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**V. M. KULKARNI
DEVANGANA DESAI**

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PRAMĀṆA VYAVASTHĀ : ITS CONTEMPORARY RELEVANCE

S. S. ANTARKAR

There are many controversies about the nature of *pramāṇas* in the Classical Indian Philosophy, such as the nature and definition of *pramāṇa* in general and of each specific *pramāṇa*, the number of *pramāṇas*, the nature of the object of *pramāṇa* and the result of *pramāṇa*¹ Among these controversies, the one as to whether the same object can be known by more than one *pramāṇas*, i.e., by divergent *pramāṇas* or whether each *pramāṇa* gives knowledge of a distinct type of object, which cannot, in principle, be known by any other *pramāṇa*², seems to me to be fundamental and philosophically very significant. It is fundamental because the notion of *pramāṇa-vyavasthā* or divergence of *pramāṇas* seems to have been consciously or unconsciously assumed in the discussion of the problems of the number of *pramāṇas* and the nature of the object of *pramāṇa*. The Cārvāka view that perception is the only source of knowledge³ is controverted by the other schools on the ground that there are many objects of knowledge, such as God, Soul, Other Worlds, other minds and even distant physical objects, which cannot be known by perception and hence the need to accept other *pramāṇas* like *anumāna* and *śabda*. The Cārvāka's answer would be that the external world consisting of distant physical objects and persons with minds are, in principle, knowable by *pratyakṣa* and whatever is not so knowable, like God, Soul, Other Worlds, is not real. Thus, the parties to the dispute about the number of *pramāṇas* seem to assume that an additional independent *pramāṇa* is to be accepted only if it is shown that it gives knowledge which no other *pramāṇa* can in principle give. And this is the doctrine of *pramāṇa-vyavasthā*. It is also relevant to and of significance for the discussion of the contemporary philosophical issue as to whether divergent forms of life have the same logic or rationality or whether each form of life has its own logic or mode of rationality.

Thus the controversy about *pramāṇa-samplava* or convergence of *pramāṇas* and *pramāṇa-vyavasthā* or *pramāṇa-viplava*, as it is sometimes called, i.e., restriction or divergence of *pramāṇas* is not only historically significant as a museum-piece for a student of Indology or History of Indian Philosophy, but has contemporary relevance whether one is philosophising in India and in Sanskrit or in any other language in any part of the world.

In the next section of the paper, the controversy between the *Nyāya* and the Buddhist thinkers will be stated. In the third section, its scope will be extended to the *Pūrva Mimāṃsā* and *Vedānta* systems. Lastly, it will be argued that the real significance of the doctrine of *pramāṇa-vyavasthā* lies in accepting different methods of justification for different fields of enquiries which really means that there are different modes of rationality for different forms of life.

II

Vātsyāyana, while commenting upon the *Nyāya Sūtra* I.1.3 raises the question whether different instruments of valid knowledge converge, literally, 'crowd round' on one and the same object or whether they are restricted to their respective objects alone. He accepts both the alternatives.⁴

By '*pramāṇa-samplava*' i.e., 'Convergence of *pramāṇas*' is meant that the same object can be known alternatively by different instruments of knowledge. This can be illustrated in the following way : (i) Existence of a physical object can be known either by visual perception or by tactual perception or by both. (ii) Existence of fire on a yonder hill can be known by perception (visual or tactual or both) or by inference from the perception of smoke coming from the hill or by verbal testimony.

On the other hand, '*pramāṇa-vyavasthā*' or '*pramāṇa-viplava*', i.e., 'Restriction of an instrument of knowledge to its respective object alone' means that a specific object of enquiry can be known only by a specific instrument of knowledge fit or competent to give knowledge in that field or of the object alone. For example : (i) Each of the five sensuous qualities - *śabda*, *sparśa*, *rūpa*, *rasa* and *gandha* can be known only by each of the five senses - ears, skin, eyes, tongue and nose respectively. None of the sense-organs can know any sensuous quality other than the one it is competent to know. Here is strict *pramāṇa-vyavasthā*. (ii) That 'a person who performs *Agnihotra* sacrifice goes to heaven' is known neither by *pratyakṣa* nor by *anumāna* but only by *śabda*.

Vātsyāyana admits the possibility of convergence of *pramāṇas* though he realises that it is not possible in some cases wherein *pramāṇa-vyavasthā* is to be admitted. But anyone who admits the possibility of the convergence of *pramāṇas* has to meet, what may be called "the Redundancy Argument" against it. If an object is already known by one *pramāṇa*, what is the need and utility of knowing it over again by another *pramāṇa*? Vātsyāyana, as a defender of *pramāṇa-samplava* does not regard it as obligatory to know an object by all the possible means each time. Thus if I am told that there is fire on the hill, I may be satisfied with this information and need not employ another instrument of knowledge like *anumāna* or *pratyakṣa*. But in case one has doubt whether the cognition resulting from one instrument

of knowledge is valid or not, one may have recourse to another instrument of knowledge. There is normally a hierarchy in authority or in certainty among different instruments of knowledge. In empirical matters, the final authority belongs to *pratyakṣa*. Vātsyāyana says, "One knowing the object of enquiry through verbal testimony becomes desirous of knowing it over again by inference (*liṅga darśana*). After inferentially knowing it through perception of the proban, one becomes further desirous of knowing it through perception. And when the object is (ultimately) ascertained through perception, the enquiry comes to its final end."⁵

Vātsyāyana's answer to the Redundancy Argument raises two epistemological issues : (i) Whether one can admit *śabda* or *anumāna* as a *pramāṇa* and yet doubt the truth or veracity of the resulting cognition (*pramāṇa phala*); and (ii) Whether such a doubt ultimately rests with the determinate *pratyakṣa* (*savikalpaka pratyakṣa*). The first issue need not detain us, because it is not clear whether the validity of the *pramāṇa* and the veracity or truth of the *pramā*, i.e., resulting cognition can be determined independently of each other. Moreover, it raises a further question about the validity of the distinction between *pramāṇa* and *pramāṇa-phala* also. Anyway, the discussion of this issue has no direct bearing on the problem at hand. As regards the second issue, it may be said that even when one sees, say, fire or water through visual perception, one may entertain a doubt whether what appears as fire or water to the eyes is really so. He may, therefore, verify it by touching the object. If it burns the finger, then it is fire and if it makes my hand wet, then it is really water. However, this process must end somewhere. There may be a controversy as regards the exact point where this process terminates. According to the *Naiyāyika*, this process ends with observation of an individual material object, i.e., with determinate (*savikalpaka*) perception, while for the buddhists, it ends with indeterminate (*nirvikalpaka*) perception, which is "free from all constructions."⁶

The Buddhists, especially, Vasubandhu, Dinnāga, Dharmakīrti, Dharmottara hold that there are only two *pramāṇas*, viz., *pratyakṣa* and *anumāna* and that each *pramāṇa* is competent to know only one distinct type of object - the unique particular (*sva-lakṣaṇa*) and the universal (*sāmānya-lakṣaṇa*) respectively. Thus they uncompromisingly hold the doctrine of *pramāṇa-vyavasthā*. Dinnāga says, "The means of cognition are perception and inference. They are only two because the object to be cognised has (only) two aspects. Apart from the particular and the universal, there is no other object to be cognised and we shall prove that perception has only the particular for its object and inference only the universal."⁷ Thus there is no possibility of 'convergence of instruments of knowledge.'

We may better understand the true import of the Buddhist denial of *pramāṇa-saṃplava* and their insistence on *pramāṇa-vyavasthā*, if we understand

their views about *sva-lakṣaṇa* and *sāmānya-lakṣaṇa*, the only two types of objects recognised by them.

The real for the Buddhists is momentary (*kṣaṇika*). It is not only the object of knowledge but also the subject of knowledge that is momentary. Hence no particular — neither the object nor the subject — exists for two time-instants. This philosophical position raises a lot of issues and difficulties in which we need not enter. For the purposes of understanding their views on *pramāṇa-vyavasthā*, it is important and sufficient to know that no momentary particular can be cognised twice for two reasons — that no object exists for two successive moments nor does any subject exist for two successive moments. So the ultimate truth is that each particular is a distinct existence, though necessarily related to another particular for its existence and for its nature, yet not having any common characteristics. It is related to another particular by the law of 'dependent origination' (*pratītya samutpāda*). It is this relation of *tadutpatti* that makes inference possible. But no recognition is possible, for no particular exists for two moments. The most important consequence of the view for our purposes is that there cannot be a universal which is one, eternal, common to and existing or subsisting in many particulars as accepted by the *Naiyāyikas* and other realists.

