. 556 and o.c. (note 39), pp. 364-365; 'The *saṃskāras* were not regrarded as ends in themselves. They were expected successively to bring a person's personality to higher stages of development.'

50) This is, *inter alia*, expressed in the ritual prohibitions to which the family members, dependent on the measure of kinship, have to submit themselves according to a specific well-defined span of time, because

they are regarded as impure; see Kane, o.c., vol. IV, pp. 277 ff.

51) According to Gonda, o.c. (note 39) the rendering of the word *saṃskāra* by 'sacrament' is inadequate, because there is no question of an 'inward and spiritual grace'. According to him, the literal meaning of the term would have been 'making a person perfect or fit for a certain purpose'.

52) See Kane, o.c, vol. II, part 1, p. 560 with reference to many texts, to which BĀU. 1:5.16-17 should be added.

53) Cf. Caland, o.c. (note 8), part. 6: 'heute an diesem und diesem Tag werde ich an (meinem Vater) N.N. das sacrament der Verbrennung vollziehen.'[2] In an explanatory note Caland remarks that the first official name together with the *gotra* name should be proclaimed. For the later Sanskrit tradition see B. Abegg, *Der Pretakalpa des Garuḍa-Purāna, Eine Darstellung des hinduistischen Totenkultes und Jenseitsglaubens*, Berlin 1956, p. 135 (*adhyāya* X, 8-9)

54) See W. Caland, *Das Śrautasūtra des Āpastamba*, Amsterdam 1928 (Royal Academy, N.R., vol. XXVI, 4), p.421 note 1 on ĀpŚS. XXXI. 1.1; 'Des Vaters als objectiver Genitiv, vgl. *aśvamedha* und *puruṣamedha;* see also Gonda, o.c. (note 36), p. 616.

55) CF. M. Monier Williams, *Sanskrit English Dictionary*, p. 832: *médha* (m): 'juice of meat, broth, nourishing or strengthening drink (....); marrow (esp. of the sacrificial victim).....; a sacrificial victim (.....); an animal sacrifice, offering, oblation, any sacrifice.'

56) See e.g. L.P. van den Bosch, The Āprī hymns of the Ṛgveda and their Interpretation, part II, in : *Indo-Iranian Journal* 28 (1985), pp. 170 ff.

57) ṚV. 10.16.1. See also AV. 18.2.4 and TĀ. 6.1.4.

58) Monier Williams renders the term *antyeṣṭi* by 'funeral sacrifice'. Apte gives in his Dictionary the following enumeration: *antya-āhuti, antya-iṣṭi, antya-karman* and *antya-kriya* and renders all these expressions by 'last or funeral oblations, sacrifices or rites'. In this context the last sacrifice is meant during which the *yajamāna* is sacrificed himself as sacrificial material together with his sacrificial utensils. For this reason the corpse is denoted by the author of the Baudh. PMS. 1.1; 4, 6-7 by the term *havis* i.e. 'sacrificial material'. See also Abegg, o.c. (note 53), p.136 (note 2) and Pandey, o.c. (note 42), pp. 253 ff.

59) For a condensed description see Caland, o.c. (note 8), par. 27. After the corpse of the deceased is transported to the place of cremation and placed on the funeral pile, the sacrificial requisites are carefully arranged upon his body according to detailed prescriptions.

60) See Hir. PMS. 1.1.1; Bhar. PMS. 1.1.1; Āp. PMS. 1.1.1. (= ĀpŚS. 31.1.1). Cf. TS. II. 2.2.5.

61) See Caland, o.c. (note 8), par.14.

62) Cf. W. Caland, Een indogermaansch lustratiegebruik, *Verslagen en Mededelingen Royal Academy*, afd. lett. vierde reeks, tweede deel, Amsterdam 1898, pp. 275 ff.

63) Baudh. PMS. gives as injuction that the pyre should be oriented towards the South-East and it is an exception in this respect; see Caland, o.c. (note 8), par 17.

64) Hir. PMS. 1.3: 36, 5; Bhār. PMS. 1.36; Āp. PMS. 1.39 (=ĀpŚS. 31.1.39. See also Caland, o.c. (note 62), p.278.

65) For the rules with respect to *abhicāra* rituals see W. Caland, *Altindisches Zauberritual, Probe einer Uebersetzung der wichtigsten Theile des Kauśiika Sūtra*, Amsterdam 1900, (Royal Academy, N.R. vol. III. 2) chapter 47-49. See also L.P. van den Bosch, *Atharvaveda-pariśiṣṭa, chapters 21-29*, Introduction, translation and notes, Groningen 1978, *sub voce: abhicāra* (Thesis Utrecht 1978)

66) Caland, o.c. (note 62), pp. 310 ff.

67) See ṚV. 10.16.9; cf. AV 12,2,8ff.

68) Sometimes other periods are mentioned dependent on the status of the deceased; cf. Caland, o.c. (note 8), par. 39; Kane, o.c., vol. IV, pp. 277 ff. and p. 287 f. See further Gonda, *Die Religionen Indiens* vol. I, Stuttgart 1987[2], p. 133 and A.B. Keith, *The Religion and Philosophy of the Vedas and the Upanishads* vol. II, Cambridge (Mass.) 1925, p.420.

69) Cf. Caland, o.c. (note 8), par. 39.

70) Abegg, o.c. (note 53), p.42 with notes and Pretakalpa I. 50-51: 'Nachdem der (alte) Leib verbrannt worden ist, o Vogel ! (i. e. Garuda), entsteht aus dem *piṇḍa* wiederum ein Körper, ein spannenlanges Männchen, aus welches der Mensch auf seinem Wege zu Yama die Frucht seines guten und bösen Tun geniesst. Aus dem *piṇḍa* der am ersten Tag gespendet wird entsteht der kopf....' (etc). The ideas at the basis of the funeral rites performed during the first ten days are not always uniform; cf Kane, o.c., vol. IV, pp. 262 f. and 515 f. See further W. Caland, *Ueber die Totenverehrung bei einigen der Indogermanischen Völker* Amsterdam 1888, p. 22 (Royal Academy, vol. 17). According to popular belief a *preta* cannot be incorporated in the world of the deceased ancestors, when he has not received the required funeral ceremonies. He becomes a *vetāla* and is regarded as dangerous.

71) Caland, o.c. (note 8), par. 56; Kane, o.c., vol. IV, pp. 249 ff.

72) ṚV. 10.16.5. Cf. AV. 18.2.10.

73) See e.g. M. Monier Williams, *Brahmanism and Hinduism*, London 1891,

pp. 274 ff.; Pandey, o.c. (note 42), pp. 260 ff.

74) Hertz, o.c. (note 15), pp. 61 ff.

75) Cf. also Caland, o.c. (note 8), par. 39 : 'War die Verstorbene der Vater, die Mutter oder der geistige Lehrer, so soll man ein ganzes Jahr in Keuschheit leben und am Boden schlafen - oder wenigstens zwölf Tage (Baudh). Die Gattin soll ihr ganzes Leben Keuschheit üben, am Boden Schlafen, nur einmal täglich Speise geniessen und Salz, Honig und Fleisch meiden.'

76) In ancient Sanskrit texts various opinions are formulated with respect to the time at which the relatives terminate their mourning and with respect to the time at which the deceased is supposed to be incorporated among the ancestors; see e.g. Kane, o.c., vol. IV, pp. 520 ff. ; Pandey, o.c. (note 42), pp. 265 ff. For the later Sanskrit traditions see e.g. Abegg, o.c. (note 53), pp. 53 ff. (with notes on *Pretakalpa* I, 50-54).

77) Kane, o.c., vol. IV, pp. 516 ff. See also W. Caland, *Altindischer Ahnenkult*, Leiden 1893, pp. 159 ff; Keith, o.c. (note 68), pp. 427 ff.

78) Gonda, o.c., (note 38), pp. 135 ff. See also Vi. 20.33 : 'Till the *sapiṇḍīkaraṇa* has been performed the dead remains a disembodied spirit (and is afflicted with hunger and thirst). Give rice and a jar with water to the man who has passed into the abode of disembodied spirits' ; transl. J. Jolly, *The Institutes of Viṣṇu* SBE, vol. VII, p. 80.

79) See e.g. Kane, o.c., vol. IV, pp. 520 ff. for the *sapiṇḍīkaraṇa* ceremony.

80) See e.g. Abegg, o.c. (notes 53), pp. 140 ff. (with notes on Pretakalpa X. 35 ff.). Instead of the expression of *satī* the Indian authors generally use the expressions *sahagamana*, 'going with', *anugamana*, 'going after', or *anumaraṇa*, 'dying after', when a wife burns herself voluntarily on her husband's funeral pyre or on a separate pyre soon after his death; Cf. I. Julia Leslie, Sahagamana in Two Dharmaśāstra Texts, Paper delivered to the panel on Religious Issues in Dharmaśāstra at the VIIth World Sanskrit Conference, Leiden, 23-29 August 1987.

81) Vi. 20.29. Cf. also Caland, o.c. (note 8), par. 33.

82) Caland, o.c. (note 8), par. 11 and par. 36.

83) ṚV. 10.18.5. Cf. also Aśv.GS. 4.6.10.

84) See e.g. Vrij Nederland (a weekly), bijlage 12-1-1985 : De Uitvaartindustrie (The funeral industry).

85) Ph. Ariés, Western Attitudes towards Death, Baltimore 1974; *ibidem*, L'histoire de la mort, Paris 1978 (ed. du Seuil).

86) Ph. Ariés, De samenleving tegenover de dood, in: G. A. Bank, L. Brunt, e.a., *Gestalten van de Dood*, Baarn 1979, p. 83.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS OF SANSKRIT TEXTS

Ap. PMS.	Āpastamba Pitṛmedhasūtra
Āp. ŚS.	Āpastamba Śrautasūtra
ĀśvGS.	Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra
AV.	Atharvaveda
BĀU	Bṛhad Āraṇyaka Upaniṣad
Baudh. PMS.	Baudhāyana Pitṛmedhasūtra
Bhār. PMS.	Bhāradvāja Pitṛmedhasūtra
BhG.	Bhagavadgītā
Gaut. PMS.	Gautama Pitṛmedhasūtra
Hir. PMS.	Hiraṇyakeśi Pitṛmedhasūtra
ṚV.	Ṛgveda
SB.	Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa
TĀ.	Taittirīya Āraṇyaka
Vi.	Viṣṇusmṛti

OTHER ABBREVIATIONS

Royal Academy	Verhandelingen Akademie van de Koninklijke van Wetenschappen
N.R.	Nieuwe Reeks (New Series).

Inida as depicted by a Greek traveller in the 6th century A.D.

Ilona Opeit

The famous treatise on which I am going to talk to you is as interesting as its author : that is to say the 'Christian Topography' in twelve books written by Cosmas Indicopleustes, Cosmas the Traveller to India.[1]

Most of what is known about Cosmas is due to the attentive reading of his book. The most important recent study already going back to 1962 is that by Wanda Wolska written in French[2] 'Studies of the Christian Topography' and so on under the heading : 'Theology and Learning in the 6th century.' The critical edition in 3 volumes [published in the French Series Sources chrétiennes] followed 141.159.197 : in 1968.1970.1973 respectively. Some critics welcomed it with enthusiasm, but further research work on Cosmas did not prosper much, though this might seem strange.[3]

Miss Wolska based her edition on the three surviving manuscripts[4] : The one in the Library of the *Vatican* in Rome has been written in Constantinople in the ninth century and is illustrated. The so called Sinaiticus which is owned by the Monastery of Holy Catherine on Mount Sinai has been composed in the very heart of Asia Minor, that is to say in Cappadocia, and goes back to the eleventh century. This manuscript also is illustrated. The famous Library of Florence, which is called the Laurentiana, possesses the third manuscript, copied in the eleventh century in one of the monasteries of [the famous] Mount Athos in Northern Greece, a centre of learning in that time, and illustrated. These illustrations have been thoroughly studied by the most eminent connoisseurs of Byzantine Art as Strzygowsky or Weitzmann in the first half of this century; recently by Brubaker.[5] Beside these three manuscripts which contain the whole 'Christian Topography' there are other fragments in quotations. We shall not dwell upon them. The 'Topography' has also been explained in scholia which still exist and give some valuable details. On this solid basis Miss Wolska has constituted her text which, as I said, has been duly recognized by critics,[6] and we have a reliable starting point.

The title of the treatise[7] 'Christian Topography', christianike topographia, is given at the beginning of the Florentine manuscript. It is missing in the other manuscripts as a heading; in the table of contents of the book, however, it appears likewise. The author's name : Cosmas, the monk is given only by the Florentine manuscrpt; in quotations and references the 'Topography' is referred to as that of a 'Christian'. Miss Wolska has deduced from this circumstance that the author preferred to remain anonymous. However, quotations commenting the Gospels and Psalms drawn from the 'Topography' are attributed to Cosmas Indicopleustes, Cosmas the traveller to India.

The date[8] of the composition can be deduced with certainty from some passages. In the second book, which we shall examine later in detail, Cosmas says that, twenty five years ago at the beginning of the rule of the Byzantine emperor Justin (We may add the I), he had been travelling to Adoulis in company of another merchant, called Menas, when the governor of the region requested him to copy the inscriptions engraved on the throne of Ptolemy III and his stele. Cosmas followed suite, contented the governor and kept a copy of the inscriptions for himself. The details of 'twenty five years ago' which coincided with the beginning of the rule of Justin I and the preparation of war by the people of Axoum[9] against the tribe of the Himjarites leads us to the period between 522 and 525. When he is remembering this, it is the year 547 or 550; the reference of two eclipses of the Sun could be identified astronomically as the ones of the 6th February and the 17th August of 547. Thus we can deduce that Cosmas composed his book between 547 and 550.

From his memories we learn that he was a merchant : (in 2, 54) he says textually "where we merchants from Alexandria and Ela were exercising our trading business in the harbour of Axoum"; and a native of Alexandria in Egypt which at that time was still a part of the Byzantiine Empire. He did not go on his own, but joined a convoy of merchants, certainly also for the reason of his safety. He had been travelling intensely: as shows e.g. his description of the Red Sea and Klysma, which, however, is not too far from Alexandria (5,8). He also knows the desert of the Sinai (5.14). When he mentions Taprobane, that is to say Ceylon (3.65)[10], he does not do so from hearsay, but from his own knowledge. Likewise, when he talks about Persia in the same passage. Some episodes, as for example the story, how he and his fellows met the albatros (souspha) on their way to "Inner India", (2,30), show the experienced traveller. His memoireds will speak of a 'group'; he does not say 'me', but always 'us' in these passages.

Cosmas, as is evident from his treatise from the very beginning, was a fervent Christian. The very idea of a 'Christian Topography' makes that very clear. Apart from that, there are digressions against certain Christian dogmas, which he opposes, and strong invectives against the Pagans. He was a Nestorian, that is to say, he shared the concepts of Theodoros of Mopsuestia, in which he had been initiated in Alexandria by Mar Aba, whose writings still survive (2,2).[11]

From the prologue of the 'Christian Topography' we learn that Cosmas had previously written a book on 'Geography' which comprised "the description of all the earth, even the part beyond the Ocean, and of all of the countries : those south of Alexandria as far as the Southern Ocean, the Nile river, Egypt and Ethiopia until the Ocean". Another book, lost as is the 'Geograhy', was on 'Astronomy', in which he tried to explain the movements of the stars (prol.2).

Before we shall examine, what he tells about India and Ceylon with her animals and plants, we shall rapidly reassume the contents of the 'Christian Topography' in order to characterize its style and method. We could, in doing so, recur on his 'Table of Contents' which precedes the 'Topography.'[12]

The 'Topography' consists of 10 books (a symbolic number), to which two have been added. Thus we read twelve books : 1) "Against those," to quote Cosmas, "who believe to be Christians but believe like the Pagans that the sky is spherical", a matter Cosmas refuses. 2) The Structure of the universe : Heaven and earth contain everything; the earth is quadrangular, it is surrounded by the ocean : hilly in the north and flat in the middle. As Cosmas firmly believes, that the universe follows the model of the tabernacle of Moses, we are far away from geographical reality; but when he returns to the description of the inhabited earth, we shall discover passages of real interest. 3) and 4) repeat the idea, that the only true description of the universe must draw upon the Holy Scripture. Above all, the universe is not spherical. 6) The size of the Sun. He is smaller than the earth. 7) Refutation of the theory of Aristotle which he has expounded in his treatise on Heaven and Universe, that the universe is eternal and moving eternally. 8) The retrogradation of the Sun. 9) The movement of the stars. 10) Quotations from Christian texts in order to prove Cosmas' own vision of the universe. 11) Description of the animals and plants of India and Taprobane, Ceylon. 12) The Holy Scriptures are prior to any other, above all prior to pagan culture.

This brief summing up gives a very curious impression of the system of the universe, not based upon geographical and astronomical concepts, but deduced from the symbolical exegesis of the Bible. This is, however, contradicted in a certain sense by the author's strong interest in travelling, which is illustrated by his description of the part of the inhabited world known to him. In this context he also speaks about India and Ceylon, and these passages teach us the interest and the fascination India has always exerted upon the west. It is a country full of miracles, and by studying Cosmas I want to express my gratitude for all of what I have learnt during some journeys to India and Ceylon.

The inhabited earth is a part of the universe. The universe consists of Heaven and earth; together these bodies comprise everything, whereas the pagans erroneously stated that it is the Heaven which comprises everything. The earth is suspended upon nothing. All this is proved by Cosmas on the basis of many verses of the Bible. Heaven is "stuck" to the earth; together they resemble a quadrangled house upon which the Heaven lies like a vault. And this house is symbolized by the tabernacle which Moses has described : its table is the symbol of the earth. In the further process of the creation the Heaven was divided; the second, the visible, Heaven was created and thus there are two houses: the house of Heaven and the house of the earth.[13]

The earth extends from the east to the west, from the north to the south.

The earth is divided into two parts by the ocean. The ocean surrounds the inhabited earth; the other part of it (not inhabited) is the place, where the Heaven joins the earth on its four sides. Before the deluge, mankind inhabited even the eastern part of the earth; also paradise is in the east. After the flood, the ark landed in Persia on Mount Ararat. Noah's three sons divided the earth into three parts : Sem got Asia as far as the eastern part of the ocean; Cham got the part from Gadeira (near Gibraltar to give you an idea) as far as the ocean, which is near Ethiopia; Japhet got the part from the northern regions, that is to say Media and Scythia, as far as the point beyond Gadeira. This part comprises Thrace, Cyprus, the isle of Rhodes, Ethiopia and Egypt, Persia, Bactria and India and ends at the ocean (2,26). The three parts correspond to the three continents: Asia is the east, Africa the south, Europe the north.

The ocean enters the mainland of the earth by four gulfs: the first is that near the Byzantine empire, which starts at Gadeira (the Mediterranean, to give you an idea), the Arabain Gulf, which is called the Red Sea, and the Persian Gulf. These two come from the point Zingion in the south-east, which is known to travellers, who have crossed the Indian Sea. Zingion is farther than the land, where incense[14] comes from and which we call (at the actual time of Cosmas) "Barbaria", a country also surrounded by the ocean. The fourth gulf is the so called Caspian Sea.[15] Only these four gulfs are accessible to travelling; you cannot travel on the ocean, as its streams are too strong and as there are exhalations which diminish the force of the Sun-beams; furthermore, the ocean is very big and the distances to cover very large. Proudly Cosmas adds that he has sailed on the three gulfs : the Mediterranean, the Red Sea and the Persian Sea.

At this point of the description of the inhabited earth Cosmas inserts a little digression. He remembers a voyage on the Persian Sea, which took him dangerously near to the outer ocean. He was, together with his fellow merchants on his way to "Inner India" heading for the country of incense, "Barbaria". On his right hand (that is in the east) many birds arrived called souspha.[16] Upon this, the experienced sailors and passengers got afraid, as the souspha is a token that the ocean was close. Facing conflicting streams, they admonished the steersman to take to the left in order to stay in the Persian Sea and avoid getting drowned in the estuary of the ocean (2,30).

The inhabited earth is steep in the north and in the west; its east and south are flat; for this reason, sailing upstream to the north is slow, going back is swift. Two rivers come from the north : Euphrates and Tigris; they are much swifter than the Nile river, which flows flat land upwards.... (!)

The south and the east are flat and strongly warmed by the Sun; therefore, the bodies of its inhabitants are darker. Not all parts of the earth are inhabitable : due to extreme cold and heat at the extremities. The Sun moves from the east towards the south. The mountains in the west and north hide the Sun

at night. He goes back to the east and rises again. The east is the seat of paradise. Men have not found it, though they have gone very far to the east in the trade of silk.[17]

Speaking about the routes to China, Tzinista in his language, Cosmas mentions India : Tzinista lies in the very heart of "Inner India" on the left hand in the Indian Sea, much farther than the Persian Sea and the Isle of Taprobane (Ceylon), which the Indians call Sielediva.[18]

Tzinista is surrounded on its left hand by the ocean, whereas "Barbaria", the country where incense comes from, is surrounded by the ocean on its right hand. The Indian philosophers, the Brahmānes,[19] say that the middle of the earth runs from Tzinista through Persia to Byzantion; maybe, this is true (2,45).

Tzinista lies on the extreme left hand point; and the route of the silk goes through Persia and is much shorter than the way by sea. In Persia, you will always find silk (2,46). Cosmas attempts to measure the distance from Tzinista (China) via the country of the Huns, India, Bactria to the beginning of Persia : he sums up : more than 400 days of 30 miles; the way from Tzinista to India is of 150 days.

The country which produces incense is situated at the border of Ethiopia; the inhabitants of "Barbaria" (this was the country's name in the west) travel to the south and do their business and trade in aromatics, incense, cinnamon and cane-sugar.[20]

I have collected all of the passages of the second book, in which Cosmas speaks of India whithin the frame of his vision of the inhabited earth. To be true, it is not a description like the one we find e.g. in the 15th book of the Geography of Strabon of Amaseia (who was a contemporate of Augustus).[21] Strabon was much more of a geographer than Cosmas and his method of disposition is much more stringent. He starts with the critical review of the information about India before the expedition of Alexander the Great, that is to say, he analyses his sources giving much credit to Eratosthenes. His description of India draws the borderlines and names of the most important rivers, the Indus and the Ganges, and the kind of agriculture. A whole chapter is then devoted to the isle of Ceylon : Taprobane. A characteristic trait of the country are the alluvions, which are due to thaw in the high mountains. India is very fertile : every year there are two crops. Special attention is drawn to the products of the country. The descrption is only partial one; that of the valley of the Indus is the most detailed. The view then switches to the zone comprised between the Indus and Hydaspes, the reign of king Poros and to the seven castes of the inhabitants : philosophers, peasants, shephards and hunters, artisans and merchants, soldiers, inspectors, civil servants. An analysis of the inhabitants' customs and finally the Brahmānes follows.[22] Yet all of the material is well pondered, well arranged and critically examined. It is Geograhy at the highest standard, that antiquity could achieve.

It is real learning.

Cosmas, to critically sum up his achievement in the second book; does not speak about his sources, neither does he name them; he is not the cronicler of the progress achieved in the field of Geography. As a traveller, a sailor, so to say, he views India from the sea. This is determined by the routes : to China and to the country, which produces incense. Repeatedly does he speak about "Inner India" or "Interior India", as situated extremely to the east and to the zone, where the ocean, the exterior ocean, is about to form a gulf which enters the inner zone. He knows Taprobane as an important point on the way to the extreme east. He refers to the Brahmānes in his effort to measure distances from China to the West, and he nearly agrees with their situating the central zone of the earth.

There is an important digression on which I should like to draw your attention : In 2,80, Cosmas inserts the map in which Ephoros[23] depicted the world. The earth is a long stretched quadrangle, which shows the four directions, not as we are used to, but in the opposite: south and north have changed their positions, so have east and west. In the last, which is marked at the left hand, live the Indians, between the zone of sunrise in the wintertime and sunrise in summertime. The east wind is called apeliotes. Their opposite, marked on the right hand, is the west, where the Celts live; between the sunset in the winter and the sunset in summer. The west wind is called Zephyros. On top of the map is the south, the zone, where the Ethiopians live between sunrise in winter and sunset in winter. The south wind is called Notos. At the bottom of the map is the north, where the Scythians live between sunrise in summer and sunset in summer. The northwind is called Boreas. Including this map and approving of it, Cosmas wanted to show that secular learning taught the same as the Bible. After all, India becomes a crucial point in the organization of the inhabited earth: the border in the east.

If we now pass to the eleventh book, its title is: Description of the Indian Animals and Plants of India and Taprobane. Finally we get what we have missed a little in the second book: a review of the country and of its wonders. From the reading of it, it is impossible to doubt that Cosmas has really visited it, a fact that Wolska[24] denied: as Cosmas tells us about its animals and its plants with the recurring remark "which I have seen" or "which I have tasted" or sometimes with the note "which I have not seen in India, but in Ethiopia."

Not following Cosmas' disposition, I shall start with the picture of India and Taprobane in the chapters 16 to 24 and end with its Zoology and Botany.

The beginning of India is the town of Sindou. On the river Indus, which disembogues into the Persian Sea and is the border between Persia and India, there are speldid markets, Orrotha, Kalliana, Sibor, Male; they are the trading centers of pepper, assisted by Parti, Mangaruth, Salopatana, Nalopatana,

Pudapatana. At a distance of a five days' way, there is the isle of Taprobane which the Indians call Sielediba.[25] On the mainland there is Marallo, a trading place of mussels; there is the place Kaber with its market of alabandenon (the carbuncle),[26] after the market of the cloves and after Tzinitza (China) trading centre of the silk. China is the end of the earth, Sielediba marks somehow the centre of India and it is very important for the exchange of goods.

Cosmas insists upon the many markets India has got. In the north live the so called White Huns,[27] who invaded India with not less than 2000 elephants and large cavalry. Their King has, according to Cosmas, subdued India, which became tributary. There is a curious story how their king Gollas[28] once besieged a town in South India which was protected by a channel of water. After his many animals, elephants and horses had drunk all the water, thus drying up the channel, Gollas took the town by force (20,21). The frontier between India and the Huns is formed by a river, we should think of the Indus or the Ganges (already quoted in book 2 (81,5) but, this time, Cosmas returns to his Biblical concepts and calls it the Pheison, which is one of the four rivers that come from the paradise, and Geography gets lost in the stream of his Biblical reminiscences.

Students disagree on whether Cosmas had personal knowledge of India; lately, Udalcova and Gomes were positive about it, so am I;[29] it has however been contested that he had personally been to Ceylon (Taprobane),[30] Sielediba. He describes Ceylon as a big island situated in the ocean: in the Indian sea. Its riches are the precious stone hyacinth, and it is beyond the country, where pepper grows. Cosmas gives its measures according to the natives. The island is governed by two kings: the one has the part with the minerals, the other one has got the trading place and the harbour (13). The fervent Christian Cosmas tells us something about a Christian *diaspora* which consists of Persians; the natives and their kings are pagans. Their sanctuary situated on a hill contains a wonderful hyacinth, big like a pine cone and with a very strong glow. In this context, Cosmas is speaking on hearsay. But when he described Ceylon as a trading centre, his picture is vivid and full of details: at the island, vessels from every part will meet: from India, Persia, Ethiopia; it is a centre and also a starting point. The harbour imports silk, aloe, cloves, the clove tree and sandal-wood; it exports the same to the people of Male, where pepper is grown, and to Kalliana, where they have bronze, the sesamewood and a special kind of textiles; from Sindou the island will get musk and precious spices; it has also exchanges with Persia, the Himjars and Adoulis in Ethiopia.

India has always been the country of miracles; the one mostly admired is the elephant.[31] A short characterization and even its picture are missing in the 12 introducing chapters of the eleventh book, but within the Chorographia, as the Greek tell it, the description of the country, which we have already seen, it is mentioned with many interesting details. The kings of India have

elephants — in this context Cosmas is mostly viewing the Indus[32] valley — the kings of Crrotha, of Kallianai, of Sindou, of Sibor and of Male; some have 600 elephants, some 500. In Ceylon, elephants are sold according to their size, kings on the mainland domesticate elephants and use them in the war, which, as we know, is a very old traditon (22).

As a pleasure for the kings, elephants have to fight. These fights are arranged in a special way: the two champions are separated by a big plate of timber, which is fixed to two other pillars *empedishing* them to meet. By different means they are stimulated, until they fight with their trunks.

The tusks of the Indian elephant are not very big, if there is an exception, they cut them, because they are too heavy for war. The Indian method to treat the elephant is a very special one, unique, in comparison with the African and Ethiopian practice (23).

The elevnth book starts with a series of pictures of eight animals, which have their peculiarities. The rhinoceros has got its two (!) horns upon its nostrils. When it moves, the horns are swinging, but it can fix them and is able to uproot trees with them. Its eyes are set at the jaws. It is a very dangerous animal and, above all, it fights the elephant. Its feet and skin resemble that of an elephant. Cosmas reports, that he has observed the rhinoceros in Ethiopia from a distance. He has also seen a dead and prepared one at the royal palace, where he could draw it.

The buffalo lives in India as well as in Ethiopia. The Indian buffalos are domesticated. They are used in the transportation of pepper and other burdens: their milk is turned to butter and meat is eaten; Christians slaughter it by cutting the throat, pagans by striking the head.

The giraffe, Cosmas' next specimen, is found in Ethiopia only; so we can continue with the yak. This is a big animal, which produces toupha[33] (this product could be the tail), which is used for horses' harness and for the banners of the military commanders. The yak's tail is very sensitive. If the yak gets caught within a tree, it stops moving in order not to lose a single hair of it. The native then approach and cut the tail.

The musk *kastouri*-deer in the native language,[34] is a very small animal. It is hunted because of the musk which is contained around the nombril. The hunters take only this and leave the rest of the body.

The unicorn, a very strong animal, does not live in India, but in Ethiopia. Cosmas has seen only two representations of bronze, not the animal itself. The choir-claphos in Greek, a small kind of pig, has been seen and tasted by Cosmas; he does not tell more about it.

The hippopotamus was not to be seen in India; Cosmas could, however, buy its teeth, big and very heavy, which he sold later. In Ethiopia and in Egypt he had seen many living specimens.

To the series of the eight animals already characterized, we can add three more, which follow the passage about the pepper tree, which we shall see later. These are the sea-lion, the dolphin and the tortoise. They are depicted as sea-food. Dolphins and tortoises are slaughtered, the sea-lion is killed by strokes upon the head like a big fish. The meat of the tortoise is black, that of the dolphin resembles pork, is black and smelly, that of the sea-lion resembles pork, but without any bad smell.

These are all the passages devoted to the fauna of India. As Cosmas has repeatedly mentioned pepper and other goods, we duly expect some notes on this subject, as also promised in the heading of the eleventh book. There are only some notes on plants, which are inserted after the hippopotamus between the depiction of animals. The pepper creeper is shown as having a very feeble stem, which has to be supported by another tree, that carries no fruits. In this, it very much resembles the vine with its tendrils. Every grape has got a double husk. It is thoroughly green like the rue (chapter 10). Yet another plant is described, which leaves us with the problem of its identification, as its name in the tradition of manuscripts is "argellion". It belongs to the big kind of Indian nut trees. It is very similar to the date palm but higher, larger, and has got richer branches. It has few fruits; these are very nice and full of sweet water, and Indians drink it instead of wine. The beverage has the name of rhonchosoura. If the shell dries up very much, you can no longer consume it. We guess: the cocotree.

Besides rhonchosoura there are some other native words in the text of Cosmas: Brahmānes (2, 45, 14), souspha (2, 30), identified by Wolska as the albatros, toupha (11, 5), Kaotouri (11, 6), and of course, there are the names of places: Sielediba, Sindou, Orrotha, Kalliana, Sibor, Male, Parti, Mangaruth, Salopatana, Nalopatana, Pudapatana; they reflect Indian topography in the sounds a Greek ear believed to hear.

There is one anecdote which shows the hearty welcome a king of Sielediba reserved for a Greek person, a trader, who came from the west. His name was Sōpatros and together with the merchants from Adoulis he had come to Sielediba. They got off to the country. So did the passangers of a Persian vessel. Among them there was an ambassador from Persia. After custom control, the officers took them to the king. Unfortunately, Cosmas does not give his name. They prostrate themselves before his Majestry and are kindly received by him. He asks about their country and about their rulers. The Persian quickly grasps the occasion to praise him with all superlatives as the mightiest, greatest, richest of all: he is the king of the kings. Sōpatros does not reply. The king of Sielediba addresses himself to him. Sōpatros has the idea to show his kings' picture on a coin. So does the Persian in his turn. The king of Sielediba is more impressed by the Byzantine ruler and his coin and praises the Byzantine people as splendid, mighty and reasonable. On an elephant's back with all honours, Sōpatros visits the city. Of course, the Persian was justly humiliated for his braggings (11, 17-19).

This king is the only Indian we meet, so to say, personally, with his portrait, which seems to me characteristic of Indian hospitality.

I leave the lonely traveller of the sixth century A. D. to your mercy.

Notes :

1. For the relations between Greece and India see: W. W. Tarn, The Greeks in Bactria and India, Cambridge^2 1951; A. K. Narain, The Indo-Greeks, Oxford 1957; G. Woodcock, The Greeks in India, London 1966; F. Altheim R. Stiehl, Geschichte Mittelasiens im Altertum, Berlin 1970; a short surview in H. H. Schmitt - E. Vogt, Kleines Wörterbuch des Hellenismus, Wiesbaden 1988, 265-268: Indien by H. H. Schmitt; E. H. Warmington, The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India, London/New York^2 1974, The respective article in RE Indien is rather old.

2. W. Wolska, Recherches sur la Topographie Chrétienne de Cosmas Indicopleustés. Théologie et science au VIe siècle = Bibliothèque Byzantine, Études 3, Paris 1962. Confer the following reviews: (1963) ByzZ LVI 330-334 Schleissheimer, JEH XIV 219 Nicol, OCP XXIX 478 Ortiz de Urbina, RBPh XLI 525-526 Janssens, REByz XXI 304-306 Janin; (1964) AB LXXXII 232-233 Esbroeck, Isis LV 115-117 Alexander, RecSR LII 143-144 Daniélou, Speculum XXXIX 373-375 Meyendorff, Vetchr No.I 179 Lomiento; (1965) REG LXXVIII 472-476 Bompaire, RH CCXXXIV 173-175 Gouillard, ThLZ XC 837-838 Altendorf, ZKG LXXVI 163-164 Abramowski; (1968) RHPh XLVIII 293-294 Hornus.

3. W. Wolska, Cosmas Indicopleustés, Topographie Chrétienne I. II. III = Sources chrétiennes 141. 159. 197. Paris 1968. 1970. 1973. For her explications Wolska often recurs on J. W. Crindle. The Christian Topography of Cosmas, an Egyptian Monk, London 1897, and E. O. Winstedt, The Christian Topography of Cosmas indicopleustes, ed. with geographical notes, Cambridge 1909, quite antiquitated, now.

4. Wolska I, 124-231 with references; L. Brubaker, The Relationship of Text and Image in the Byzantine Manuscripts of Cosmas Indicopleustes: ByzZ 70, 1977, 42-57, has shown, that the younger manuscripts are closer to the original than the Vaticanus.

6. AB XCII (1974) 431 Halkin; Byzantion XLIV (1974) 594; ByzZ LXV (1972) 407-408 Riedinger; EE XLVII (1972) 101, L (1975) 296 de Aldama; JEH XXI (1970) 76-77 Nicol; JThS XXII (1971) 621-622, XXV (1974) 557 Chadwick; NRTh XCIII (1971) 664 Martin; OCP XXXVIII (1972) 317, XLII (1976) 266 de Vries; RAM XLVI (1970) 458-459 Guy; RBen LXXXII (1972) 159, LXXXIV (1974) 422 Bogaert REA LXXII (1970) 497-498, LXXVI (1974) 196-197 Courcelle; REByz XXXIII (1975) 302 Darrouzés; RecTh XL (1973) 221 Petit; RHE LXXI (1976) 132-135 Laga; RPh L (1976) 139 des Places; Scriptorium XXVIII (1974) 361

Aubineau; Speculum XLVII (1972) 574-578 Alexander; ThLZ XCVI (1971) 274 Knorr; VChr XXXV (1981) 195-199 Hennephof.