This is the second important doctrine of the Buddhists that there are no real universals (*sāmānya*) either as existing independently of particulars or as qualifying particulars. Dharmakīrti argues for the unreality of the universals by applying the criterion of *arthakriyākāritva*. The universal has no power to produce any effect. The cowness (*Go-sāmānya* or *Gotva*) does not give milk but it is the individual cow (*Go-svalakṣaṇa*) that gives milk. Our aim is not to assess the validity of the Buddhist denial of universals and the arguments adduced in support of that view but to understand the Buddhist thesis that the unique particular (*sva-lakṣaṇa*) alone is ultimately real and the proper object of cognition and the universal (*sāmānya-lakṣaṇa*) is not really a proper object of cognition. If so, what is meant by saying that there are two types of objects of cognition (*prameyas*)? Dharmakīrti explains this by saying that the real *sva-lakṣaṇa* is apprehended in two ways : as it is (*sva-rūpeṇa*) and as something other than itself (*para-rūpeṇa*). Thus, there is no real universal (*sāmānya*) and the distinction between *sva-lakṣaṇa* and *sāmānya-lakṣaṇa* is the result of a changed perspective.¹⁸ When *sva-lakṣaṇa* is cognised as it is in itself, it is not denotable by words and the cognition does depend upon any exterior factors such as verbal conventions. Thus perception, strictly speaking, is indeterminate (*nirvikalpaka*) and inexpressible in words (*avyapadeśyam*). Such a perception would be of no use for our daily purposes/living. We, therefore, use words, name what we see, compare and contrast it with what we have seen earlier and abstract what is common to them. This is the activity of conceptualisation. Conceptual construction

is the “association of the object of cognition with name and class-terms, etc.”⁹

Normally, cognitions are associated with five types of words : proper names (*nāma*), class-terms (*jāti*), quality-names or adjectives (*guṇa*), action-words or verbs (*kriyā*) and thing-names or substance (*dravya*).¹⁰ When I see an object, a unique particular, I attribute to it a proper name, say, Kapilā; a class-term, a cow; a quality-word, white; an activity, ruminating and a substance-word, horned. This association of five types of words with my cognition of the object results into the description of the object in five sentences : It is Kapilā; it is a cow; it is white; it is ruminating and it has horns. These labels, these words are not what are given in the cognition but belong to imaginative construction and verbalization. These are very useful devices for memorising, recognising, communicating, in short for all practical purposes. Cognition as associated with memory, imagination, conception etc., may be called “determinate perception” (*savikalpaka pratyakṣa*) and it is very useful for practical life. But it is not perception *per se*, as it involves besides sensation, i.e., besides the activity of the senses also intellection, i.e., the activity of the intellect. It also does not reveal the nature of what is real in itself. Perception proper, according to Dinnāga and other Buddhists, “is revelation of the pure given, the unique datum. It is untouched by construction and hence uncontaminated by any sort of speech or language.”¹¹ Dinnāga, therefore, defines perception *per se* as “awareness free from conceptualisation” (*pratyakṣam kalpanāpodham*). It brings us into direct and immediate contact with what is real in itself. But it is useless for practical life.

As practical beings, we are so conditioned by our practical considerations and linguistic habits that it has become natural for us to associate our cognitions with words and conceptual constructions. Thus the so-called determinate perception is natural (*laukika*), practically useful (*vyāvahārika*) and gives us knowledge of the empirical reality (*saṃvṛti-sat*). By contrast, perception not associated with conceptual construction and verbalization, is authentic because it is a direct intuition of what is real in itself. It is *lokottara*-supernatural and gives us knowledge of transcendently real (*pāramārthika-sat*). It may be added that Dinnāga holds that “cognition of empirical reality (*saṃvṛti-sat-jñānam*) along with erroneous cognition (*bhrānti*), inference and its result, recollection and desire are not true perceptions and are accompanied by obscurity.”¹² His reason is that *kalpanā* is superimposed on the *sva-lakṣaṇa* in such a perception. These Buddhist thinkers, thus, draw a sharp line between perception in which we are directly aware of the noumenal *sva-lakṣaṇa* and *anumāna* which gives knowledge of empirical or phenomenal reality which is *sva-lakṣaṇa* as conditioned by five types of human conceptions and therefore conceived as *sāmānya-lakṣaṇa*. It is this sharp distinction between the two levels of truth, *pāramārthika* and *saṃvṛti* — that provides justification for

the theory of *pramāṇa-vyavasthā*. What determinate perception, i.e., perception mixed with conceptualisation and verbalisation, and inference give is empirical truth useful for practical life. But in perception without conception one encounters bare momentary particulars without any attempt to cling to it. This is the spiritual truth.

III

The essential feature of the Buddhist doctrine of *pramāṇa-vyavasthā* seems to be the sharp distinction between two types of objects *sva-lakṣaṇa* and *sāmānya-lakṣaṇa*: two levels of reality - *pāramārthika-sat* and *saṃvṛti-sat*; and corresponding to them two *pramāṇas* — *pratyakṣa* and *anumāna*. Each of the two *pramāṇas* is competent to know only one type of object which is incapable of being known, in principle, by the other *pramāṇa*. Even *Nyāya* which accepts convergence of *pramāṇas* in empirical matters, admits that each sensuous quality like *śabda*, *sparsa*, *rūpa*, *rasa* and *gandha* is capable of being known only by one respective sense-organ. So, in this respect, there is *pramāṇa-vyavasthā*. But the second exception to the convergence of *pramāṇas* (*pramāṇa samplava*) is more significant. The *Nyāya* admits that it is through *śabda* alone that we know heaven to be the fruit of *agnihotra yajña*. *Śabda*, here, is a distinct *pramāṇa* which cannot be corroborated, i.e., confirmed or confuted by any other *pramāṇa* like *pratyakṣa* and *anumāna*. Thus the *Nyāya* makes a sharp distinction between this-worldly (*laukika*) matters and other-worldly (*pāra-laukika*) matters and holds that what the *śruti* tells about the other-worldly matters cannot, in principle, be known by other *pramāṇas*. To this extent and in this respect, it accepts *pramāṇa-vyavasthā*.

This line of thinking is further developed by the two *Mīmāṃsā* schools — the *Pūrva Mīmāṃsā* and the *Uttara Mīmāṃsā* or *Vedānta* — whose objects of enquiry are *Dharma* and *Brahman* respectively. Neither of these objects of enquiry, they hold, is amenable to *pratyakṣa* and other *pramāṇas* based on *pratyakṣa*, though for different reasons. Jaimini, while examining the nature of *pramāṇa* competent to give knowledge of *dharma*, says, “Perception, that arises from the contact of the sense-organs with the real/existing object, cannot be the means of knowledge in the case of *dharma*, because *dharma* is not an object existing at the present, not a *vidyamāna padārtha*,”¹³ i.e., it is not present at the time of cognition. It is *bhāvya*, i.e., it has future existence. It may be said that future existence can be known by inference based on our knowledge of its cause which exists at present. But the existence of *dharma* depends on what an agent does. It depends upon a person’s action and not merely on some objective conditions.

Let us compare three future events : (i) Rising of the sun tomorrow morning, (ii) raining tomorrow morning and (iii) my going to a friend’s place tomorrow morning. The first is known to be true merely on the basis of past uniform experience and does not depend on any special causal condition prior to its occurrence. The second depends on some specific antecedent

conditions so that from the rising clouds this evening we may infer rain tomorrow morning. In the third instance, however, my going tomorrow morning to my friend's house is more a matter of decision than of prediction. It depends on my will. While the first two events do not depend on anyone's will, the third depends on the will of the agent. *Dharma* being an action prescribed by Vedic injunctions is something to be brought into existence in future. Its coming into existence in future depends on the will of the human agent. It is for these two reasons, viz. (a) *Dharma* is not a *vidyamāna padārtha*, and (b) it is *puruṣa-tantra* and not *vastu-tantra*, that *Dharma* cannot be known by *pratyakṣa*, *anumāna* and other *pramāṇas* based on *pratyakṣa*. The *Pūrva Mīmāṃsā*, therefore, holds that the Vedic injunctions (*vidhi*) is the only *pramāṇa* for knowing *Dharma*. This is to accept *pramāṇa-vyavasthā*, i.e., divergence of *pramāṇas* for *vidyamāna padārthas* on the one hand and for *Dharma* on the other. The former is known by *pratyakṣa* and other *pramāṇas* while the latter can be known only through *codanā* or *vidhi* i.e., Vedic injunction alone.