7. Wolska I, 59-61.
8. Wolska I, 16.
9. L. P. Kirwan, "The Christian Topography and the kingdom of Axum :" Geographical Journal 138, 1972, 166-177.
10. Compare F. F. Schwarz, Kosmas und Sieledіba: ZAnt 25, 1975, 469-490: E. Lascarides-Zannas, Greece and South India. From Ptolemy Philadelphos (283-264B.C.) to Cosmas Indicopleustes (c. 545 A. D.): World Tamil Conference held at Madurai, 4th to 10th January 1981, 1-11; Wada Hiroshi, Aus der Beschreibung der Insel Ceylon in der frühbyzantinischen und chinesischen Historiographie: Antikerezeption, Antikeverhaltnis, Antikebegegnung in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart. Eine Aufsatzsammlung für J. Irmscher, hrsg. von J. Dummer & M. Kunze=Schriften der Winckelmann-Gesellschaft 6, Stendhal 1983 (1988), 129-136.
11. Wolska I, 36-43.
12. Wolska I, 19-38; compare the Table of Contents 260-263.
13. Briefly reassumed also by I. Opeit, Erde: RAC 5 (1962) 1173ff.
14. Compare J. J. Miller, The Spice Trade of the Roman Empire, Oxford 1969; and Raunig, note 17.
15. For the importance of the Caspian Sea in commerce compare M. Wissemann, Rom und das Kap sische Meer: Rheinisches Museum 127, 1984, 166-173.
16. This identification is proposed by Wolska I, 334.
17. Wolska I, 352_{45} quotes the older reference books: N. Pigulevskaja, Vizantija na putjach v Indija, Moskva Leningrad 1951; W. Raunig, Bernstein, Weihrauch, Seide. Waren und Wege der antiken Welt, Wien München 1971. The often treated argument will keep its fascination.
18. Compare note 10.
19. Compare Strabo, Geogr. 15,1,59, Kl. Wörterbuch d. Hell. (note 1) 265: Megasthenes.
20. Compare once more Miller note 14.
21. Strabonis Geographica I. ed. W. Aly, E. Kirsten, F. Lapp, Bonn 1968 = Antiquitas, Abhandlungen zur Alten Geschichte hsg. von A. Alföldi, Bd. 9; compare A. M. Biraschi, P. Maribelli, D. MAssaro, M. A. Pagnotta, Strabone, Saggio di Bibliografia 1469-1978, Perugia 1981.
22. Compare the Latin Table of Contents in the Edition (note 21): Argumenta Librorum 83*—89*

23. Wolska I, 396_{80} quotes the older reference books; important: K. Miller, Mappae mundi. Die ältesten Weltkarten VI, Stuttgart 1885, 146; S. N. Gukova, Les sources de la carte du monde de Cosmos Indicopleustes : Problémes d'Histoire sociale et de la culture du Moyen Age, Université de Leningrad 1986, 62-75.

24. Wolska I, 17; of the opposite opinion is Z. V. Udalcova, A page of Byzantine History (Cosmas Indicopleustes and his Topographia Christiana: VDI 1977 nr. 139, 206-221; Cosmas Indicopleustes et sa Topographie Chrétienne: La civilisation de Byzance. IV^{e} premiere moitié aé VII^{e} s., ed. par Udalcova, Moskva 1984, 467-477. See also note 29.

25. Compare note 10.

26. H. Roth, Almandinhandel und -verarbeitung im Bereich des Mittelmeeres. Zum archäologischen Befund und der schriftlichen Überlieferung in der Spätantike und im frühen Mittelalter: BAVA 2, 1980, 309-335. Cosmas mentions also the hyacinth (11,13), smaragds (11, 21), but not pearls.

27. Compare (note 1), India... (1988), 1388.

28. This person has been studied by A. Mohay, Mihirakula-Gollas: AAnt Hung 30, 1982/84 (1987), 417-428.

29. Compare Udalcova (note 24): H. Gomes, Did Cosmas come to India: Indica 3.1.1966, 18ff note 75 with Wolska III, 318_{3}.

30. Compare notes 9.10.

31. Compare an older article: I. Opeit Elefant: RAC 4 (1959), 1180-1190.

32. Compare once more K1.Wörterbuch des Hell. (note 1) 266ff.

33. Wolska III, 325_{5}.

34. Wolska III, 324_{4} without an effort of explanation.

Indian Culture in the Islamic Environment

N. S. Gorekar

Religion and art are two distinct expressions of culture, and thus, obviously, evolution of culture can be equally traced well in either of them. Art is a more sensitive indication of change than even religion. It may be recalled that art in its nature is objective while religion is subjective.

The influence of Islam as culture, besides philosophy and polity, on indigenous art has been well-estimated. This has not only moulded civilization but shaped aesthetic values and needs as well. It is the experience which is acquired both in harmony or in conflict with nature and, as a result, serves as the warp and woof from which the stuff of culture is woven. And it may be added that each culture depends on the disposition of man as well as nature of his environment, and also on the mutual and dynamic interaction.

Viewed in this light, culture which literally means the practice of cultivating the soil or cultivation of plants and animals, is also the training, disciplining and refining of the moral and intellectual nature of man. According to Willium Taylor, culture is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, law, morals, customs and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society. And Francis Bacon who invented the term in the modern sense says that culture is an attribute of the spirit of man, it is humanity's effort to assert its inner and independent being. Culture is not merely the acquisition of knowledge according to the standards of an age, it is rather the ability to see things in their right perspective, to take a balanced view of life, and to measure ideas in their true proportions. Religion, language, race, and country are the strands out of which is woven the variegated fabric of culture. In other words, culture is that vital complex of many strands which expresses itself through language and art, through philosophy and religion, through moral habits and social customs, and through political institutions and economic organisations. In a sense, culture which is all-embracing, is the general intellectual level in a particular age or specific country, and is the result of the liberation of man from the urgency of the problem of his existence.

From time immemorial India has been the meeting place of different races and peoples and conflicting cultures and civilizations, and consequently, according to Dr. Tara Chand, it has tried to embrace within its orbit beliefs, customs, rites, institutions, arts, religions, and philosophies belonging to different strata of society in varying stages of development. Therefore, Indian culture has, as a consequence, sought to find a untiy in this diversity which makes up its totality.

Indian culture, which holds the secrets of vitality and wisdom, is one of

unity and synthesis, of reconciliation and development, and of progressive fusion of old traditions and new values of life. As a matter of fact, Indian culture has been envisaged as the blending of three strands of which two have been the distinct strata of Indian life : one higher but smaller in number, providing the intellectual and aristocratic element, while the other, lower but comprising the great mass of the people, derived from the folk element of Indian life, and the third, the foreign influence which contributed its share in the perfection of the design. The synthesis of these three, which evolved a new culture was brought about by the inherent genius of the race, and as such this process of assimilation and evolution continued age after age. These ages are divided into three epochs - ancient, medieval and modern. The first, beginning from the earliest times to the end of the seventh century, the second covering about a thousand years from the beginning of the eighth century, and the third commencing from the beginning of the nineteenth century to independence of India in 1947.

With the passing of King Harsha's Buddhist empire the last period of ancient history closed, and a new epoch began with the advent of the Muslims in India. Apart from the commercial relations which existed between the Arabs and the Indians from about the middle of the seventh century, the Muslims ruled over India for nearly one thousand years, from the conquest of Sind by Muhamed bin Qāsim in 712 to the death of Bahadur Shah I in 1712. Towards the close of the twelfth century, when Muhammed of Ghazani came over to India, conquered Lahore and annexed the Punjab, the Muslims made India their home and Indianised themselves, and as such through social intercourse and mutual understanding, they, alongwith the Hindus, tried to find a new life which led to the creation of a new culture which was neither Hindu nor Muslim, but rather a synthesis of both. In the words of Prof. A. M. A. Shushtery: "The invasion of India by the Arabs and then by Sulṭān Muhammed and the occupation of Sind and the Punjab by the Muslims brought the two great civilizations into close and direct contact. The work of amalgamation soon started and embraced all aspects of life. Hindus and Muslims influenced each other and thus created a new culture which began to develop during the rule of the Slave, Khiljī, Tughlaq and Lodhī dynasties, and eventually attained perfection under the Mughals." Dr. Tara Chand says: "Not only did Hindu religion, Hindu art, Hindu literature and Hindu science absorb Muslim elements but the very spirit of Hindu culture and the very stuff of Hindu mind were altered, and the Muslims reciprocated by responding to the change in every department of life." According to Sir John Marshall : "Seldom in history has the spectacle been witnessed of two civilizations, so vast and so strongly developed, yet so radically dissimilar as the Muhammedan and the Hindu, meeting and mingling together. The very contrasts which existed between them, the wide divergences in their cultures and their religions make the history of their impact peculiarly instructive."

The impact of Islam on India during the medieval period of Indian history

was deep and profound and was responsible for the creation and development of a composite Indian culture.

When the Muslims reached India, Brahminism had triumphed over its formidable rivals, Buddhism and Jainism, but, in order to consolidate its influence over the masses, Brahminism had made a compromise with the Buddhist doctrines and the pre-Aryan practices. This new composite religion was rather impersonal and speculative, and hence it could not at once satisfy the heart and give moral guidance. Thus the need for an ethical and emotional cult was badly felt. The presence of Islam, wherein the unity of God and the democratic principles play an important part, gave rise, through the liberal preachings of the saints and mystics in India, to the religious revivalism in Hinduism, the main object of which was to establish a creed acceptable to all and to uplift the lower and despised classes of Hindu society, whom the rigours of the caste system were driving away from the Hindu fold. This religious revivalism was marked by attempts at reform from the twelfth century to the fifteenth century of the Christain era. Consequently, Ramanuja in the South, Ramananda and Kabir in Utter Pradesh, Nanak in the Pubjab, Chaitnaya in Bengal, Namdev in the Deccan, Mira Bai in Rajputana, and Tukaram in Maharashtra, by precept and practice, firstly denounced the caste institutions in the Hindu Society; secondly they emphasised the oneness of God and the true spirit of religion; and thirdly they appealed to the hearts of the people by singing to them religious hymns in the language of the people called Prakrit. *Bhakti Marga*, devotion blended with love of God, developed, and deistic sects like Vaishnavism, Kabirpanth and Sikhism considerably changed the outlook of Hinduism.

As a result of the inter-mingling of the Muslims with the Hindus, a new language was born and developed in about the sixteenth century in India. It was called Hindi, Hindavi, Dehlavī, Rekhta, Deccanī, and finally Urdu with different local peculiarities. This new language was a mixture of Brij Bhasha and Persian, and was more the outcome of Hindu needs than of the Muslim, as the Muslims were either Turks, Afghāns, Persians or Mughals who invariably spoke Persian and conducted their correspondence also in the same language, whereas the Hindus spoke Hindi, a dialect of Prakrit, but learnt Persian either out of curiousity or for the sake of status or on account of securing a decent job in the government. The Muslims by way of compromise retained the basic grammatical structure of Hindi and added to it the Persian, Turkish and Arabic vocabulary with their modified Perso-Arabic alphabet and script. In reality, Urdu and Hindi are different in name but one in spirit and in origin. Urdu is Hindi Persianised because Persian was the court and offical language for over eight hundred years during the Muslim rule in India. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru has rightly said that "Urdu has come down to the Hindus and the Muslims as a sacred and common heritage which is indivisible." As a matter of fact the evolution of Urdu is a fine example of the linguistic synthesis of the Hindus and the Muslims, and as a cultural link it has bridged

the mental chasm between the ruler and the ruled, and made possible free interchange of ideas. It may be noted here that Bahādur Shāh II replaced Persian by Urdu in 1837 as a court and official language on account of its cosmopolitan outlook, cultural heritage and rich literature.

It is universally acknowledged that the Muslim rulers gave patronage to Indian vernaculars and thus their literature was enriched. The Bengali language was patronised by Sulṭān Ḥussain Shāh and Nusrat Shāh of Bengal, Marathi by the Bahamani Kingdom of the Deccan, and particularly the Aḥmed Shāhi of Ahmednagar, Kashmiri by Sulṭān Zainul Ābedīn and his successors in Kashmir, Telgu by Sulṭān Qulī Quṭub Shāh and his dynasty of Golconda, Gujarati by Sulṭān Ahmed Shāh and Bahādur Shāh of Gujarat, Kannada by Sulṭān Hyder Alī and Tipū Sulṭān of Mysore and Hindi by Emperor Akbar in particular and the Mughals in general. The impact of Persian is seen on almost all the vernaculars in one way or the other; while Tamil and Malyalam, the Dravidian languages have accepted the Arbaic influence. The *Bakhars* of Marathi, the poetical forms of Gujarati, the diction of Punjabi, the script of Sindhi, the growth of Hindi, the evolution of Urdu, the richness of Bengali, the script of Kashmiri and the Sufistic compositions of Tamil can be cited as some of the examples of Muslim influence.

The rich booty that the Arabs took away from India was the cultural treasures. The *Brahma-Siddhānta* and the *Khandakhayaka* were not the only Sanskrit works translated by the Muslims but it was rather for the first time that Abu Raihan Al-Bīrunī, who accompanied Muhamood of Ghazani to India, learnt Sanskrit, collected the material about the cultural and historical heritage of India and presented the same in systematic manner in the Arbaic language in his book entitled *Kitāb-al-Hind*. Firūz Shāh Tughlah found interest in securing a rare Sanskrit manuscript on astronomy during the sack of Nagarkot and getting it translated into Persian and calling it *Dalāyal-i-Firūz Shāhī*. Prince Dara Shikoh, who was a great exponent of India philosophy, found out for the first time that there were fifty *Upnishads* and got them rendered into Persian under the title of *Sirr-i-Akbar*. Amīr Khusrau, the great admirer of Indian culture and of Sanskritic bearing wrote about and eulogised the Indian cultural aspect in his work called *Nu-Sipahr*. And it was the Muslim who first displayed a genuine aptitude for writing history in either Arabic, Turkish or Persian in a systematic manner, and in a matter-of-fact style. As a result, many historians flourished during the Muslim rule in India. *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī* by Ziāudīn Barnī, *Akbar-nāmah* by Abul Faẓl, and *Tārīkh-i-Firīshtah* by Muhammed Qāsim Firishtah are some of the important historical works in Persian on Indian history. Every Indo-Muslim dynasty has been treated in at least one formal history and the authenticity of the dates and events in such histories are hardly challenged. Again, religious and mythological works or history books like the *Mahabharata, Ramayana, Bhagvadgita, Rajatarangini* were translated either into the Indian vernaculars or Persian and Arabic during the regimes of Sulṭān Husain Shāh of Bengal, Sulṭān Zainul - Ābedīn of

Kashmir, and Emperor Akbar in particular and the other Mughal rulers in general. Prof. A. M. A. Shushtery sums up by saying that "Under the Muslim rulers of India from the time of Abu Raihan Al-Bīrūnī, philosophy, mythology, history, religion and other subjects came to be included. Amīr Khusrau, the famous poet who lived under the Slave, Khiljī and Tughlag dynasties, was one of the best students of Indian music. He knew Hindi as spoken in his times so well that he could compose verses in the language. Among the Slave rulers, Ghiyāsudīn Balban and Naṣīrudin Mahamood were great patrons of Indian learning. Firūz Shāh found a large collection of Sanskrit books at Nagarkot and ordered some of them to be translated into Persian. The Lodhī Kings indianised themselves by adopting the Indian languages and customs. The Mughals followed the Lodhīs, particularly Akbar the Great Mughal, and his descendents." Thus gradually a rapproachment took place between the Hindu and the Muslim cultures and it resulted in a fine synthesis in the realms of art, literature, and religion.

During the Muslim rule in India, the Hindu structures like temples, cenotaphs or buildings could not remain purely Hindu in their design, rather they accepted the Islamic impact and as such the arcuated forms, plain domes, smooth-faced walls and spacious interiors were added, and their plastic exuberance was largely curtailed. The artistic quality remained the same but differences were introduced by considerations of purpose and use, and the styles varied according to local traditions and regional peculiarities. The temple at Ranpur in the Godwar district of Jodhur which is noted for its plain surfaces has the exterior of its dome undecorated like those of the Muslims, and the temple of Govind-Deva at Brindaben in Mysore has a porch covered by a vault with radiating arches in the Islamic style, while the temples of Muktagiri in Berar have dome-styles copied from Saracenic arches. Again, the palace of Tirumalai-Nayak at Madurai has a central dome supported on twelve columns linked together by massive Saracenic arches. It may be noted that the construction of Cenotaphs was never a custom amongst the Hindus, it was rather due to the influence of Islam that the *Chattries* and *Mahasatties* were constructed to commemorate the dead.

The Mughals brought to India a strong Central Asian predilection and a keen feeling for natural beauty. They did not encourage a particular school of art but patroised a cosmopolitan school of painting. In general, the Mughals forbade human sculpture in any form, but, unlike their predecessors, they were less rigid in bannning its painting and they even fostered portraiture till it reached a high level. The Mughal school of painting excelled in portraiture or miniature-painting. And it may be noted that in portraiture the principal aim of the artist of that age was the natural and truthful delineation of the features, while in scene and scenery they prepared highly decorative setting with geometrical patterns. Painting became mere portraiture but protraiture of amazing cleverness. This style was copied at the courts of Jodhpur, Jaipur, Jammu, Kangada, Amritsar, Lahore and Tanjore. Rajput painting may be

cited as having accepted the greatest Muslim influence. In Mughal and Rajput painting the abstractness is the result of simplification and control. The one is ecstatic and the other static, but even its stillness is supported by the memory of former ecstasy.

The calligraphy, design, mint-marks and legends of the coins of the Muslim Monarchs constitute a type of chronicle that yields ready information of an interesting nature. From the royal titles, or the date and name of the mint, the extent of the kingdom and the character and status of the monarchs were determined. The name of the mint was used for the first time during the Muslim rule in India because the Musliim rulers had several mints. The coins of Muḥammed Tughlak were minted at Delhi, Daulatabad and several other provincial capitals and were at least of twenty-five different designs, and in the reign of the Great Akbar there were seventy six mints which at a later stage increased to eighty. Again, we have the introduction of a silver coin by Sher Shāh of Sur which later on came to be known as Rupaiyah (Rupee) and is even now ranked as one of the standard coinages of the world.

The costumes of both men and women which are so graceful and dignified and which are depicted so exactly in the Mughal and Rajput paintings, have come down to us as a gift from the Mughals in particular. They include among other things the *Choorīdar, Achkan, Shalwar, Quamīs, Saafā, Doppata, Dopallī* and *Salīmshāhi* . Even the *Gandhi-cap* is a modified form of *Dopallī*, the *Maharashtrian Joda* is corrupted form of *Salīmshāhī* and the *Jodhpuri* is a short form of *Achkan*. The bearing, the etiquette, the forms of address which look so majestic have been given to us by the Mughals in particular. Again, spicy and tasty dishes like *Biryānī, Pullaw, Coorma*, have been added to our kitchens. Among the ornaments, *glass bangles* and *jewellerly* were introduced by the Muslims. Shivaji, the Chhattrapati, used the same costume and observed the same etiquette with all the bearings. Even today the majority of the Kayasths, the Kashmiris, the Punjabis and the Sindhis wear the same dress, practise the same etiquette and prepare the same dishes.

Further, Amir Khusrau the harbinger of Hindu-Muslim unity, introduced a *rāga* called *Khayāl* which was perfected by Sulṭān Hussein Sharqi of Jaunpur and the *Qawāllī* was added to Indian music; musical instruments like the *Sitar* were also invented by Amir Khusrau. Empress Nūrjehan discovered a perfume named 'Iṭr-i-*Gulab*'. The Muslims introduced the shawl, muslin, carpet, inlay-work, salt-petre and textile industries, as well as paper, for the first time, as the name *Kāgaẓ* suggests. And *Ḥammām*, and the Graeco-Arab system of medicine were also given to us. Artillery, Fire-arms and Gun-powder were introduced by the Muslims and the Cavalry was brought in the place of the Elephants. The huge marble structures like the *TAJ MAḤAL*, one of the wonders of the world, were introduced by Emperor Shāh Jehān in particular, and the art of gardening for the first time by the mughals in general. The Muslims gave us the methods of Administration and the Revenue

System which is even today retained and which, in the words of Sir Jadu-Nath Sarkar, an universally acknowledged historian of repute, is called the "Perso-Arabic system in Indian settings." Again, the Muslims not only revived but widened the cultural relations of India with the outer world especially the West Asian couuntries.

In conclusion, it could be rightly added that the Muslims in general and the Mughals in particular, in the words of Professor Rashid Ahmed Siddhiqui, an acclaimed Urdu Satirist and Literateur, bestowed upon us *Urdu,* a language of integration and culture, *TAJ MAHAL,* an art piece, blended with Indo-Iranian touch and idea, and *Mirzā Ghālib,* Persian-Urdu poet of international fame.

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The Cultural Life as Depicted in the Sculptures of the Sun Temple of Moḍherā

Kamal Giri

Moḍherā, now a small village on the bank of Puṣpāvatī river, is situated eighteen miles south of Pāṭan in Mehsaṇā District of Gujarat. The place is well known for its famous Sun temple, locatad to the west of the village. The temple although much dilapidated, is still an imposing structure with majestic beauty. It is assigned to the reign of Solaṅkī king Bhīma I (A. D. 1024-1066) of Gujarat.[1] The temple consists mainly of the *mūlaprāsāda* (main-sanctum) sorrounded by circumambulation, the *mukha-maṇḍapa* (closed-hall), the *mukha-catuṣkī* (porch), a detached *sabhā-maṇḍapa* (or *aṅga-maṇḍapa*)[2] *with a toraṇa* on the north-east,[3] and a large tank decorated with a number of *devakulikās* (miniature-shrines). The architectural and decorative details, as well as the harmonious integration of the sculptures with architectural scheme are of supreme excellence representing Gujarat style in its finest. The temple in its elevation shows *pīṭha* (basement), *Maṇḍovara* (facade) and *śikhara* (spire). The *pīṭha* is embellished with the conventional mouldings while the spacious *maṇḍovara* with the figure - sculptures. The principal figures, mainly deities, are sheltered in the main *rathikās* while those of dancers, musicians and *apsarases* in rather small ones with the figures of saints and ascetics.

The ceilings, pillars and walls of the *gūḍha-maṇḍapa* and the *sabhā-maṇḍapa* are also profusely carved with sculptures. These sculptures represent a variety of subjects related to contemporary life. The men and women in such cases are busy about their daily life, going to temples, worshipping deities and saints, moving in processions, playing, singing, dancing, love-making, fighting, hunting etc. The figures present specimens from the crudest to the most exquisitely carved individual figures with rhythmic expressions and elegant anatomical curves. The sculptures, with characteristic medieval features, are full of life, vigour and expressions. The body is slender and somewhat elongated with free movements, the figures neither over-burdened with the ornaments nor static in postures. In the present paper, we propose to make a humble effort to outline the cultural life as adduced from these sculptures.

Dress :

Dress, as must be obvious to anyone interested in humanity, is a marked characteristic of any culture which helps to mark out the tastes and tendencies of the people. The male and female figures here do not wear an upper garment, barring *uttarīya,* which was meant more for decoration than for covering the body. It was more an iconographic feature, specially with the

goddesses and the *apsarases,* which helped the artists to expose their curvaceous froms with feminine grace and voluptuousness.[4] However, there are references in the contemporary literature to the use of the upper garments and their fineness.[5] The *uttarīya* was a long, narrow and tight apparel arranged in different ways.[6] The shorter variety is also noticed. The lightness of the *uttarīya* is clear in pleated examples where it looks like a belt of cloth. The following modes of wearing the *uttarīya* have been noticed here in the temple. Sometimes, it dangles side-ways either upto the knees or feet or even hips, giving a grace and balance to the whole composition. Occasionally, it was pleated and made to run horizontally across the body with its ends either hanging over the arms or the shoulders.[7] The most popular mode, however, was to throw it carelessly over the arms with its pleated ends being allowed to dangle on either side. However, in the case of Sūrya figures, it runs below the knees with its ends hanging from the arms (Fig. 1). In one example, a *ṛṣi* is shown covering his head with an *uttarīya* (like modern *sārī)* and holding its ends on the left hand.[8] Besides the *uttarīya,* a tight-fitting upper garment (like a jacket) was also in vogue, though rarely. In one such example, on the eastern exterior wall of the *gūḍha-maṇḍapa,* a female figure is wearing a short jacket tied or decorated in the middle with a beaded string. Since the hands are broken it is difficult to say whether or not it had sleeves (Fig. 2, No. 5). In another example, the tight upper garment is adorned with cross designs.[9] In comparison with other Chaulukyan sites, namely Ghumli and Ḍabhoi, Moḍherā figures show rather simpler modes of wearing the *uttarīya.*

The *dhotī,* long or short, loose or tight as per need, with common wearing mode, was the main lower garment of both men and women. (Fig. 2) The short *dhotī,* covering only half of the thighs on the front and tucked-up at the back, was common among men, specially in the cases of warriors, riders and other figures engaged in various activities. In some instances, however, female figures also wear such short *dhotī.*[10] In the case of *ṛṣi* figures, such short *dhotī* looks more like a modern *jaṅghikā* (short trouser). In few examples, short *dhotīs* are hanging loosely in front without being tucked-up at the back[11]. The female figures generally wear long *dhotī* with beautiful schematic folds, extended upto a little above the ankles and showing few pleats, tastefully gathered on the front and tucked-up at the back, leaving bunch of loose ends hanging downwards.[12] Sometimes, the long *dhotī,* mostly with the dancers and *apsarases,* looks like a tight fitting trouser giving free movement to the legs (Fig. 3).[13] The transparent *dhotī,* plain or with oblique folds indicated by rhythmic incised lines, was also in fashion. The schematic folds of the *dhotī* are indeed charming. In examples where the *apsarases* are shown untying their *dhotī (vivastrajaghanā)* it looks more like a modern *luṅgī.* The dancers, however, sometimes wear skirt-like dress.

Besides *dhotī,* the figures also wear *paṭkā,* common with male and female which was either a long or a short garment hanging on the front. The *paṭkā* hovering in air according to the poses, corresponds usually with the length

of the *dhotī*. It is distinct more in the *narathara* figures.

Ornament :

Ornaments have an important place in the adornment of men and women from the remote past. Materials such as, leaves, feathers, flowers, bone, terracotta, metal, stone etc. were used for ornaments. Although the mediums and patterns changed from time to time, passion for adornment remained unaltered. The *mukuṭas,* neckaces, earrings, girdles, anklets and bracelets were most common ornaments at Moḍherā and elsewhere. The difference, however, is noticed only in their variety. The beads of various shapes were specially favoured for the ornaments.

The bead ornaments in the form of *kirīṭa* or *karaṇḍa-mukuṭas,* are shown mainly with the divine figures.[14] The *kuṇḍala,* sometimes plain and sometimes made of single string of beads, was the only ornaments for the ears, common to all the figures. However, in a particular case of an *apsaras* figure it has three tiers of rings with a plain straight line, one above the other. In most of the cases, the figures wear small rings in the upper part of the ears. The necklaces either long or short reveal significant variety in design and shape (Fig. 4, a-f.). The short necklaces *(graiveyaka)* lay close around the neck or a little below it, while the long ones hang on the chest or even below it. Common men and women used to wear *ekāvalī* (single-stringed necklace), while the deities and apsarases are endowed with a variety of necklaces. In the simpler variety of short and long necklaces, the strings of round beads have been prefered. The short necklaces, close to neck, have bigger round beads with a hanging beaded string in the centre, while the long variety show rather small beads. Sometimes, a small necklace has two beaded strings with a central plain band and sometimes it looks like a broad band of metal with designs. In one of the Sūrya figures, the short necklace consists of the bud-shaped pendants with two rows of small beads (Fig. 1). In the cases of female figures, the necklace has an additional feature which shows two long beaded strings passing between the breasts and turning to back, called *stanahāra* (Fig. 3).

The bacelets *(valaya)* and armlets *(bhujabadha)* (Fig. 4, j-r) were the principal hand - ornaments here and elsewhere. The most common variety of bracelet was a beaded *kaṅgana* made of small round beads, worn by figure with or without bangles. In the case of divine figures, the bracelet has been shown either in front or on both the sides of the bangles. The armlets, however, show greater variety. Sometimes, it shows a beaded string with bud-shaped pendants and sometimes there appears an ornate appendage projecting upward above the beaded strings or a broad band of designs. These varieties are shown specially with the divine figures. The girdle *(mekhalā)* was the most favourite ornament used by the people (Fig. 4, g-i). It was worn for the adornment and also for keeping the lower garment in position. The girdles

worn by the deities and the *apsarases* are highly ornamented and superior in quality, while those worn by lay-men are simpler. The simpler variety was made of beaded strings while those of the divine and *apsaras* figures comprise hanging strands with pendants, leaving several suspended loops on thighs and buttocks with beaded tassels hanging in between. In one example, an *apsaras* is shown tying her *mekhalās* which indicates that the ornament was in parts (Fig. 5).[15] The *mekhalās* with broad metal bands, floral or geometrical designs in grooves and lines, two beaded strings with a plain band in between and beaded strings with bell-shaped pendants were also in vogue. The anklet was either a tight-fitting or a loose ornament, worn commonly by men and women of every class (Fig. 4, s-a). In tight-fitting examples, the plain round the anklets are sometimes one and sometimes three or four in number. The loose variety shows either two or three rows of beaded strings in the centre or a beaded string with pendants. These varieties may be seen with the *apsaras* figures. However, in a few examples, the *apsarases* are beautifully shown tying their anklets (Fig. 3).

Hair-Style :

The variety in hair-style represented in Indian art suggests that much imagination, thought and artistic genius have been applied to it, more in the case of female figures, specially the *apsarases*. Sanskrit literature is full of such descriptions pertaining to the variety in hair-styles. The hair-styles noticed in the Modherā sculptures reveal that the artists took special care to delineate elaborate and attractive hair-styles (Fig. 6). Men and women both have long hair, arranged in different ways. The most common of all the styles, popular among both the sexes, was combed tresses, arranged in a round knot at the back of the neck. In the case of the *apsaras* figures, this round knot is either plain or divided into two parts with the help of a beaded string in the middle, or with hair hanging on the back. However, the figures in profile show this knot on the shoulder, where it is either long, sometimes with two tiers, or divided into two pointed upper and lower ends, or round. In some examples, the parting line is also visible. The hair is mostly arranged in tiers, a part of which is sometimes plain with three successive tiers.[16] However, the other variety has two successive tiers with a round knot forming the third tier. In one example, however, plain hair without the parting line is arranged in three decorated tiers with a long knot, thus making it four tiered. Another favourite style was to arrange the hair in a single or double round knot with or without parting line, in the centre of the head. Apart from these, there are examples where the hair is arranged at the back either flowing or decorated in round knot, or hanging with or without a curved knot, or double knots with plain hair in between.

Male figures are usually shown with long and tapering beard and moustaches. However, in a few examples, the beard is also trimmed at its lower end.

The sculptural examples of hair-washing proves that proper care was taken

of the hair. There are two such interesting examples[17] wherein a woman, sitting on a stool, is rendered as taking bath. In one case, however, a female attendant is washing the hair of a lady from the back and one male figure is pouring water while the other one is coming with a water-pot.

Music and Dance :

The representation of music and dance scenes have always been a favourite theme in Indian art and reveals the aesthetic sense and also the sense of enjoyment of the people of different ages. The handsome amount of such scenes in the Sun temple of Moḍherā reflect the joyous life of the contemporary people and also their keen interest towards these performing arts. The musical instruments here are of specific interest. The flutes and drums of different types were the most important of all the musical instruments. The one sided drum *(ḍaphalī)* and *mṛdaṅga*- like instruments are also depicted along with the usual two-sided drum. The cymbals and castanets *(karatāla)* come only next to the flutes and drums. Usually, men and women are both shown playing on these instruments while in dance. The male and the female both performed dances, either in groups or alone (Fig. 7). In one example, the dancers are accompanied by the figures playing on a conch (?), *ḍaphalī, ḍhola* and flute. There are scenes where persons lying on a coach or sitting on a stool in leisure can be seen enjoying musical concert and dance performances.[18] However, in one scene, dancers and musicians are giving performance in front of a royal person, seated on a stool.[19] In such scenes, the musicians are mostly males.

There are scenes which show even teaching of dance by the *ācāryas.* In one such example, an *ācārya,* sitting on a stool in the centre, is demonstrating a dance pose to the dancer, who is accompanied by both male and female musicians, playing on flute, drum and cymbals.[20] Sometimes, a group of dancers are joined by *ācāryas,* at each side, demonstrating different dance poses.[21] The dancing figures show rhythmic movememnts and different intricate poses and *bhaṅgas, viz.* crossed-legs, left leg being lifted above the knee of the right one and several other hand- and leg-poses.[22] However, in one example, on the *sabhāmaṇḍapa* pillar, a male figure, accompanied by a flute-player and two *mālādharas,* is shown as singing.