The Vedāntins also hold that the object of Vedantic enquiry, viz., *Brahman*, cannot be known by *pratyakṣa*, because it is not an empirical object; it has no sensuous qualities. Nor can it be known by *anumāna*, because there is no definite mark (*līnga*) from which it can be inferred. Nor again can it be known by any other *pramāṇa* based on *pratyakṣa*.¹⁴ It can only be known from the scriptural testimony. Śaṅkara argues for, what may be called, *pramāṇa-vyavasthā*, when he says, "Each *pramāṇa* is valid in its own sphere as ears, etc. One *pramāṇa* is not contradicted by another *pramāṇa*, because another *pramāṇa* gives knowledge only in respect of that object which is the proper object of that *pramāṇa*."¹⁵ He makes a sharp distinction between two spheres — the sphere of duality and the sphere of non-duality. The former is the empirical sphere with secular and religious (*laukika* and *Vaidika*) activities. In the latter, the duality between the subject and object is transcended. It is the sphere of non-action. The *Śruti* which affirms "transcendent identity" or "non-duality" (*pāramārthika advaita*) in no way contradicts *pratyakṣa* and other *pramāṇas* based on *pratyakṣa*, which affirm "empirical duality" and *vice versa*. Śaṅkara, like the Buddhists, draws a sharp distinction between two levels of reality and the two corresponding types of *pramāṇas*. He says, "*Śruti* is valid only in the subjects like the relation between *agnihotra*, etc. as the means and their fruits, which are not amenable to *pratyakṣa* and other means of knowledge. It is not valid in the subjects amenable to *pratyakṣa* and other *pramāṇas*." This is because the function of a *pramāṇa* is "apprehension of an object not apprehended before." He adds, "Even if hundreds of *śrutis* say that fire is cold and gives no light, they cannot have validity."¹⁶

Thus, according to Śaṅkara, *pratyakṣa* and other *pramāṇas* converging with *pratyakṣa* give us knowledge of the world of plurality. This is the empirical truth. It may include the commonsense and the scientific knowledge of the

universe. Śankara calls this *vyāvahārika satya*. Śruti denies plurality and asserts identity on the transcendent plane. It is transcendent truth — *pāramārthika satya*. These two *pramāṇas*—Śruti on the one hand and *pratyakṣa* and other *pramāṇas* converging with it on the other, would have contradicted if the former were to deny empirical plurality and assert oneness on the empirical plane and the latter were to deny transcendent identity and assert plurality on the transcendent plane. But neither *pratyakṣa* and other means of empirical knowledge nor Śruti and *aparokṣānubhūti*, the means of transcendent knowledge, transgress their own respective spheres and hence there is no possibility of conflict between them.

IV

Let us now bring out the philosophical significance and contemporary relevance of the doctrine of *pramāṇa-vyavasthā*. The first point to be noted is that the word *pramāṇa* need not be understood in the sense of 'source of information or knowledge,' because, as Popper points out,¹⁷ a source of knowledge is also a source of error. If perception is a source of information in some cases, it is also a source of error in others. So '*pramāṇa*' must be understood not in the causal sense but in the justificatory sense. *Pramā* is not only a true and definite cognition (*yathārtha* and *niścita* or *vyavasāyātmaka jñāna*) but also a justified (*pramāṇita*) cognition. The question "how do you know?" is not an enquiry about historical sources or psychological causes of a belief but an enquiry into the reasons or grounds which justify one's claim to know, i.e., one's claim that one's cognition or belief is true. One's claim to know cannot be granted only on the ground that one's cognition happens to be true and that one is sure of it. The claim to know implies the claim that one has grounds or reasons justifying one's claim that one is sure of the truth of one's cognition.

We claim to know truths in different spheres of life such as empirical sciences, mathematics, morality, aesthetics, religion. It would be too naive and uncritical to assume that a cognition or a knowledge-claim is justified in all fields in the same way. Cārvāka, for example, accepts *pratyakṣa* as the only *pramāṇa* and rejects as unreal or non-existing whatever is not amenable to *pratyakṣa*. But as the Naiyāyikas argue, we can conclude non-existence of an object on the ground of its imperceptibility, provided the object is an empirical object, i. e., it is a proper object of perception or it is, in principle, perceptible. We conclude that "Hare's horns" do not exist on the ground that nobody has seen them. This is correct, because hare's horns are proper objects of perception. But to conclude that God does not exist on the ground that it is not given in sensuous perception to anyone, is incorrect, because God is not a proper object of sensuous perception.¹⁸ Thus we provide different types of reasons, different justifying grounds for different types of beliefs in different spheres of life. This is the essence of the doctrine of *pramāṇa-vyavasthā*.

One of the important functions of *Pramāṇa-Śāstra* or the theory or philosophy of knowledge is to delineate different types of reasons, different modes of rationality in justifying one's claims to knowledge in different spheres. "The task of defining rationality", says A. J. Ayer, "is precisely the sort of task that it is the business of philosophy to undertake."¹⁹ It is beyond the scope of this paper to discuss in details different modes of rationality in different spheres. But it seems to me to be uncontroversial that sensuous perception and inference, etc., based on it constitute the rationality in the matters of empirical fact. But in knowing rightness or wrongness of an action, the mode of rationality would be different.

In the *Bhagavadgītā*, the word '*pramāṇa*' appears only twice in III. 21 and XVI. 24. The verse III.21 says that common people do whatever a great man does. People follow the standard (*pramāṇa*) set by such a man.²⁰ The verse XVI. 24 says, "Let the Scripture be thy authority (*pramāṇa*) for determining what should be done and what should not be done. Knowing what is declared by the rules of the Scripture, thou shouldst do thy work in this world."²¹ Thus we have here two *pramāṇas* for knowing what should and what should not be done. They are (i) the conduct of great, i. e., virtuous men; and (ii) the injunctions of the Scripture.

It should not be thought that the matters are so simple as they appear to be. There are further problems and complications. Who is a great man (*śreṣṭha*)? How to recognise a great man? What, if great men differ in their conduct? Whose conduct is to be accepted as a standard? About the second *pramāṇa* viz., scriptural testimony, also many questions arise: If there are situations where conflicting rules apply, how to decide which one is to be applied? What, if there is a conflict between the scriptural injunction and conscience of a person? What, if one decides to follow one's own conscience without following either a great man or scripture? Arjuna has raised such doubt when he says, "What is the position of those, who neglecting the ordinances of the scriptures, offer sacrifices filled with faith?"²² The general answer seems to be that there are two types of persons who neglect the scriptural teachings: (i) those who are prompted by desires, and (ii) those who are filled with faith or are prompted by conscience. The former do not attain either perfection or happiness or the highest goal. The latter reach the highest good, if they are free from the three gates of hell, viz. lust, anger and greed and do what is good for their souls.²³

This is not the place to discuss in details the mode of rationality involved in knowing one's duty, what should and should not be done, or what is right or wrong. But it should be clear that the mode of rationality involved in religio-moral sphere is of a different type from that involved in scientific sphere. Probably it may be conceded that the type of reasoning involved in deciding one's duty or what is right or wrong is qualitatively different from the one involved in judging scientific truths. But when it comes to

the religio-mystical assertion that 'God exists', or '*Brahman* alone is real' or 'Time is unreal', it is thought that these statements must be justified in the same way the statements 'Lions exist', or 'That is not a real tomato' are justified. The statements in the two sets are treated in the same way, because they make an existential or reality claim. I, however, want to suggest that the statements belonging to the two sets are qualitatively different and hence are justified by different modes of rationality. The truth or falsehood of the statements about empirical reality can be verified by sensuous experience. But if one wants to find out whether there is God, one will have to live a life of purity, austerity, piety and other religious virtues — a totally different procedure from verifying a scientific hypothesis.²⁴ To find out whether *Brahman* alone is real, one has to conceive in theoretic consciousness the possibility of the subject or the individual self being unreal.²⁵ To understand the significance of the statement "Time is unreal", one has to free oneself from the idea of a continuous and unending progress which makes time a devouring tyrant of all that is and to realise that time has only practical importance and is an unimportant and superficial characteristic of reality.²⁶

It must be made clear that the purpose of this discussion is not to assert and justify the truth of these religio-mystical statements but to show that such an attempt involves a mode of rationality quite different from that of science. And this is what is meant by *pramāṇa-vyavasthā*.