Games and Amusement :

The sculptures at the Sun temple of Moḍherā show a variety of subjects pertaining to the games and amusement which include hunting, man-animal fight, animal combats, wrestling, music and dance etc. It may be remarked here that these were the main modes of amusememnt at all times. Of all these, hunting has been the most favoured one, not only here but elsewhere also. There is an interesting scene of boar-hunting where two male figures are attacking a boar; one, holding the boar's tale in the left hand and keeping his right leg on its neck, is fiercely attacking the boar with a sword held in the right hand, while the other is shooting an arrow from above. A female

Fig. 1

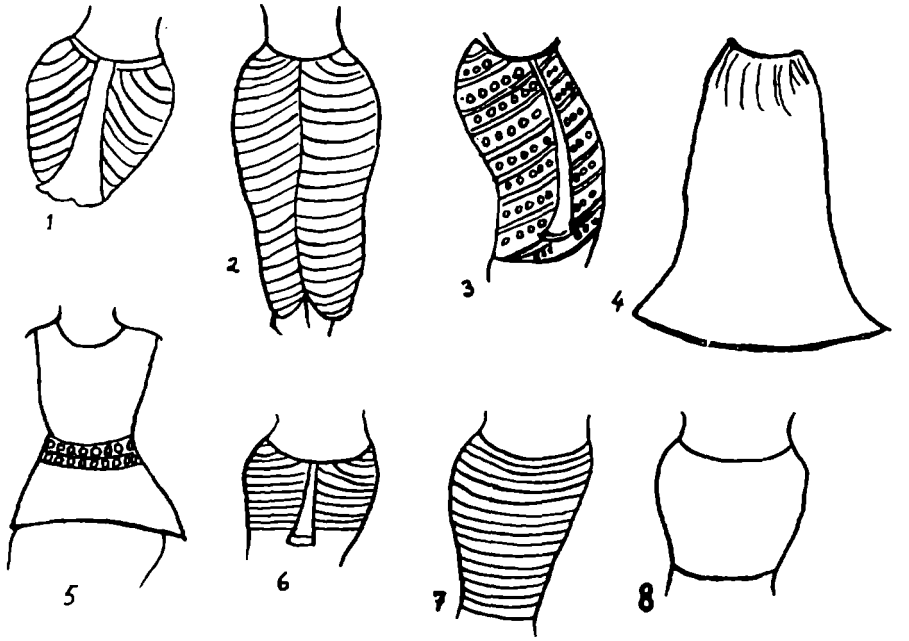

Fig. 2

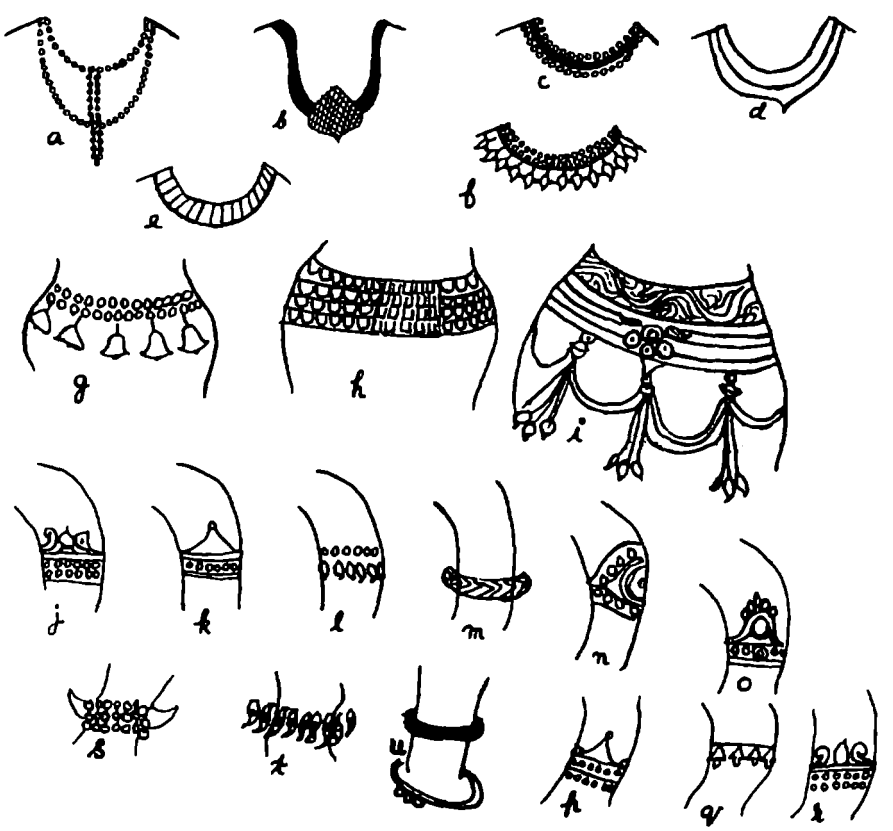

Fig. 4

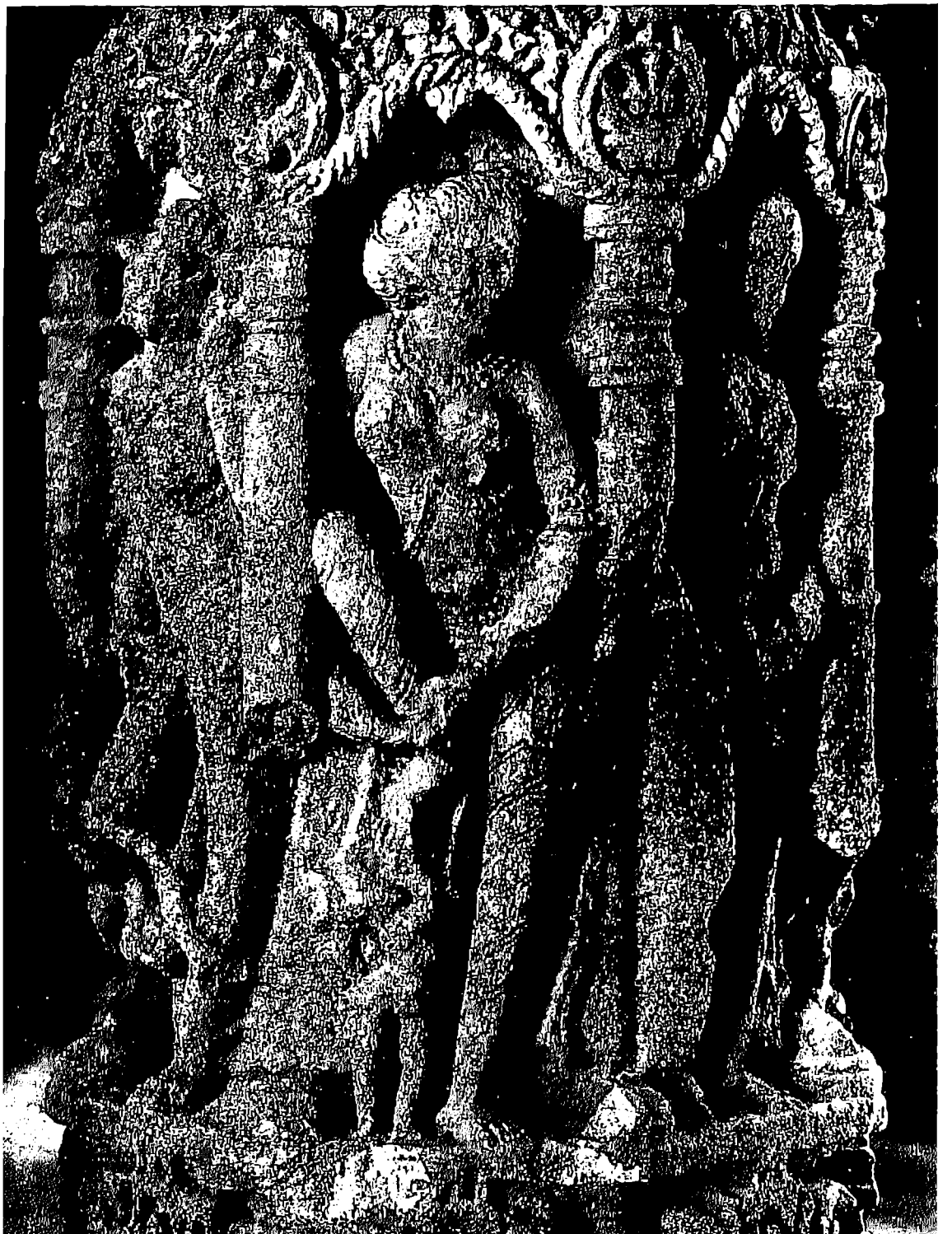

Fig. 3

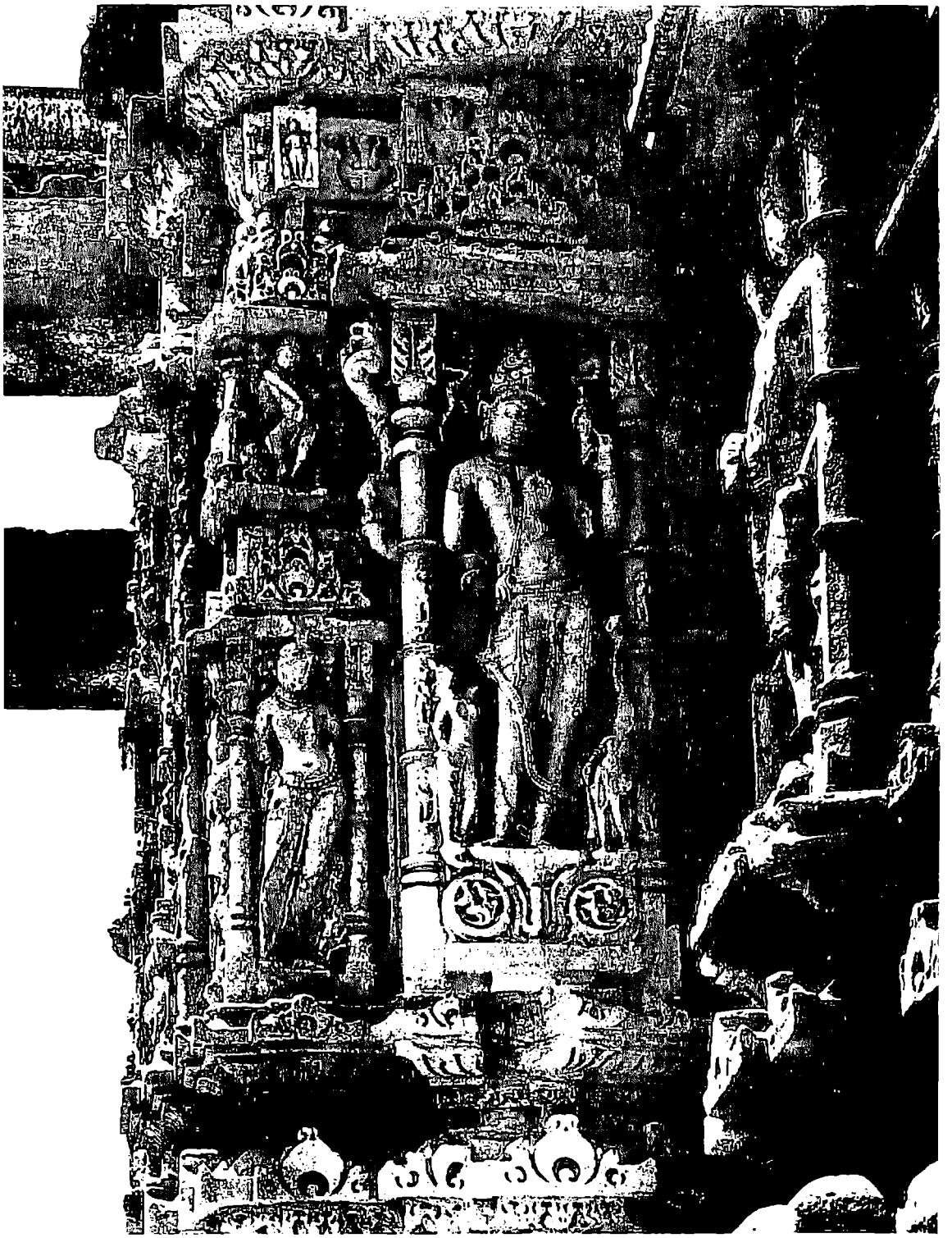

Fig. 5

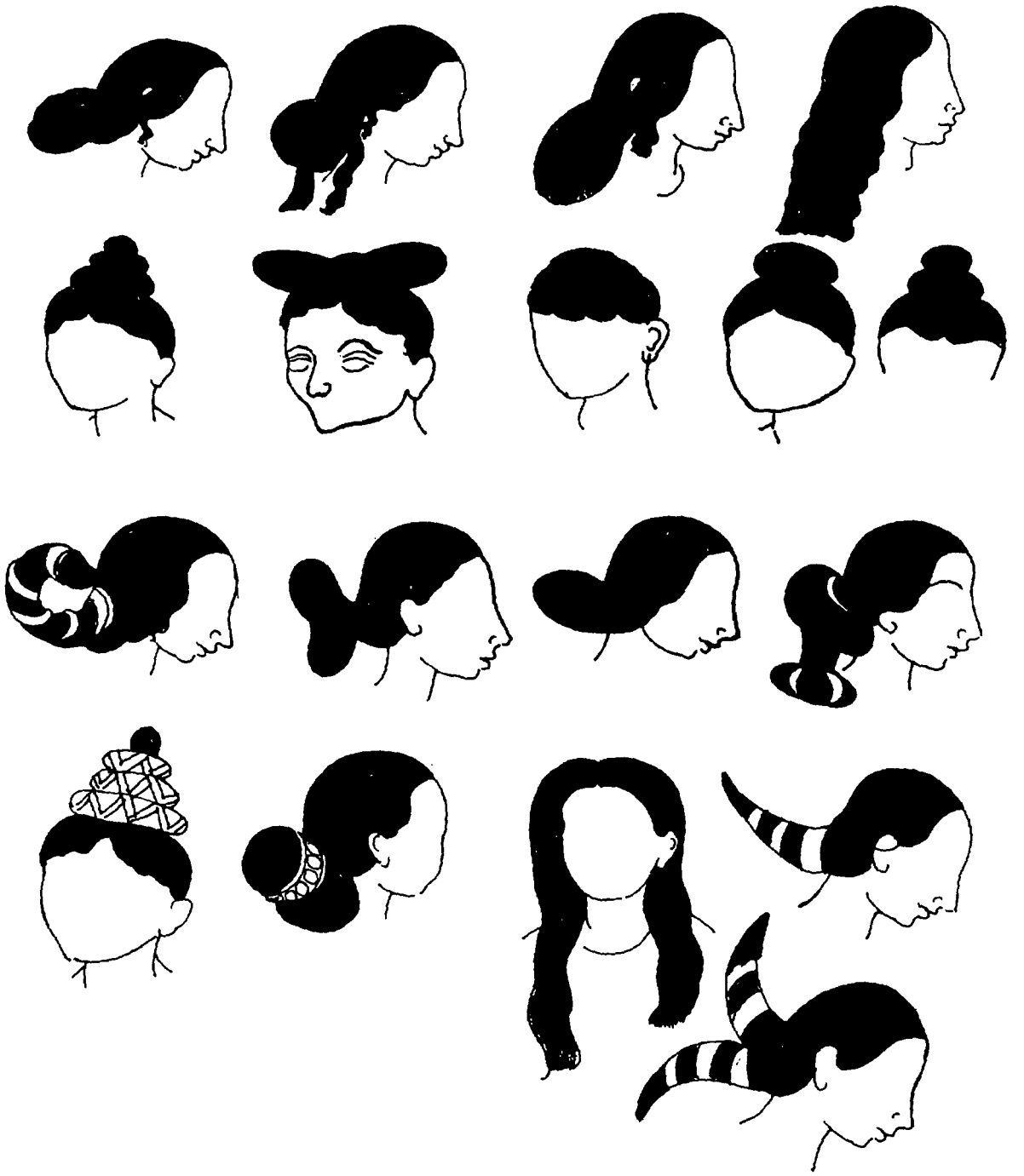

Fig. 6

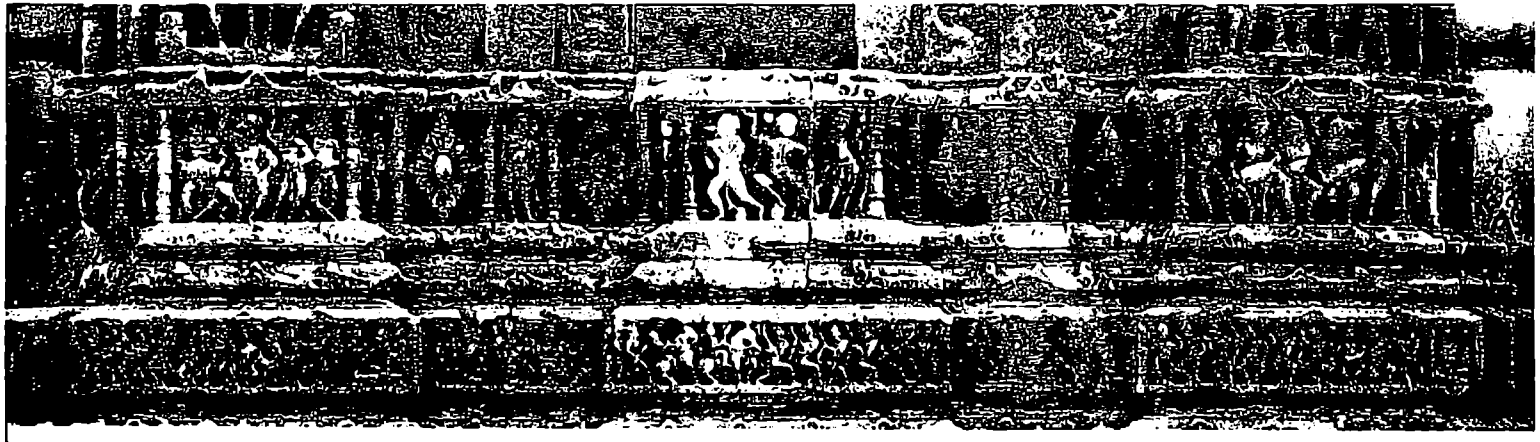

Fig. 7

Fig. 8

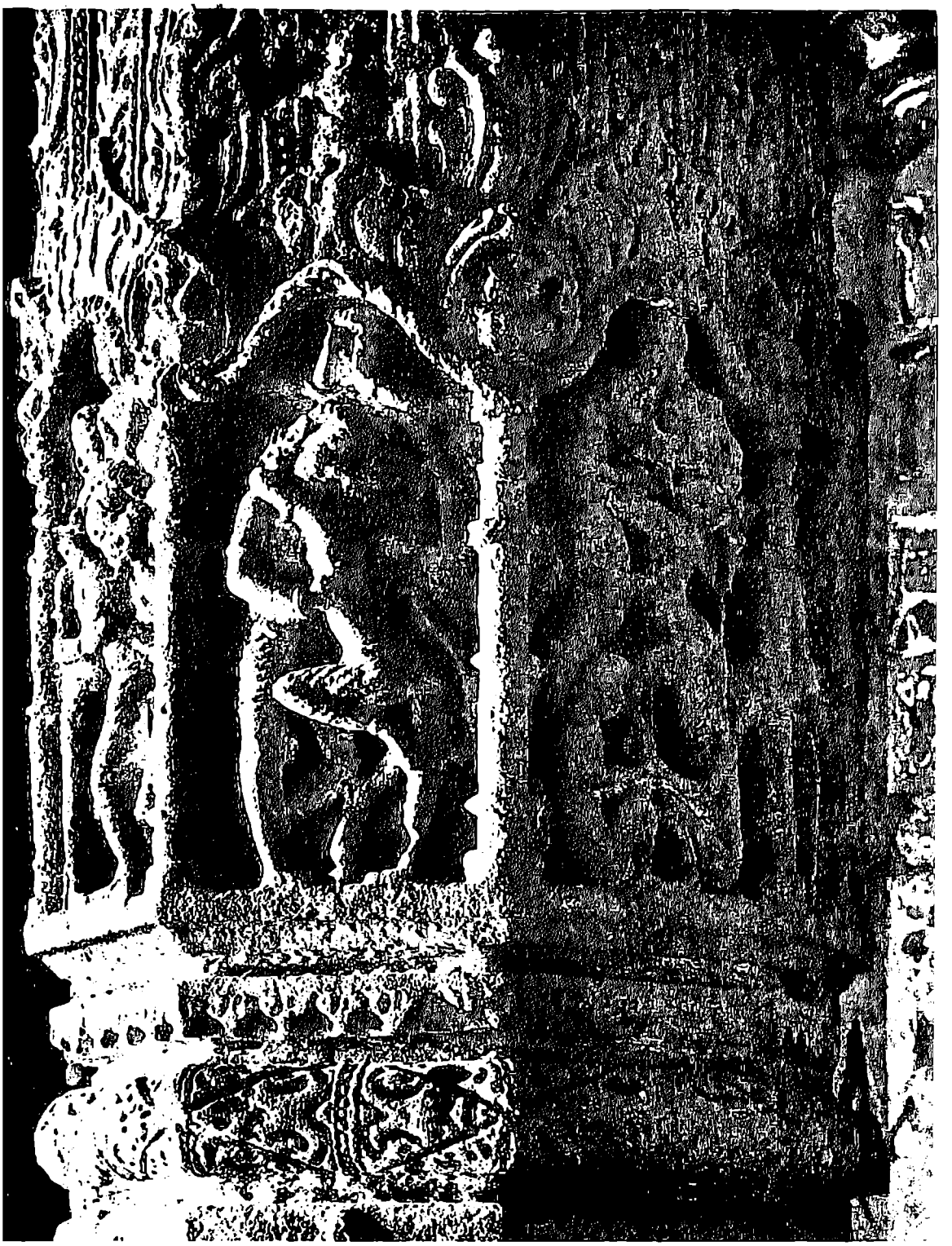

Fig. 9

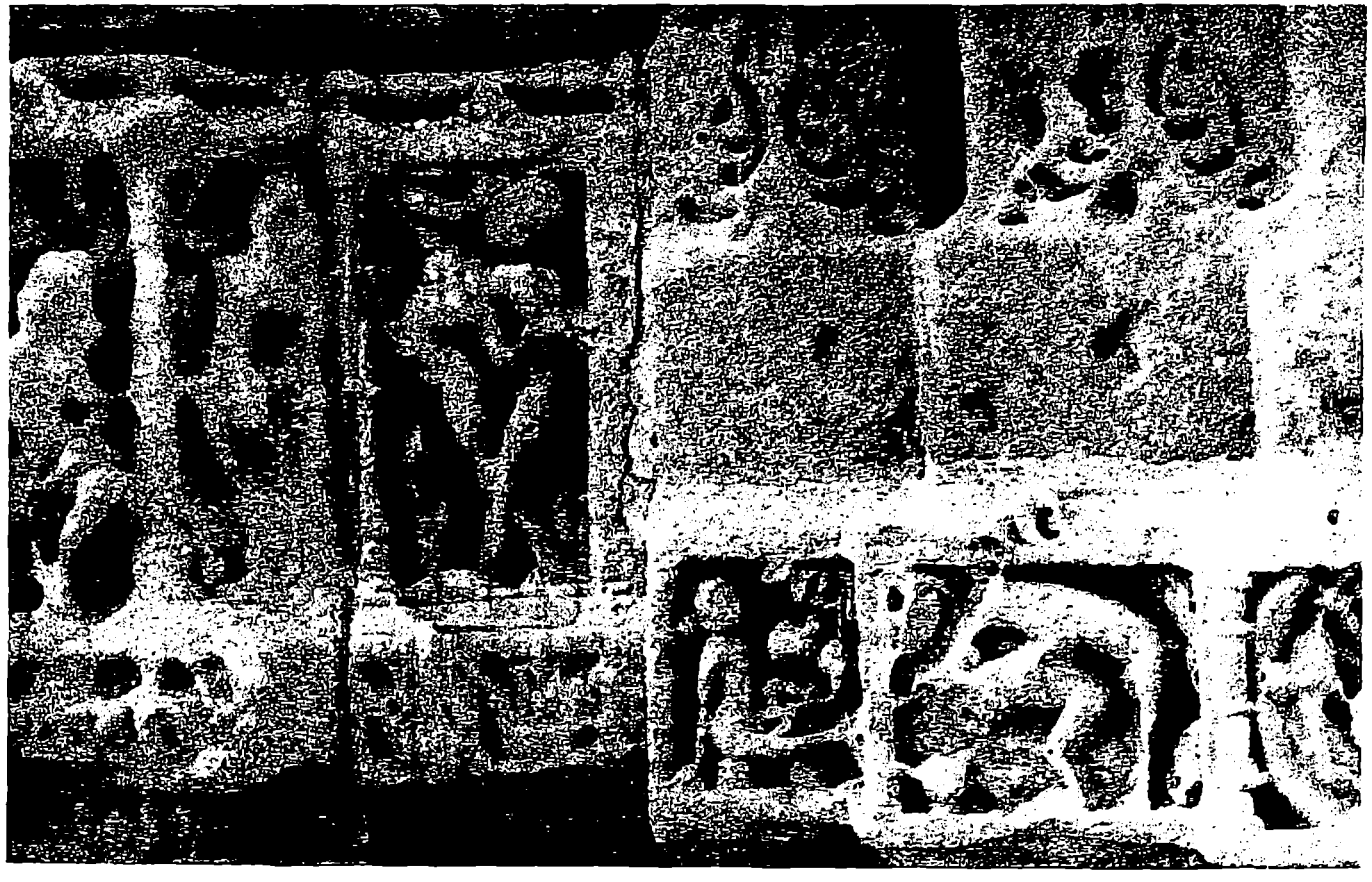

Fig. 10

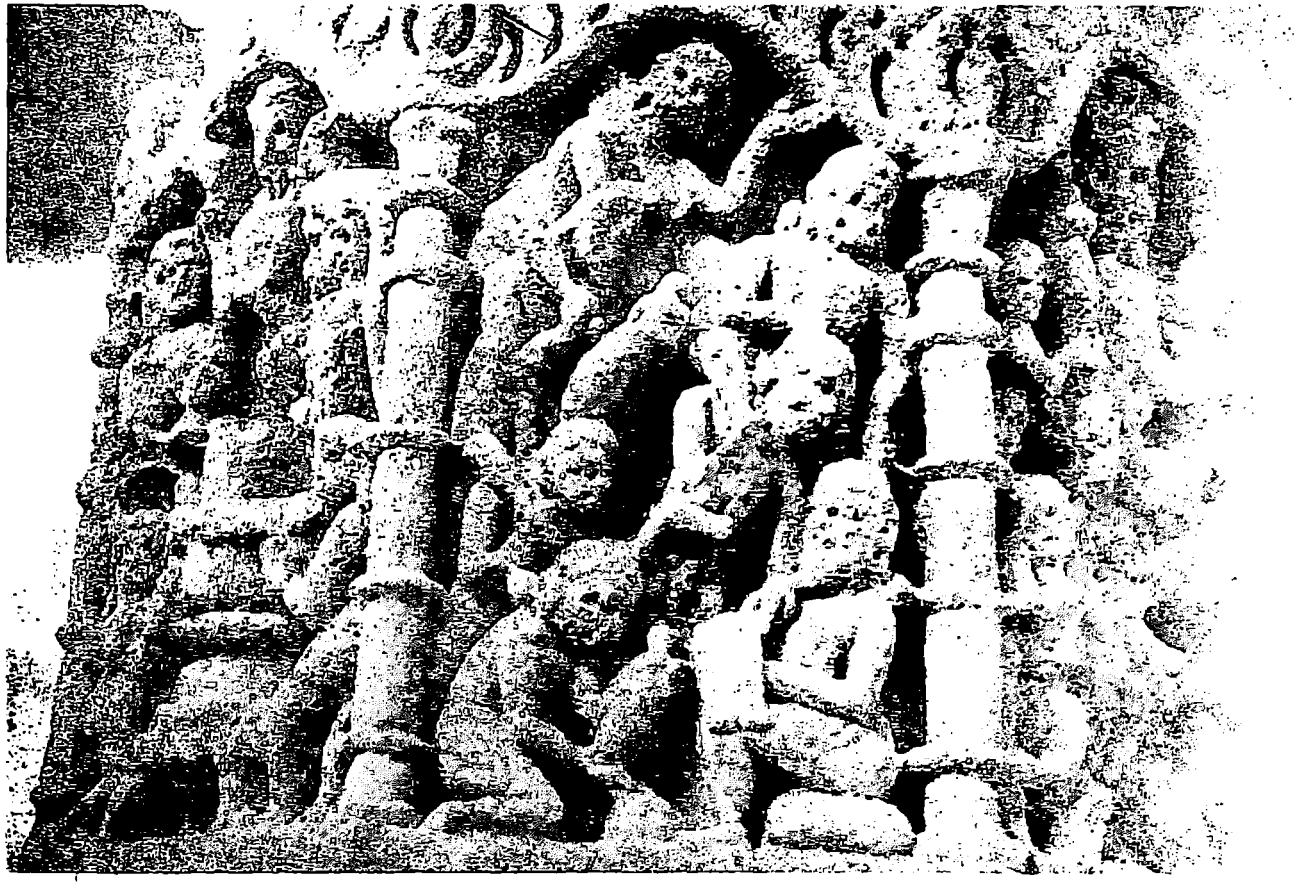

Fig. 11

figure, standing with her hand raised on one side, is pointing to the first hunter. However, a few other figures are watching the scene (Fig.8)[23]. There is a still very interesting scene again of boar hunting, on a pillar of the *sabhāmaṇḍapa*, where two horse-riders and two boars are carved. Of the two horse-riders, one is attacking a boar with a *śūla* and the boar-figures are shown falling down injured. There are numerous scenes on the *sabhāmaṇḍapa* pillars of boar hunting mostly by horse and elephant riders. In one such example, a man is knocking down a boar by holding its leg, while in another, a man, in a chariot, is shooting an arrow aiming at the fleeing boar[24]. There are examples wherein the boar and deer are both shown as injured by the hunters[25]. In one scene, however, hunting of an elephant with a bow and arrow is also shown. The elephant is attacking the hunter with its trunk raised in anger[26].

There are a few scenes of animal combats also. In one such example, the fight between an elephant and a lion is shown, while in two others, lions are engaged in fighting. In such scenes, elephant-figures are much more realistic than those of the lions[27]. In a few cases, a man is portrayed fighting with a lion or an elephant even without any weapon[28]. There are examples wherein a man, fighting with a lion, is keeping his hand in the mouth of the lion. In one scene, a female huntress is also carved, shooting an arrow at a lion from a high platform (*macāṇa*) specially prepared for hunting[29]. However, in one example of wrestling, the heads of two figures are shown in between the legs of each other[30]. Another example shows two pairs of figures engaged in a duel[31]. However, in one case, two female figures are shown pulling out the hair of each other[32].

Military Life :

The depiction of military life has been one of the most favoured subjects at all the Chaulukyan sites. The sculptures at Moḍherā show that the army consisted of soldiers riding on elephants and horses and those moving on foot. The elephants, as a superior fighting unit, had a prominent place in the army. There are scenes where the elephants are shown marching in procession with infantry and cavalry.[33] The infantry, marching in procession, is shown with spear, sword-shield, bow and arrow held in different ways. The figures in such instances are always carved in relevant actions. The soldiers are, shown either in duel or fights with sword and shield or mace or even being injured, or receiving fatal injuries.

Religion :

As the temple is dedicated to Sūrya, he is, as a natural corollary, represented here by maximum sculptures (37). Besides, a good number of Brāhmiṇic deities are also carved here. Sūrya, in *udīcya-veśa* with long boots and *varma,* is either standing on a pedastal or a chariot drawn by seven horses (Fig. 1). The temple facade itself has twelve Sūrya images (*dvādaśāditya*) along with his composite figures on the door-jambs of the *gūḍhamaṇḍapa*. Śiva

was worshipped both in aniconic (*liṅga*) and human forms. There are five examples of Śiva-*liṅga* worship in the temples.[34] In one example, in the *gūḍhamaṇḍapa narathara* on south, twelve figures, with bell, water-vessel and flower-basket, are worshipping a Śiva-*liṅga*. Two of them are, however, pouring water on Śiva -. *liṅga*.[35] The popularity of Śākta cult is manifest in the rendering of Cāmuṇḍā, Vāruṇī, Śivā, Bhairavī, Sarasvatī, Mahiṣamardini, Kālī, Lakṣmī and a few unidentified goddesses. Besides, Viṣṇu as *śeṣāsāyī* and also in his incarnatory forms (Narasiṁha, Varāha, Trivikrama), Brahmā, Indra, Gaṇeśa (with Śakti and as dancing), Harihara, Kubera, Ardhanārīśvara, Aṣṭadikpālas etc. are also represented by a good number of sculptures.[36] There is an instance of mythological representation of the story of *samudramanthana*.[37] The scenes related to the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata in the *sabhāmaṇḍapa* merit special attention.[38] These mainly include abduction of Sītā, Sītā in *Aśokavāṭikā*, *setu-bandha*, Draupadī-*svayaṃvara*, Bhīṣma-*śaraśayyā*, Bhīma-Duryodhana, Bhīma-Duḥśāsana-fight etc. The *Kṛṣṇalīlā* scenes are represented by two instances, churning and stealing of butter and *govardhana-dhāraṇa*.[39] Besides, there are *ṛṣi* figures belonging to different sects which, however, find depiction in other Chaulukyan temples also. These figures, wearing *mukuṭa*, *kuṇḍala*, *bhujabandha*, *kaupīna*, *uttarīya*, *yajñopavīta* and sometimes even naked, are usually shown with *varada*- or *abhaya-mudrā* of one hand and any one of *kamaṇḍalu*, manuscript, *triśūla* and *daṇḍa* in the other. Their hair are arranged either in *jaṭājūṭa* or in a round knot; they are sometimes bearded.

Erotic :

There are sufficient examples of erotic figures at the temple which reflect the leaning of the people towards sensuous pleasure. In a number of instances, standing amorous couples are clasping the hands of each-other, or even embracing or kissing (Figs. 9,10).[40] In a few cases, the male figure is touching the breasts, while the female is holding the penis of her counterpart.[41] The sexual mating from the back was also in vogue. In one such instance, a seated male figure is enjoying the sexual mating with a female figure seated in his lap, while in another a kneeling female figure is shown.[42] Sometimes, either two male figures with a female or two female figures with a male are also shown. In one example, on the *sabhāmaṇḍapa* pillar, two male figures are carved with a female, one is kissing while the other is engaged in sexual mating. In two scenes, two male and two female figures are carved together. The female figures in these are sucking the penis of their male counterparts and in one case the female is holding the penis of another male figure, who is kissing her. Some of the figures are, however, standing in surprise. The figures, in such scenes, are sometimes shown lying on the coach[43] or even enjoying musical performance.[44] The scenes of man-animal sexual mating are also carved. In one such instances, a boar is shown with a female figure (Fig. 10).[45]

The erotic figures in the temple reveal that the *sādhus* of different sects

were also engaged in such sexual activities. In one such example, a *sādhu* is enjoying sexual mating from the back while in another a *sādhu* is holding his own penis.[46] On one of the *sabhāmaṇḍapa* pillars, three male and three female figures are carved together. Of the three, two male figures, holding *mayūrapīcikā,* are identifiable with Jaina *sādhus*. Such scenes at once remind one of the *tāntric* influence, which here and elsewhere encouraged rendering of such erotic figures, the most vigorous of them being carved at Khajurāho, Koṇārk, Bhubaneśvara and also here at Moḍherā.

Education :

There are a few examples concerning educational life. In such scenes, the *ācāryas,* mostly on cushioned *āsana*, are shown in *vyākhyāna-mudrā* or engaged in discussion with their disciples.[47] Sometimes, the *ācāryas,* with *yogapaṭṭas,* and manuscripts, are shown with disciples listening to them with folded hands.[48]

Miscellaneous Scenes :

There are still several such scenes as show some of the other important aspects of contemporary life. These include scenes pertaining to excursions,[49] royal procession with caprisoned horses and elephants with ornate seat (*Haudā*),[50] female figures engaged in different activities such as peeping out from windows, playing with babies, persuading their male counterparts, applying *ālatā* and collyrium, looking in the mirror, tying anklets,[51] giving weapons to the kingly figures, massaging and bearing *courī* etc., *surāpāna,*[52] dead body procession with the female figures beating their breasts and crying, sometimes running towards the dead body.[53] Besides, there are interesting scenes of business wherein a man sitting with a pen and an account-book, is joined by a few figures bringing and emptying bags in front of him (Fig.11).[54]

From the above, it is clear that the sculptures in the Sun temple at Moḍherā depict almost all the important aspects of contemporary life. They show that the people believed in leading a joyous life and hence special care has been taken in the rendering of such scenes as pertain to music and dance, games and amusement and other aspects indicative of joyous life. It may be remarked that the same phenomena have been noticed at other Chaulukyan sites, namely Ḍabhoi, Ghumlī and at Mt. Ābu.

NOTES :

1. Percy Brown on the basis of an inscription on the back wall of the main shrine (dated *saṁvat* 1083) gives a more precise date to the temple, i.e. 1026-1027 A.D. Scholars like M.A. Dhaky and Hiranand Sastri are of the opinion that the temple was built during the reign of Bhīma I. For details, consult, Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture* (Buddhist and Hindu), (fifth edition), 1965, p.120, Somapura, Kantilal F., "*The Structural Temples of Gujarat*", Ahmedabad, 1968, p.120; Dhaky, M. A., "The Chronology of Solankī Temple of Gujarat", *Journal of Madhya Pradesh Itihāsa Parishad*, No.3, 1961, p.28; Baroda Gazeteer, Vol. II, p.602.

2. The *sabhā-maṇḍapa* is believed to be a later addition made in the early years of the reign of Karṇadeva (1066-1096). Somapura, Kantilal F., *op. cit.*, p.122; Dhaky, M. A., "The Date of the Dancing Hall of the Sun Temple, Modhera," *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Bombay, 38/1963 (New Series), pp.211-222.

3. For details consult, Somapura, Kantilal F., *op. cit.*, pp. 120-23; Krishna Deva, *Temples of North India*, Delhi, 1969, p.45-46.

4. Banerjee, J. N., *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, Calcutta, 1956, p.295.

5. Hemacandra, describing the ladies of the Mārū country, mentions that some of them did not care to adjust their upper garment to cover their bosom or abdomen while proceeding hastily to see the king Durlabharāja of the Gurjararāṣṭra, as he arrived to attend the marriage of the sister of the king of that country. The term used by Hemacandra for the upper garment is *udarastanāpīdhāyakaṁ vastram* (the garment covering the abdomen and the breasts). The description makes it clear that it was considered proper to wear the upper garment in such a fashion that it covered not only the breasts but also the abdomen. Probably, this garment was like an apron with sleeves which we do not come across at Moḍherā.

6. There are literary references to such a fine apparel used by women as the upper garment. Kālidāsa describes the garment covering the breasts as *stanottarīya* and Daṇḍin as *stanāṃśuka*. The garment was so light that it could be displayed even by the breath. *Raghuvaṁśa*, XVI, 17; cf. *Ṛtusaṁhāra*, I, 7; *Dasakumāracarita*, ed. by N. R. Acharya, Bombay, 1951.

7. Dancing figures in *narathara* and *maṇḍapas*.

8. *Gūḍhamaṇḍapa* pillar on south.

9. *Gūḍhamaṇḍapa, narathara* east.

10. *Gūḍhamaṇḍapa, narathara*, east, *apsaras*-figures.

11. *Gūdhamaṇḍapa*, pillar on west, Cāmuṇḍā and *apsaras* figures. *Apsarases* on the *guḍhamaṇḍapa* facade and the *sabhāmaṇḍapa* pillars.

12. *Apsaras* figures on the eastern facade of the *guḍhamaṇḍapa*.

13. *Apsarases* and dancers, *guḍhamaṇḍapa narathara*, east.

14. Figures of Sūrya on the west and south wall *mūlaprāsāda*, east and north wall of the *gūḍhamaṇḍapa*.

15. *Apsaras, gūḍhamaṇḍapa*, north facade.

16. Sometimes this variety shows plain hair without parting line.

17. *Gūḍhamaṇḍapa, sabhāmaṇḍapa*, pillar north.

18. *Sabhāmaṇḍapa, narathara*, south and north.

19-21. *Sabhāmaṇḍapa, narathara,* south

22. *Gūḍhamaṇḍapa* pillars.

23. *Sabhāmaṇḍapa,* pillar.

24. *Sabhāmaṇḍapa, narathara,* south.

25. *Sabhāmaṇḍapa,* pillar.

26. *Sabhāmaṇḍapa,* third pillar from west to east.

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29. *Sabhāmaṇḍapa, nararthara,* south and pillar.