Notes and References

1. तत्र प्रमाणे स्वरूप-फल-गोचर-संख्यासु परेषाम् विप्रतिपत्तिश्च चतुर्विधा । तत्त्वसंग्रहपञ्जिका by कमलशील. Quoted by Masaaki Hattori in *Dinnāga on Perception*.
2. प्रमाणसंप्लव and प्रमाणव्यवस्था or प्रमाणविप्लव.
3. प्रत्यक्षमेकमेव प्रमाणम् ।
4. वात्स्यायनभाष्य on *Nyāya Sūtra* I. 1.3.
5. op. cit.
6. प्रत्यक्षं कल्पनापोढम्.
7. प्रत्यक्षं, अनुमानं च प्रमाणे । यस्माल्लक्षणद्वयं प्रमेयम् । न हि स्वसामान्यलक्षणाभ्यामन्यत् प्रमेयमस्ति । स्वलक्षणविषयं हि प्रत्यक्षम् । सामान्यलक्षणविषयमनुमानमिति प्रतिपादयिष्यामः । दिङ्नाग, प्रत्यक्षपरिच्छेद, Hattori.
8. तस्य स्वपररूपाभ्याम् गतेर्भेदद्वयम् मतम् । प्रमाणवार्तिक Quoted by Hattori.
9. नामजात्यादियोजना ।
10. यदृच्छाशब्देषु नाम्ना विशिष्टोऽर्थ उच्यते दित्थ इति । जातिशब्देषु जात्या गौरिति । गुणशब्देषु गुणेन शुक्ल इति । क्रियाशब्देषु क्रियया पाचक इति । द्रव्यशब्देषु द्रव्येण दण्डी विपाणीति । ... अन्ये त्वर्थशून्यैः शब्दैरेव विशिष्टोऽर्थ उच्यत इति ।

यत्रैषा कल्पना नास्ति तत्प्रत्यक्षम् । दिङ्नाग, *प्रत्यक्षपरिच्छेद*, Hattori.

11. Matilal B. K.
12. ग्रान्तिसंवृत्तिसज्ज्ञानमनुमानानुमानितम् । स्मार्तागिलापिकं चेति प्रत्यक्षाभं संतमिरम् ॥ दिङ्नाग, *प्रत्यक्षपरिच्छेद*, Hattori.
13. सत्संप्रयोगे पुरुषस्येन्द्रियाणां बुद्धिजन्मतत्प्रत्यक्षमभिमित्तं विद्यमानोपलम्भात् । जैमिनीसूत्र I. 1.4.
14. रूपाद्यभावाद्धि नायमर्थः प्रत्यक्षगोचरः लिङ्गधभावाच्च नानुमानादीनाम् । - ब्रह्मसूत्रशांकरभाष्य II-1.11.
15. स्वविषयशून्यानि हि प्रमाणानि श्रोत्रादिवत् । न च प्रमाणं प्रमाणान्तरेण विरुध्यते प्रमाणान्तरविषयमेव हि प्रमाणान्तरं ज्ञापयति ।
16. प्रत्यक्षादिप्रमाणानुपलब्धे हि विषये अग्निहोत्रादिसाध्यसाधनसम्बन्धे श्रुतेः प्रामाण्यम् न प्रत्यक्षादिपिषये अदृष्टदर्शनार्थत्वात् प्रामाण्यस्य ।... न हि श्रुतिशतम् अपि शीतः अग्निः अप्रकाशो वा इति बुवन् प्रामाण्यम् उपैति । भगवद्गीताशांकरभाष्य XVIII.66.
17. Karl Popper, *Conjectures and Refutations*, p. 3-30, 5th Ed-London, Routledge 1989.
18. Udayana, *Nyāya Kusumāñjali* , śabaka 3, esp. verses 1 to 7.
19. A. J. Ayer, *Language, Truth and Logic*, p. 50, Victor Gollancz 1946.
20. यद्यदाचरति श्रेष्ठस्तत्तदेवैतरो जनः । स यत्प्रमाणं कुरुते लोकस्तादनुवर्तते । III.21.
21. तस्मात् शास्त्रं प्रमाणं ते कार्याकार्यव्यवस्थितौ । ज्ञात्वा शास्त्रविधानोक्तं कर्म कर्तुमिहार्हसि ॥ XVI. 24.
22. ये शास्त्रविधिमुत्सृज्य यजन्ते श्रद्धयान्विताः । तेषां निष्ठा तु का कृष्ण सत्त्वमाहो रजस्तमः ॥ XVII.1.
23. त्रिविधं नस्कस्येदं द्वारं नाशनमात्मनः । कामः क्रोधस्तथा लोभस्तस्मादेतत्त्रयं त्यजेत् ॥ XVI. 21. एतैर्विमुक्तः कौन्तेय तमोद्वारैस्त्रिभिर्नरः । आचरत्यात्मनः श्रेयस्ततो याति परां गतिम् ॥ XVI. 22. यः शास्त्रविधिमुत्सृज्य वर्तते कामकारतः । न स सिद्धिमवाप्नोति न सुखं न परां गतिम् ॥ XVI. 23.
24. J. Krishnamurti, Saanen Talks, 1971, quoted by Mary Lutyens, *Krishnamurti : The Years of Fulfilment*, Avon Books, N. Y. 1983, p.191.
25. K. C. Bhattacharya, *Studies in Philosophy*, Vol. II, p. 115-116, Progressive Publisher, Calcutta, 1958.
26. B. Russell, *Mysticism and Logic*, pp. 22-26, London, Unwin Books, 1963.

THE BALLAD OF EAST AND WEST

G. S. BEDAGKAR

Bernard Shaw gave to English literature a new kind of drama. In his presentation of life of his times, which he did both in his plays and the long prefatory essays which he appended to them, he was so scathing that when he described himself as 'a specialist in immoral plays' he was right. Influenced as he was by the most stimulating climate of the last quarter of the nineteenth century, it was inevitable that he became a rationalist, socialist and an evolutionist. His writings brought out his intellectual arrogance and polemic brilliance in such a measure that no Indian could have had the temerity to suggest that Shaw had any interest in things Indian. This would not have been accepted as being consistent with the reputation that he had acquired.

My intention at this late hour is to make some such suggestion and try to point out that it was not at all, casual but part of the Shavian philosophy of Creative Evolution. In two of his plays, *John Bull's Other Island* and *Major Barbara* his interest seems pretty obvious. In other two plays *Man and Superman* and *Back to Methuselah*, there are occasional statements that come so close to Indian positions that I thought I should place them before the readers.

Major Barbara is available in two versions : Odhams Press in its edition of Shaw's Complete Plays (1934) prints the stage version and the Penguins print the screen version (1945). In a note attached to the screen version, Shaw says :

"The greater resources of the film;... make it possible to take the spectators through the great Undershaft factory and industrial colony instead of putting them off with a spoken description..."

I would take this version of the play a little more seriously than the stage version, as it enables the playwright to express his views more elaborately. It is in this version that we read of the Undershaft family's visit to the Jain temple.

Let me begin with *John Bull's Other Island*, since it was written earlier. There is a curious character in this play who is, rather was clergyman; but

because of his unconventional views he has now been debarred from the church. Nevertheless the peasants still continue to show regard to him, there is something saintly about him.

When we first meet him he is engaged in what the sociologist Levy-Bruhl has described as '*participation mystique*'; he is talking to a grasshopper. His queer behaviour has been the result, as he tells us, of a visit to a member of his congregation.

"I heard that a black man was dying, and that the people were afraid to go near him. When I went to the place, I found an elderly Hindoo, who told me one of those tales of unmerited misfortune, of cruel ill luck, of relentless persecution by destiny, which sometimes wither the commonplaces of consolation on the lips of a priest. But this man did not complain of his misfortunes. They were brought upon him, he said, by sins committed in a former existence. Then without a word of comfort, he died with a clear-eyed resignation that my most earnest exhortations have rarely produced in a Christian, and left me sitting there by his bedside with the mystery of this world suddenly revealed to me."

When asked what the mystery of the world was, Father Keegan continues :

"This world is, Sir, very clearly a place of torment and penance, a place where the fool flourishes and the good and the wise are hated and persecuted, a place where men and women torture one another in the name of love...."

This way a list of sorrows and sufferings follows. Father Keegan concludes :

"Now Sir, there is only one place of horror and torment known to my religion, and that place is hell. Therefore it is plain to me that this earth of ours must be hell and that we are all here, as the Indian revealed to me — perhaps he was sent to reveal this to me — to expiate crimes committed by us in a former existence."

To the mind of an evolutionist like Shaw this explanation of evil would not have appeared far-fetched. Like the Hindus or Jains he too would like Time to extend itself beyond death to another life-time. He has made a suggestion in *Back to Methuselah* that the normal span of human life should extend to 200 years, otherwise all the wisdom man has gained till his seventieth year is buried with him in his grave. Rebirth according to the Indians wastes nothing and *Gītā* in XV, Verse 8 tells how the spirit carries with it all the impressions that it has collected in a certain body to another to which it goes after the death of the first body. There is continuity in life which is maintained through rebirth. Jain and Buddhist literary writings are full of stories that have carefully preserved the graph of the progress and regress through which an individual has to pass in his journey to perfection.