30. *Sabhāmaṇḍapa, narathara,* south.

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33. *Sabhāmaṇḍapa, narathara,* south.

34. *Gūḍhamaṇḍapa, narathara,* south, *sabhāmaṇḍapa* pillars.

35. *Sabhāmaṇḍapa, narathara,* north.

36. *Sabhāmaṇḍapa, narathara,*

37. *Sabhāmaṇḍapa, narathara,* north.

38. *Sabhāmaṇḍapa,* ceiling.

39. Sabhāmaṇḍapa, pillar, north.

40. *Gūḍhamaṇḍapa,* pillar and door-lintel.

41. *Gūḍhamaṇḍapa,* door-lintel, *narathara,* panel on facade, east.

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43. *Gūḍhamaṇḍapa,* pillar.

44. *Gūḍhamaṇḍapa, narathara,* south.

45. *Gūḍhamaṇḍapa, narathara*

46. *Gūḍhamaṇḍapa,* pillar.

47. *Gūḍhamaṇḍapa, narathara,* north; *sabhāmaṇḍapa,* pillars.

48. *Sabhāmaṇḍapa, narathara,* north, *gūḍhamaṇḍapa,* pillar.

49. In excursion scenes, a male lying or sitting in leisure in the palanquin is carried by two persons. Sometimes a figure supports the palanquin in the middle while the other is holding a *chatra.*

50. *Gūḍhamaṇḍapa,* pillar, north, *sabhāmaṇḍapa* pillar.

51. *Sabhāmaṇḍapa,* pillar

52-53. *Sabhāmaṇḍapa,* pillars

54. *Sabhāmaṇḍapa,* pillar, north.

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Courtesy :

Figs. 1, 3, 5, 7-9 Americal Institute of Indian Studies, Varanasi

Figs. 10, 11 Naval Krishna, Varanasi.

Figs, 2, 4, 6. Anjan Kumar Chakravarti, Varanasi.

Buddhist Monastery at Antichak, District Bhagalpur (Bihar) (A possible site of the ancient Vikramaśilā Mahāvihāra)

S. C. Saran

Excavated Buddhist monastery at Antichak (25° 19'N and 87° 19' E)[1] is situated on the right bank of the old bed of the river Gaṅgā, 13 km north-east of Colgong (Kahalgaon) Railway Station (on the Kuel - Hawrah loop-line in the district of Bhagalpur in Bihar (Pl. I). The monastery at Antichak has been considered to be the site of the famous Buddhist monastery, the Vikramaśilā Mahāvihāra (University) which was the *Viruda* of an early Pāla monarch, identified with Dharmapāla (A. D. 783 - 820)[2].

The ancient Vikramaśilā Mahāvihāra was a famous seat of learning which flourished from the last quarter of the 8th century to the beginning of the 13th century A.D. under the patronage of the Pāla dynasty. A glimpse into the history of the Buddhist monastic establishment is furnished in the writings of the 17th century Tibetan historian, Lama Tāranāth, in his book[3] *History of Buddhism in India*. The relevant literary accounts are meagre as compared to the Chinese accounts of Nālandā University and we have to depend a great deal on the Tibetan accounts for a detailed record of the University. According to him, the Second Pāla monarch Dharmapāla, first of all, built the Vikramaśīlā Māhāvihāra in the month of Māgha, on the bank of the river Gaṅgā, on the top of a hillock.[3] The Tibetan Tanjur and text entitled "*Guru Guṇa Dharmakara* is also an important source. The Tibetan travellers Naga-Tcho and Dharmasāmin have also added to our knowledge about this university. Besides, there are two inscriptions from the monastery of Tabo in Sipti, discovered by Francke[5], which at least have corroborated the story of Śrī Dipāṅkar, the high priest of Vikramaśilā, and his mission to Tibet, on the invitation of the Tibetan king, for the reformation of the Buddhist religion there. Indian accounts in Sanskrit like *Śārandhara-Stotra Ṭīka*[6] and *Bṛhat Svayambhu Purāṇa*[7] also furnish direct reference to the Vikramaśīlā University.

The identification of the ancient Vikramśilā Mahāvihāra has been a problem to scholars. Various sites have been suggested as the possible location of this Mahāvihāra[8]. Finally, Dr. Sinha after a thorough exploration of the area around Pātharghāttā and after examining literary references, came to the conclusion that the mound at Antichak, locally known as the Dharohar mound, is the possible site of this Mahāvihāra (university).

The contour[9] of the area between village Oriup and Lallapur is covered with mounds of brick structures. It is enclosed by Govardhan hillock in the south and the Pātharghāttā hillock to the west. To the north of this area lies the old bed of the river Gaṅgā. From Lallāpur to Oriup in all together six mounds

have been located, including the excavated Antichak monastery, which is in the centre. (Pl. II).

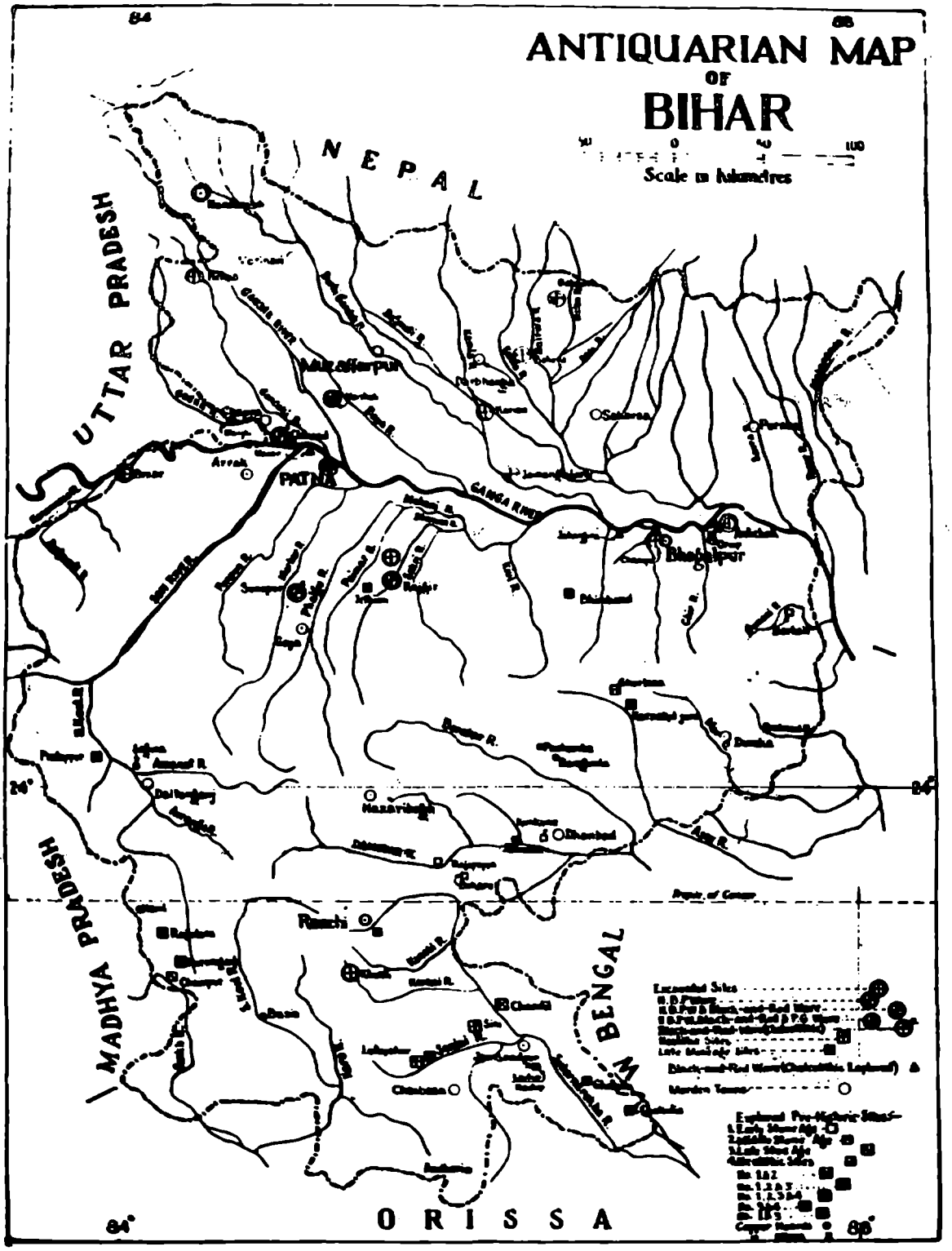
The excavation at Antichak brought to light a complete quadrangular Buddhist monastery which measures 330 metres square on plan, in the centre of which there is a massive Chaitya (Pl. III). The area covered by the Chaitya is 56 meteres square and 16.25 metres in height from the present working level. It has a double *pradakṣiṇāpatha*. The two terraces of the circumambulatory path are 3 metres higher than the ground level. On the plinth of the terrace secondary walls and cornices have been provided in the upper portion, below which there are niches containing terracotta plaques[10] representing religious, mythical and animal motifs.

The Chaitya is cruciform in plan having four shrine chambers measuring 5.75 x 3.75 metres with antechambers at its four cardinal points. All the four shrine chambers contain huge terracota figures of the Buddha, seated on a decorative pedestal.[11] It is interesting to note that the massive chaitya has only one entrance towards the north facing the main gate of the monastry (pl. IV). Between the chaitya and the main gate traces of a connecting pathway measuring 75 x 11 metres, with a rammed floor have been noticed (Pl. V).

The entire monastic establishment is surrounded by three parallel walls, the inner measuring 1.56 metres, the middle 2.70 metres and the outer wall having a width 3.80 metres which runs equidistantly all around the monastery. In between the inner wall there is common verandah with a width of 3.10 metres and between the outer and the middle wall after making partition walls, rows of cells have been provided around the monastery. Altogether there are 208 cells, measuring 4.15 metre square. Entrance to these cells is through an opening in the middle wall towards the verandah — the Longitudinal verandah is also supported by a roof on tall monolithic pillars.

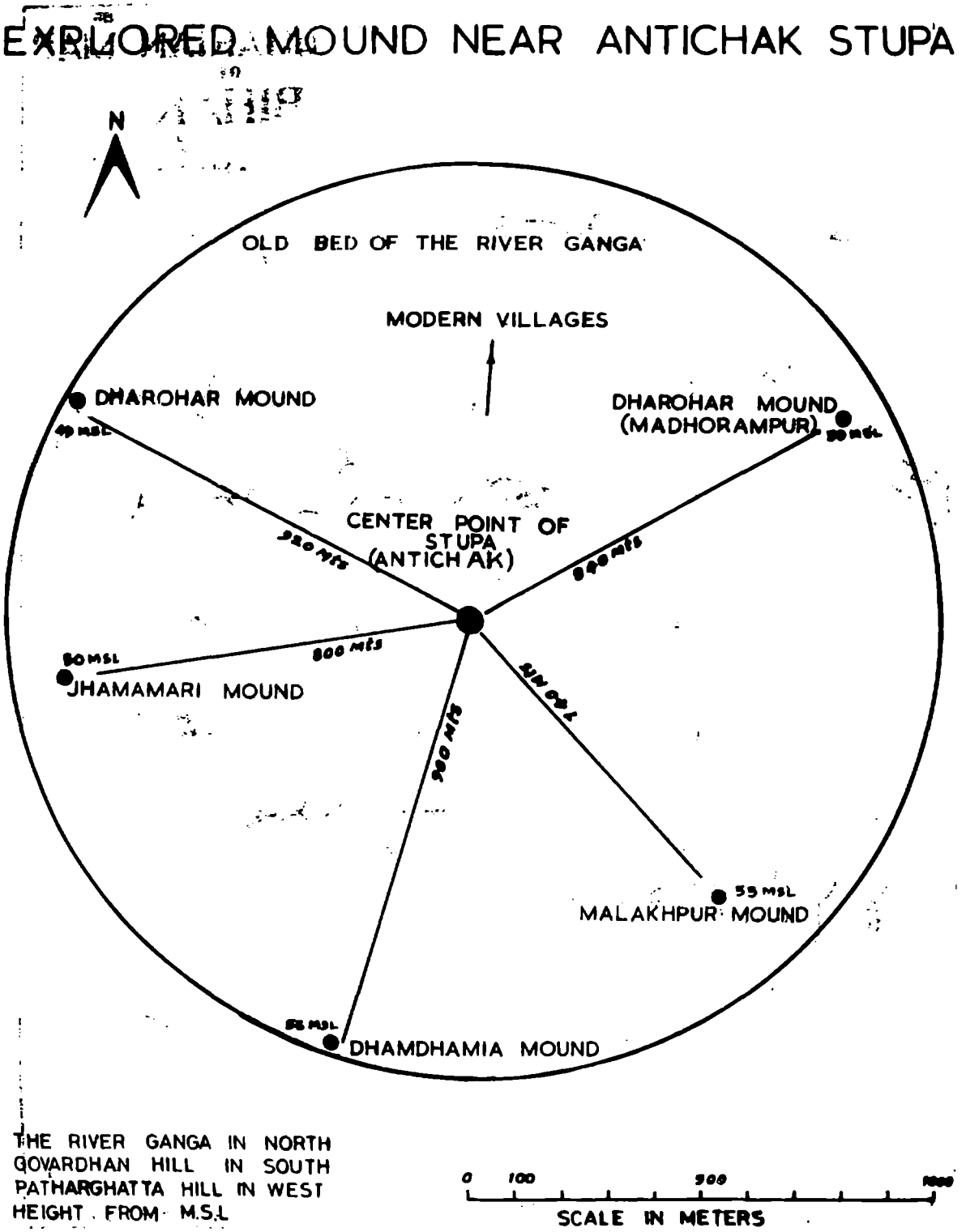
The interesting feature of this monastery is that, adjoining the outer wall are projected spacious circular and rectangular cells, at a distance of 21 to 23 metres from each other. Altogether 20 circular and 25 rectangular cells have been discovered including the central projections. In the centre of three wings, i.e. east, west and south, we have found a rectangular projection having three cells inter-connected with the regular cells of the monastery. The measurement of the circular and rectangular cells is 9 square metres including the wall. The inner space of the cell is 4.15 metres square. There is provision for three platforms or beds in all the rectangular and circular cells, and provision of a single bed in regular cells. Besides these cells, about 12 underground cells are below the floor of the regular and projected cells. One of the underground cells shows twin brick-arches. A passage has been provided through a small opening 95 cm square and having a depth 1.35 metre.

The gateway complex (Pl. IV, VI) of the monastery is very interesting. It



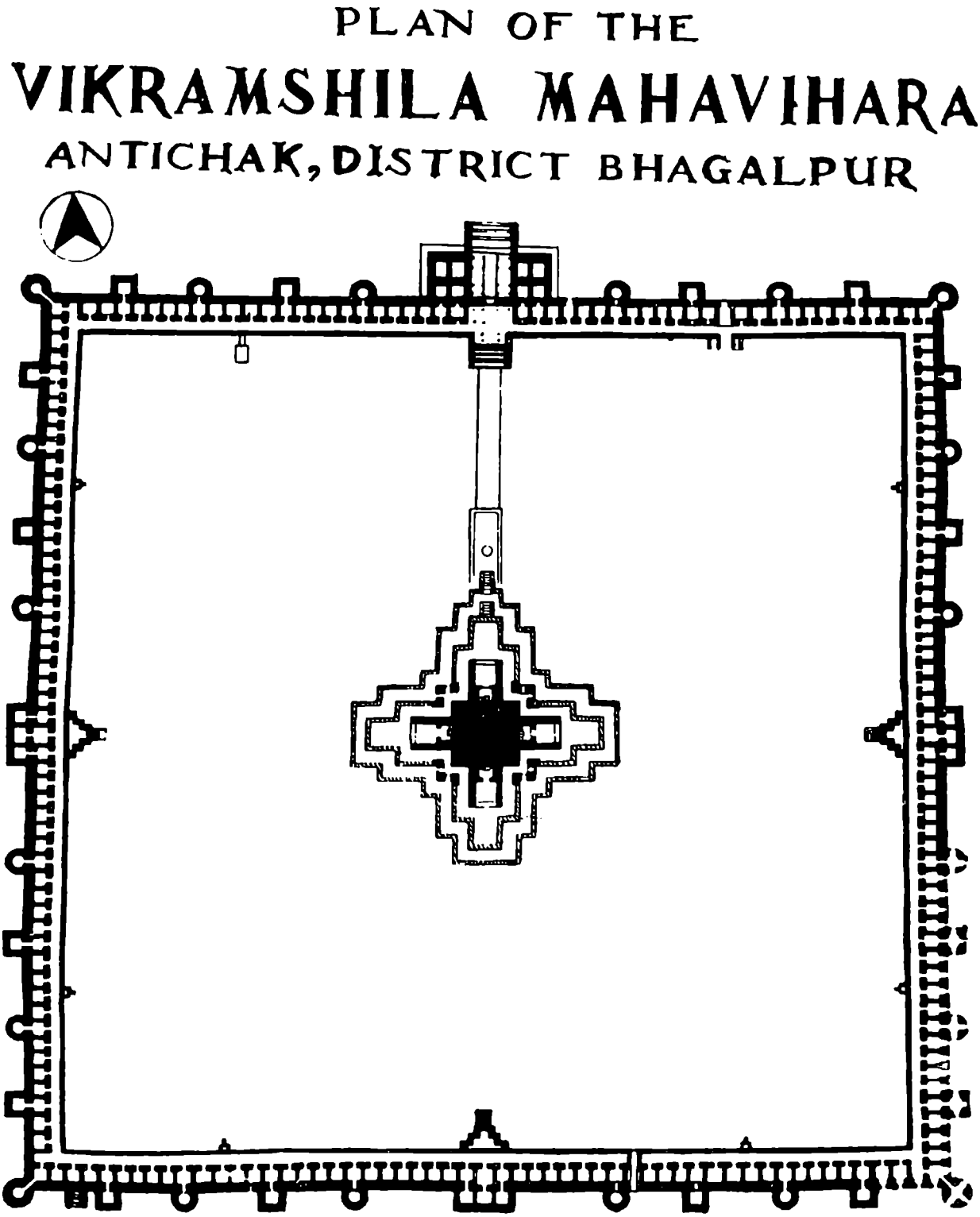
Antichak (Dist. Bhagalpur, Bihar)

PL. I



Antichak (Dist. Bhagalpur, Bihar),

PL. II



Antichak (Dist. Bhagalpur, Bihar) Plan of the Vikramśīlā Mahāvihāra

PL. III

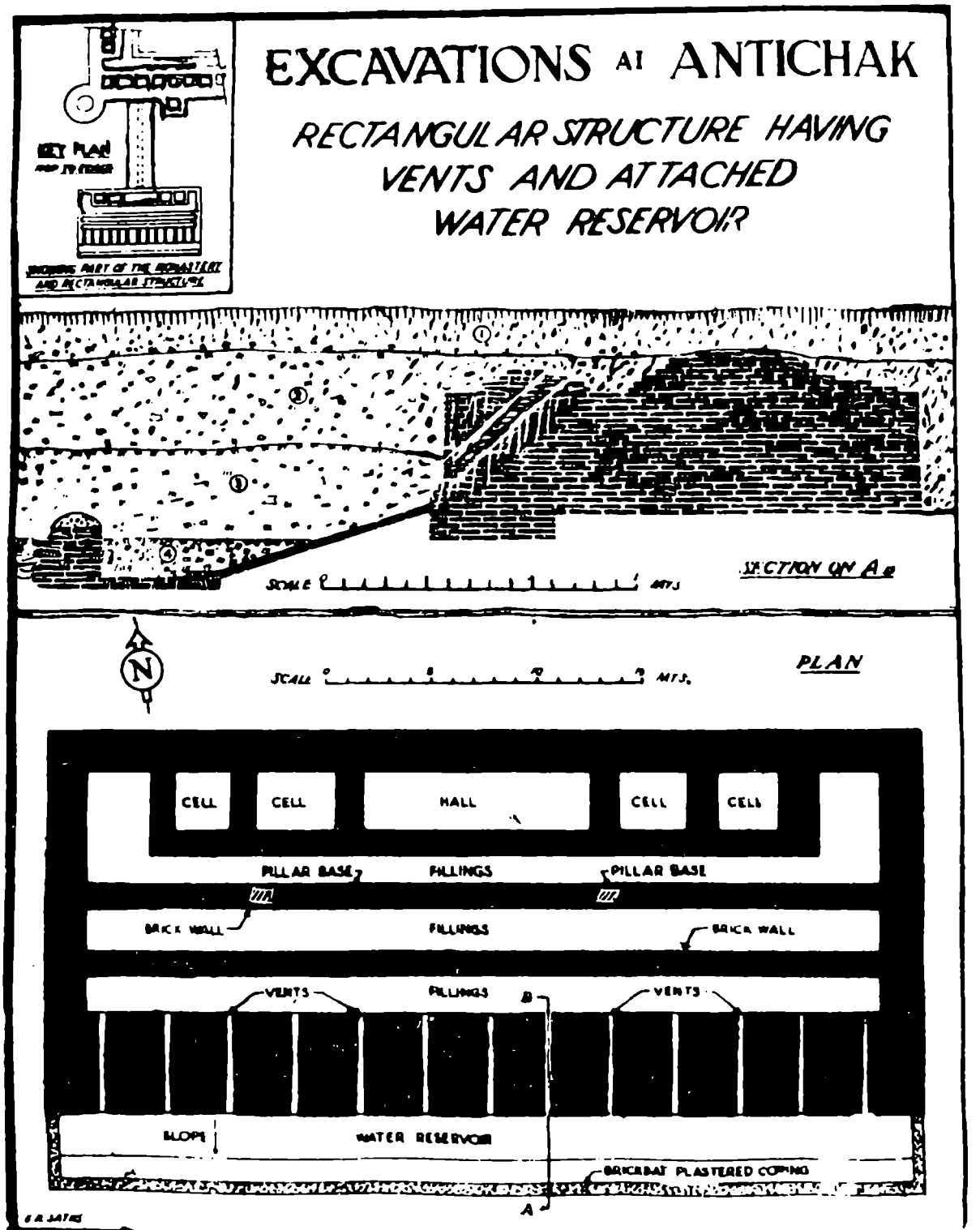
Antichak (Dist. Bhagalpur, Bihar) Massive chaitya entrance towards Nothern main gate,

PL. IV

Antichak (Dist. Bhagalpur, Bihar) Massivee chaitya and connecting pathway upto the main gate *PL. V*

Antichak (Dist. Bhagalpur, Bihar) close up view of the northern main gate

PL. VI



Antichack (Dist Bhagalpur) Reclangutar structure and Reservoir

PL. VII

is marked by the central entrance measuring 19.30 metres. in width, (east to west), including the side walls measuring 2.30 x 2.30 metres, approached by steps. Further, the passage was reduced in width to 4.65 metres and monolithic pillars 7 metres in height placed on a square base, with 4 stones on either sides, supported by a roof over it. The floor of this passage is paved with bricks laid edgewise. At the end of the passage which is 16.6 metres long, we came across three more stone steps and sills providing access to a large platform which is further projected towards the inner courtyard of the monastery. The inner projection was also roofed.

Another special feature of the gateway complex is a projection of each flank containing four rooms with an open terrace on two sides. The inner two rooms are 4.2 metres square, and outer two are rectangular measuring 6 x 3.9 metres. Originally these rooms were inter-connected with the rows of the monastic cells but later on were closed. Attached to this structure facing the main gate passage, two small shrines were also noticed. In addition to the main gate, two more passages came to light which were blocked in at a later stage. (See the plan of the monastery). During the course of excavation a series of medium to small size votive Stūpas in rows were uncovered on either side of the main gate. The total number exceeds one hundred votive Stūpas, varying in size from 30 cm to 160 cm.

The discovery of a main drain towards north-east corner of the main monastery shows it was well planned. This drain runs straight in the north-east corner for a length of 6.10 metres thereafter, forming an angle of 160, It turns towards the east for 10.25 metres. The total length of the drain is about 16.35 metres. It emerges beyond the outer wall of the monastery where its outlet is reduced to a square opening of 0.55 cms.

In the south-west corner of the monastery, a closed rectangluar structure measuring about 41.5 metres in length and 18.65 metres in width was uncovered. This structure is connected to the monastery by a narrow passage flanked by walls, measuring 31.7 metres in length and 2.3 metres thick. Attached to the northern inner wall of this rectangular structure, there are four small rooms and one longitudinal rectangular hall. Beyond these rooms are two longitudinal parallel walls 37.80 metres in length 2 metres apart. These parallel walls join the eastern and western wall of the structure. The extreme south wall, which is 4.15 metres in width, has 13 inclined channel - like vents at the alternate intervals of 2.62 metres from each other and they merge with the level of the water in a small longitudinal reservoir. This reservoir is constructed at the foot of the southern wall of the rectangular structure. The reservoir measured is 41 metres long east to west and 3.3 metres wide, north to south. It slopes towards the south and its surface is paved with flat bricks plastered with lime *surkhi.* (Pl. VII).

In the course of excavation a large number of images and artefacts made from different materials, have been discovered. The bronzes include images

of the Buddha, Avalokiteśvara, Maitreya, Vajarapāṇi, Mañjuśri, also a boar with seven piglings and a small dog. Copper and silver coins of Vigrahapāla and a small inscribed ivory elephant and dice are the noteworthy finds. The stone images consist of figures of the Buddha in different postures, Tārā, Avalokiteśvara, Mārici, etc. Iron objects are a socket, nails, door-handles, a knife, a dagger and javelins. The terracotta items include plaques, animals, a rattle, skin scrubber, votive Stūpas, seals and sealings.

We now have to examine the history recorded by the Tibetan Lama Tāranāth regarding the location on the hill on the bank of the river Gaṅgā, the number of *Śrāvaka-bhikṣus* and *Mahāyānīs* who were the permanent residents, and the plan in the light of the present excavations at Antichak and the surrounding mounds.

Tāranāth's account is not totally dependable, since it is not a history as such but a document which necessitates further research. Nevertheless, it provides some remarkable and rare facts. It would have to be throughly exacted and assorted.

During the course of excavations, a 30-line inscription on a squarish stone votive Stūpa was uncovered from the Central chaitya. The inscription refers to four kings, namely Kesara, Haṁsana, Sāhur and Masānikeśa, and that Sāhur installed an image in the monestary[12] built on the hill on the bank of the river Gaṅgā[13]. This is confirmed by Tāranāth and the translator of the Tibetan text who mention the top of the hill. The ruins are also situated on the right bank of the river Gaṅgā.

The plan of the excavated monastery at Antichak shows how it accommodated several hundred resident *Srāvaka-bhikṣus* (students). Tāranāth mentioned that, during the time of Ramapāla, forty *Mahāyānīs* and two hundred *Śrāvaka-bhikṣus* were maintained by that king as permanent residents at Vajrāsana.[14] It can be said that the regular cells were used by the *Śrāvaka-bhikṣus* and the 45 double cells (which are projected with regular cells) were for the *Mahāyānīs* or teachers. The arrangements indicate that five or six research students worked under one teacher.

The excavations also revealed about 12 underground cells. These underground cells may have been used for the meditation, which in bygone days was a basic discipline for novices and monks in the development of the Buddhist religion. It was prevalent in the monasteries in India and abroad, and was also part of the discipline of the party.[15] A close study of the plan of the south western corner structure (Pl. VII) shows that there was a rectangular closed hall with five rooms within, with provision on the north, for keeping it cool. Possibly this was the mansucript section or library of the Mahāvihāra. The cooling system was needed to preserve the manuscripts which were Tālapatra (palm leaf). The wind and spray from the water in the reservoir was drawn by cross ventilation into the closed hall through the channels (vents). It was a form of "forced draft ventalation."[16]

The plan of the monastery at Antichak is similar to the Somāpur Mahāvihāra at Pahārpur (now in Bangladesh). S. Dutta has placed Vikramaśilā in West Bengal in the map given in his book *Buddhist Monks and Monasteries in India*. But at one place in this book he has admitted, "As Dharmapāla built the Vikramaśilā establishment, so his successor built the Somāpur Mahāvihāra, both planned and designed on a strikingly large scale."[17] This statement of Sri Dutta is highly important so far as the identification of the Vikramaśilā University is concerned.

The main gate of the monastery is in correct alignment with the longitudinal north-south axis of the central Stūpa. A highly learned master of Tantras, Naropā was in charge of this important gate.[18] Admission to its university was restricted and the standard of scholarship was high.

Tārānāth also refers to the six gates of the Vikramaśilā Mahāvihāra which were guarded by the most erudite of its teachers called *Dvārapaṇḍita*. The six mounds[19] (Plate - II) are the ruins of the six monasteries or colleges, the entrances to which were referred to by Tārānāth.

Literary and archaeological evidence show that the monastic establishment referred to above was a centre of Tāntric studies.[20] The excavated monastery is a part of the ancient Vikramaśilā Mahāvihāra and other five mounds located (Pl II) could be the final of ancient Vikramaśilā University.

It may be concluded that it was the largest and the best developed Buddhist monastery of the medieval period. The excavated Buddhist images and artifacts and the monastic establishment at Antichak prove it to be so.

Notes :

1. Patil D. R. - *Antiquarain remains of Bihar,* (Appendix).
2. Sinha B. P. - *Dynastic history of Magadha,* p.184.
3. Schiefner, A. - *Tārānāth's Geschichte des Buddhismum in India.* p. 217 ff.
4. *Tārānāth's History of Buddhism in India,* Translated from the Tibetan by Lama Chimpa and Alaka Chattopadhyaya (ed. Chattopadhyaya D.), p. 275.
5. Francke A. H. - *Historical documents from the Tibet* (A.S.I. Annual Report 1909-10), p.108.
6. श्रीमद् विक्रमशील महाविहारीय राजगुरू पण्डित भिक्षु:
   श्री जिम रक्षित कृत: वाला कस्तुति टीका परिसमाप्तं !! (Ed. by S. C. Vidyabhusan, in Bibliotheca India, p. 50).
7. वाराणस्या नागच्या च विहार यत्रख्यान्ति के ।
   तट्टा विक्रमशीलसि विहार वस पण्डिकञ्चक: !!
   (*Bṛhat S. Purāṇa* ed. H. P. Sastri, Chap. VI, pp. 320-21).
8. A. Cunningham identified it with the village of Silao near Nālandā (A.S.I.R. (1872-73) VIII, p.75); S. C. Vidyabhushan with Sultanganj (J.A.S.B. - XXX, 1864, pp. 360); N. L. Day with Pathārghāttā hill near Colgong

(Kahalgāon) (ibid V 1809 pp. 1-19 and Vol. IV p.7) Sastri Banerji with Keur, near Hulasganj (J.B.O.R.S. (1929) XV, pp. 264-276). Rahul Sankrityayana places it somewhere near east of Sultanganj (R. K. Chaudhary, *The University of Vikramaśilā*, p.3). Chakravarty believes the area around Vaṭeśuara and Pathārghāttā to be the possible sites of this monastery (Ibid p.3). Oldham ('Journal of F. Buchanan', edited by Oldham 1930, intro. pp. XVIII-XIX); B. P. Sinha identified the mound situated at Antichak as the most probable site of the Vikramaśilā University. Under the guidance of Dr. Sinha, the Department of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology of Patna University conducted excavations from 1960 to 1969. Thereafter the Archaeological Survey of India undertook the excavation of this site, under the guidance of Dr. B. S. Verma, Superintending Archaeologist, Vikramaśilā Excavation Project, Patna.

9. Contouring of an area of about one kilometre radius has been done by Shri A. Mukherjee, Surveyor of the Vikramaśilā Excavation Project, Patna.
10. B. P. Sinha, *Archaeology and Art of India*, (Pl. 35, 36 & 37).
11. 'Indian Archaeology - A Review', 1961-62, Pl. IIIA and 1962-63 Pl. IX.
12. The excavations show that the site was destroyed (and repaired) several times before it was abondoned. The northern Chambers of the chaitya suffered twice. After the first destruction a second pedestal was raised over the terracotta Buddha figure and a stone image of the Buddha was installed. (A.I.R. 1961-62, p.3 (Pl. IIB). The stone figure of the Buddha is at present in the Patna University Museum, which can be identified with the image installed by Sāhur.
13. Sircar D. C., *Some Epigraphical Records of the medieval period from eastern India*, Chap. 3, pp. 23-29.
14. *Tāranāth's History* by --- op. cit; Chap. 36, p. 313.
15. Chattopadhyaya Alaka (Mrs.), *Atisa and Tibet*, p. 422.
16. 'The Journal of the Bihar Puravid Parishad' (ed. Sahay B.) Vol. II 1978, pp. 155-58.
17. Dutta S., *Monks and Monasteries in India*, p. 374.
18. *Tāranātha's History* --- op. cit., Supplementary notes-76, p. 429.
19. Six mounds in the vicinity of Antichak have been located. Excavation on a small scale also had been conducted on the two mounds locally known as the Dharohar mound near the Jangaliasthān in the village Mādhorāmpur and the Malakpur mound which is near the village Malakpur.

    The excavation at Dharohar mound has revealed the existence of an old fort of the medieval period, probably constructed with building materials taken from the Buddhist monastery. The foundation of this fort rests

on the earlier ruins, which may be Buddhist. The Tibetan source mentions that the Turks destroyed the Māhāvihāra and constructed a fort there.

Excavation conducted on the Malakpur mound brought to light several Buddhist brick Stūpas and the existence of Buddhist remains there.

20. S. C. Saran, *Vikramaśilā University - A centre of Tantricism*, (Published in K. P. Jayaswal Commemoration Volume), p. 117-122.

Acknowledgements :

I am thankful to Miss. R. S. Moon and Shri. N. A. Sayed, Photographer who helped me in writing this paper.

PLATES :

Pl. I Antiquarian map of Bihar.

Pl. II Explored mound near the Antichak Stūpa.

Pl. III Plan of the Vikramāsilā Māhavihāra Antichak, Dist. Bhagalpur.

Pl. IV Massive Chaitya entrance forwards Northern Main gate.

Pl. V Massive Chaitya and connecting pathway upto the main gate.

Pl. VI Close up view of the northern main gate.

Pl. VII Rectangular structure and reservoir.

INCONSISTENCY :

Pl. II Stūpa.

Pl. IV + V = chaitya.

Suggest "chaitya" be change to "Stūpa".

The Visual in South Asian Culture

Michael W. Meister

(The following essay was prepared first for presentation as part of a symposium sponsored by the Social Science Research Council, New York, on the Humanities in South Asia. I offer it here in order to bring South Asian friends and colleagues into the discussion.)

In Back Bay he revisited Marlborough Street, comparing it to Wimpole and Harley. ... He looked closely at the florentine palace that was the new Public Library in Copley Square (and found) that the majesty of such a palace was diminished by the absence of "penetralia." One failed to get a feeling in these American buildings that there was an innermost shrine, some sacred center. ... America could scatter emblems of things far and wide; it seemed to pay no attention to their meaning. [Leon Edel, *Henry James, a Life,* New York : Harper & Row, 1985, p. 596]

I use this Americal passage as an introduction in order to emphasize that the problems we wish to discuss... of cultural legibility and intercultural communication... are not applicable only to Asia. How we see and what we make establishes an inner vision according to how we are trained. The individual, as well as what he is taught, emerges from a cultural matrix that accumulates richness and form from a history longer and more complex than any lifetime.

The individual, however, still moves within this matrix with some semblance of free will. How he experiences and defines the visual world — whether as part of the culture or as a scholar approaching a new one — results both from his embeddedness and his free movemnt. Increasingly in this jet-age, free movement between cultures has become a fact of scholarly experience; the rapidity and frequency of travel at times (as in the past) encapsules us, but also has offered unusual opportunities to live within and between our chosen second culture and our first; to live in new ways and to find new insights.

In reference specifically to South Asia, we should recognize that the "visual" is often essentially non-verbal. Varanasi's sacred scarf with *"Rām-Rām-Rām"* written a thousand times turns words into a pattern. Where visual and verbal meet — as in narrative — both often remain non-literary : that is, words may remain vocal rather than textual. Drama, ritual, and recitation have verbal and visual roots for which texts may only be records or reminders. The *Māhābhārata* of Peter Brooks may represent as much a sifting through many oral, aural, and visual dramatic traditions as it does a condensation of a textual source. (In this, it perhaps successfully becomes a "parody" of South Asia's own accumulating tradition.)

When texts have been "illustrated" in South Asia, the illustrator may often have worked from a vocal rather than textual model for the story and from a visual rather than a literary tradition for his images. The scribe alone may have had the authority to indicate the appropriate (or sometimes what proves to be the least inappropriate) physical juncture between image and text. In the West, images also often grow from other images, but we have been through a long period where words, not the visible sources, have been given primacy.