In *Major Barbara* we are taken to a Jain temple in a village in England where Andrew Undershaft's armament factory — the factory of death, as his daughter Barbara terms it — is located. He has invited his family, wife, two daughters, son and two sons-in-law-to-be to visit it and during the visit the party comes to a large square, where they see a cluster of churches and temples in various styles of architecture, one of them is a Jain temple. Mr. Undershaft boasts that it is a reproduction of the most famous one in the world and Barbara is greatly impressed :

How utterly beautiful : Perfect peace :
 Perfect beauty : I think I shall become a Jain.
 What God is it ?

Undershaft tells her that it is not a God, 'It is really a symbol.' He wanted a temple like this since he visited it in India. He offered the most generous wages to the people whose business was to build temples and make idols. He brought them to England for the construction work. They made these exquisite idols. After all the factory always had a large supply of gun metal waste.

Sometimes when my nerves are overwrought, I come here and sit for an hour before the shrine while a priest recites prayers in a language of which I don't understand one word. It soothes me as nothing else does. This Jain religion is far ahead of anything we have in the West.

Shaw should very much share these feelings of Andrew Undershaft. In his own personality, it is possible to discover a Jain or Hindu streak. By nature abstemious like a Jain, Shaw was a vegetarian, a non-smoker and a teetotaler though not exactly moderate with regard to women. Nevertheless, he is on record to have said that he would accept an invitation to speak to a socialist audience rather than go to spend an evening with a charming young lady.

In *Apple Cart* which is a play written much later, 1929, Shaw explains with the wisdom that he has gained after many years of experience of friendship with women, how ideal relationship between a man, married or unmarried, and his female friend should be. King Magnus is saying this to his friend, Orinthia who has been complaining that she is being taken by the King only as 'a diversion'. The royal explanation is :

"Do not let us fall into the common mistake of expecting to become one flesh and one spirit. Every star has its own orbit; and between it and its nearest neighbour there is not only a powerful attraction but an infinite distance. When the attraction becomes stronger than the distance, the two do not embrace : they crash in ruin. We two also have our orbits, and we must keep an infinite distance between us to avoid a disastrous collision.

Keeping our distance is the whole secret of good manners, and without good manners human society is intolerable and impossible."

This Shavian explanation in Shakespearean imagery should remind students of Shaw of his relations with the famous actress, Ellen Terry. Their love was only on paper. These words neatly sum up the Indian, Hindu as well as Jain, attitude of non-attachment. Our favourite image is of a drop of water on a lotus leaf.

Andrew Undershaft's reply to his daughter's query, 'What god is that' is that it is only a symbol and this should call for some comment. Shaw described himself as an atheist, quite emphatically in his early days, but later when he was asked about his position he replied that the Life Force that operated in everyone was the symbolic presence of God. His preference for Jain religion seems to have come from the fact that it is an atheistic religion though through a symbol Jains prayed for the peace of mind, in temples raised for it. This is largely obtained through the beauty of the structure and of the idol. Shaw must have also been impressed by the aesthetic side of the worship.

Man and Superman and *Back to Methuselah* contain passages that come very close to Indian position. Shaw's philosophy of Creative Evolution, which he expounds in the following passage from *Man and Superman*, runs thus:

"I tell you that as long as I can conceive something better than myself, I cannot be easy unless I am striving to bring it into existence or clearing the way for it. That is the law of my life. That is the working within me of life's incessant aspiration to higher organisation, wider, deeper, intenser self-consciousness and clearer self-understanding. It was the supremacy of this purpose that reduced love for me to mere pleasure of a moment, art for me to the mere schooling of my faculty, religion for me to a mere excuse for laziness, since it had set up a god who looked at the world and saw that it was good, against the instinct in me that saw that it could be improved."

This can easily be placed by the side of what *Bhagavadgītā* says in Chapter VI, verses 40 to 45. I quote from Juan Mascaro's translation (Penguin) :

Neither in this world nor in the world to come does ever this man pass away; for the man who does the good, my son, never treads the path of death.

He dwells for innumerable years in the heaven of those who did good; then this man who failed in *Yoga* is born again in the house of the good and the great.

He may even be born into a family of Yogis, where the wisdom of

Yoga shines; but to be born in such a family is a rare event in this world.

And he begins his new life with the wisdom of a former life; and he begins to strive again, ever onwards towards perfection.

Because his former yearning and struggle irresistibly carries him onwards, and even he who merely yearns for *Yoga* goes beyond the words of books.

And thus the Yogi ever-striving, and with soul pure from sin, attains perfection through many lives and reaches the End Supreme.

This can easily be considered to be an Indian version of Creative Evolution.

Another striking example to illustrate the close parallel between the Shavian thought and Indian can be noticed in the following two passages, the first from *Man and Superman* and the second from *Gītā* III, 35.

This is the true joy of life, the being used for a purpose recognised by yourself as a mighty one, the being thoroughly worn out before you are thrown on the scrap heap; the being a force of nature instead of a selfish little clod of ailment and grievances complaining that the world will not devote itself to making you happy. And also the real tragedy in life is the being used by personally minded men for purposes which you recognise to be base.

Juan Mascaro translates :

And do thy duty, even if it be humble, rather than another's even if it be great. To die in one's duty is life : to live in another's is death.

The general feeling of dissatisfaction with the human body and bodily pleasures that characterise Indian view, especially Jain, can also be noticed in Shaw's *Back to Methuselah* — as far as thought can reach, the last play in the group. Shaw here describes a fanciful stage in the growth of life when human beings are born out of eggs when they are around sixteen years of age and in a few years' time, the newly born children start losing interest in literature and fine arts. They are considered by the ancients as childish trivialities. Shaw has always shown this type of uncharitable disposition to expressions of creative imagination. He would rather mature-minded persons spend their time in contemplation. At the stage of the Ancients sex distinction disappears, even their clothes have become unisexual. Occasionally they may come into the world of the younger humans but they don't live with them. They go into forest and like the ancient Hindu *ṛṣis* or Jain *sādhus* and *sādhvīs* they live a life of contemplation.

In the same play Shaw presents the final stage in man's evolution. Lilith who for Shaw symbolizes the Life Principle visualizes human beings after passing a million goals... press on to the

goal of redemption from the flesh, to the vortex
free from matter, to the whirlpool in pure
intelligence.

Hindus too have a similar peep into the future. They would not want the human body to disappear altogether but merge itself completely with the soul and eliminate duality that had vexed both the Body and Soul all through. A completely integrated personality is the final goal and *Ītā* conveys it through the image of the mysterious *Aśvattha* tree.

On many counts then, such as the nature and existence of god, Life Force and its contribution to the evolutionary march of man, rebirth and its importance to the evolutionary process, etc., Shaw and India should find themselves considerably close to each other. I should imagine that Shaw has worked out his 'passage to India' much more effectively than E. M. Forster. Perhaps Rudyard Kipling's *Ballad of East and West* can describe this peculiar relationship adequately :

Oh, East is East and West is West and never the
twain shall meet,
Till Earth and Sky stand presently at God's
great Judgment Seat;
But there is neither East nor West, Border,
Breec nor Birth,
When two strong men stand face to face, though
they come from the ends of the earth !

LANGUAGE AND GRAMMAR : ANCIENT INDIAN APPROACH

SAROJA BIHATE

The history of the development of the scientific thought in the world shows that all knowledge was put to test before it was accepted by people. Every branch of knowledge has, in fact, to stand the test of time. This tendency to critically judge the worth of every piece of knowledge is characteristic of ancient Indian academics. It is recorded in ancient texts dealing with different systems of learning. It is interesting to note that the ancient Indian grammarians were always vexed with the question of the utility of the science of grammar. They tried to reply the question in their own way and saw to it that the study of the grammar survived the objections raised against its utility. It is more striking to note how frankly and faithfully these great grammarians faced the trial to which their discipline was put. Since the ancient Indian grammatical tradition represents the starting point of the history of the development of grammatical speculations in the world, the study of the Indian grammarians' approach to grammar as a Science has a relevance for the modern student of Linguistics. An attempt is made in what follows to see how the ancient Indian grammarians viewed their own discipline with respect to its worth as a branch of knowledge.

Even a glimpse of the world history of science reveals that since the beginning religion served as a fountain-head of a number of systems of knowledge. The science of language, which was one of the foremost sciences that were born in India arose out of the need to protect the sacred language of the *Vedas*. The aim of this foremost grammar was to guard the Vedic language against contamination and maintain its purity. It was not aimed at the correct understanding of the language with a view to properly using it. This *Vedāṅga* grammar which pioneered all grammatical activity served a religious rather than a secular purpose. Although Pāṇini's grammar, the oldest available grammar of Sanskrit is traditionally believed to be a *Vedāṅga*, it can hardly claim the position of a *Vedāṅga* with merely three hundred out of four thousand rules being devoted to the description of the Vedic language.