Some scholars have begun to explore the complex interaction of word and image in the case of Indian miniature paintings. In many such cases, visual and textual traditions only partly seem to coincide. In one instance, in fact, as an example of inverse discrepancy, the very "literateness" of a set of illustrations might better have seemed a symptom of their insertion into an older text, in this century, than as an example of an ancient artist's verbal repertoire.

Iconography — as a Western tradition moulded to India's needs — has often been used as if an image were only a "text" to be deciphered (that is that it had one invariable meaning, with constitutent parts that could be indentified and compared with textual descriptions). Buddhist narrative panels that previous scholars had "parsed" to determine sectarian affiliation, however, recently have been studied instead, and to more point, as visual tools marking mental pilgrimage.

Debates about when and why the Buddha (and other of India's Hindu cosmic deities) were given "visible" (meaning anthropomorphic rather than "symbolic") form have begun to recognize that iconic and aniconic categories from the West may not best fit the processes for "envisioning" cosmic reality found in South Asia. Professor T. S. Maxwell has called certain Hindu *mūrti*s "meditational constructs," outlining compositional underpinnings and psychological uses quite different from what the West has normally attributed to an object of "art."[1]

Seeing is one form of knowing. We must ask questions, however, about what constitutes a visual reality in South Asia. What is taken as "visible" in South Asia often is not physical : the object is not what we see but rather the agent of seeing. This is as true of "symbols" as of "images" (or, indeed, at times of material reality). The English word "idol" from its Greek root can itself be taken to mean "something visible but without substance";[2] that is, of course, the beast in the jungle.

Such a conceptual view has not been limited to South Asia, but remains deep-rooted there, whether in a tribal context (as humorously parodied in Aubrey Menen's *The Prevalence of Witches*[3] or that of *advaita* philosophy. I think of a young Tibetan journalist I met in Darjeeling years ago who had fled with the Dalai Lama when he was only ten. He spoke of his pre-literate world as one of mental images cast over the visual world. Longnosed foreigners

were demons with a reality beyond nightmare. Iconography, in his experience, was not imposed, but rather revealed, by the real world.

The constructional systems of ancient and modern stonecarvers and image-makers have been explored by a student of mine, John Mosteller, who has reported on a device used by metal casters in South India — those who today produce accurate traditional copies of some of South Asia's most famous images. He finds them using a strip of bamboo, bent to measure the proportions dictated by an ancient constructional system. With this device, the image is laid out, elbows and neck-lines located, controlling each stage in the moulding of the wax maquette.[4]

In such an image, what do we see ? Such a measuring tool can as well be used to make an abstract diagram *(maṇḍala;* it is, in fact, in itself a *maṇḍala).* The system of construction, its *maṇḍala,* and the final iconographic image all are "visible" in the finished object, one layer upon another. Is it different when we see a festival *(utsava)* or a shaman in action ? A politician or newspaper ? (The latter reminds me of a series of paintings from some years ago by Gieve Patel, who used newspaper photos of famous politicians as a source for wonderfully eerie and moving images.)

That the visible (not the visual) is multilayered is paradigm for South Asia. To know is to see, but knowing is not simply seeing. (Seeing by itself need not produce belief.) Vision is an internal action, not external, defined by the act of grasping. An image is what we make it mean (a re-action it is meant to stimulate) not simply what it shows. This makes the visual sometimes difficult to analyse by contemporary Western standards, which prefer to measure an objectified reality. (Medieval psychology, however, also saw "seeing' as a physical reaching out and receiving : one takes *darśan.)*[5]

"Memory" is both verbal and visual; texts often act as cues for memory in South Asia rather than as its source. Where texts represent "given" reality (both "heard," *śruti,* and "remembered," *smṛti)* they do so often as "things" - important as much as objects and literature. (This can be true also of oral "objects" *mantras* and physical tools *yantras).* In the building of temples, texts are invoked as validation, yet their verses often are only cryptic mnemonic reminders of practical knowledge passed down largely by oral and experiential means.[6]

We must ask ourselves as scholars how a text or tool exists in its own environment, how it is used and understood; we must do so without allowing categories of thought from our own tradition to dominate, yet still allow categories drawn from our own experience in South Asia to enter in. (In this respect, we all must be anthropologists.) Harvard's Sanskitist, Daniel H. H. Ingells, years ago called D. D. Kosambi's pioneering attempt to use ethnographic data to explain parts of India's past "a very *good,* bad book," by which I think he meant that Kosambi had raised important questions without being able to justify his method by "scientific" demonstration.[7] The pioneering

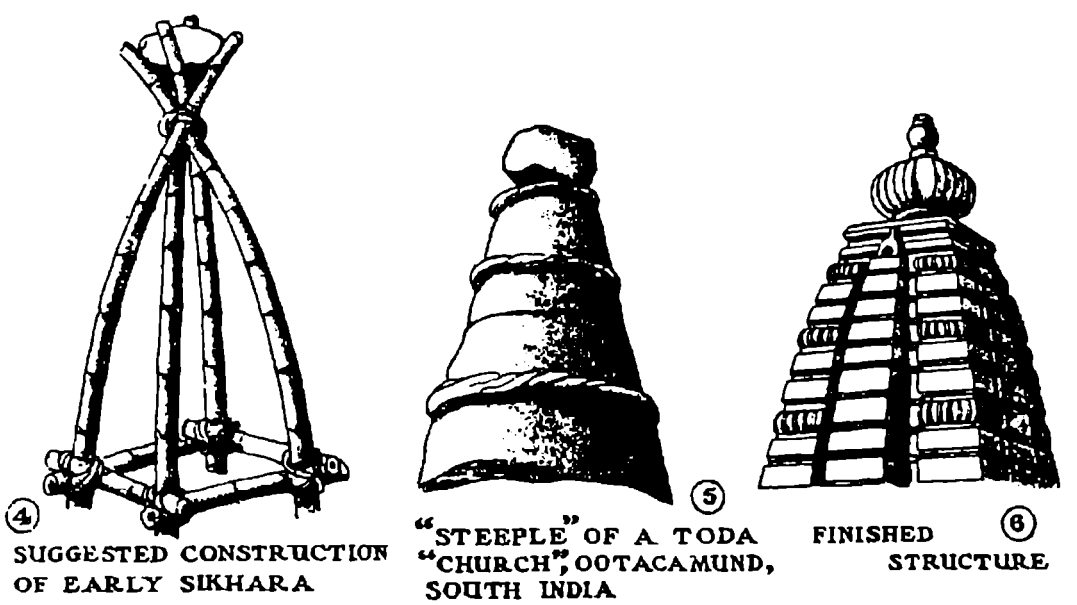


Fig. 1. Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture (Buddhist and Hindu Periods)*, 4th edition, Bombay : D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., 1959, Pl. V : "Conjectural Origins."

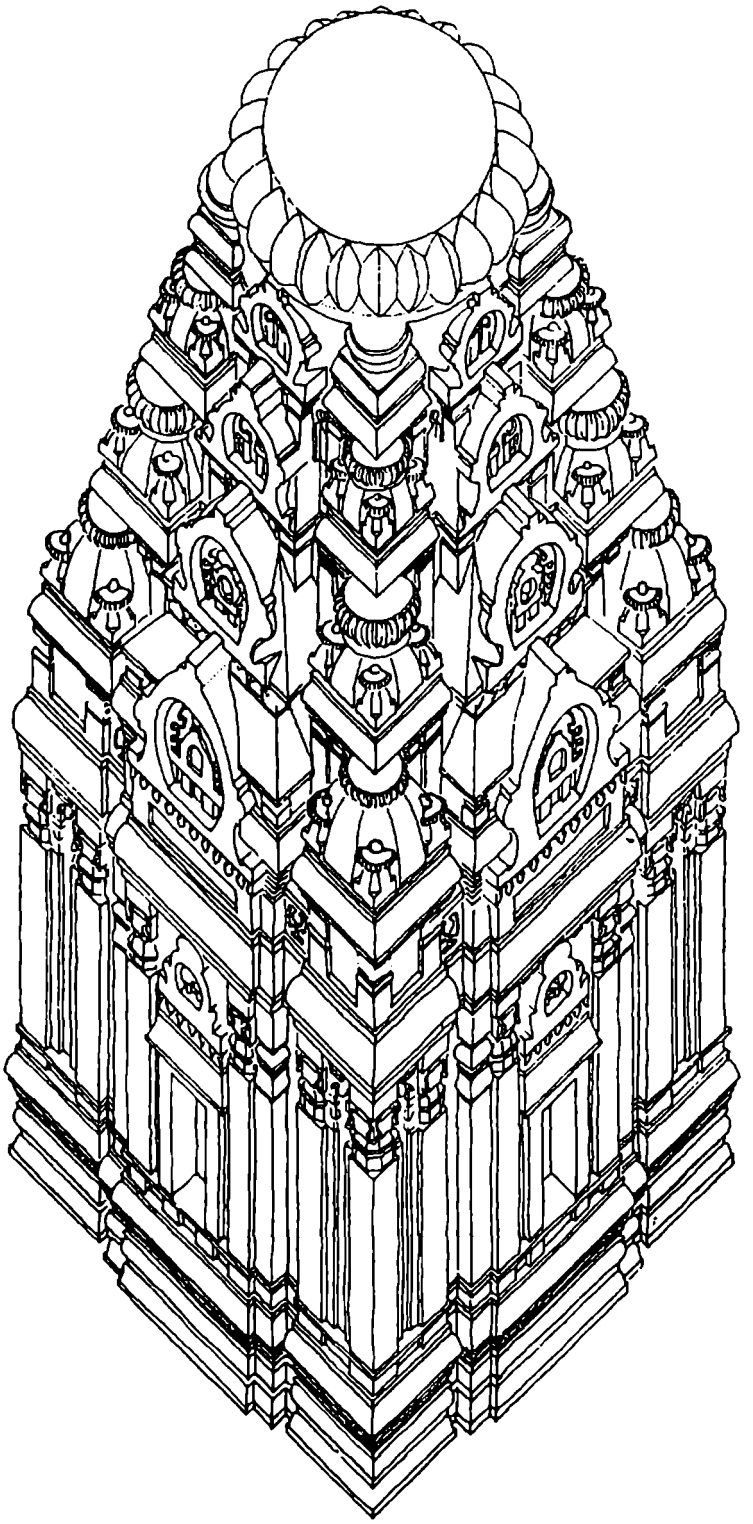


Fig. 2. Rajjim, 7th-century brick temple, axonometric drawing

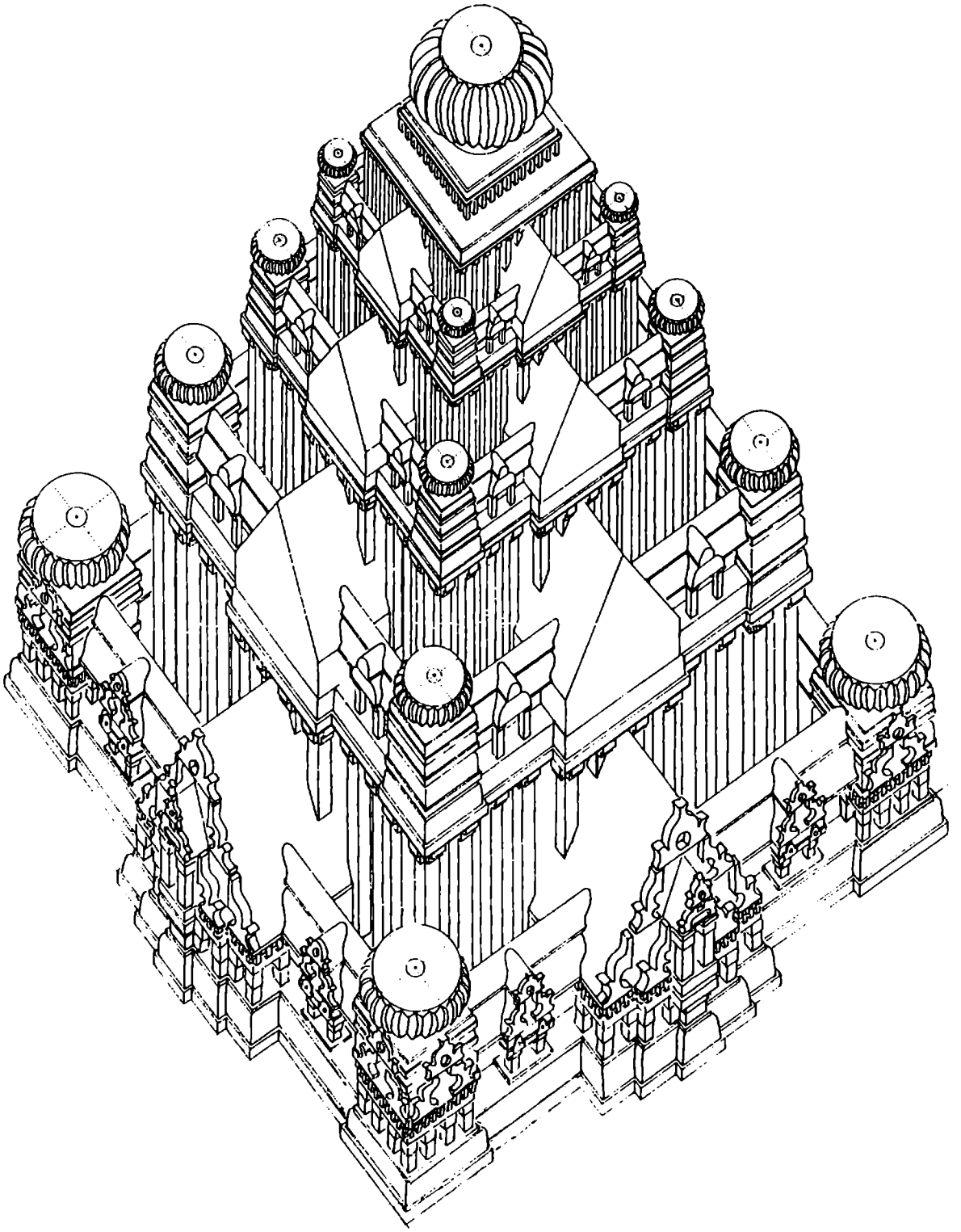


Fig. 3. Implications of a Latina-temple's elevation

psychoanalyst, Erik Erikson, on the other hand, creatively made many readers uncomfortable by first exploring his own subjective life-history at the beginning of his psychohistory of Mahatma Gandhi.[8]

Visual objects may act as "memories," not simply recording something, as may a text in the West, or giving the "image" of something. In a category of sign the semiotician Charles Sanders Peirce labeled "Iconic," an object "stands for" something with which it also shares identity : it both is not, and is, what it represents.[9]

This kind of double vision is a category accessible to Western thought, though more commonly experienced, perhaps, in a visually oriented, in some ways a-literate, South Asia. It informs the experience of a cult image, where the "vision" is the reality, not the stone. It makes building temples something more than making architecture.[10] It makes daily living sometimes different from what we are trained to expect. Diana Eck's "city of light" is a city in the mind (recovered from a text), yet its reality is also that of Richard Schechner and Linda Hess's dramaturgical analysis of the Rāmlīlā, and in part the mental reality of Varanasi's streets.[11]

I can give you a visual illustration of different ways of seeing and thinking, perhaps, from my own field or work, Percy Brown's explanation of the shape taken by the North Indian temple (his drawings are based on a suggestion going back to William Simpson's utilitarian explanation in the late 19th century) begins by showing a hypothetical structure with bamboo poles tied together, proceeds to the rough-hewn "steeple" of a Toda "church" topped by a heavy stone, and ends with the carved Latina tower of North India, crowned by a ribbed stone in the shape of the *amala* fruit (figure 1).[12]

My own work analysing visually traceable forms incorporated into the ornamental veneer of the temple suggests that we should look rather toward such physical predecessors as the seventh - century brick temple at Rajim, with its condensed palatial and urban architectural forms (figure 2),[13] then recognize the iconic repertoir of fruiting pillar, altar, and palace physically made present in the architecture by decoration. These are "visible" that is, both felt and understood - behind the veneer. Such a "vision" I can partly suggest by the deconstruction of one Latina temple's surface ornament that I provide in figure 3.[14]

Have I thus learned to look at the temple through "Indian eyes ?" Perhaps I at least have learned to *look* at the temple, and not merely in Western terms. However, fully to experience a temple as it is used is more complex even than this visual analysis, however much further analysis of the experience of the temple can be enhanced by it. The ethnographic reality is both simpler and more complicated than my reconstruction of an architect's *architectural* vision.

In my personal case, field experience in South Asia came before formal training (and even before experience of Europe), perhaps to the benefit of the questions

I later was drawn to ask. John Cort at Harvard now studies the *kāmya* practices of Jainism, which secondary sources barely mention, because his experience of Jainism in practice makes them seem important. (That Jain goddesses were barely "seen" by previous Western scholars says something of their seeing).[15]

Mughal experience in India, which produced an extraordinary visual tradition, has barely been analysed in terms of the ethnographic reality of cross-cultural interaction (nor, for that matter, has the period of the Kushans). British visual extravaganzas in South Asia - from the vast 19th-century darbars to the building of Bombay's India Gate — reflect another, more recent, from of double vision : with one culture looking at and abstracting another, though — to borrow Henry James's term cited at the beginning of this essay — we may be forced to search for the "penetralia." The melding of Indian and British, primarily for Indian eyes but to suit British imperial ends, is a remarkable and available case-study, about which the work of Professor Bernard Cohn can tell us more.[16]

I would suggest that there is no single Indian visual world, however; culture, like history, repeats itself within a continuity of experience, but new forms constantly emerge. The challenge of Judith Gutman's photographic exhibition several years ago, entitled "Through Indian Eyes,"[17] was possibly less its stated demonstration that Indian photographers had used the camera's new technology in "Indian" ways (technically, there seems little to distinguish the camera's use in India) than its illustration of the range of ways a new technology could be adapted — both imitating and interacting with parallel technologies, as in the case of South Indian glass painting — to suit different patronage. This range does seem to exemplify a variety of visual demands on "seeing" within India's complex cultural nexus, however — the technology of the lens only making such differences more obvious.

Does modern television technology provide a parallel situation ? Do village farm-reports, soap operas, and "dull" news-readers reflect an "Indian vision" ? In fact, Indians fresh to America often find McLuhanesque media chaotic,[18] its visual language un-"homely" and disturbing. The virtuosic technical visual facility of an Australian sportscast (most of what *I* as a trained Westerner might focus on) I find remains invisible to many contemporary South Asian viewers, who follow primarily the reality of the sport.

A good friend from the Archaeological Survey — visually highly acute in his profession — when viewing an exhibition of Dutch painting at the National Gallery, New Delhi, found them dull, unreal, unexpercssive, unlike the bright, ideal (in Gutman's terms, "perfect") realities of Indian miniatures.

What is important, of course, is that we be sufficiently what Ralph Waldo Emerson called a "transparent eyeball." (I have heard this passage disturbingly deconstructed recently so will not push the image further.) I mean, however, that we must struggle to limit how much we color an image before we begin

to analyse it. Plurality of cultural experience seems to me the best foundation for such "transparency." How we manage to measure at the same time we observe (a cultural equivalent of the "Heisenberg principle"?) is a problem for all of us, both in the Orient and the Occident.

Notes

1. T. S. Maxwell, "Nānd, Parel, Kalyānpur : Śaiva Images as Meditational Constructs," *Discourses on Śiva*, ed. Michael W. Meister, Philadecphia : University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984, pp. 119-142.
2. *The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language*, Boston : Houghton Mifflin Company, 1979 : "idol."
3. Aubrey Menen, *The Prevalence of Witches, a Novel*, New York : Scribner's Sons, 1948.
4. John Foster Mosteller, "Proportionality in Early Indian Sculpture", Ph. D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 1986; and "Texts and Craftsmen at Work." *Making Things in South Asia : The Role of Artist and Craftsman* (Proceedings of the South Asia Seminar IV), ed. Michael W. Meister, Philadelphia : Department of South Asia Studies, 1988, pp. 24-33.
5. Diana L. Eck, *Darśan, Seeing the Divine Image in India*, 2nd revised ed., Chambersberg, Pa. : Anima Books, 1985.
6. Michael W. Meister, "Temple Building in South Asia : Science as Technology's Constraint," *Science and Technology in South Asia* (Proceedings of the South Asia Seminar II), ed. Peter Gaeffke and David A. Utz, Philadelphia : Department of South Asia Studies, 1985, pp. 31-38.
7. D. D. Kosambi, *Ancient India, a History of Its Culture and Civilization*, New York : Pantheon Books, 1966.
8. Erik H. Erikson, *Gandhi's Truth*, New York : Notron, 1969; Erikson's own professional name, "Erik, son of Erik", was self-created.
9. Charles Sanders Peirce, "Logic as Semiotic : The Theory of signs," *Philosophical Writings of Peirce*, ed. Justus Buchler, New York : Dover Publications, 1955, pp. 98-119. Peirce's triadic classification of signs is complex; he ends this essay by stating, however, that : "It is a nice problem to say to what class a given sign belongs... But it is seldom requisite to be very accurate; for if one does not locate the sign precisely, one will easily come near enough to its character for any ordinary purpose of logic."
10. Michael W. Meister, "De - and Re-constructing the Indian Temple," *Art Journal*, 49 (1990), pp. 395-400.
11. Richard Schechner and Linda Hess, "The Ramlila of Ramnagar (India)",

Drama Review, 21 (1977), pp. 51-82.

12. Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture (Buddhist and Hindu Periods)*, 4th ed., Bombay : D. B. Taraporvevala Sons & Co. 1959; William Simpson, "Some Susggestions of Origin in Indian Architercutre," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1882.
13. Michael W. Meister, "Prāsāda as Palace : Kūṭina Origins of the Nāgara Temle," *Artibus Asiae*, XLIX (1989), pp. 254-280.
14. Michael W. Meister, "On the Development of the Morphology for a symbolic Architecture, India," *Res, Anthrolpology and Aesthetics*, 12 (1986), pp. 33-50.
15. John Cort, "Medieval Jaina Goddess Traditions," *Numen*, 34 (1988), pp. 235-255.
16. Bernard S. Cohn, *An Anthropologist Among the Historians and Other Essays*, Delhi : Oxford University Press, 1987.
17. Judith Mara Gutman, *Through Indian Eyes*, New York : Oxford University Press, 1982.
18. Marshall McLuhan, *The Global Village*, New York : Oxford University Press, 1982; and *The Guttenberg Galaxy*, Toronto : University of Toronto Press, 1962.

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Bāṇa and Sanskrit Literary Criticism

Tapasvi Nandi

That litrature and literary criticism influence each other in terms is a common observation in literary circles the world over. This paper will try to suggest how it comes true in the case of Bāṇa and Sanskrit literary criticism also. To bring out our point we will first try to get aquainted with the literature that preceded Bāṇa and was instrumental in not only firing his imagination, but also in giving shape to the terms and principles of literary art which Bāṇa tried to follow and lay down for his successors. In this connection, we will also pick up Bāṇa's views about poetry, both good and bad, as expressed in his two prose works and also the views of some critics, trying to appreciate Bāṇa and thus further analysizing his views on literature, and what he stood for. It is quite well-known that all the known earliest works on literary criticism such as those by Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin show influences of Bāṇa. These critics, beginning with Vāmana and including such great names as Ānandavardhana, Kuntaka, Bhoja and Hemacandra have frequently turned to Bāṇa to illustrate this or that subtle point. We will go to suggest how all these critics, — all without exception — were influenced by Bāṇa, though of course they have at times also criticised him at places.

We do not have any first-hand information about the vast literature in Pālī, Prākṛta, Apabhraṃśa and Sanskrit that served as a model to emulate for Bāṇa, except through an account given by A. K. Warder in his *Indian Kāvya Literature*, Vol.II. Such big names as Guṇāḍhya the author of *Bṛhatkathā,* and Hāla the author of *Sattasai* and some others that Bāṇa mentions are only names for us. But Subandhu, the author of *Vāsavadattā,* a prose composition of the Kathā variety is a familiar name with us.

Subandhu was one of the many literary masters that influenced and inspired Bāṇa. Subandhu, in his *Vāsavadattā* speaks about good poetry and also mentions certain qualities of his own writing. He alludes to some canons of poetic art when, for examle he says :- "सत्कविकाव्यबन्ध इवाबद्धतुहिन:" (वासवदत्ता, p. 139, — Hall, Ref. Kane) i.e. the composition of a good poet should not contain superfluous words such as 'tu', 'hi' etc. Thus any waste of words is to be condemned. Perhaps this may lead to Ānandavardhana's observation that a true poet should take care only of 'those word and sense' — "तौ शब्दार्थौ महाकवे:" (Dhv. I.9.), alone. Subandhu also observes that the utterances of a good poet should be divided into Ucchvāsas and should contain fine puns and verses in the *Vaktra* metre : "दीर्घोच्छ्वासरचनाकुलं सुश्लेषवक्त्रघटनापटु सत्कविवचनमिव" (वासवदत्ता, P. 184, Hall). Subandhu speaks of his skill in composing a work full of paronomasia on each syllable - " सरस्वतीदत्तवरप्रसादश्चक्रे सुबन्धु: सुजनैकबन्धु: । प्रत्यक्षरश्लेषमयप्रबन्धविन्यासवैदग्ध्यनिधिर्निबन्धम् ।" All this suggests the source of inspiration for Bāṇa. We also find an inscription of Rudradāman (HSO) which exhibits

a prose containing very long compounds, alliteration and other figures. A reference is also made herein to prose (गद्य) and poetry (पद्य) that are ornate, fine on account of the poetic conventions obvserved in them and that contain perspicuous, short, sweet, striking and charming words (स्फुट-लघुमधुरचित्रकान्तशब्दसमयोदारालङ्कृतगद्यपद्य). We also come across Subandhu's reference to Śṁkhalābandha (a peculiar arrangement of words) and his mention of figures of speech such as Utprekṣā and Ākṣepa [श्रृङ्खलासन्धो वर्णग्रथनासु उत्प्रेक्षाक्षेपौ काव्यालङ्कारेषु। वासवदत्ता, p. 126, Hall; (Ref. Kane, p. XVII Kādambarī Purvabhāgaḥ].

Bāṇa was influenced directly by the sources mentioned above. He often alludes to the two classes of prose composition and holds the authors of Ākhyāyikās that preceded him in high respect, He alludes to many forms of literature such as काव्य, नाटक, आख्यान, आख्यायिका, etc. and also कथा, आख्यायिका आणि काव्य. (काव्यनाटकाख्यानाख्यायिकालेख्यव्याख्यानादिक्रियानिपुणैः, p. 3 and कथासु नाटकेषु आख्यायिकासु काव्येषु, p.75 कादम्बरी, Peterson). Bāṇa refers to some peculiarities that distinguished the Ākhyāyikā from other forms of compositions, viz. division into Ucchvāsas, and the occurrence of *Vaktra* metre. He very clearly suggests that his *Harṣacarita* is an Ākhyāyikā (तथाऽपि नृपतेर्भक्त्या... verse 19,) The introductory verses to the Pūrvabhāga clearly indicate that the *Kādambarī* was intended to be a Kathā. (द्विजेन तेनाक्षत... निबद्धेयमतिद्वयी कथा ॥ श्लो. २०. कादम्बरी, पूर्वभागः ।). Bāṇa refers to such puzzles and conundrums as Prahelikā and mentions in the introduction to हर्षचरित (ह.च.) figures of speech such as जाति (स्वभावोक्ति), उत्प्रेक्षा and श्लेष (अक्षरच्युतकमात्राच्युतकबिन्दुमतीगूढचतुर्थपादप्रहेलिकाप्रदानादिभिः... p.3. कादम्बरी (का.)) Peterson, and also - बिन्दुमतीं चिन्तयता, प्रहेलिकां भावयता... p. 88, का. (Peterson). Thus Bāṇa is fully conversant with the norms and practices regarding poetry in times that preceded him.

We will now refer to some views of critics who try to evaluate Bāṇa's achievements and thereby suggest the norms that perhaps were dear to Bāṇa.

An unknown Sanskrit critic holds Bāṇa's words as the finest examples of what they call the Pāñcālī (पाञ्चालीरीति) style of composition. (शब्दार्थोः समो गुम्फः पाञ्चाली रीतिरिष्यते । शीलाभट्टारिकावाचि बाणोक्तिषु च सा यदि ॥) This critic, whosoever he was, seems to be impressed by the harmoneous balancing of word and sense, which characterises the Pāñcālī style. This perhaps leads to the concept of 'शय्या.' We are afraid that the Pāñcālī as depicted by Vāmana (का. सू. वृ. १.२.१३) which is characterised by माधुर्य and सौकुमार्य and is without ओजः and कान्ति and is therefore 'विच्छाया', is not meant by this critic, for clearly Bāṇa sets an example which is not in accord with Vāmana's concept. Bāṇa clearly sets a different norm that is taken note of, as we will go to see, more in Kuntaka's Vicitra-mārga. However, we may add that Bāṇa is capable of three types of styles; the one flooded with long compounds rising like head-high billows and scaring the onlooker, the other with small compounds and soft letters looking as gracious as the ripples formed after the billows dash against the shores and break into lovely ripples, and the third a mixture of these two. Perhaps Vāmana was thus inspired to give a threefold classifacation of styles after Bāṇa's practice which always suited the context. This could

have provided the source to both Ānandavardhana as we shall go to see, when he discusses the threefold Saṃghaṭanā and Kuntaka talking about the three Mārgas. We will talk about this later. For the present, suffice it to say that Vāmana, bemused with Bāṇa's achievements observes that "prose is the touch-stone of a poet's ability", a quotation which he cites from others at का. सू. I-3-21.

Rājaśekhara sings in raptures when he observes that Bāṇa's muse roams uncontrolled on earth (सहर्षचरितारब्धादद्भुतकादम्बरीकथा । बाणस्य वाण्यनार्येव स्वच्छन्दा भ्रमति क्षितौ ॥ Kane, p. XXV.)

The *Nalacampū* places Bāṇa along with Guṇāḍhya. We have observed that Bāṇa had set his eyes on both Guṇāḍhya and Subandhu and he tried to outclass both of them by his *'atidvayī kathā' Kādambarī.* The *Kīrtikaumudī* (I.15) observes that poets were dumb-founded on listening to *Kādaṃbarī,* for truely, when we listen to the twang of (a bow and) an arrow we leave behind all activities including study. Govardhana in the *Āryāsaptaśatī* pays a glowing tribute to Bāṇa when the observes that verily speech itself has taken the (male) form of Bāṇa. (वाणी बाणो बभूवेति ॥). Dhanapāla in his *Tilakamañjarī* holds that only Bāṇa (or an arrow) removes the pride of poets (verse 26), The *Rāghavapāṇḍavīya* I. 41 holds that Subandhu, Bāṇabhaṭṭa and Kavirāja are masters of Vakrokti - mārga, and we do not know if a fourth one exists ! What a tribute ! By 'Vakrokti-mārga' perhaps is meant all that is conveyed by Kuntaka and this will support our observation below that Kuntaka was highly bemused by Bāṇa's achievements. Śrī Candradeva observes that some poets excel in paronomasia, others in wearing of (graceful) words, still others in delineation of Rasa, or Alaṃkāra, or loftiness of them, or narration of a story, But the lion in the form of Bāṇa tears the temples of the elephants in the form of poets (श्लेषे केचन शब्दगुम्फविषये केचिद्रसे चापरेऽलङ्कारे कतिचित्सदर्थविषये चान्ये कथावर्णने । आ सर्वत्र गभीरधीरकविताविन्ध्याटवीचातुरीसञ्चारी कविकुम्भिकुम्भभिदुरो बाणस्तु पञ्चानन: ॥) Thus Bāṇa sets an ideal which no literary critic can bypass. Aṣṭamūrti, the author of *Āmoda,* a commentary on *Kādaṃbarī* holds that as it is difficult for him to decipher the subtleties of Rasa, Bhāva, Alaṃkāra, Dhvani, Guṇas, etc., he would concentrate only on explaining word-meaning, the other discussions would take care of themselves : (Introductory verses 6 and 7). This shows that germs of all later theories were laid in Bāṇa's writings. We will now go to record Bāṇa's views on poetry.

First, we will look into some introductory verses read in *Kādaṃbarī-pūrvabhāga.* In verse 5, Bāṇa talks of the wicked in general who manifest 'motiveless malignity' ! This is just a दुर्जन-निन्दा, but we may try to read something more here. The words विषं महाहेरिव यस्य दुर्वच: may contain a veiled reference to सदोष काव्य, a situation abhorred by all alike, beginning with Bhāmaha down to Mammaṭa and still others. This may look a bit far-fatched but Bāṇa was also a master of suggestion and we know that 'दोष' in a poem is despised like 'श्वित्र' on the tip of one's nose ! Verse 6 is more important. It reads as : कटु क्वणन्त:.... etc. The second line which on the face of it is in praise

of the good who, by their good tones at each word, win the heart like jewelled anklets by their sweet sounds at each step : "मनस्तु साधुध्वनिभिः पदे पदे हरन्ति सन्तो मणिनूपुरा इव ॥". This is a very interesting observation. Perhaps Bāṇa suggests that good poetry is charged with beautiful Dhvani - i.e. suggested sense at every word or line of a verse ! This seems to be a clear reference to the Dhvani theory which, Ānandavardhana holds, was 'समाम्नातपूर्व' i.e. started very early by unknown aesthetes of yore. The first half of this verse then obviously refers to the सदोष expression ('कटु क्वणन्तः') of bad poets. Thus the concepts of गुण, दोष, ध्वनि etc. are all foreshowed in Bāṇa. This observation is supported by the next verse (viz. 7, सुभाषितं हारि. etc.) which says that the wicked do not stand the 'सुभाषित' that goes straight into the heart of a good person, like Hari wearing अतिनिर्मल i.e. spotless, i.e. निर्दोष jewel on his chest. The reference to निर्दोषकाव्य and सदोषवचन cannot be concealed. Verse 8 is still more important. It reads as : स्फुरत्कलालापविलासकोमला करोति रागं हृदि कौतुकाधिकम् । रसेन शय्यां स्वयमभ्युपागता कथा जनस्याभिमता वधूरिव ॥ Kathā, which has attained शय्या, i.e. collocation of words, or repose, through रस, like a वधू who is approaching the bed through love, wins admiration. Bāṇa's obvious reference is to his own creation, the *Kādaṃbarī* which has attained 'शय्या', through रस. The concepts of 'शय्या' and 'रस' are major ones in Sanskrit literary criticism. The प्रतापरुद्रयशोभूषण says : या पदानां परान्योन्यमैत्री शय्येति कथ्यते ॥ and the वृत्ति thereon reads : पदविनिमयासहिष्णुत्वाद्बन्धस्य पदानुगुण्यरूपा शय्या. Verse 20, in the हर्षचरित also refers to this : शब्दैराख्यायिका भाति शय्येव प्रतिपादकैः ॥ The Agnipurāṇa (342-26) holds : अभिप्रायविशेषेण कविशक्तिं विवृण्वती । मुत्प्रदायिनी सा मुद्रा सैव शय्याऽपि नो मते ॥ The सरस्वतीकण्ठाभरण takes शय्या as a शब्दालङ्कार. We can see here how Bāṇa becomes instrumental in shaping literary principles.

Verse 9 reads : हरन्ति कं नोज्ज्वलदीपकोपमैर्नवैः पदार्थैरुपपादिताः कथाः । निरन्तरश्लेषघनाः सुजातयो महासजश्चम्पककुड्मलैरिव ॥ Whom do not Kathās, like large garlands, captivate ? Kathās with words and meanings that are brilliant due to figures such as दीपक and उपमा, like garlands having Campaka buds shining like lamps; Kathās, composed with words and senses ever new like garlands strung with fresh buds, Kathās, interwoven with thickly strewn puns like garlands that are thick because they are woven without leaving any interestices, Kathās, having fine figures of जाति i. e. स्वभावोक्ति like garlands having fine जाति 'jasmine' flowers.

This verse can be compared with verse 4, हर्ष ... नवोऽर्थो etc. Even to a casual reader these verses reveal Bāṇa's ideal of a good कथा, and his norm of सालङ्कारस्य काव्यता. Good poetry is rich with fresh content and is bedecked with a flowery style wherein Alaṃkāras are, in the words of Ānandavardhana (Dhv. II. 16) "अपृथग्यत्ननिर्वर्त्य."

Verse, 20 speaks of Bāṇa's 'अतिद्वयी कथा' suggesting the ideals which he has placed before himself, viz. the two masterpieces of Guṇāḍhya and Subandhu and his effort and ambition to surpass them.

We have seen with reference to the *Kādaṃbarī* how Bāṇa set before himself some ideals to emulate and how he himself was instrumental in giving shape

to certain literary principles. A close study of some references from the हर्ष. also will strengthen our observations that Bāṇa stood for Kāvya, that was सगुण, सालङ्कार and निर्दोष.

In हर्ष. v. 4 प्रायः कुकवयः Bāṇa hits at bad poets who are रागाधिष्ठितदृष्टयः and वाचालाः। Cheap ideas promoting sex-perversion are sold by bad poets and their chief drawback in style is verbosity. This is no good poetry, according to Bāṇa. Poetry should nourish healthy norms in life and should show absolute control over expression which has an artistic blending of word and sense. All else is for Bāṇa no poetry.

V. 5 हर्ष. shows that Bāṇa feels sick about poets using जाति in an ordinary way. These poets flood every nook and corner and are like dogs eating foul things. Poets should have originality in expression and content (उत्पादकाः). Alaṃkāras should grow naturally through their spontaneous efforts. Wrong use of जाति displeases Bāṇa. Perhaps this wrong use of जाति by these 'जातिभाजः गृहे गृहे' prompted Bhāmaha to condemn जाति as mere 'वार्ता' and shun the effort as 'no poetry.'

In verse 6, हर्ष. Bāṇa comes down heavily on plagiarists. He observes : अन्यवर्णपरावृत्त्या बन्धचिह्ननिगूहनैः। अनाख्यातः सतां मध्ये कविश्चौरो विभाव्यते॥ 'A plagiarist is immediately spotted by the discerning, even if the former tries to conceal signs of someone else's composition by making stray changes in letters here and there, like a thief who is known as such, in spite of the concealment of marks of letters, through the change in his complexion.' Bāṇa despised plagiarism and perhaps Rājaśekhara and the tradition he represents derived much inspiration regarding शब्दहरण and अर्थहरण.

In v. 7 हर्ष., Bāṇa takes note of some practices followed mostly by poets of different regions. We know that Daṇḍin and Vāmana take note of this, though Bhāmaha does not show much enthusiasm about it. Bāṇa observes that the northerners abound in paronomasia (in their compositions), the westerners attach more importance to the theme or content, the southerners relish in poetic fancy (Utprakṣā) and the Gauḍas, i.e. the easterners show more exhuberance in style or highflown language. Bāṇa seems to hold that harmoneous blending of all these excellences makes for good poetry and this he illustrates through his two great works. This he suggests in the next verse.

V. 8, हर्ष. reads as : नवोऽर्थो जातिरग्राम्या श्लेषोऽक्लिष्टः स्फुटो रसः। विकटाक्षरबन्धश्च कृत्स्नमेकत्र दुर्लभम्॥ 'Novelty of theme, i. e. a striking subject or meaning, discription of nature or objects that is not vulgar but is polished, paronomasia that is not laboured but which comes in naturally and causes delight, a clear manifestation of Rasa or sentiment, a high-flown style—these qualities are rarely seen in a single piece of art.' Bāṇa's ideal is to bring them together. We know how Daṇḍin favours अग्राम्या जातिः (काव्यादर्श I. 63-64) and how Vāmana takes note of विकटत्वमुदारता (का. सू. वृ. III. 1.22.). Poeticians were highly indebted to Bāṇa. Bāṇa wants only that genuine poetry (v. 9, हर्ष.) which like the

Mahābhārata fills the three worlds. We know that Ānandavardhana is much eloquent about Mahābhārata as a Kāvya and discusses at length the principal Rasa of the same. स्फुटो रस: is the pre-condition of good poetry and Bāṇa cannot miss it. Actually, we will go to see that even in गद्यप्रबन्धs रस should dominate and Ānandavardhana, again following the model of Bāṇa, elaborately discusses how styles change, following the context of a given Rasa, even in prose compositions which are normally wedded to high-flown style.

Bāṇa pays glorious tribute to the masters (v. 10, हर्ष.) who composed Ākhyāyikās and whose muse roamed tirelessly even at the end of an Ucchvāsa, and whose poetic muse prevailed in वक्त्र metre.

In v. 11 (हर्ष.), Bāṇa praises the great composition of Subandhu, viz. *Vāsavadattā* which divested the poets of their pride, like Śakti or Indra's missile removing the pride of the Pāṇḍavas, when it reached Karṇa. Subandhu and Guṇāḍhya inspired Bāṇa.

In v. 12 (हर्ष.), Bāṇa glorified yet another idol, Bhaṭṭāra Haricandra whose prose composition sparkled due to arrangement of words and was charming and had letters arranged, following the canons of Poetics. Thus, for Bāṇa poetry or composition with उज्ज्वल पदबन्ध and which was हारी and which followed the accepted canons of poetics (कृतवर्णक्रमस्थिति:) was most welcome. We see Ālaṃkārikas who promote माधुर्य and other गुणs and different types of सङ्घटना or रीति which suggest the Rasa in question. So also (v. 13) Bāṇa appreciates Sātavāhana who was identified as Hāla by Hemacandra (देशीनाममाला VIII. 66) for his excellent collection or anthology of verses which was studed with विशुद्धजातिs i.e. Daṇḍin's अग्राम्या जाति: or polished and pure examples of स्वभावोक्ति which the aesthetes relished. Pravarsena, the author of सेतुबन्ध is yet another idol for Bāṇa (v. 14, हर्ष.), Daṇḍin speaks of this at I. 14. in his *Kāvyādarśa.* Bāṇa who is also said to have written a play, viz. पार्वतीपरिणय has admiration also for Bhāsa whose plays were introduced by the सूत्रधार, which had a variety of characters drawn from different walks of life and which were decorated by sub-plots.

Bāṇa (v. 16, हर्ष.) did not fail in offering the highest tribute to Kālidāsa, who was yet another idol for him. It is said, Bāṇa also composed a poem called चण्डीशतक. We will go to remark that Bhoja observed Bāṇa not excelling so much in verse as in prose.

For *Bṛhatkathā* of Guṇāḍhya (v-17, हर्ष.) Bāṇa has the highest admiration. Perhaps he inherited the grace of style from Guṇāḍhya. Bāna asks : Who is not fascinated by the *Bṛhatkathā* which contained numerous love-episodes of Naravāhana and thus excited passions and in which Gaurī was propitiated ?' This work is compared to the sportive action of Lord Śiva.

The Utsāhas (v. 18 हर्ष.) of Āḍhyarāja, stayed in Bāṇa's heart, perhaps as some of the dearest possessions and were only remembered and made his tongue draw inside. That means that Bāṇa was so much impressed by the

compositions of Āḍhyarāja that he stood spell-bound and tongue-tied in admiration. So, he was one more idol for Bāṇa.

In. v. 20 (हर्ष.), Bāṇa talks of the ideal Ākhyāyikā which he tries to attain; सुखप्रबोधललिता सुवर्णघटनोज्ज्वलैः । शब्दैराख्यायिका भाति शय्येव प्रतिपादकैः ॥ Here an Ākhyāyikā is compared to a bed. The prose composition is charming since it conveys knowledge with ease, like a bed which enables one rise on by in a happy mood; the composition is brilliant on accout of art arangement (घटना) of particular letters (that promote Rasa), like a bed brilliant on account of its being overlain with gold or aggreable colours; the composition has the choicest words conveying apt meanings and is therefore presenting 'शय्या' or collocation of words which are not replaceable.

A perusal of introductory verses both in the *Kādaṃbarī* and the *Harśacarita* shows what norms Bāṇa tried to follow and what he entertained and tried to establish for the Ālaṃkārikas who followed him.

Now we will proceed to see what influence Bana exercised on Ālaṃkārikas, beginning with Bhāmaha to Hemacandra who at times quote him by name, also at times criticise him for this and that, and yet very often follow the norms established by him even without mentioning him.

That Bhāmaha (*Kāvyālaṃkāra,* I. 25-30) and Daṇḍin *(Kāvyādarśa* II. 23-30) were indebted to Bāṇa in formulating the concepts of Ākhyāyikā and Kathā is easy to grasp. Both the Ālaṃkārikas, as explained earlier, were indebted in many respects to Bāṇa so far as the concepts of Ālaṃkāra, Guṇa, Rīti or Mārga and Doṣa were concerned. In short, we cannot think of either Bhāmaha's or Daṇḍin's views on various topics without taking into account their indebtedness to Bāṇa, though neither of them either quotes directly from Bāṇa or mentions him by name.

Vāmana, though he also does not mention Bāṇa by name, shows more acquaintance with Bāṇa from whom he quotes at two places. Under का. सू. वृ. I. 3.25, while illustrating उत्कलिकाप्राय गद्य having long compounds and harsh consonants, he quotes from हर्ष. VI (p. 40, Kane's edn.) : कुलिशशिखरखरनखरप्रचण्डच-पेटापाटितमत्तमातङ्गकुम्भस्थलगलन्मदच्छटाच्छुरितचारुकेसरभासुरमुखे केसरिणि. Under V. 2. 44 also, Vāmana quotes from the *Kādambarī,* (para 2, edn. Kane). 'अनुकरोति भगवान् नारायणस्य' इत्यत्राऽपि, मन्ये 'स्म'शब्दः कविना प्रयुक्तः लेखकैस्तु प्रमादान्न लिखित इति ॥ We have seen earlier how Vāmana's Rītis seem to have been modelled on Bāṇa, though his concept of Pāñcālī is not fully applicable to Bāṇa.

Rudraṭa, though he does not mention Bāṇa by name nor does he quote directly from Bāṇa, shows nevertheless his indebtedness to the latter while giving definitions of Kathā and Ākhyāyika under काव्या. 16/22-30. Namisādhu, his commentator mentions कादम्बरी and हर्ष. as specimens of कथा and आख्यायिका under XVI/22-26. All this shows Bāṇa's influence very clearly.

Coming to Ānandavardhana, we feel that he was simply bewitched by Bāṇa from whom he quotes on five occasions. And also he mentions Bāṇa's works

and Bāṇa as well by name. This apart, his canons concerning the use of Ālaṃkāras are guided by Kālidāsa's and Bāṇa's practice and his concept of Saṃghaṭanā is throughly influenced by Bāṇa. We will see all this in details below.

Dhv. II. 16 lays down that "Only that is admitted as a figure of suggestive poetry whose employment is rendered possible just by the emotional suffusion of the poet and which does not require any other extra effort on his part." (Translation by Krishnamoorthy, (P.59) Edn 74). Ānandavardhana observes that, "In the pertinatious and deliberate employment of assonance on a poet's part, one can see invariably his extra effort in the choice of select words. If one were to state that this fact is equally applicable to other figures too, it would be wrong. The other figures will come (spontaneously) swarming at the beck and call of a poet who concentrated upon sentiment and was gifted with (a rich) imagination and will compete with one another for their first preference at his hands, though outwardly they might appear to involve great labour on his part. We may cite as instances the description in *Kādambarī* of the moment Kādambarī was seen by the hero and the description of the vexed Sītā at the sight of the severed head of Māyā-Rāma in the poem *Setubandha.* Indeed it is quite natural that this should be so. For, sentiments have to be conveyed only by way of particular primary senses. And figures like metaphar are just the kind of primary senses that serve to convey sentiments by means of their own expressive words. *Hence they are never extraneous to the delineation of sentiment.* (Trans. op. cit. 59-61) The original words from the Dhv. read as :

रसाक्षिप्ततया यस्य बन्धः शक्यक्रियो भवेत् ।
अपृथग्यत्ननिर्वर्त्यः सोऽलङ्कारो ध्वनौ मतः ॥ (२.१६)

... यमके च प्रबन्धेन बुद्धिपूर्वकं क्रियमाणे नियमेनैव यत्नान्तरपरिग्रह आपतति शब्दविशेषान्वेषणरूपः । अलङ्कारान्तरेष्वपि तत्तुल्यमिति चेत्, नैवम् । *अलङ्कारान्तराणि हि निरूप्यमाणदुर्घटनान्यपि रससमाहितचेतसः प्रतिभानवतः कवेरहम्पूर्विकया परापतन्ति । यथा कादम्बर्यां कादम्बरीदर्शनावसरे;* यथा च मायारामशिरोदर्शनेन विह्वलायां सीतादेव्यां मेतौ । युक्तं चैतत्, यतो रसा वाच्यविशेषैरेवाक्षेप्तव्याः । तत्प्रतिपादकैश्च शब्दैस्तत्प्रकाशिनो वाच्यविशेषा एव रूपकादयोऽलङ्काराः । *तस्मान्न तेषां बहिरङ्गत्वं रसाभिव्यक्तौ ।* (pp. 58-60 Krishnamoorthy's edn. 74). We can see how Ānandavardhana is impressed by Bāṇa who is 'रससमाहितचेताः' and 'प्रतिभानवान्' and inspires the former to formulate his canons concerning the use of Alaṃkāras.

Under Dhv. II. 21, we find Ānandavardhana illustrating शब्दशक्तिमूलअलङ्कार - ध्वनि with an apt quotation from the हर्ष. II - यत्र तु सामर्थ्याक्षिप्तं सदलङ्कारान्तरं शब्दशक्त्या प्रकाशते सर्व एव ध्वनेर्विषयः । यथा- *अत्रान्तरे कुसुमसमययुगमुपसंहरन्नजृम्भत ग्रीष्माभिधानः फुल्लमल्लिकाधवलाट्टहासः महाकालः ।* For instances of some varieties of Dhvani Ānandavardhana turns to Bāṇa. He observes that we may have even विरोधालङ्कारध्वनि in the same variety. Says he (Dhv. op. cit. p. 80, under II.21) : अन्येऽपि चालङ्काराः शब्दशक्तिमूलानुस्वानरूपव्यङ्ग्ये ध्वनौ सम्भवन्त्येव । तथा हि विरोधोऽपि शब्दशक्तिमूलानुस्वानरूपो दृश्यते । यथा स्थाण्वीश्वराख्यजनपदवर्णने भट्टबाणस्य *'यत्र च मत्तमातङ्गगामिन्यः शीलवत्यश्च गौर्यो विभवरताश्च श्यामाः पद्मरागिण्यश्च धवलद्विजशुचिवदना मदिरामोदिश्वसनाश्च प्रमदाः ।* But, when this विरोध or श्लेष is expressly stated in so many words, there would

be cases of expressed Alaṃkāras only. Says he (under Dhv. II. 21) : यत्र हि साक्षाच्छब्दावेदितो विरोधालङ्कारस्तत्र हि श्लिष्टोक्तौ वाच्यालङ्कारस्य विरोधस्य श्लेषस्य वा विषयत्वम् । यथा तत्रैव - *''समवाय इव विरोधिनां पदार्थानाम् । तथा हि - 'सन्निहितबालान्धकाराऽपि भास्वन्मूर्तिः' इत्यादौ । (हर्ष. 1)* Under Dhv. III. 1, while illustrating the variety of *विवक्षिताभिधेयस्य अनुरणनरूपव्यङ्ग्यस्य शब्दशक्त्युद्भवः प्रभेदः,* with reference to a sentence, Bāṇa is sought for an illustration thus : *तस्यैव वाक्यप्रकाशता यथा हर्षचरिते सिंहनादवाक्येषु-* ''वृत्तेऽस्मिन्महाप्रलये धरणीधारणायाधुना त्वं शेषः ॥''.

While dealing with the concept of सङ्घटना or Texture, under Dhv. III. 5-9, Ānandavardhana is guided by Kālidāsa and Bāṇa. But particularly under III.8-9 he is clearly under Bāṇa's spell, for he observes : आख्यायिकाकथयोस्तु गद्ये निबन्धनबाहुल्याद् गद्ये छन्दोबन्धभिन्नप्रस्थानत्वादिह नियमे *हेतुरकृतपूर्वोऽपि मनाक्* क्रियते । The translation of the relevant passage from the Dhv. will reveal Bāṇa's influence very clearly : 'The consideration of decorum detailed above will also govern all prose works which are not governed by rules of metre (III. 8).' (Trans. by K. K. rishnamoorthy pp. 133.4)

Though prose works are not governed by rules of metre, the considerations of decorum mentioned above, viz., that of the speaker, the spoken and the literary medium govern them. Here too the poet is free to employ any texture he likes, when the speaker is a poet or a character invented by the poet devoid of all sentiment and emotion. But if the speaker happens to be suffused with sentiment and emotion, the mentioned principles of decorum should be applied. And among them also, decorum of the literary medium is of the highest importance. In the historical novel (आख्यायिकायां) we find mostly textures with medium-sized and long compounds. The reason lies in the fact that literary prose attains beauty through the assistance of affected and involved construction (गद्यस्य विकटबन्धाश्रयेण छायावत्त्वात्). But, in the romantic novel (कथायां), though there is preference for involved construction, decorum of sentiment should be retained.

Texture with decorum in the delineation of sentiments will shine out wherever it might be found. It will, however, assume a shade of variation coupled with the decorum of literary medium (II. 9 Dhv.).

In other words, texture with decorum in delineating sentiments will shine out everywhere — in prose works as well as in metrical ones. Yet due to decorum of particular literary media it acquires slightly different shades, it does not transform itself entirely. For instance, even in prose works, and even if there should be a historical novel amongst them (आख्यायिकायामपि), the texture with long compounds will not be beautiful when the sentiments of Love-in-separation and Pathos are being delineated. So also, in dramas etc., even while portraying the Furious and the Heroic sentiments, only the texture without compounds is utilised. The decorum of literary medium is both greater and smaller in degree than the decorum of sentiment (from different points of view). In the historical novel, we do not have texture without compounds while depicting sentiments of Love-in-separation and Pathos. So also in dramas etc., we do not get texture with very long compounds even while depicting

the Furious and such other sentiments. In this way one should understand the direction in which texture is employed." Needless to add that all this is inspired by Bāṇa and Bāṇa alone.

Abhinavagupta has nothing fresh to add except this : आख्यायिकोच्छ्वासादिना वक्त्रापरवक्त्रादिना च युक्ता । कथा तद्विरहिता । (p. 143, लोचन).

We will now turn to Kṣemendra. He mentions Bāṇa a number of times. In his औचित्यविचारचर्चा, he quotes a verse viz. *स्तनयुगमश्रुस्नातं* --- and says न तु यथा भट्टबाणस्य *'जयत्युपेन्द्रः स चकार'* --- Again, he quotes a verse as Bāṇa's in which the sad plight of Kādambarī due to separation from her lover is described; यथा वा भट्टबाणस्य 'हारो जलार्द्रवसनं,' --- suggesting that Bāṇa wrote the story of Kādambarī in verse also. Kṣemendra says : अत्र विप्रलम्भमरभग्नधैर्यायाः कादम्बर्या विरहव्यथावर्णना । In his कविकण्ठाभरण (सन्धि II) he quotes *कटु क्वणन्तो मलदायकाः* --- from Bāṇa. He seems to be quite appreciative of Bāṇa's genius.

Kuntaka is almost Bāṇa-drunk, treating Vicitra-mārga under *Vakroktijīvita* (edn. pp. 57) I. 34-43 : he quotes from Bāṇa यथा च *कतमः प्रविजृम्भित...* (हर्ष. I) इति । यथा च *कानि च पुण्यमाञ्जि...* (हर्ष. I) - Kuntaka observes; अत्र कस्मादागताः स्थ, किं चास्य नाम, इत्यलङ्कार्यमप्रस्तुतप्रशंसालक्षणालङ्कारच्छायाच्छुरितत्वेनैतदीयशोभान्तर्गतत्वेन सहृदयहृदयाह्लादकारितां प्रापितम् । On p. 66, under I. 52, Kuntaka observes : यथा - मातृगुप्तमायुराजमञ्जीरप्रभृतीनां सौकुमार्यवैचित्र्यसंवलितपरिस्पन्दस्यन्दीनि काव्यानि संभवन्ति । तत्र मध्यममार्गसंवलितं स्वरूपं विचारणीयम् । एवं सहजसौकुमार्यसुभगानि कालिदाससर्वसेनादीनां काव्यानि दृश्यन्ते । तत्र सुकुमारमार्गस्वरूपं चर्चनीयम् । *तथैव च विचित्रवक्रत्वविजृम्भितं हर्षचरिते भट्टबाणस्य विभाव्यते,* भवभूतिराजशेखरविरचितेषु बन्धसौन्दर्यसुभगेषु मुक्तकेषु परिदृश्यते । (Trans- op. cit. P. 352....:) "So also in Bhaṭṭa Bāṇa's Harṣa- carita we observe a plethora of brilliant artistry.....". We will go to suggest that Kuntaka has modelled some of his basic principles of literary criticism on Bāṇa.

Under III. 24, (pp.180-181), Kuntaka quotes from Bāṇa and highly appreciates Bāṇa's genius. Kuntaka observes that at times real genius is required in handling Rūpaka. "By virtue of their creative imagination, poets are seen transforming metaphar to yield the highest poetic effort in such novel ways that new shades of figures are brought into relief thereby." (Trans. op. cit. p. 471) Kuntaka further observes — यत्र तथाप्रसिद्ध्यभावात् सिद्धस्यव्यवहारावतरणं साहसमिवावभासते । विभूषणान्तरसहायस्य पुनरुल्लेखत्वेन विधीयमानत्वात् सहृदयहृदयसंवादसुन्दरी परा प्रौढिरुत्पद्यते । यथा — *निर्मोकमुक्तिरिव* गगनोरगस्य, *लीललाटिकामिव त्रिविष्टपविटस्य* (हर्ष. १) इति । अत्र कविप्रतिभा — प्रतिभासस्यायमभिप्रायः यत् लोकोत्तरसौन्दर्यातिशयश्लाघितया वर्णनीयस्य वस्तुनः प्रकारान्तरेणाभिधातुमशक्यत्वम् । एवंविधया रूपकालंकारलेखयापि तथा प्रसिद्ध्यभावादेव निष्कम्पतया व्यवहर्तुं न युज्यते । तस्मादस्माकमेवंस्वरूपमेवेदं वर्णनीयं वस्तु प्रतिभातीत्यलंकारान्तरमुत्प्रेक्षालक्षणमत्र सहायत्वेनोल्लिखितम् । (Trans. op. cit p. 471) 'When highly unfamiliar ideas are deserибed in terms of familiar ones, it strikes as a bold invention of the poet. Such a novel presentation of metaphor associated with other figures of speech certainly contributes to the highest kind of poetic excellence; e.g.' 'As if it were the slough cast off by the sky-cobra, as if it were the ornamental mark worn on the forehead by heaven - beau....' (Harṣa. 1)

The following is the purport of the expression 'by virtue of creative imagination

of the poets' : the content sought to be conveyed by the poets will be so extraordinarily charming that it completely defies expression in any other manner. Though such a clear streak of Rūpaka is noticeable here, one cannot unhesitatingly declare it as a case of pure Rūpaka alone, since there is no rhetorical tradition to support such a designation. But, since the content described appears to possess a streak of Rūpaka in our own considered opionion, we have declared that Utprekṣā is an associate figure of Rūpaka here.

Under III. 31 also, while treating Utprekṣā (p. 189), Kuntaka once again cites the same illustration : काल्पनिकसादृश्योदाहरणं यथा - *राशीभूतः प्रतिदिनमिव...* । यथा वा - *निर्मोकमुक्तिरिव गगनोरगस्य* । An example of imagined similarity in Utprekṣā is : 'Like Śiva's boisterous laughter piled up day after day...' or, 'as if it were the slough cast off by the sky-cobra....' Kuntaka seems to have fallen in love with this illustration, for he cites it once again under III. 61 (p. 239-40) to illustrate सङ्करः; यस्मादेतयोर्द्वयोरपि परस्परसंभावनां विना स्वरूपलब्धिरेव न (पर्य)वस्यति, संकीर्णयोरथ संवादादेवंविधविषये सङ्करोक्तिः प्रवर्तते । वाक्यैकदेशे यथा - *निर्मोकमुक्तिरिव गगनोरगस्य* इति निष्कम्पतया व्यवहर्तुमशक्यत्वात्, निर्मोकमुक्तिरिवेत्युत्प्रेक्षया रूपकालंकारस्य स्वरूपलाभावकाशः (समर्प्यते) । तथैवोत्प्रेक्षायाः । यस्मादत्रापि संकरालंकारव्यवहारः ।

Kuntaka discusses प्रकरणवक्रता in Ch. IV. A type of this episodal beauty is explained in IV. 7,8. The illustration is sought from the हर्ष. Says he : (p. 255- 6) अयमस्य परमार्थः- तदेवं सकलचन्द्रोदया(दि) प्रकरणप्रकारेषु वस्तु प्रस्तुतकथासंविधानकानुरोधात् मुहुर्मुहुरुपनिबध्यमानं यदि परिपूर्णपूर्वविरूपरसालंकाररामणीयकनिर्भरं भवति तदा कामपि रामणीयकमर्यादां वक्रतामवतारयति । यथा हर्षचरिते - *अभिनवभङ्गीपरिग्रहग्रथितसौभाग्यसंपत् (धरा)धर विभावरीविराम (।दि)रामणीयककर्त्री नैकस्थानेषु चमत्कुरुते* । तत एव च तदास्वादनीयम् । *बहुत्वादत्र वर्णयितुमशक्यम् ।*

'The upshot may be indicated as follows - The different incidental subjects of description in a work such as moon-rise may occur more than once. But they may be so repeated only in case the plot demands their recurrence. Yet the style of description should be made to vary in each case, being adapted to the harmonious embodiment of different sentiments and figures of speech which are equally beautiful. Such an elegant variation invests even repeated conventional themes with aesthetic appeal. *The best example of this is seen in the Harṣacarita*, where we find the strikingly new and varied style of the poet, which, by its very abundance of beauty, lends charm to his descriptions of mountain, the close of the night, and so on in more than one context. *Readers should enjoy them by reading the original only.* Since *they are so profuse, it is impossible to explain them in detail here.* (Trans. op. cit. pp. 548)-

What more can we expect from a great critic for a great literary artist ! In short, Kuntaka has written his heart out ! And looking at the praise showered on Bāṇa by Kuntaka we are firmly of the opinion that Kuntaka was positively guided by Bāṇa's thoughts and achievements when he put forth his own ideas about the basic concept of Kāvya and the Vicitra-mārga. Kuntaka's observation under I.6 (p.6) : तत्त्वं सालङ्कारस्य काव्यता । तदयमत्र परमार्थः - सालंकारस्यालंकरणसहितस्य सकलस्य निरस्तावयवस्य सतः समुदायस्य काव्यता कविकर्मत्वम् । तेनालंकृतस्य काव्यत्वमिति स्थितं, न पुनः काव्यस्यालंकारयोगः । Similarly, the description of विचित्रमार्ग

under I. 34-43 clearly reveals Bāṇa's influence . We do not quote here, for want of space.

Mahimā is known for his fierce criticism even of the best of poets. Bāṇa also receives his share of praise and criticism.

Under व्यक्तिविवेक २,८९ (p.413 edn, Dr. R.P.Dwivedi, 64), Mahimā observes : तदभिव्यक्तिनिबन्धनसद्भावे तु तयोः प्रधानेतराभिव्यक्तौ विशेषणविशेष्यप्रतिनियमो युक्त एव । यथा -

अतिगम्भीरे भूपे कूप इव जनस्य निरवतारस्य ।
दधति समीहितसिद्धं गुणवन्तः पार्थिवा घटकाः ॥ (हर्ष. १) (श्लो-२)

इति । अत्र हि इवशब्दनिबन्धनो गुणवत्त्वघटवत्त्वयोर्विशेषणविशेष्यभावः, न पार्थिवत्वस्यापि, तस्योपमेयतया प्राधान्यात् तस्य स्वरूपापहारापत्तेरित्युक्तम् ।

The context is that, while discussing the वाच्यावचनदोष, Mahimā notices in the verse *समन्ततः केसरिणं*...the दोष वाच्यावचन, but not in Kālidāsa's *न तिलकस्तिलकः प्रमदामिव.* Then, Mahimā further observes that if the cause of its manifestation is present, the state of its being the principal or subordinate becomes clear and so a clear form of विशेषणविशेष्यभाव emerges, as in case of अतिगम्भीरे. --- Here, on the strength of इव, the विशेषणविशेष्यभाव with reference to गुणवत्त्व and घटकत्व is there, but not in case of पार्थिव because it is the principal, it being the उपमेय. Otherwise, the very प्राधान्य would be negatived. Mahimā holds that here there is no वाच्यावचन दोष.

Mahimā also approves of Bāṇa's description of a horse in *कुर्वन्नाभुज्जपृष्ठो*.. (हर्ष.), while discussing the figure of speech. स्वभावोक्ति, under II. 120, (p. 454).

Under I. 13 (p. 264), while discussing विधेयाविमर्श दोष, he picks up the topics concerning यत्-तत्, षष्ठीसमासगतदोष, and विधेयताहानि in a compound. While further discussing गुणप्रधानभाव with reference to समास he observes (p.262) : तदिदमत्र तात्पर्यं यत् कथञ्चिदपि प्रधानतया विवक्षितं न तन्नियमेनेतरेण सह समासमर्हतीति । इतस्तु विशेष्यमन्यद् वा अस्तु न तत्र नियमः । तेन द्वन्द्वपदानां सरूपाणां च पदानामर्थस्यान्योन्यं विशेषणविशेष्यभावाभावेऽपि यदा प्रत्येकं क्रियाभिसंबंधोपगमलक्षणं प्राधान्यं विवक्ष्यते तदा तेषामपि समास एकशेषश्च नेष्यत एव । यथा....

Then the adds (p.264) : यत्र पुनरेष प्रधानतेरभावो न विवक्षितः स्वरूपमात्रप्रतिपत्तिफलश्च विशेषणविशेष्यभावस्तत्र समासासमासयोः कामचारः । यथा *स्तनयुगमश्रुस्नातं समीपवर्ति हृदयशोकाग्नेः । चरति विमुक्ताहारं व्रतमिव भवतो रिपुस्त्रीणाम् ॥* (कादम्बरी). There is, no fault in Bāṇa here because in रिपुस्त्रीणाम् only the relation is hinted at and nothing else. See विमर्शिनी on this : 'भवतः' इति रिपुस्त्रीणां सम्बन्धित्वेन, 'रिपुस्त्रीणा 'मिति च स्तनयुगस्य सम्बन्धित्वेनेति योजना । रिपुस्त्रीणामिति समासस्योदाहरणम् । न चात्र संबंधमात्रादतिरिक्तं प्रतीयते ।

We may add here that Mahimā's words are taken up by Hemacandra under काव्यानुशासन ३.६ in his Viveka on p. 256, lines 19-27 (edn. Dr. Kulkarni and Prof. Parikh). This we will see below. But Mahimā does find fault with Bāṇa under II. 72 (p. 393). While discussing वाच्यावचन दोष, Mahimā quotes from Bāṇa; (हर्ष) "भैरवाचार्यस्तु दूरादेव दृष्ट्वा राजानं शशिनमिव जलनिधिश्चचाल" इति । He observes : अत्र हि राजशब्द एव उभयार्थत्वाच्छशिनमाहेति श्लेषस्यायं विषयो युक्तः । राज is capable of conveying the sense of शशिन्. So this is a province of श्लेष. But see : यदत्र पृथक्तमुपादाय राजशशिनोरुपमानोपमेयभावोपनिबन्धः सोऽपि वाच्यावचनं दोषः । The point is that Bāṇa has used both राजा and शशिन् and has tried to express similarity between the two. This is वाच्यावचनदोष. Had Bāṇa left it implied only, it would have given greater pleasure to the connoisseurs - स ह्यार्थ एव तद्विदामधिकं स्वदते न शाब्द इत्युक्तम् ।

The *Daśarūpaka* of Dhanañjaya refers to Bāṇa under II. 35 (N.S.edn.) : यथा हि महाश्वेतावर्णनावसरे भट्टबाणस्य... and under IV. 66 as : यथा कादम्बर्यां वैशम्पायनस्य. There is nothing noteworthy about these references.

Bhoja refers to Bāṇa or his works in both the सरस्वतीकण्ठाभरण and the शृङ्गारप्रकाश at quite a number of places. We are not in a position to trace all the references in शृङ्गारप्रकाश as the only available edition of Josier does not give any verse-index (except in vol.I). So, we have relied for this purpose on Dr. Raghavan's references in his शृंङ्गारप्रकाश. For सरस्वतीकण्ठाभरण, we have relied on Kane. But the conclusions that we have drawn are our own and we are again of the firm opinion that Bhoja was greatly impressed by Bāṇa, and his concepts regarding Kāvya with its chief characteristics of अलङ्कारयोग and रस-अवियोग, of वाङ्मय being स्वभावोक्ति, वक्रोक्ति and रसोक्ति, were formed under Bāṇa's influence.

Bhoja in his सरस्वतीकण्ठाभरण (p. 142, Vol. I, Benares edn. — Ref. Kane) says : यादृग्गद्यविधौ बाणः पद्यबन्धे न तादृशः । This is a very interesting observation. That Bāṇa wrote poetic compositions such as चण्डीशतक and पद्यकादम्बरी is gathered from other sources also and even Mammaṭa quotes from चण्डीशतक without naming the author. But what is important is that Bāṇa had a greater hold on prose compositions and perhaps we may agree with Bhoja in his estimate. Then, on p. 146 of the same volume, Bhoja quotes from Bāṇa : हर इव जितमन्मथः, गुह इवाप्रतिहतशक्तिः --- This apart, we do not read anything more about Bāṇa in this work.

Turning to the शृङ्गारप्रकाश, we come across the following references to Bāṇa or his works : (These are collected with the help of Dr. Raughvan's शृ. प्र.) : References to the *Kādambarī*— Bhoja gives five kinds of plots. He observes that the *Kādambarī* an has invented story with divine personalities. Says Bhoja : उत्पाद्येतिवृत्तमित्यनेन कविमनीषिकाप्रकल्पितचतुर्वर्गावहेतुदिव्यादि... त्वं ब्रूते । यथा चन्द्रापीडपुण्डरीकादिवर्णनं *कादम्बर्याम्* । (Raghavan p. 601) Bhoja distinguished between कथा, आख्यायिका — आख्यान, but as Dr. Raghavan observes, Bhoja's description is borrowed from Bhāmaha. But the reference to the *Kādambarī* p. 3 (Peterson's edn.) is seen in Bhoja (Ref. Raghavan, p. 616 , शृं. प्र. Vol. II, P. 427, — We have no access to these vols. referred to by Raghavan) : काव्य-नाटक-आख्यान-आख्यायिका-आलेख-व्याख्यानादि निपुणैः...

Then Bhoja defines कथा as (p.618, Raghavan) या अनियमित-गति-भाषा-दिव्यादिव्योभयेति-वृत्तमयी । *कादंबरीव* लीलावतीव वा, सा कथा कथिता ॥ (This refers to p.428, vol.II acc. to Raghavan).

Dr. Raghavan observes in the index that Bhoja has references to Bāṇa such as at Ch. X, p.295; हर्ष. (Ch. XI. p.412), कादम्बरी (p.428), हर्ष. (p.433), कादम्बरी (p.434); both हर्ष and का. (p.439), then का. (in vol.III. p.404), हर्ष. in Ch. XXVIII, p.479, का. on p.482, and ch. XXXVI p.910 has हर्ष. and p. 913 has का. We cannot trace these references.

Turning to the references to हर्ष. we gather the following : Bāṇa conceives air as being drunk. This is Bhoja's संभवमणिति. e.g. अभिनवपटुपाटलामोदपरिमलं न केवलं जलं जनस्य, पवनमपि पातुमभूदभिलाषो दिवसकरसन्तापात् (हर्ष. II) (Raghavan, p.362).

Bhoja says that नमस्कार is illustrated by हर्ष. (Raghavan, p. 404).

Bhoja's स.क.भ. V श्लोकs 4-7 are modelled on Bāṇa, (हर्ष. I.8) (Raghavan p. 428, ft. note).

Raghavan pp. 601-2 has Bhoja's five varieties of plots. Bhoja says - अनुत्पाद्येतिवृत्तं इत्यनेन यथागतवर्तमानातीतमहाराजादिवृत्तवर्णनविषयतामस्याचष्टे, यथा हर्षवर्धन-राज्यवर्धनादीनां च वर्णनं *हर्षचरिते* ।
Raghavan (p.613) observes that Bhoja illustrates this type (= आख्यायिका) by two works, one available, the हर्ष. of Bāṇa, and the other lost, the माघविका.

Some other references to हर्ष. given in the index (शृ. प्र., Raghavan, p.941) are not useful for our purpose.

Mammaṭa does not refer to Bāṇa except at K.P.I. - श्री हर्षदिर्बाणादीनामिव धनम् where the reading बाण is not accepted by all. Except some citations from the चण्डीशतक, we do not hear of Bāṇa and of any of Bāṇa's works in the K.P.

Bu' Hemacandra has a lot to say about Bāṇa.