There must have been, therefore, another *Vedāṅga* grammar prior to Pāṇini's grammar which is lost to us.

Pāṇini's grammar is the first available complete grammar of the Sanskrit

language. It evinces a purely secular character. Although Pāṇini did not explicitly mention the aim of his grammar, it must have been the correct understanding of the language leading to its proper use, as it is clear from his description of the linguistic behaviour to its minutest details. His student can easily feel the close intimacy between the grammar and the language so finely depicted in his *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. It is, indeed, this intimacy which dominated all the linguistic activity throughout the post-Pāṇinian history of Sanskrit literature where the language is found happily wedded to the grammar. A closer look at the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* reveals, however, that the fundamental aim of the grammar, so well recognised and maintained by Pāṇini was superseded by another aim which was the requirement of the ancient educational system of India. Since all knowledge was orally transmitted, it had to be epitomised and formulated in a system based on mnemonic principles. Pāṇini succumbed to this aim and presented his grammatical observations in the form of *sūtras*, i.e. short, pithy sentences. Both the grammar and the language, which were as though made for each other in Pāṇini's grammar, were harnessed together to serve the cause of brevity. The close amity between the language and the grammar thus remained an undercurrent in his grammar as a result of which it became accessible to those alone who were already acquainted not only with the language but also with the essentials of its grammar. The aim of this foremost grammar of the Sanskrit language then was not to teach the language, but rather to recapitulate and present in the most succinct form the fundamental principles of its behaviour.

Although Pāṇini did not announce any sacred purpose for his grammar, his followers did. Kātyāyana, the first available commentator of Pāṇini opens his exegesis with the declaration that the study of the grammar is meant for *dharmaniyama*, 'restriction with regard to religious merit.' Kātyāyana argues that since the words, their meanings and their mutual relations are already established by usage, what remains to be achieved by the grammar is merit.¹ While making Kātyāyana's stand more explicit, Patañjali, the author of the *Vyākaraṇamahābhāṣya* enumerates as many as five purposes of grammar, the first three among which have a religious bearing.² The reason behind the urgency felt by both, Kātyāyana and Patañjali, to attach a sacred significance to the study of grammar is not far to seek. Through this sanctification they both perhaps wanted to ensure the inclusion of grammar into the curriculum of their time. The very fact that Patañjali feels it expedient to hammer out the usefulness of the study of grammar by quoting as many as thirteen citations³ is enough to reveal that during his time the utility of the study of grammar was questioned. Due to the dwindling faith in the grammar, its study had received a setback. It was, therefore, the need of the time to shield the grammar by means of a sacred halo. The opinion of a common student about the study of grammar is clearly echoed by Patañjali in the following words :

वेदान्तो वैदिकाः शब्दाः सिद्धा लोकाद्य लौकिकाः किमर्थमध्येयं व्याकरणम् ।⁴

“For us the Vedic words are already established by the *Vedas* and the words in the ordinary life are established by usage; why then should we study grammar ?

At another place Patañjali observes,

दृश्यन्ते हि कृतप्रयत्नाश्चाप्रवीणाः अकृतप्रयत्नाश्च प्रवीणाः ।⁵

“Those who make special efforts (to acquire proficiency in language) are seen non-proficient, whereas those who do not make any special efforts are seen proficient (in language).”

Patañjali thus rules out the necessity of the study of grammar in order to acquire language proficiency. However, the sum and substance of his elaborate discussion on the purpose of grammar consists in the proper use of language. He goes to the extent of linking the study of grammar with personality development and thereby with the success in life.⁶ “Nonetheless he is, in his heart of hearts, convinced of the superiority of usage over the grammar. He openly admits, in spite of his loyalty to the science of grammar, that the *śiṣṭas* ‘the learned’ are a higher authority on the language than its grammar. The story of the grammarian and the charioteer narrated by *Patañjali* in which the grammarian is defeated by the charioteer due to his lack of the knowledge of usage clearly points out his respect for the usage which has an upper hand in solving linguistic problems.⁷ One must appreciate *Patañjali*’s frankness in striking at the very root of the issue. He is bold enough to record the direct attack by the opponent on grammar in the following words :

यदि तर्हि शिष्टाः शब्देषु प्रमाणं किमष्टाध्याय्या क्रियते ।⁸

If the learned are *the* authority in words, what is the use of *Aṣṭādhyāyī*?

Pat offers a reply :

शिष्टपरिज्ञानार्थं अष्टाध्यायी ।

‘The *Aṣṭādhyāyī* serves as an aid in recognising who *Śiṣṭas* are.’ Going a step further he admits that the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* serves a purpose only for the slow-witted;⁹ the learned can do without it.

Thus while on the one hand *Patañjali* tries to guard each and every single letter of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* by declaring it as meaningful,¹⁰ on the other, he agrees to the secondary position enjoyed by grammar in the process of language understanding.

This ambivalence is more distinct in the *Vākyapadīya* of *Bhartṛhari* who makes more explicit whatever is implicit in the *Mahābhāṣya*. While endorsing *Patañjali*’s views on grammar *Bhartṛhari* describes it as *avidvā*, a system of

knowledge meant for the ignorant.¹¹ After extolling grammar to the extent of describing as nothing short of *brahnavidyā* in the first *Kāṇḍa*¹² of the *Vākyapadīya*, Bhartṛhari criticizes its role in understanding the language by making a few observations about the shortcomings of the grammar in the third *Kāṇḍa*.

At several places Bhartṛhari reiterates Patañjali's remark that the grammar is a *anvākhyāna* 'subsequent exposition' of the language.¹³ Although it is responsible in moulding the language into a system, it can never cross the boundaries of the language.

Even though Pāṇini's grammar provides a generative mechanism for the language, Patañjali and subsequently Bhartṛhari have curbed the generative power of the grammar by arguing that the grammar has to generate only those words which are found in the usage.¹⁴ In fact, Patañjali openly makes fun of those who look at the grammar as a generative mechanism. The grammarians often put forth the argument of *abhidhāna*, 'expression in the usage' to check the movements of the grammar. Thus quite a few words derived by the rules of the grammar are rejected by Patañjali on the ground of *anabhidhāna*, 'non-usage'.

Bhartṛhari draws attention of the student of the grammar to another striking feature, namely, its fictional character. According to him the science of grammar is nothing but a body of postulates far removed from reality. Although its goal is fixed, the roads leading to this goal are many.¹⁵ The grammatical elements are nothing but fictions, creations of mind. They do not exist beyond the realm of grammar. Bhartṛhari is critical about the *ad hoc* character of the grammatical operations. Because of this imaginative character the value of the grammar as a Science is put to stake.

Following Patañjali, Bhartṛhari describes that the grammar is meant only for the ignorant. It is indeed an eye for the blind;¹⁶ but for those who can see it serves no purpose. Thus Bhartṛhari compares the grammar with medicine which has a utility only when there is some disorder. Just as medicine is not needed for a healthy man, the grammar is of no use for a learned person. Even to him who makes use of the grammar, Bhartṛhari gives a note of caution. According to him too much reliance on the grammar may lead to disaster.¹⁷ He awakens the students to the pitfalls on the path of the grammar.

Finally, Bhartṛhari draws attention to the intrinsic incompetence of the grammar and argues that the grammar has no adequate mechanism to describe a linguistic fact in its entirety. It may be, for instance, that a certain object is expressed in a word in the masculine gender; it cannot, however, point out whether it is animate or inanimate.¹⁸

The foregoing observations clearly show the candidness with which the

ancient Indian grammarians describe the nature and limitations of the science of grammar. They openly accepted its intrinsic deficiencies. However this inadequacy is, according to Bhartṛhari, due to the inherent weakness of the language in describing reality. A casual glance at the *Vākyapadīya* reveals that here Bhartṛhari puts forth an argument, for the limitation of the language in representing reality which further leads to the limitations of the Science of grammar.