Hemacandra finds fault with Bāṇa (*Kāvyānuśāsana,* का.शा. p. 207, edn. prof. Parikh and Dr. Kulkarni, Bombay 64) while discussing अधिकपदत्वदोष. He observes : 'किं पुनरीदृशे दुर्जाते जाते जातामर्षनिर्भरे च मनसि नास्त्येवावकाशः शोकक्रियाकरणस्य' (हर्ष. ६, p. 193) इत्यत्र क्रियाकरणयोः ।
At का. शा.(p.207) Hemacandra, finding अधिकपदत्वदोष in हर्ष. ६(p.179), observes : शोकानलधूमसम्भारसम्भोताम्भोदभरितमिव वर्षति नयनवारिधारावितरं शरीरम् - अत्र शोकस्य केनचित् साधर्म्येण अनलत्वेन रूपणमस्तु, धूमस्य पुनर्न किञ्चित् रूप्यमस्तीति अधिकपदत्वम् ।

While discussing the कविसमय of the identity of दैत्य, दानव and असुर, Hemacandra in Viveka (p.31) quotes from the कादम्बरी पूर्वभाग श्लो. २. : जयन्ति बाणासुरमौलिलालिताः.... पादपांसवः ॥

While discussing the form of आख्यायिका in his विवेक (p.462), Hemarandra gives illustrations of वक्त्र, अपरवक्त्र and आर्या respectively, cited from the हर्ष. ३.१. (p.83), viz. निजवर्षाहितस्नेहा. the हर्ष. १.२३ (p.18) तरलयसि दृशं and the हर्ष. ४.२ (p.119) सकल महीभृत्... etc.

On p.375, while discussing विरोधाभास Alaṃkāra at का. शा. ६.१२, Hemacandra observes : अत्रान्यदेशस्थेन कारणेनान्यदेशस्थकार्योत्पादो व्याहन्यते । यथा वा - दिशामलीकालकभङ्गतां... (कादम्बरी, श्लोक १८). Hemacandra syas : अत्र मलीमसेन शुक्लतरीकरणं व्याहन्यते ।

On p. 208, हर्ष I. (p.19) is quoted as : निर्मोकमुक्तिमिव... Hemacandra holds that here there is अधिकपदत्वदोष because अत्र रूपकेणैव साम्यस्य प्रतिपाद्यमानत्वादिवशब्दस्याधिक्यम् ॥ In view of what Kuntaka had to say about this, as observed by us earlier, we feel that Hemacandra has entilrely missed the mark.

On P. 68 (का. शा. १.२३) Hemacandra cites (हर्ष. ३ p.8) मातङ्गामिन्यः शीलवत्यश्च as an example of the suggestibility of शब्दशक्ति alone.

On P. 296, under का. शा. ५/१, while discussing अनुप्रास, Hemacandra observes :- अनेकस्यासकृदावृत्तिर्यथा सर्दाशारुधि. This verse according to the editors is shown to be Bāṇa's composition सुभाषितावली (११०८) भट्टबाणस्य.

On P. 256 Hemacandra, in his विवेक on का.शा. ३.६, has the following observation :—

"यत्र पुनरेष प्रधानेतरभावो न विवक्षित: स्वरूपमात्रप्रतिपत्तिफलश्च विशेषणविशेष्यभाव: तत्र समासासमासयो: कामचार: । यथा -

स्तनयुगमश्रुस्नातं समीपतरवर्तिहृदयशोकाग्रे: ।
चरति विमुक्ताहारं व्रतमिव भवतो रिपुस्त्रीणाम् ॥

(कादम्बरी, श्लो. २१, p. .26)

अत्र भवत इति रिपुस्त्रीणामिति च रिपुस्त्रीणां स्तनयुगस्य च सम्बन्धित्वेन यद् विशेषणं न ततस्तेषामुत्कर्ष: कश्चिद्विवक्षित:, अपि तु तत्संबंधप्रतीतिमात्रं तच्च व्रतमिव भवदरिवधूस्तनद्वयमित्यत: समासादपि तुल्यमेव । यथा चात्रैव रिणुस्त्रीणामिति रिपुसम्बन्धमात्रप्रतीति:, स्त्रीणामिति ॥

Hemacandra finds fault with Bāṇa. But all this follows *verbatim* the observation of Mahimā which we have noted above.

On P.171 under का.शा. ३.३ Hemacandra, while discussing रसदोष, finds fault with Bāṇa. This is very interesting and original, suggesting Hemarandra's personality which refused to come under undue spell of Bāṇa. He observes that अङ्गस्य अप्रधानस्य अतिविस्तरेण वर्णनम् is seen in *Kādambarī*. Says he : तथा कादम्बर्यां 'रूपविलास' (का. पृ.१३) इत्यादिना महाविप्रलम्भबीजेऽप्युपक्षिप्ते तदनुपयोगिनीष्वटवीशबरेशाश्रममुनिनगरीनृपादिवर्णनास्वति- प्रसङ्गाभिनिवेश: । Same is the case with हर्ष. (श्लो.२१, p.16) : हर्षचरिते 'जयति ज्वलद्' इत्यादिना हर्षोत्कर्षवत् विजयबीजे *बाणान्वयवर्णनम्* तत्रापि चानन्वितप्राय एव सारस्वतोत्पत्तिपर्यन्तो महान् ग्रन्थसन्दर्भ: ।
But we may observe that Bāṇa is here interested in describing his विद्यावंश also.

Then, while discussing विप्रलम्भ due to पारवश्य, Hemacandra (का.शा. २/६) illustrates it (p.112) from *Kādambarī* : प्रतिज्ञाभङ्गभीत्याऽपि यो न सङ्ग: कादम्बर्याश्चन्द्रापीडेन सोऽपि पारवश्यज एव । At का. शा. ८/८, p. 463, we read : युक्तग्रहणादन्तरान्तरा प्रविरलपद्यनिबन्धेऽप्यदुष्टा आख्यायिका । यथा *हर्षचरितादि:*. This recommends occasional use of verses in आख्यायिका. Hemacandra is guided by Bāṇa here.

With reference to श्रव्यकाव्य - कथा variety in which मंत्रदूतप्रयाण, etc. is narrated, Hemacandra, under Bāṇa's influence, observes in विवेक (on, का. शा. ८/६, p. 458) : शासनहरो यथा कादम्बर्यां केयूरक इति ।

While discussing सात्त्विकभावs at का.शा. २.५३ (p. 144) विवेक, Hemacandra says - *प्राणभूमीति* । अयं भाव: । रत्यादयश्चित्तवृत्तिविशेषा: पूर्वं संविद्रूपा: समुल्लसन्ति । तत आभ्यन्तरप्राणान् ते स्वरूपाध्यासेन कलुषयन्ति । न चैतदसंवेद्यम् । तथा हि क्रोधावेशे अन्तरा ज्वलतेव पूर्वमुन्मिषति तत: स्वेद: । अनेनैवाशयेन *भट्टबाणेनोक्तम्*- पूर्वं तपो गलति पश्चात् स्वेदसलिलम्' इति । (हर्ष.१, पृ.१३).
We will stop with Hemacandra. The above, rather prolonged, discussion throws enough light on how Ālaṃkārikas beginning with Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin down to Hemacandra were indebted to Bāṇa in forming some of their tenets and how Bāṇa inspired them, providing apt illustrations to substantiate this or that observation on their part. Bāṇa on his part had floated certain notions pertaining to good or bad poetry and had placed two marvellous ideals before poets and literary critics, which they emulated in both creative and appreciative works.

REVIEWS

Chāndogyopaniṣaddīpikā

[Edited by Dr. Gautam Patel, Publisher - Sadguru Gaṅgeśvara, International Veda Mission, Bombay, 400 020 : 1989. pp. i - xvi; 1-393]

The *Chāndogyopaniṣaddīpikā* is a commentary on the Chāndogyopaniṣad (Ch. Up.) by Sāyanācārya. It has been edited by Dr. Gautam Patel.

Two manuscripts of this commentary on the *Chāndogyopaniṣad* were available to Dr. Patel. They were (i) The *Chāndogyopaniṣaddīpikā* from the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Pune; (2) The *Chāndogyapaniṣad Bhāṣya* from the Oriental Research Institute, Mysore. He has indicated the first manuscript by the letter भ *(bha)*, and the second, by the letter म *(ma)*, in the foot-notes. The first manuscript is in Devanāgarī script and the second in Nandināgarī script. He has also given some more particulars regarding the two manuscripts on p.vi.

The *Chāndogyopaniṣaddīpikā* contains (I) A preface, (II) An introduction in Hindi, (III) Abbreviations, (IV) The text of the eight chapters of the *Chāndogyopaniṣad* and the commentary of Sāyanācarya on it, (V) Three appendices : (i) Index of the quotations in Sāyana's commentary, (ii) Index of the mantras quoted from *Vaiyāsikī Nyāyamālā*, (iii) Index of the mantras in the Chā. Up. in alphabetical order, and (iv) Footnotes giving different readings of the text.

Sāyaṇa begins the commentary with a prologue containing twelve verses. The first two verses are benedictory verses offering salutation to Gods Gajānana and Maheśvara. We learn from this prologue that Sāyaṇa, on being asked by the King Bukka to write commentaries on the Veda, wrote commentaries on the ṚV, YV, SV and the Upaniṣads. The name of his commentary on the Chā. Up. is Chāndogyopaniṣaddīpikā. Sāyaṇa has made it clear that he has followed Śaṅkaracārya while commenting on the Chā. Up. and he has also taken help of *Vaiyāsikī Nyāyamālā* to explain the philosophy. Sāyaṇa has not followed Śaṅkara's philosophy only, but while expounding the meaning of the mantras he has also used words, pharases and illustrations used by Śaṅkara in his commentary on the Chā Up.

Sāyaṇa has explained the mantras in the Chā Up. and philosophy therein, in simple language. It may be pointed out here that Sāyaṇa is not only a borrower. In his commentary we do come across new derivations of words, new quotations, new illustrations which we do not find in Śaṅkara's

commentary. Some times incomplete quotations in Śāṅkarabhāṣya are given in complete form by Sāyaṇa. Another noteworthy feature of Sāyaṇa's commentary which enhances its importance is that, while Śaṅkara quotes only from Vedic Saṁhitās and the Upaniṣads, Sāyaṇa quotes from the Vedic Saṁhitās, Brāhmaṇas, Āraṇyakas, Upaniṣads, Śrauta, Gṛhya and Kalpasūtras and the Purāṇas.

Śaṅkara's commentary at times contains lengthy and scholarly discussions on philosophical points. Sāyaṇa has avoided such lengthy and scholarly eluciditions. *Chāndogyopaniṣaddīpikā* strikes us for its simplicity and brevity; it is worth the name "Dīpikā".

Dr. Gautam Patel has written in Hindi a critical introduction to Sāyaṇa's commetary in which he has compared the Dīpikā to Śaṅkara's commentary on the Chā. Up. and brought out the above mentioned features of the Dīpikā.

A question may be asked as to why Sāyaṇa wrote a commentary on the Cha Up.; when Śaṅkara had already written a commentary on it. Dr. Patel holds that Sāyaṇa had written commentaries on the four Vedic Saṁhitās, the Brāhmaṇas, Āraṇyakas, Īśāvāsyopaniṣad, Aitareyopaniṣad, Taittirīyopaniṣad, and Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad. He had not commented on the Chā Up. which is one of the principal Upaniṣads. Therefore, it is possible, that he wrote an independent Dīpikā on the Chā Up. Dr. Patel has made attempts to fill the gaps where due to the carelessness or unawareness of the scribe words were missing or the sentences were incomplete.

In the concluding part of his introduction Dr. Patel has made a bold statement regarding the meaning of the word *'trayī'*. According to Dr. Patel, Sāyaṇa understands the word *'trayī'* in the sense of three kinds of *'mantras'* which the four Saṁhitās viz. Ṛv, Yv, Sv, and AV contain and the word *'trayī'* stands for ṚV YV SV and AV. Dr. Patel remarks that this is Sāyaṇa's contribution (p.xiii); and exclusion of the AV from *'trayī'* is a sign of ignorance about our tradition (p.xiii).

This argument is wrong. Tradition understands the word *'trayī'* in the sense of the three Saṁhitās viz. ṚV, YV SV, and Sāyaṇa also understands it in the same sense. This, he has repeately made clear in his Dīpikā. (Cf. Dīpikā on Chā Up. I.1.9; II 21.1; II.23.2, IV.17.3, IV.17.8). This is corroborated by his commentary on the ṚV, where, while commenting on the word *'trivida'*, Sāyaṇa explains, *"trīn vedān vindatīti trividaḥ* i.e. one who studies the three vedas is *'trivida'* (cf. Ṛgveda Saṁhitā with Sāyaṇa's commentary Vol. I, p.18; Vedic Research Institute, Tilak Smarak Mandir, Poona 2).

Dr. Patel argues that the phrases *"bhāratam pañcamo vedaḥ"*, *"nāṭakam pañcamo vedaḥ"* etc. indicate that since ancient times tradition knew four vedas. Had there been three Vedas, then *'nāṭaka'* (dramaturgy) would have

been considered as the fourth Veda, or the *'Bhārata'* would have been named the fourth Veda. Therefore, according to Dr. Patel, the word *'trayī'* connotes the four Vedic Saṁhitās containing three types of mantras.

This argument also is wrong. The AV was not recognised as a Veda in the early Vedic period because of its unholy character; it got its recognition as a Veda in the later Vedic period. Both the Bhārata and the Nāṭaka were composed after the AV's recognition as a Veda, i.e. at the time of their composition there were four Vedas; and hence the 'Bhārata' and the 'Nāṭaka' were described as the Fifth Veda.

Grammatically incorrect Hindi in the introduction, such as, *'yah qranthame'* in the place of *'is granthame'* (pp i, X), *'yah dīpikāme'* in the place of *'is dipikame'* (p. viii; XII) etc. need correction in the second edition. Mention also has to be made about a number of misprints in the Sanskrit commentary.

Both Dr. Patel and the publisher deserve compliments for publishing this commentary which was all these years lying in the form of a manuscript. Scholars and students will find it useful.

JAYA CHEMBURKAR

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Sanskrit Inscriptions of Delhi Sultanate 1191-1526

[Edited by Pushpa Prasad, Published by Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1990. Price Rs. 200/-]

It would hardly be exaggeration to say that inscriptions of early centuries have supplied to scholarly world abundant rich material on ancient India's cultural, social and political history. As such, Pushpa Prasad's publicaton : Sanskrit Inscriptions of Delhi Sultanate 1191-1526 is indeed very valuable. This is evident from the Editor's introductary remark that the inscriptions give us non-political history on which the *chronicles* (of those times) have little to offer. But more important than every thing else is the fact that the Sanskrit language of these inscriptions presents its volitility as it has been under the influence of Persian and (the then) modern vernacular Hindi language - in point of both vocabulary and expressions.

Again, these inscriptions belong to Delhi and Uttar Pradesh. As such, they do not fail to present the regional variations in their Hindi voabulary and expressions, i. e. the local dialects in those regions. Added to these are certain influences of the religiosity of the composers and scribes of the inscriptions that marks not only changes in design and script but also in matter, e.g. in respect of *praśatis* 'prayers,' etc, In this way, the inscriptions would prove of immense value to an art and social histoiran.

The author has, in the first instance, presented a succinct and significant introduction to the texts and translations of these inscriptions and rightly pointed out important Geographical, Political and Revenue-features of the regions and dwelt on informaation about merchants and professional classes, buildings and builders and some aspects of Jainism prevalent among them. His texts and translations are divided into two parts : (i) Delhi and (ii) Uttar Pradesh. His presentation of the same is methodical like in the well-known Epigraphia Indica.

While giving the translations of the insciriptions, the editor has followed others' translations - generally those of R. Mitra and occasionally modified them. But,while so doing, he has at places made some mistakes (are they his or earlier translator's ?, it is difficult to say !) and therein revealed his insufficiency of correct translation of Sanskrit. For example, verse 2 of the Rock Inscription at Ajaygadh fort (P. 124) reads :

पिण्याकपिष्टमिव चण्डरुचिम्मुरारिर्गोवर्धनाच(ल)मलंकृलवान्कराग्रे

(noted at the foot as o लम् असौ कृतवान... with Princep) and in its translation we read 'Murāri... of ardent beauty.' ...Now, चण्डरुचिम् is an adjective of गोवर्धनाचलम्, not of मुरारिः ! And what is 'ardent' beauty ? So also, पिण्याक is some oil-cake... not specified as mustard cake; but this can be overlooked ! Similarly, जलानां... निधौ in verse 5 of the same inscription should be translated simply as 'in the ocean' not 'in the watery ocean !' Also in the Stone Inscription in Jhansi Fort, lines 3-4 are but a total borrowing from Kālidāsa and, therefore, a correct reading व्याप्य स्थितं for व्याप्तस्थितं should have been shown in a foot-note; so also यथार्थाक्षरः for यथार्थक्षरिः and मृग्यते for मृग्येत ! Again, एकपुरुष in the verse should have been translated as the Puruṣa, one without a second,... Not as chief Puruṣa.

In the above, I have indicated only a few errors. This is with the intention of

inviting attention to the even now lacking collaboration between Sanskritists and Historians (and, for that matter, Archaeologists as well.) Yet another idea propped me to do this. Even the translations of inscriptions in the voluminous Epigraphia Indica have revealed a large number of difficulties of accurate nuances of numerous Sanskrit words and these have been demanding serious attention of Sanskrit scholars; I do hope that this publication and such others would soon receive their attention. That should be the reward of the work done by scholars like Pushpa Prasad.

Yet another important feature of the Sanskrit language in these inscriptions deserves serious attention. It is earlier pointed out that the dialects of the areas of Delhi and Uttar Pradesh have influenced the Sanskrit of these inscriptions. It means : Sanskrit continued to be used, at lease among the circles of the learned, for composition during 1191-1526 (to say the least). As such, Sanskrit was not completely fossilised. A study, therefore, of such changing Sanskrit language would reveal the inherent capacities of the language to adapt itself to newer and newer needs. That should help developing precise technical terminology (at least) in modern vernaculars.

More Books of this type, covering other areas of India and also other periods of time, would, therefore, be most welcome !

K. P. Jog

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Prakrit Verses in Sanskrit Works on Poetics

(Edited by V. M. Kulkarni, in 2 Vols, published by B. L. Insitutute of Indology, Delhi, 1988-89. Price not mentioned]

These two volumes are an answer to the often asked question : Why do Sanskrit writers on Poetics cite Prakrit verses profusely while they discuss problems and even small details of Poetics ? In other words, what is the peculiarity of Prakrits which is responsible for its indelible influence on Sanskrit ? V. M. Kulkarni, who has devoted his whole life and energies to the study of Prakrits, has in a humble and yet definite and dogged way attempted to answer the questions adequately. He has, for so doing, gone through almost all important Sanskrit works an Poetics, the commentaries and sub-commentaries on them and a number of Prakrit and Apabhraṁśa works which were the source of the Prakrit verses under discussion.

What Kulkarni has sought to achieve (as he has said in the Preface to Vol. 2) and has achieved are : (i) to trace these verses to their sources; (ii) to restore the correct texts of the verses (or passages) - he humbly calls his results as tentative resorations !; (iii) to restore, on the basis of these verses (portions of) lost texts like Sarvasena's *Haravijaya;* (iv) to bring out how these verses have helped the Poeticians to explain and elucidate their theories; (v) to present, in a way, an anthology of ornate Prakrit verses; and (vi) to highlight the Rasa-element in Prakrit poetry. These, let me rush to observe, are more important achievements than some others which, for want of space, I refrain from enumerating.

Kulkarni, it has to be noted, has thoughtfully worked out the plan of his work. He is a consumate scholar and has left out nothing that is relevant upon Poetics in Sanskrit and also important on its own account. Thus, in Vol. I, he presents as many as 20 chapters Prakrit verses cited (and discussed, at times) by 20 different writers on Poetics (two commentators are also noted !). He has not forgotten to offer Sanskrit Chāyā of these and make them fully clear to Sanskrit readers. Occasionally, he has added a few comments for comparison between/among different writers on Poetics. Then he has provided an index of all these verses. In Vol. II, Kulkarni has presented a readable (not necessarily literal and abstruce) translation. And it is happy to note that he has not missed the poetic charm of the original. This trannslation also has naturally run into 20 chapters. Yet, the more significant part of this Volume is his concise and yet useful Introduction in which he discusses, among many other topics, the nature of Prakrit Poetry, the claims of Prakrit Poetry, significant works of Prakrit literature, the capacity of Prakrit for development/government of sentiments (this is his word for Rasa), and the influence of Prakrit Poetry on Sanskrit Poetics.

A certain appendage - nay, corollary, to his translations of Prakrit verses, viz. Glossary needs special mention. It contains peculiar Prakrit Vocabulary and has great significance for a lexicographer of Prakrit. His appendices in Vol. II deal with some important topics of Sanskrit Poetics (Drama included therein) which have some relation to Prakrit Verses, viz. Rasa, Nāyaka-Nāyikā, their *māna* 'pride' and source of Poetry.

Lastly, but most importantly, I must point out the importance of Kulkarni's work as an unavoidable reference work for scholars of Sanskrit Poetics.

K. P. Jog

Mahākavi kālidāsa viracitaṃ KUMĀRASAMBHAVAM
(With the commentary of Vallabhadeva)
(Edited by Dr. Gautam Patel, published by Dr. Gautam Patel, Ahmedabad; 1986; Price not mentioned)

It is necessary to offer the most hearty welcome to this publication of Kālidāsa's celebrated Mahākāvya, the *Kumārasambhava* together with the commentary of Vallabhadeva, who was in all probability the earliest known commentator of Sanskrit Mahakāvyas. This commentator was known from direct and indirect references to him in the commentaries of Mallinātha, Aruṇagirinātha (Nārayaṇa mostly following him), Sumativījaya and others. His commentary was through these references indicated to be of immence value in respect of the readings in the Mahākāvya, the poetical features in the same and also its bearing upon a number of thoughts in Sanskrit works on Poetics. The world of scholars was, therefore, feeling for long the need of the publication of Vallabhadeva's commentary. It is a happy thing, therefore, that Dr. Gautam Patel has fulfilled the same.

This work of Dr. Patel was originally his Ph. D. dissertation and it is revised by him in the light of laterly published material, particularly the Śārada (script) version of the work (published in Germany). And this has helped him finalising / revising readings which he had adopted in his dissertation on the basis of eight MSS (out of twenty five MSS. consulted). His effort to secure a fairly correct text of Vallabhadeva's work is thus fully rewarded. Also, it is gratifying to note that Dr. Patel has found it necessary to revise his Introduction in the light of this newly available material.

Dr. Paterl's work is divided into two parts : (i) Introduction comprising three sections and (ii) Text and commentary; these are followed by Appendices.

In the 1st section of the Introduction, Patel gives a detailed account of the MSS. he has used, classifies them, and presents his method of presentation of the text. In the 2nd, he presents the information on the life, date and works of Vallabhadeva, informs the readers of Vallabhadeva's schloarship and points to Vallabhadeva's relation to his predecessors and successors. In the 3rd, Patel discusses the name of the commentary, its two (viz. short and long) versions and presents his appraisal of Vallabhadeva's achievements as a commentator. He concludes this section with his discussion on the extent of the Mahākāvya and also on some readings in it.

The second part of Patel's work is the text of the *Kumārasambhava* and Vallabhadeva's commentary thereon. It is to be specially noted in this context that **the poem and the commentary have run into eight cantos,** yet Patel has clearly expressed this opinion on P. 85 of Introduction that '... it can be cogently argued and established that the eighth canto of *Kumārasambhava* is a spurious one and not from the pen of Kālidāsa.' He has, thus, faithfully represented the tradition of the MSS. and yet he was not cowed down by its weight.

But, while fixing the text of the Mahākāvya, Dr. Patel has followed the lead of Vallabhadeva's commentary, ignoring the MS. tradition or the propriety of the other reading. For exmaple, in verse 1.47, Dr. Patel accepts the reading तां वीक्ष्य लीलाचिकुराम् अनङ्गः which is supported by Vallabhadeva in his comment in लीलया विलासेन चिकुरां सुन्दराम् । चिकुरामित्यप्रसिद्धादार्षः पाठः and this is in the face of the reading लीलाचतुराम्; in Aruṇagiri,

Mallinātha, Cāritravardhana (all these commentators) and the printed Śāradā version of Vallabhadeva's commentary. The only unfavourable arugument of Patel could have been : चिकुराम् is more difficult a reading and therefore more likely to be the original reading ! This could nevertheless be only little convincing. Yet another such reading is from 8.40 : वारुणी दिक्... भाति केसरवतेव मण्डिता बन्धुजीवकुसुमेन कन्यका, paraphrased by Vallabhadeva as बन्धुजीवकुसुमचित्रकेण कुमारी इव... अत्यर्थं... तिलकेनापि केसरवता सकिञ्जल्केन... This is vis-a-vis the reading adopted by Mallinātha, Dr. Sūryakānta and the printed Śāradā version viz. बन्धुजीवतिलकेन कन्यका... I need not enter into the controversy over these two readings in relation to the simile in the verse, but I should only point out that the reading rejected by Patel seems to be more in keeping with Kālidāsa's style and therefore deserved preference.

This invites my attention to a very useful appendix (no. 1 पाठान्तराणि) which is noticed in section V of the book. It helps serious scholars to study closely the merits of some commentators of Kālidāsa, of his editors and of the readings themselves... this last throwing ample light on Kālidāsa's poetical art.

Also, it reminds me of some brief discussion by Patel of some readings of *Kumārasambhava,* (a part of section III of the Introduction). His effort is only laudable. A detailed examination of his opinions is here out of question. It is, nevertheless, necessary to point out to Patel that readers expect much more serious discussion of these and other readings in the Mahākāvya.

The vlaue of the publication lies, however, in that it contains such a commentary on Kālidāsa's celebrated work as was written in the wake of great Poeticians like Ānandavardhana, Abhinavagupta and Mahimabhaṭṭa and presents discussion of the poeticians' views in the light of Kālidāsa's writing. As an example, I may point to his discussion of more than one *iva* in *Kumārasambhava* 1.27. Also, valuable information on grammar as subserivient to understanding poetry is very often noticed in Vallabhadeva's commentary — it does not allow the former to remain merely a dry science.

It has to be observed that Patel's edition of the *Kumārasambhava,* together with the rich information which he has collected and presented, is sure to evoke deeper studies in Kālidāsa's poetical art. Also it would give a filip to further work on other commentaries of commentators in Sanskrit, thereby bringing to light the significant contribution of the commentators in Sanskrit to understading of Poetry and, at times, to literary criticism.

I wish that Dr. Patel had taken more care and avoided quite a number of misprints which unfortunately mar the value of the precious work he has presented to the world of scholars.

K. P. Jog

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Nepali
A National Language and its Literature

[By M. J. Hutt, published by Sterling Publishers, New Delhi, (1988), 258 pages, Price Rs. 175.00]

This book is an adaptation of the author's Ph.D. work at the School of Oriental and African Studies, London. The author has done well to give the transliteration symbols used in the book to represent sounds of the Nepali langusge. The symbols he has used are fairly standardized for books written in English on Indo-Aryan languages.

There are thriteen chapters in all followed by a fairly exhaustivie bibliography and index. Besides, each chapter has at the end notes on references marked with numbers one to n in the body of the respective chapter.

The book may be conveniently divided into two thematic sections. Chapters 1 to 5 deal with the Nepali language in general, particularly the rise of the Nepali language to prominence in Nepal. Chapters 6 to 13 deal with the development of Nepali literature to modernity from its humble beginnings. Chapers 1 to 3 also serve as a general introduction to both the themes explored in the book. Chapters 4 and 5 fall under socio-linguistics, specifically, under the topic of 'Language Development', an area of great socio-linguistic importance for South Asia as a whole, with reference to the Nepali language.

Chapter 1 'Introduction' presents a highly diversified picture of linguistic mosaic of the relatively small Himalayan country with only 18 million people speaking 16 or more languages out of which Nepali alone commands 52.44 percent of the population. Nepali had become a lingua franca much before an official status was ascribed to it. With the urge on the part of the people to develop a distinct identity vis-a-vis India, the Nepali language acquired a tremendous importance in the country. This also gave an impetus to develop the Nepali language in its various aspects. Literature is one such aspect which is discussed in this book at length. The author's stated aim in writing this book is to present a fairly general study of Nepali and he has succeded in achieving this goal.

Chapter 2 'Environment and History' outlines the physical and historical background in which Nepal acquired an indentity of its own. Physically, Nepal consists of three natural regions from North to South, namely, the high Himalayas with a few passes, the hill ranges including Kathmandu and other valleys, and the Tarai strip of level land. It is noteworthy that the name Nepal was once used exlusively for Kathmandu Valley. Consequently, the migration of population has always been predominantly along these regions horizontally although river valleys and mountain passes provided north-south vertical trade routes between India and the Tibeto-Chienese domain which

also brought wealth to Nepal. Much of the history of Nepal is the history of the Kathmandu Valley.

Although the known history of Nepal dates as far back as the 4th century A.D., the first important historical milestone is the Malla dynasty of the 12th century, A.D. During the 4th and 12th centuries, this area seems to have attained a diversified ethnic and religoius composition. It was under the Malla Kings, who were *Khas* people migrating to the area a little earlier, that much of the area was politically unified with Bhaktapur in Central Nepal as its capital. By the 18th century, Newari, the language of the valley, closely related to Nepali, developed a rich classical tradition. Fall of this dynasty led to fragmentation of Nepal only to be united again by the Gorkha rulers between 1744-1790. It was in 1790 that they shifted the capital from Gorkha to Kathmandu. Gorkha rulers expanded the frontiers much beyond the present Nepal. It was as a consequence of the Treaty of Segauli after the Anglo-Nepalese war that the present Nepalese frontiers came to be established. Since then, the Gorkhali Shah Kings have been on the throne of Nepal.

However, the real political power rested with five families from one of whom came the *mukhtiyar* or the Commander-in-chief, the most influential person at the court. Loyalty to one of these families was more important than loyalty to the king. Rivalry for power among these five families was terminated in 1846 when Jung Bahadur, the head of the Kunwar family, had massacred most of his rivals and became the virtual ruler of Nepal. Thus the succession of Ranas began hereditarily and continued upto 1951. Along with political stability came conservatism as a means to perpetuate their own stranglehold on power in Nepal which, as a result, remained backward in all spheres.

From 1951 onwards, when the king was restored to his position with many ministers from Nepali Congress in the ministry headed by a Rana Prime Minister, Nepal began experimenting with democratic options and the experiments appear to be continuing to date. It was in 1959 that Tribhuvan University was established, now covering the entire Nepal through its various campuses. It was only in 1960's and 1970's that Nepal 'opened up' to the outside world and became integrated with it gradually. All these epochs in history had consequences for the development of the Nepali language and literature.

Chapter 3 'Introduction to Nepali' discusses the demographic and linguistic aspects of Nepali. Nepali has been the language of the majority of the predominantly Hindu 'middle hill peoples' of Western and Central Nepal since the 17th Century. These people came to dominate the political and economic life of Nepal integarating in their fold indigenous population and first expanding eastward and then to the north and south so that by 1981 the Nepali speakers constituted 58.3 percent of the population of the Nepal.

Outside Nepal, there is a substantial concentration of the Nepali speaking people, particularly in India, U.K. and Other parts of former British empire such as Hong Kong, Brunei, Malaysia, Singapore etc. Darjeeling district, Sikkim and Assam in India and Bhutan also have substantial Nepali speaking population. All these have contributed to the development of Nepali.

Nepali is linguistically close to Indo-Aryan languages of North India, particularly, languages allied to Hindi and one of its dialects Khari Boli. There are, however, several features which are close to Eastern Indo Aryan languages such as Bengali. According to the author, some grammatical features, lost earlier in the language, were re-introduced, perhaps, under the influence of Hindi and Sanskrit. The author is at pains to point out the error in regarding Nepali as an offshoot of Hindi. According to him, a number of ethnic communities with their own dialects/speeches must have contributed as 'sub-strata' to the formation of Nepali. I would like to suggest that, in such a multi-ethnic pluri-linguistic contexts, pidginization and consequent creolization is a likely development. Nepali linguists should explore whether Nepali developed as a pidgin from an Indo-Aryan speech as the base code.

The author deals with the origin of Nepali which is quite controversial. Whether it is traced to the speech of a Himalayan tribe *'Khas'* which is likely, considering earlier names such as *'khas kurā'*, *'khas bhāṣā'* for Nepali, or to the speech of the Gorkha people as is apparent from the name Gorkhali etc. or to the speech of the hills - people of the middle region of Nepal, the fact remains that traces of any other speech such as tribal or Tibeto-Burman have almost been obliterated from the Nepali language which has become predominantly Indo-Aryan and the name Nepali has become established displacing all other names for almost a century. It is hoped that, with the discovery of early linguistic records in the region, the origin of Nepali could be ascertained with greater certainty.

Chapter 4 discusses the emergence of nationalism and national language in Nepal. For centuries, Nepal was culturally a part of India under the hegemony of Hinduism and Sanskrit. Hence, even inspite of relative geographical isolation from India, development of Nepali identity had to be a late phenomenon and had to wait until a distinct identity marker, in this case the Nepali language, could assume its proper role. If the Gorkha reign beginning from mid 18th century was the formative period of Nepal as a nation state, the later part of the Rana period, which really began in mid 19th century, was the formative era for Nepali linguistic nationalism which could not happen unless the people could take pride in this language as a consequence of the development of literature. To this end, education of many Nepalies in India, their exposure to the rich vernacular literature in India such as that of Tulsi, Sur, Kabir among others and also awareness of the trends in western literature together gave a direct impetus to the development of Nepali language associations and literature in Nepali in turn breaking

away from the shackles of Sanskrit and classical Indian literary tradition. Selection of Nepali language, first as a lingua franca and later as the official national language is a natural consequence of political historical process culminating in the declaration of Nepali written in Devanagari script as the national language *(rāṣṭra bhāṣā)* in the 1958 constitution. Nepali has since been expanding its domain of use to business and law as well. However, this reviewer is amused to read the statement 'Linguistic diversity has decreased appreciably in Nepal over the past two countries as Nepali has gradually established itself as the *lingua franca*, despite the currency of dozens of disparate vernaculars among the population', since acquisition of a lingua franca does not necessarily entail recuction of linguistic diversity but, instead, it results in the increase in bilingualism. Given proper circumstances, these same vernaculars can assume the role of idnetity markers of a region and in turn create problems for the national language. India is in this regard a prime example.

Chapter 5 discusses problems related to the standardization of Nepali. In spite of dialectal diversity such as Western, Central and Eastern varieties, the Kathmandu dialect has come to be chosen as the norm for the standardization and has spread over the population in all regions. The author mentions three norms of this dialect, namely, spoken, everyday written language and the high variety of scholars and administrators. The movement for the standardization centres mostly around spelling and writing Nepali, since there are problems with length of vowels, use of *halant* (vowel remover), alternate ways of writing, etc. There have been movements in this direction so that writing conforms to the grammar and phonology of Nepali, Similarly, acceptance of Sanskrit vocabulary has aroused considerable controversy since, some for, Sanskritization is Indianization which is perceived as contrary to nationalistic fervour. This has led to *Jhanovād* or 'Purism', pleading for purging off Sanskrit vocabulary and replacing the same by native items. Similar attempts to determine grammatical form through writing grammars and to standardize lexicon by compiling dictionaries of various kinds and levels continue.

In sum, Nepali has been accepted by the people as their idetity marker and efforts are on to strengthen it in every manner.

Chapter 6 onwards, the author depicts a fairly detailed profile of the Napali literature as it developed. Instead of following the traditional periodization, he follows his own scheme, namely, early Nepali literature (Chapter 7) to serve as a backdrop to prominent literary contributors such as Bhanubhakta Acharya and Motiram Bhatta (Chapter 8), Lekhnath Paudyal (Chapter 10), Balakrishna Sama (Chapter 11), Laxmi Prasad Devkota (Chapter 13). Chapter 9 is devoted to early publishing efforts in Nepali which is essential for development of any language as such. Thus, early (Chapter 7) and modern (Chapter 13) literature are discussed in terms of various strands of literature with contributors being discussed in stride whereas the

literature betwen these two periods has been dealt with in terms of major contributors coming as they do as milestones in the development of Nepali literature. This change in paradigm in dealing with the literature at the beginning and the end leaves the reader with a sense of unfulfilment, incompleteness and discontinuity caused distinctly by the thoroughness of the coverage of the major milestone contributors compared with the cursory and cryptic treatment of, particularly, the modern literature.

In chapter 7 the author discusses specimens of early Nepali which are mostly inscriptions dating as far back as the 14th century. Efforts are still on to discover such older texts in order to establish a definitive development of the Nepali language from the oldest to modern times. With the ascendence of the Gorkha kings (beginning 16th century) the 'formative period' of Nepali Literature begins and in this we find literature such as biography, medicinal texts etc. Between 1750 and 1800 A.D., we see the emergence of what the author calls 'heroic poetry' in glorification of the Gorkha kings. This is followed by devotionlal poetry, much of it translated in Nepali from Sanskrit originals. The author discusses some of the prominent contributors of this period. Apparently, poetry was the dominant genre of this period. Following the North Indian stylized Sanskritized poetry, Nepali also had its love poetry coupled with the devotional version of Ram and Krishna. Literary Nepali with colloquial overtones appears to be just developing.

Chapter 8 discusses the contribution of Bhanubhakta Acharya (1814-1868), the founder poet or 'Ādikavi' of Nepali, who composed Nepali Ramayana, the first epic poem in Nepali. He has also been called Chaucer of Nepali literature. Along with a brief biographical sketch, appreciation of Ramayana and Prashnottari, he also wrote poems of shorter and longer lengths. The 'purists' are all praise for Bhanubhakta for his use of 'indigenous' vocabulary, thus vernacularizing the Sanskrit epic and also 'Nepalizing' the characters of the epic.

Motiram Bhatta (1866-1897), a biographer of Bhanubhakta, was educated at Banaras. He is accredited with contribution to both Nepali prose as well as poetry. He edited and published the Ramayana of Bhanubhakta in 1887 and the biographic account in 1891. He also wrote plays, poems, a novel and ghazals which are included in the M.A. syllabus. Impressed by intense Hindi literary activity in Banaras, Motiram associated himself with publishing Nepali books, formed a poets' circle, published his own as well others' poetry. The Ranas encouraged literary activities in their courts which encouraged, in particular, lyrical poetry. Ghazals also brought in their trail influence of Urdu on Nepali which is resented by those who seek Nepalization of literature.

Chapter 9 discusses the development of publishing industry in Nepal. It need not be overemphasized that a modern publishing industry is a *sine-qua-non* for development of any language and literature. The industry

in Nepal is only a hundred years old and even today the first editions amount to one thousand copies of most books which is not quite insignificant considering the size of the reading population. Impetus for printing came again from India, particularly the Hindi and the Bengali press serving as an example. Earlier, the world of books invariably handwritten manuscripts, with varying texts of the same work, was confined to the courts of the country's rulers and high-caste pandits. Printing also set in motion the efforts for establishment of authentic texts. The first manually operated printing press is said to have been brought to Nepal in 1851 by a Rana and the first electrically operated one in 1912. The Ranas, in order to perpetuate their stranglehold over Nepal, did not encourage private printing. Whatever was being published was subjected to their censor. The first ever privately owned press was set up in 1893. Financial constraints and widespread illiteracy imposed limitations on the earlier printing efforts. The first weekly, which was, needless to say, government owned, *Gorkhapatra*, came out in May, 1901 which printed material only conducive to the Rana regime. However, it did lend a hand to the development of Nepali prose by printing some original and much translated material from languages like Hindi, Bengali, French, English etc. The language was highly technical and hence Sanskritized with very little colloquial usage. In 1913, Gorkhā Bhāṣā Prakāśinī Samiti was founded by the Rana Prime Minister with an avowed objective of exercising tight control over all publication effort in Nepal and the Samiti worked as a censor board imposing fines and sending some persons even to face jail sentences. It was in this context that Banaras became a centre of literary activity of the Nepali expatriates. It is significant to note that towards the end of the Rana regime, only 5 periodicals were published in Nepal in 1950. The Rana rule ended in 1951. In 1952 we find 22 periodicals and in 1957, 39 periodicals being published in Nepal. The author has given useful tables of information in this regard.

Emigration of Nepalis to India to escape the Rana rule and to other countries with the armies of the British empire, created ethnic Nepali pockets with love for Nepali language as one cementing force. Consequently Banaras and Darjeeling became major centres of literary activity in Nepali for the first four decades of this century. The first Nepali literary periodical is said to have been begun by Motiram Bhatta in Banaras in 1986 or 1987, a good 12 years before the first periodical Sudhasagar was published in Nepal. Incidentally no issue of the two journals has been found to exist since. Darjeeling also produced its first Nepali periodical in 1901 to propagate Christian faith. Two Nepali journals began publication in 1926 and 1928. Napali Sahitya Sammelan was established in 1924 in Darjeeling with its own publication from 1932 onwards. All these made significant contribution to Nepali Literature. The author has given a table of publication efforts undertaken in India. With greater openness in the public life of Nepal after 1951, Nepal has taken over the initiative and has been developing literature

on lines independent of Darjeeling.

Chapter 10 discusses the contribution of Lekhnath Paudyal (1884-1965), Kavi-Shiromani or the 'Poet-Laureate' of Nepal who, according to the author, invested Nepali poetry with a classical quality and a linguistic refinement and stylistic formality lacking earlier. A prolific creator, almost a compulsive and a born poet, Paudyal from an early age of 12 had adopted the habits of a poet composing pedantic *samasyā-pūrti* verse in Sanskrit and then turned to his mother-tongue as a literary medium before his twentieth year. A Brahman, educated in a Sanskrit *pāṭhaśhālā* in Kathmandu and in Banaras at higher levels, Paudyal began publishing his poems in various journals from 1904 onwards highly influenced by Vedanta and Indian classical tradition, however, still maintaining spontaneity of expression although much of his earlier poetry is imbued with *śṛṅgāra* or romance. Paudyal's prime contribution is his three *khaṇḍā-kāyas* or 'episodic-poetry', namely Ritu-Vichara (1916), Buddhi-Vinoda (1916) and its enlarged version in 1937, and Sa.ya-Kali-Samvada (1919). Paras Mani Pradhan, a prominent literary figure in Nepal enumerates Paudyal's other poetic creations as 16 poems published in Bhāratī during 1949-57, at least 35 in Shāradā during 1935-51 and so on, dozens of his compositions appearing in many short lived journals of the period, many perhaps never published and many now lost, two collections in 1953, and a collection each in 1967 and 1971 containing some of his selected poems. Paudyal also translated two plays from Sanskrit. His play Lakshmi-puja in Nepali is noted for his skill in composing dialogues marked by distinctions in the speech of the rural folk and the urbanites. Bombay also figures in Paudyal's literary life when in 1912 Gorkha Grantha Pracharak Mandali published a collection of poems including several of Paudyal's poems appearing elsewhere earlier.

Lekhnath Paudyal was invested with the title of Kavishiromani by King Tribhuvan in 1950 which spurred him for creation coinciding with an openness and liberalism in Nepali establishment as a consequence of the end of the Rana regime in 1950's. The first *khaṇḍa-kāvya,* composed in 1951, was an expression of grief and outrage at the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi and the second one in 1953 under the title Tarun Tapasi or 'young ascetic' is labelled as Paudyal's 'magnum opus', really a Mahākāvya length composition, and has been the subject matter of one of the most famous works of literary criticism in Nepali. Another *khaṇḍa-kāvya* 'Mero Rama' or 'My Rama', composed over a period of seven years, was published in 1954. Yet another *khaṇḍa-kāvya,* never completed, was published in parts between 1964 and 1967 under the title Ganga Gauri. Paudyal continued to compose poetry until his death in 1965.

Paudyal become the most honoured personality in the literary world of Nepal during his own life time. Besides having been bestowed with various honours such as an award of a post in the Royal Nepal Academy in 1957,

the climax came when a rare honour was accorded to him. The old poet, seated in a *ratha* or a chariot being pulled by many of the poets of the day and the Prime Minister, was ceremonioulsy paraded all over the city of Kathmandu in 1954.

The author considers Paudyal a craftsman, not a spontaneous artist, who approached his work with a deliberate manner with great attention to metre, vocabulary, alliteration and rhetoric. Modern critics attack Paudyal for just these classical qualities in his poetry. However, Paudyal has defenders as well, as wellknown as the great Nepali literary figure Laxmi Prasad Devkota.

Balkrishna Sama (1902-1981), his life and contribution to Nepali literature, are discussed in Chapter 11. Born in the aristocratic ruling family of the Rana's, having received the best of education in Nepal, both traditional as well as modern, Sama is regarded as the greatest of Nepali playwrights, one of the finest Nepali poets and an epoch personified. He was a prolific writer whose publications include at least 15 dramas, 10 one-act-plays, 12 short stories, 28 essays, over a hundred poems, a literary autobiography in two parts and whose many manuscripts yet remain unpublished.

Steeped in literary surroundings created by his tutor Til Madhav Devkota, a pandit and father of Laxmiprasad who was later honoured as Nepali Mahakavi, and his own father and elder sister, poetry and drama attracted this unusually gifted child at an early age. His autobiography graphically described the life in the Rana palaces with regualr performances of drama and music before exclusive Rana audiences. Sama began to compose his own poetry at eight years and corresponded in verse with his father when he was away. In 1914, at the tender age of 12, he translated Wordworth's *Lucy Gray*. Greatly impressed by Lekhnath's *khaṇḍa-kāvyas* in particular and other poets in general, Sama's earliest poems were published in a collection Taranga (Wave) in 1915 with two *khaṇḍa-kāvyas* of his own to follow in succesion in 1920 and in 1921. His first play was published in 1922. The language he used was embellished with Sanskrit vocabulary. In 1920's his trip to Calcutta made him aware of the backwardness of Nepal significantly contributed to by the autocratic Rana regime. Consequently, his writings till 1950 are highly critical of the Nepali state of affairs although he was a Rana himself.

His play Mrutuko Vyatha (Heart's Anguish) was published in 1929. The play was about the unrequited love between separated lovers set in a recognisably Nepalese idiom with consciously simplified and colloquialized language, consequetly made accessible to general audiences. To escape the censorship of Nepali Bhasha Prakashini Samiti, Sama published his play Dhruva on his own in 1929 the second edition of which was published by the Samiti two years later, since the theme was traditional. However, his another play Amalekha (Liberation), highlighting social injustice was blocked by the Samiti in 1929. As a teacher in Darbar School (beginning 1930)

he vehemently opposed grammatical anarchy and steadfastly stood by the rules proposed by Rajaguru Hemachandra in his Nepali grammar Madhya Chandrika. He also opposed the prestige and influerce of English and particularly of Hindi, especially plays, in Nepal. He saw in that a trait of cultural dependence. This motivated Sama, as he confessed himself, to write plays in Nepali. He complained formally to the Maharaja of foreign cultural infiltration and the consequent decline in cultural prestige of Nepal. This catapulted him into the position of the Chairman of the Samiti in 1932 which enabled him to influence Nepali literature on the lines he approved. During 1935 to 1945, Sama produced a stream of plays and poems. In one of these, namely Prahlada (1938), considered perhaps Sama's most famous play, treated the traditional theme as an opposition of Bhakti (devotion) to Gyana (knowledge) and Vigyana (Science) and moral values, thus set in a modern idiom. His patriotism with inclination for revolution is accompanied by social conservatism in his plays. This made the Ranas suspicious of him and his play Andhavega (Blind rage) in which he dwelt with themes such as adultery and suicide was banned. After 1940, Sama's plays were severely proscribed since memers of the Praja Parishad, which had the avowed aim of the overthrow of the Rana regime, had acted in Sama's plays and no plays of his were allowed to be staged. He was even jailed for several months in 1947-48 for allegedly subversive agitation. He wrote earlier a relatively non-controversial play *Bhakta Bhanubhakta, the Ādikavi of Nepali,* published in 1943. His plays *Chinta* (Anxiety, 1948), *Mareki Chaina* (She has not died, 1942) and *Ma* (Me, 1946) were not staged until much later when liberalization began to take place in Nepal. He changed his name to *'Sama'* (equal) from Balakrishna Shamsher Jang Bahadur Rana to symbolize his committment to equality and to rebellion against the then prevailing conditions in Nepal. In the post - 1950 liberalized Nepal, he wrote eight plays, some depicting decadence of the Rana days, some eulogizing national heroes. Sama himself took the title roles in some of the plays along with commoners, a phenomenon unimaginable earlier. Sama also wrote long poetic works which are in a verse-drama style. Two such works, *Ago ra Pani* (Fire and water, 1954) and *Chiso Chulho* (Cold Hearth, 1958), are quite well known. The first, a *khaṇḍa kāvya,* depicts struggle between evil and good; the second, a Mahakavya, of blank verse interspersed with prose and Sanskrit metres, is a love theme involving a low caste hero and a high caste girl.

In 1957, Balakrishna Sama was honoured with an appointment to Rajakiya Pragya Pratishthana (Royal Nepal Academy) for his contribution to Nepali literature. Although Sama died in 1981 his immortal plays continue to be staged within and outside Nepal. A Nepali to his inner core, he expressed his last desire to live after death in a world where Nepalis arrive after death, thus writing his epitaph through a poem published posthumously.

The author has again given a list of works arranged according to the year of composition and publication at the end of the chapter.

Laxmiprasad Devkota (1909-1959), son of Til Madhav Devkota who was a tutor to Balkirishna Sama, the most outstanding Nepali poet of the country, the Nepali Mahākavi, the first Nepali poet to be recognized by western scholars, invitee to many literary gatherings in India and abroad, inspires awe by the sheer volume of his work. At least 41 books bear his name and some twenty titles yet remain to see the light of the day. The author, comparing Devkota to other Nepali literary luminaries, considers him less intellectual and more spontaneous than Sama, less traditional and more experimental than Lekhnath.

Devkota had received good traditional Sanskrit training and modern education. The only person from Nepal to receive B.A. in 1930, Devkota developed liking for English literature early. In the same year, Devkota had a taste of repressive Rana regime when in 1930 adding his name to a petition for establishment of a public library made him face a summary arrest and a jail sentence for three years. However, he was awarded a government scholarship in 1931 to study law and English literature at Patna University. He received his LL.B. in 1933 but could not complete Master's degree on account of unfavourable family circumstances which remained uneven all through his life.

Devkota's first poem was published in 1934. The author points out that his early poems until 1940 are influenced by English romanticism and have Wordsworthian tone eulogizing nature, the humble and the past.

Devkota's first and the most famous book *Muna Madan* which was first published in 1935 and has gone through the twelfth edition by 1972 is by far the most popular *khaṇḍa kāvya* in Nepali literature. Devkota's departure from the literary past in this work was unprecedented. His adoption of the *Jhyāure* metre of Nepali folk songs and the consequential musical sing-song tone created a native appeal which is manifest in his introduction itself. A national metre thus was accorded literary sanctity. The work handles a love theme of separation in the native Himalayan surroundings including Lhasa in Tibet. Its internal rhyme, musical rhythm and the native charm made it by far the most popular poem compared to others which were published in the period from 1958 to 1966.

In 1939, Devkota spent four months in a mental hospital in Ranchi on account of his personal circumstances. On recovering, he wrote a poem Pāgal published in 1953. His extensive wanderings in the Himalayas after the illness gave him new inspiration. He wrote an essay Pahari Jivan and several *khaṇḍa kāvyas* with metres of Pahāri folk-songs.

Devkota was appointed as a writer and translator in 1943 in the Nepali Bhashanuvad Parishad. His three year period there was literally a flood of production. He submitted 22 manuscripts for publication including 3 *khaṇḍa kāvyas,* two Mahākāvyas, one novel, one verse drama, one collection of

songs and two volumes of songs for children. Several more have not seen the light of the day yet. Beside these, he wrote short stories, essays and another novel; only some of these have been published.

Devkota composed the extremely long Shakuntala known as Nepali Shakuntala Mahākāvya of 1754 verses employing at least twenty different Sanskrit metres in just three months in 1945 published by the Samiti the same year. The idiom in this work is highly Sanskritized and is still subject to interpretation.

Devkota performed another miraculous feat upon a challenge thrown at him to prove that he was an *aśu-kavi* or 'poet extempore' when he wrote another Mahākāvya Sulochana in mere three days to be published in 1946 by the Samiti. It is a poetic work of 300 pages with 15 cantos *(sargas)* set in Nepali environs around Kathmandu, with contemporary context of early 20th century, employing classical metres, involving pseudo-psychological explanations, ending as a tragedy, which again are departures from the traditional norm. The main theme is separation in love. The work deals with unorthodox but controversial topics such as existence of god, love of a widow, sexual frustration and tragic irreconciliability harking to social criticism and modernity.

Perhaps unable to tolerate censorship of his works Devkota suddenly disappeared form Nepal in 1948. He became a voluntary exile in Banaras. He wrote poems, many of them in prose-style, expressing rebellion and revolution. To earn money, he wrote as many as ten poems a day, many of them substandard. However, he also produced high quality works including four *khaṇḍa kāvyas* and many poems. He wrote during this period three major works on themes from Greek mythology one of which is his last and the most ambitious Mahākāvya 'Pramithas' or Prometheus written in 1950-51 but published in 1971. He utilized Sanskrit vocabulary and Vedic names to strike a synthesis between Indian and Greek mythology. He came back to Kathmandu in 1949, a broken man with the loss of his son and a financial wreck. He tried to eke out a living with temporary teaching jobs and became suicidal after the death of his second son. Nevertheless the urge for poetry was too strong in him. He published two collections of poems of relatively optimistic note in relatively simple language. He wrote a critical essay on his own earlier poetry. He also wrote many poems in English and translated some of his own poems in English as well.

Devkota became a prominent intellectual in Nepal and was honoured with involvement in many committees in Nepal and delegations abroad. At one time, he was also the Minister of Education in 1957 for a short period. He had to go through an operation for cancer. While convalescing in Calcutta, he wrote a collection of humourous poems entitled Manoranjana and revised his most favourite Muna Madan. Even on death bed, he wrote poetry expressing his failure to understand the Lord's game and not caring what would happen

to him after death. Devkota's death was almost a public event as he lay awaiting death in the temple of Pashupatinath. He forms the literary trinity with Sama and Paudyal and is now honoured as a Mahākavi.

The author fully succeeds in highlighting Devekota's passion for poetry all his life concluding with a year-wise list of his works.

In Chapter 13, wrongly printed as Chapter 11, the author deals with modern Nepali literature. The chapter is theme-oriented rather than the earlier contributor-oriented ones. The author discusses modern Nepali literature in terms of fiction and poetry.

Although Nepali fiction appears to have begun in an imitative style of fables and tales from Persian, Sanskrit, Hindi and Urdu literatures as early as 1776, the year of Bhanudatta's translation of Hitopadesha and Mitralabha, the author himself and a few critics seek the roots of Nepali fiction outside Eastern literatures, in capitalst civilization and under the influence of Eurocan literature. However, real beginnings were made in the early years of the 20th century when literary commercialism was getting established in Nepal.

The first novel Mahendraprabha, published in 1902, was written by Sadashiva Sharma (who also wrote a few more) and edited a short-lived periodical. The novels of this period were mysteries or miracles or detective type.

For modern scholars taking novel as a literary form rooted in life, novel did not begin until 1934 when Rudraraja Pande wrote Rupamati, depicting social changes in Nepal. In 1940's, 'social realism' is much deeply rooted in novels. Laxmiprasad Devkota's Champa (1945) handles the theme of sexual deprivation. Thus the premium on realism or authenticity led to the writing of historical novels as well, although it could not establish itself as an important genre.

An important landmark is the publication in 1947 of a novel Muluk Bahira (Outside the kingdom), dealing with the lives of emigrant Nepalese *(pravasi nepali)*, mostly labourers and soldiers returning from the World War II, in India, written by Lainsingh Bangdel, a renowned Nepali artist. Bangdel analysed the characters psycho-analytically giving credibility to them rather than focussing on events. Authenticity is augmented by introducting colloquialisms, dialect words and rural pronunciation. For instance, India is referred to as Mugalan (the land of Mugals). Bangdel's artistic prowess stood him in good stead while skilfully describing natural scenery. His other works are also noted for realism. By 1950's, Nepali fiction began to develop. Between 1950-1970, ninety titles written by forty four novelists are listed by Tanasarma as compared to 16 novelists before 1950. After 1950, Nepali novel became more idealistic and reformist reintroducing moral or political standpoint. A novel Basaim (Home) by Lilabahadur Kesari, a Nepalese resident of Assam, serves as an example which condemned rural superstition, feudal

exploitation, and is marked with authentic depiction of rural life in Nepal with colloquial and simple speech for narration with the least intrusion of Sanskrit, the language - style which prevails even today.

Thus, late 1950's noticed the growing cultural nationalism leading to the 'purist' school of writers, focussing attention on the lives of the common people, particularly from the rural areas, incorporating details of rural life and speech. This naturally led to the adoption of spellings to rural pronunciation; Shankar Koirala's dozen novels serve as good examples of this trend.

Themes of sexual dissatisfaction, alienation and pessimism with a noticeable influence of Freud are found in the works of younger Nepali writers beginning in late 1950's.

Novels in 1960's witness the influence of Tesro Ayam or 'Third Dimension' movement in literature which makes the kinds of themes for treatment in literature unbouned. Any theme is admissible. Thus cynical and gloomy account of aimless and meaningless lives are also considered as suitable subjects for literary treatment. In this genre, surprisingly, women writers are almost an exception. One such notable exception is Parijat, the Tamang authoress from Darjeeling, for her novel Shirishko Phul which won a literary prize.

Short story in Nepali follows the same pattern of development as the noval. According to the author short, story is the second most developed genre of modern Nepali literature after poetry. It predominates Nepali fiction.

In spite of attempts to find roots of Nepali short sotry in the antecedent folk literature, it is a form borrowed from foreign literature. Gorkhapatra began to publish short stories, romantic, traditional and detective type, mostly translated or adapted from Bengali and Hindi (beginning 1902). Sharada gave a boost to it in 1934 by publishing many short stories. Contemporary Nepalese society with social realism as its backbone became the dominant theme soon. Notable among the exponents of this theme are Vishveshvarprasad Koirala, Pushkar Shamsher, Balkarishna Sama and Guruprasad Mainali. Mainali's Paralko Ago (A fire in the Straw, 1938) formed the basis of one of the first Nepali films dealing with the theme of marriage in rural surroundings. Mainali's works are characterized with a great variety of regional colloquialisms and proverbs and humour. Another writer is Ramesha Vikal whose Lahuri Bhaimshi (The Soldier's Buffalo) is considered as one of the finest stories of rural life. A collection of his short stories won the Madan Puraskar literary prize in 1961.

Nepalese in India complemented the Nepali efforts by publishing short stories in journals such as Chandrika, Nebula and Gorkha. The first collection of short stoires Katha Kusum in 1938 had social realism as a dominant feature. In 1940's, Nepali short stories acquired a political tone, particularly in those by V. Koirala, the last democratically elected Prime Minister, Another notable name for 'social' story is Bhimanidhi Tivari (1911-1973) whose

ten volumes of Nepali Samajik Kahani between 1949 and 1968 were very influential. Language was marked with simplicity for most of the writers except some who reintroduced some of the more formal conventions of Nepali grammar. As Nepali writers became more familiar with Freud and other European philosophical outlooks, psychological insights percolated to short stories as well. These are reflected as dilemmas inherent in conventional morality with sometimes unexpected responses.

The tradition of 'modern romanticism' of 1930's represented most prominently by Laxmiprasad Devkota is continued by some poets like Madhavprasad Ghimire. However, departures from this are already noticeable in poets like Gopalprasad Rimal, Vijay Malla and Mohan Koirala, the last one being one of the most respected modern poets with roots in 'old school'. New poetry developed in 1960's and 1970's, mostly published in journals Pragati and Ruparekha, with a widening of the form and a limitless choice of subjects heralded by the Tesro Ayam movement initiated in 1963 by a journal bearing the same title, published from Darjeeling, edited by three young writers Vairagi Kaimla, Ishvarvallabh and Indra Rai. Poetry of this school, although genuinely innovative and cerebral, was at times obscure in language as well as content. This movement introduced modernity in Nepali poetry and became popular in 1960's. It became a cult and an attitude expressing aimlessness of life and satirizing politics and history of Nepal. Attempts were made to develop a successor to Tesro Ayam but failed to last longer except the Sadak Kavita Kranti or 'Street Poetry Revolution' which also ended with the 1981 Referendum. They developed an account of political causes and perished with the objective attained.

The book is well edited. Spelling mistakes are rare, for example, 'workship' instead of 'worship' on p.157. Transliteration of Kalidasa's play is transcribed as Abhijāna Śakuntalā instead of Abhijñāna Śākuntala on p. 193. On page 161, *'āśu-kavi'* is translated as 'Poet of the Flood' rather than 'Spontaneous poet' However, on p. 194, the same is translated as 'poet extempore'. Similarly, *'pravāsi Nepali'* is translated as 'exile Nepalese' rather than 'emigrant' Nepalese.

The book is a successful attempt to introduce Nepali literature to non-natives and generate interest for further study.

VASANT S. KHOKLE

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Sureśvara's Vārtika on Udgītha Brāhmaṇa

[Edited, translated and annotated by K. P. Jog and Shoun Hino, Motilal Banarsidass Publishers Pvt. Ltd. Delhi; 1991; Price Rs. 150]

The *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* along with the *Chāndgya* is one of the most important of the early Upaniṣads as it contains the views of a number of thinkers as also gives an idea of the gradual development in the field of philosophical thought. Scholars have felt that the text of this Upaniṣad consists of different strata from the point of view of both chronology and philosophical thought. It is a long way from the Aśva and the Aśvamedha Brāhmaṇa to the dialogues of Yājñavalkya with Janaka, Gārgī and Maitreyī which in course of time paved the way to the Absolutist philosophy of Śaṅkarācārya. Śaṅkarācārya's *Bhāṣya* on the *Bṛh. Up,* is well known and so also Sureśvarācārya's *Bṛh. Up. Bhāṣya Vārttika* which is a huge work. Unfortunately, the views expressed and quoted in these two works have not been properly examined, and their contents have not been fully exploited. They would give an insight into the teachings of philosophers like Bhartṛprapañca and others who have remained but names for us. It is enheartening to see that Dr. K. P. Jog and Dr. Shoun Hino have decided to concentrate on Sureśvara's *Vārttika* and prepare translations of portions from it. This should prove to be a valuable contribution in the field of Sanskrit learning and be very useful to scholars.

Jog and Hino have rightly said that an intimate relation between the continuons and natural development of the ritualistic and the philosophical activities and theories can be seen, and the Upaniṣadic seers were quite conscious of this. One could even say that while interpreting the ritualistic activities the thinkers were constantly in search of the real identity of the self, the Ātman, and perhaps in their onward search they moved on from body to sense - organs, to mind, to Prāṇa and finally to the sentient element, when philosophical thought assumed the status of a *darśana* or 'system of philosophy,' uniformity was sought to be established in the varied views found in the Vedic texts, especially the Upaniṣads as is evident from the Samanvayādhyāya of the *Brahmasūtra.*

In the book under review, Jog and Hino have translated and annotated the text of Sureśvara's *Vārttika* on the Udgītha Brāhmaṇa with the help of Ānandagiri's *Śāstraprakāśikā* and Ānandapūrṇa's *Nyāyakalpalatikā.* In the introduction, the concepts of Prāṇa and Upāsanā have been properly explained and this will certainly prove to be very illuminating. The allegory in the Udgītha Brāhmaṇa nicely brings out the demoniac and the godly tendencies in man, and it is the Vital Force which alone can fully control and overpower the demoniac inclinations and perversities.

One can understand and appreciate that Śaṅkara and even more so

Sureśvara could not have enjoyed explaining the details pertaining to rituals and Upāsanās. The Absolutistic philosophy of Kevalādvaita is nearest to their heart and it is their firm belief that the knowledge of *Nirguṇa Brahman,* the Ultimate reality alone culminates in *Brahmabhāva.* The rest have to be explained as in their own way leading to *Citta-Śuddhi* or *ekāgratā* or at the most *krama-mukti.* Śaṅkara and Sureśvara do not miss even the slightest opportunty to bring in the discussion of *Avidyā* and point out how vast the domain of *Avidyā* is, even up to the stage when the *sādhana* and *sādhya* are recognised as distinct. There is not much scope for such discussion in the course of the Udgītha Brāhmana, but still they have introduced this thought wherever possible, as for example in the explanation of the *Abhyāroha mantra.*

It follows that the task of translating Sureśvara's *Vārttika* on the Udgītha Brāhmaṇa is not an easy one; still Jog and Hino have on the whole done it well. They have tried to make the translation as literal as possible. Pūrva Mīmāṁsā was the *pradhāna-malla* for Sureśvara; wherever Sureśvara has anticipated the likely objections from the Pūrva-Mīmaṁsakas, the basis for this that can be detected in the Pūrva-mīmaṁsā texts has been pointed out in the explanatory notes. Attention has also been drawn to the Mīmāṁsā rules of textual interpretation wherever Sureśvara had these in his mind. The reader would only wish that the explanation was slightly fuller, especially in connection with *guṇa-vidhi* and *viśiṣṭavidhi* (vv. 196-197), and *pāṭhakrama* and *arthakrama* (V. 210) and the like.

Without in any way under-estimating the value and importance of this book as also the amount of hard work put in by the learned authors, I would lay my finger in a few spots where improvement or correction seems to be required. Of course, this is open to correction. V.83 - This is *vaidharmyeṇa upamā.* In the case of *juhū,* the *phalaśruti* serves as an *arthavāda,* but in the case of *brahmajñāna,* there is nothing to show that it is subservient to anything else, so the *Śruti* regarding its fruit is not an *arthavāda.* This is not clear from the translation.

V.87 - *'Uṣara'* means *'maru-bhūmi',* dry sandy region,' not 'marshy land.'

V. 90 - *'ajñānahetutā'* should mean 'being caused by ajñāna.'

V. 149 - *'anenāpratirūpeṇa'* is translated as 'by the matchless prāṇa. *'anena'* need not be taken in the sense of *prāṇa,* it is to be construed with *'vacasā'.* Śaṅkara explains *apratirūpa* as *ananuguṇa* not befitting (अनेन कार्येणाप्रतिरूपवदनेन...), Ānandagiri explains प्राजापत्यप्रजावर्गगतेनानुभूयमानेनासत्यासम्यवादादिना...

V. 202 ff - *'viśeṣaṇa'* means qualifier rather than modifier.

V. 215 - *'prākṛtajñāna'* is translated as 'ignorance' which is natural to human beings. The text is not प्राकृताज्ञानात्, but प्राकृतज्ञानात् 'on account of

mundane knowledge natural to creatures.'

V. 265 - *'prakāśakatvāt'* should be construed with Agni, rather than Indra.

V. 283 - The translation should rather be - "The excellence stated earlier would be futile if he were not a पुरएता 'one going ahead'."

V. 284 - दीप्तिमान् is explained as 'one who has kindled the fire (for the performance of a sacrifice)'. Ānandagiri explains the term as 'healthy' glowing, having good digestive power, not a मन्दाग्नि, This justifies the epithet अन्नाद.

V. 289 - The translation should rather be : "The one who is vying with the knower of Prāṇa, he like the Asura in the narrative would not be *śreṣṭha...."*

V. 291 - न्यायपूर्वकम् could better mean 'by putting forth an argument'.

VV. 302-303 - What is meant is that the term *'sāman'* primarily means *'prāṇa'*; the primary meaning of *'sāman'* is *'prāṇa'*. The other i.e. गीति is called *'sāman'* by *lakṣaṇā,* because it is प्राणनिर्वर्त्य, 'brought about by *prāṇa.*' As in the case of मञ्चाः क्रोशन्ति, the primary meaning of मञ्चाः is 'bedsteads', but by *lakṣaṇā,* it signifies 'children who occupy the bedsteads', one is reminded here of Śaṅkara's remark in the Br.Su. Sa. Bhāsya (I.I.I.) that the term 'Brahman' primarily signifies the 'Ultimate Reality' and the other meanings 'Brahmin', 'Veda', etc. are secondary, because they are associated to some extent with the quality of *'bṛhattva.'*

V. 308 - The *'ānantya'* is not in terms of number but in that of being 'all-pervacive' like *'jāti'* which being one is present in each individual of the class.

V. 333 ff. - स्वादि would rather mean स्व, सुवर्ण, प्रतिष्ठा; see Brh. Up. 1.3, 25 ff.

V 335 - स्वसुवर्णप्रतिष्ठाधी should rather mean स्वादिज्ञानम्.

V. 336 - दृष्टार्थत्वाच 'And because it has a seen purpose; we actully see that the Udgātṛ gets the fruit of being involved in this *Upāsanā.*

V. 360 - This verse is meant to convey that शास्त्रीय ज्ञान-कर्म are 'death' relatively; they are considered to be *'tamas'* keeping in view that they serve a different purpose, have a fruit distinct from themselves, as compared to *'devatābhāva'* which is its own fruit and not subservient to anything, असत् signifies आसुर कर्म-ज्ञान and सत् signifies शास्त्रीय कर्म-ज्ञान, Then the term तमस् is used for शास्त्रीय कर्म-ज्ञान (the साधन) and ज्योतिस् for देवताभाव (the साध्य). These are relative (आपेक्षिक) evaluations.

V. 381 - This is *vaidharmyeṇa upamā.*

The translation in a number of places misses the point or the emphasis meant to be conveyed. A word or two of the text is left untranslated at places. Sometimes there is contradiction between the translation and the explanatory note; e.g. in the case of V. 91, where the translation is utterly wide of the mark.

This is perhaps because it is a 'joint enterprise' where it is quite likely that one depends on the other for properly scrutinizing the work done, and finally it goes to the press without being properly revised and scrutinized. Still such minor mistakes and some misprints could have been easily avoided with slightly more insistence on precision, and the translation could have been more redable.

Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that Dr. Jog and Dr. Hino have made a valuable contribution in the field of Sanskrit learning by taking up one after another portions from Sureśvara's *Bṛh. Up. Bhāṣya Vārtika* for translation and exposition. We expect more from them in the future and I am sure they will not disappoint us.

E. A. SOLOMAN

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TRANSLITERATION OF THE SANSKRIT AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

अ		a	औ		au	द		th	भ		bh
आ		ā	क		ka	ङ		ḍ	म		m
इ		i	ख		Kha	ढ		ḍh	य		y
ई		ī	ग		ga	ण		ṇ	र		r
उ		u	घ		gha	त		t	ल		l
ऊ		ū	ङ		ṅ	थ		th	व		u
ऋ		ṛ	च		c	द		d	श		ś
ॠ		ṛ	छ		ch	ध		dh	ष		ṣ
ऌ		ḷ	ज		j	न		n	स		s
ए		e	झ		jh	प		p	ह		h
ऐ		ai	ञ		ñ	फ		ph	क़		ḷ̣
ओ	.....	o	ट		ṭ	ब	.....	b			
	(Anusvāra)			.....	ṁ	X	(Jihvāmūlīya)				ḥ̄
	(Anunāsika)				m	.....	(Upadhmānīya)				h
	(Visarga)			.....	ḥ	s	(Avagraha)				'

TRANSLITERATION OF ARABIC AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

Arabic

ا	.....	a	ز		z	ق		q	ـِـ	....	i or e
ب	.....	b	س		s	ك		k	ـُـ	....	u or o
ت	.....	t	ش		sh	ل		l	ـَـ	.....	ā
ث	.....	th	ص		ṣ	م		m	ـِي	.....	i, e
ج	.....	j	ض		ḍ	ن		n	ـُو	.....	ū, ō
ح	.....	ḥ	ط	.....	ṭ	و		w	ـَيْ	...	ai, ay
خ	.....	kh	ظ		ẓ	ه		h	ـَوْ	...	au, aw
د	.....	d	ع	.....	ʿ	ي		y	silent t .... h		
ذ	.....	dh	غ	.....	gh	ء		'			
ر	.....	r	ف	.....	f	ا	.....	a			

Persian

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

REGULATIONS CONCERNING CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE JOURNAL

1. Papers submitted for publication in the Society's Journal may be offered by any Fellow or Member of the Society. Papers by Non-members must be communicated through a Member unless the Non-Members have been specially invited to contribute.
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3. Papers must be presented in a final form completely ready as copy for the press prepared in accordance with the regulations printed below. Papers should be typed on one side of each sheet in double spacing on paper, leaving a margin of at least 3.5 cms. at the left hand side. Sheets should be numbered consecutively at the top right-hand corner.
4. Foot-notes, numbered consecutively through the article, should be typed on a separate sheet at the end and not at the foot of each sheet. They should also be typed with double spacing. Foot-notes, however, will continue to be printed at the bottom of the relevant page.
5. Both photographs and line drawings, including maps, will appear as "plates" and "figures", numbered consecutively in Roman and Arabic numerals throughout each article. Captions should be typed on a separate sheet.
6. The Editorial Committee wil determine whether a paper shall be printed and, if printed, in what form.
7. Contributors are urgently requested to use the system of transliteration adopted by this Society. A transliteration sheet has been appended in the issues of the Journal.
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