Notes and References

1. *The Vyākaraṇamahābhāṣya* of Patañjali : *Paspaśāhnika*, ed. S. D. Joshi, J. A. F. Roodbergen; PCASS, Class C, No. 15, Pune 1986, p. 3 : सिद्धे शब्दार्थसम्बन्धे ॥३॥, p. 25 : लोकतोऽर्थप्रयुक्ते शब्दप्रयोगे शास्त्रेण धर्मनियमः ॥४॥ Both these *Vārttika* statements together mean, 'When the words, their meanings and their mutual relations are already established by the usage of the people, restriction with reference to religious merit is laid down by the science of grammar.'
2. *Ibid.* p. 6 : रक्षोहागमलघ्वसंदेहाः प्रयोजनम् 'Preservation (of *Veda*), adaptation (of a Vedic *mantra* to suit the ritual requirement), *āgama* (tradition), economy and absence of ambiguity are the purposes (of the study of grammar)'
3. *Ibid.* p. 8, lines 22-25.
4. *Ibid.* p. 16.
5. *Ibid.* p. 3.
6. *Ibid.* p. 9.
 यस्तु प्रयुङ्क्ते कुशलो विशेषे शब्दान् यथाक्त् व्यवहारकाले ।
 सोऽनन्तमाप्नोति जयं परत्र वाग्योगविद् दुष्यति चापशब्दैः ॥
 'He who being expert in the matter of specific (use of words) makes proper use of words as demanded by the occasion at the time of communication obtains endless victory in the other world. However, by the use of incorrect words he incurs sin.'
7. See The *Vyākaraṇamahābhāṣya* of Patañjali, ed. (1st ed.) F. Kielhorn, 3rd ed. K. V. Abhyankar, Vol. I, Poona, 1962, p. 488.
8. *Ibid.* Vol. III (1972), p. 174.
9. *Ibid.* Vol. I. p. 208, व्याकरणं नामेयमुत्तरा विद्या. 'Grammar is the science to be taught later.'
10. *Ibid.* p. 39.

11. Word Index to *The Vākyapadīya of Bhartṛhari together with the Complete Text*, ed. Saroja Bhate and Yashodhara Kar, Eastern Book Linkers, Delhi, 1992, III. 14.98.

वृत्तिं वर्तयतामेवमबुधप्रतिपत्तये ।
भिन्नाः संबोधनोपायाः पुरुषेष्वनवस्थिताः ॥
See also III. 14.95, II.233.

12. After describing the word-element as *Brahman* in the very first verse, Bhartṛhari is all in praise of grammar as the science leading to the attainment of *śabdabrahman*. See the *Vākyapadīya* I.11-22, 158 and 159.

13. See *the Vākyapadīya* II. 170, 231, 451; III.14.72, 268, 271 etc.

14. *Ibid.* III.34.561.

प्रयुक्तानां हि शब्दानां शास्त्रेणानुगमः सताम् ।

15. *Ibid.* I.75.

भिन्नं दर्शनमाश्रित्य व्यवहारोऽनुगम्यते ।
तत्र यन्मुख्यमेकेषां तत्रान्येषां विपर्ययः ॥

See also II. 170, 174.

16. *Ibid.* III.14.80.

शास्त्रदृष्टिस्तु शास्त्रस्य प्राप्तिमात्रेऽप्यनिश्चिते ।
युज्यते प्रत्यवायेन शास्त्रं चक्षुरपश्यताम् ॥

17. See the note 16 above.

18. This is implied in the verses describing the expression of the grammatical *puruṣa* by a suffix in the *Vākyapadīya* III.10.2,3.

THE ABDUCTION OF SĪTĀ

SADASHIV A. DANGE

One of the most thrilling incidents in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, or, rather, the Rāma-story, is the abduction of Sītā by Rāvaṇa. The *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki, which is only one version of the *Rāmāyaṇa* story, has the episode as follows : On learning about the insult of his sister, Śūrpaṅakhā, Rāvaṇa decides to abduct Sītā. It appears that he got the clue of the plan to abduct Sītā from Akampana, who tells Rāvaṇa that Rāma, being very much attached to Sītā would die a natural death in the absence of Sītā; hence, it would be wise to abduct Sītā (*Araṇyakāṇḍa* 31.31-32). Rāvaṇa, then, goes to Mārīca and asks him to execute the plan. Mārīca does not agree, remembering how he was thrown into the ocean by Rāma at the earlier occasion. But, ultimately he agrees. Rāvaṇa unfolds the whole plan, also indicating how Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā would behave. He says, "O Mārīca, on seeing you prancing as the golden deer, Sītā will urge Rāma to catch you and bring you (the deer) to her. Rāma would run after you. You should take him in the depth of the forest; and, as he shoots you, you should give out the call for help calling the names of Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa. On hearing that, Sītā would send Lakṣmaṇa after the call, being afraid that Rāma is in danger. When Sītā is rendered thus alone, I shall carry her away." (Ib.40.17-22). He also promises Mārīca that he would give him half of his kingdom (Ib.23). In the subsequent chapters, we are told that Mārīca is brought to the vicinity of the cottage of Rāma by Rāvaṇa. Sītā sees the gold-backed deer and says that Rāma should fetch it for her; and she would be glad to play with him in the forest-cottage, and would take him to Ayodhyā later on; that, if the deer is unable to be caught alive, he should be killed, so that his hide would be a unique gain. (Ib. 42.1-20). Rāma is convinced by the plea of Sītā, due to love for her. He instructs Lakṣmaṇa to take care of Sītā, and runs after the deer. Deep in the forest, he shoots the deer, who releases the loud cry, "O Sītā, O Lakṣmaṇa,". Being urged by Sītā, Lakṣmaṇa runs away to the forest. Rāvaṇa comes on the scene. (Ib. 44-46).

These two accounts would show that the main characters of the *Rāmāyaṇa* are behaving exactly as the villain has told his accomplice, Mārīca. The fact seems, however, to be that the story was already very popular in the period of Vālmīki, and the poet's depiction of Rāvaṇa explaining the plan of the plot to Mārīca was based on this already popular episode. Otherwise, we

would have to believe that the main characters were puppets in the hands of the villain, which is hardly acceptable ! That the Rāma-story was fluid is clear from the fact that Vālmīki's version and details are not followed exactly in the Hindu tradition itself. Thus, for example, the *Mahābhārata* (*Mb.*) has it, that Rāvaṇa came to the forest-resort of Rāma with his head tonsured, taking a *kuṇḍa* and *tridaṇḍa* (*Mb. Vana. 278.16 yatir bhūtvā muṇḍaḥ kuṇḍī tridaṇḍa-dhrk*), while the *Rām.* has it that he came wearing a fine tawny-coloured cloak, having an umbrella, with sandals in his feet, sporting a pigtail (*śikhī*), a *kamaṇḍalu* and a staff slung to his shoulder (*Rām. Aranya. 46.1-3*). The *Rām.* does not speak of Mārīca staying nearabout the Janasthāna; it speaks of the *āśrama* of Mārīca to be somewhere beyond the sea. Mārīca stays there as a hermit subsisting on frugal rations, though he welcomes Rāvaṇa to a good meal (*Rām. loc. cit. 25.37-40*). The *Mb.*, however, mentions the hermitage of Mārīca at Gokarṇa (*loc. cit. 277.56*); and he treats Rāvaṇa with food prepared from flesh (*mūṁsaudana*). *Rām.* has Rāvaṇa as characterized with his chariot drawn by donkeys having faces like ghosts (*loc. cit. 34. 1ff*) and he enters the forest where Rāma has his cottage with this typical chariot, which is able to move in the sky and everywhere,¹ a point rather unbelievable, and discarded by *Mb.* One would expect him to take his air-car, *Puṣpaka*, as we have it in the Jain versions. Some such details are enough to show that Vālmīki's Rāma-story was not his own; it was a fluid popular narration, though he is credited with having "composed" the *Rāmāyaṇa*, which means, in metrical form. The *Rāmāyaṇa* that goes on the name of Vālmīki clearly mentions that he later composed it in the 'śloka' metre, the first narrator being Nārada; then he was advised by Brahmā himself to narrate the story of Rāma in his new metre (*Rām. Bāla. Canto I and II*). In the earliest mention it was simply called *Rāmakathā* (*loc. cit. xx.2.36 kuru Rāmakathām puṇyām*). As it is a *kathā*, elaborated later, many mythical elements are added to the original historical facts. As such, sticking to the episode of abduction, the facts seem to be as follows (taking a clue from the *Rām.* of Vālmīki) :

Rāvaṇa was concerned about the destruction of his power in the Janasthāna. He was also worried about the punishment meted out to his sister Śūrpaṅakhā, who, according to a plan, was sent to entice Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, but failed. Rāvaṇa, then, took advice from Akampana who suggested to him to abduct Sītā, so that Rāma would automatically get extinct. So, the main plan was to do away with Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa; and the abduction of Sītā was only secondary to this aim. As such, the proposal of Rāvaṇa to Sītā, that she should be his wife etc., and the advances to her are to be taken as a ploy to insult Rāma, rather than the lust of Rāvaṇa. This is clear from the fact that he never actually molested Sītā even though she was in his full control, once in Laṅkā. This thread of the account is very important, though subtle; and it can be said to be a faint suggestion for Sītā being shown as actually

Rāvaṇa's own daughter, in certain non-Hindu traditions.² As it was impossible for Rāvaṇa to kill, or vanquish Rāma, or Lakṣmaṇa, in a face-to-face fight, he hatched a plan to deceive them. For this Rāvaṇa came in the guise of a recluse, as is mentioned above. The variation from *sikhī* to *muṇḍi* (at *Rām.* and *Mb.* respectively)³ shows probably the influence of Buddhistic customs at the period when the text of *Mb.* was formulated. The guise of the deer on the part of Mārīca and the mention of the all-direction-moving chariot of Rāvaṇa have to be taken only as mythical elements. Now, we come to the actual abduction.

The *Rām.* states that Rāvaṇa had a good talk with Sītā, who was beguiled by his ascetic appearance,⁴ prior to his proposal of taking her as wife. When she refused, and was about to enter the cottage, he is said to have assumed a huge form, after clapping one of his palms with the other (*Aranya*, 49.1 *haste hastam samāhatya cakāra sumahad vapuḥ*). This is as mythical as the all-moving chariot with the ghost-faced donkeys, worked on the basis of the metaphor of a *rakṣasa* on the human Rāvaṇa, with a tinge of magic. The *Rām.* and *Mb.* are one in saying that Sītā was alone in the cottage; also that Rāvaṇa rushed towards Sītā and even followed her into the cottage. He took her by her hair and dragged her out (*Rām.* loc. cit. 16-17; 17d *abhigamya... jagrāha rāvaṇaḥ sītām... murdhajeṣu kareṇa saḥ*; *Mb. Vana*. 278.41 *iti tam samābhāṣya praviveśa āśramam tataḥ*; 42 *tām abhidrutya suśroṇīm rāvaṇaḥ pratyāśedhayat*). An interesting point is to be noted. According to the *Rām.* and *Mb.* which are generally followed by the later tradition Rāma goes after the deer leaving Sītā in the care of Lakṣmaṇa. However, Lakṣmaṇa is not seen in the picture according to a variation of the episode. Thus, Bhāsa keeps Lakṣmaṇa out of the cottage already, as he is said to have gone to receive the *kulapati*. Again, Rāvaṇa does not take the help of Mārīca to beguile Rāma. He comes himself and creates the deer with his magic. Would this indicate a slightly different version of the abduction (and the Rāma-story, for that matter ?), current in folk-tradition at that period, which overlaps that of the *Mb.*, which itself shows slight variations from the *Rām.* in certain details, as we have noted above ? This is the case with the Jain version of Puṣpadanta also. (*Rāmayaṇa* 72.3ff). There, having asked Mārīca to take away Rāma in the form of a deer, Rāvaṇa himself approaches Sītā, the wonderful deer going along with him prancing before him, in the guise of Rāma (cf. Indra approaching Ahalyā in the guise of her husband, Gautama,⁵ or Viṣṇu approaching Tulasī in the form of her husband Śaṅkhacūḍa).⁶ Lakṣmaṇa is not on the scene at all. Rāvaṇa (= Rāma) tells Sītā, "O beloved, look ! I have brought the deer for you (Ib. 5, *āṇiam maye hariṇa-poyayam*). Bad days have gone; see the (*puṣpaka* ?) air-car. (*savimāṇam sibi yāsamam*).” Beguiled completely, Sītā sits in the air-car; and she is taken to Laṅkā, though she was told to be heading for Ayodhyā. One should not ask the question. “How did Sītā not ask Rāma (here Rāvaṇa in essence) as to how the air-car

came into his possession." In reality, the air-car *puṣpaka* was in the possession of Rāvaṇa prior to his defeat by Rāma; and, here, Rāma had gone only to fetch the deer, and not to defeat Rāvaṇa directly. It is difficult to account for the guise of Rāma on the part of Rāvaṇa, and not of a recluse, in this Jain version. Probably, a recluse might have been misinterpreted as a Jain monk himself, in spite of the difference in the colour of the cloak. It is also not improbable, that to show a Hindu recluse in the Jain work would have been objectionable.

The patterns in the account of abduction are as follows :

1. Rāma runs after a unique deer on the desire of Sītā. Lakṣmaṇa is on the scene; but taken away craftily.
2. Lakṣmaṇa is not at all on the scene (Bhāsa; Puṣpadanta).
3. Mārīca is on the scene, and is killed by Rāma.
4. Mārīca is not on the scene (Bhāsa); he is on the scene, but, it is not clear if he is killed; he appears on the scene just to take Rāma away; (and probably vanishes in the forest, having led Rāma into its depth).

On studying the details apparently contradictory to each other, (1 contradicts 2;3 contradicts 4), what remains is as follows :

1. Rāma was beguiled not by any Mārīca who took the guise of a deer, or was a *rākṣasa*. He was softened by love towards Sītā. It was natural for a woman to desire something that charmed her. It was wrong for Rāma to hasten to fulfil his wife's such desire. To wipe this fault in the character of Rāma, the myth of Mārīca was invented. Without this mythical innovation, Rāma would have been squarely held responsible for the whole catastrophe. So, he was shown as being deceived.
2. The mythical innovation regarding Mārīca is helpful also in taking Lakṣmaṇa away (by the cry of help in the voice of Rāma) in the accounts that have Lakṣmaṇa on the scene.
3. However, Mārīca is present except for Bhāsa; and, shorn of the mythical element of his disguise, he appears to have served as a watch-dog for Rāvaṇa, keeping a constant watch on the cottage. It is more probable that Mārīca helped Rāvaṇa in ushering a beautiful deer in the vicinity of the cottage. The clue is in the Jain version, where Rāvaṇa himself brings a deer along with him, only to show to Sītā. Having ushered the deer, and having taken Rāma out of sight, he gave

the call for help to take Lakṣmaṇa also away, imitating the voice of Rāma.

It may be noted, that in all these accounts, where Lakṣmaṇa is shown to be on the scene, he never controls the actions of Sītā in view of his departure to help Rāma. In another popular version, current in Maharashtra, Lakṣmaṇa is said to have drawn a line restricting Sītā to be within it. This detail does not appear till the sixteenth century A. D. Kālidāsa does not mention it. The *Purāṇas* do not mention it. The *Campu Rāmāyaṇa* ascribed to Bhoja (Tenth century A. D.) does not speak of it. Even the *Rāmācāritamānasa* of Tulasī (sixteenth century) does not mention it. Now, as the mythical guise of a deer on the part of Mārīca was to absolve Rāma of the fault of extra attachment to his wife, the "line of Lakṣmaṇa" was innovated to show Sītā (and a woman in general, at that period) to be controlled by man; and even then, she commits a fault. This is to lay the whole burden of the later calamity on her head, completely absolving the two males of the tragedy of abduction.

Notes and References

1. *Rām. Araṇya.* 35.6 *Kāñcanam ratham ādāya kāmagam ratnabhūṣitam piśācavadanairyuktam kharaiḥ kanakabhūṣanaiḥ.*
2. The *Thāi Ramakcīn*; also the *Jain*.
3. *Rām.* loc. cit. 46.2, *abhicakrāma vaidchīm parivrājakarūpadhṛk 46.3 ślaṣṇa-kāśaya-samvitaḥ Śikhī Chatrī upanahī.* He is also said to be *brāhmaṇa, atithi, dvijāti*, Ib. 32; 34; 47, which may not all go together in a person.
4. Cf. Ch. 47 where she tells all details about herself and of Rāma, including how the latter had to come to the forest due to Kaikeyī.
5. This account occurs as early as the Vedic period - *Śat. Br.* III. 3.4. 18-19. *Jaiminīya Br.* II.79 and is popular later.
6. *Brahmavaivarta* p. II. 21. 1-24. In another place (*Skanda Purāṇa* II.4.21.8-24) Vṛndā is said to be the wife of the demon Jalandhara, and Viṣṇu seduces her in the demon's disguise. These episodes cannot be taken as real. A mythical principle is involved here. It is that, to defeat a valiant person, his wife's chastity should be spoilt. For discussion on this point see Dange, Sadashiv A., *Purāṅkathāṁcā Artha - Vāda āṇi Vivecana* (Marathi), Continental Prakāśana, Pune, 1993, "Reṇukā."

FACETS OF SĪTĀ-STORY

SINDHU S. DANGE

Sītā is as indispensable a character in the *Rāmāyaṇa* as Rāma, the hero of the *kāvya*. Here it is proposed to deal with some facets of the character of Sītā as well as of her story, as seen in the *Rāmāyaṇa* as also in some other works and traditions.

To begin with, the sudden gain of Sītā by Janaka sounds interesting as he is said to get her when he was ploughing the land.¹ The *Padma P.* says that Sītā was born from the furrows, when king Janaka from *Mithilā* ploughed the field. Janaka is named Sīradhvaja and Sīraketu.² Though not mentioned, it is to be understood that the ploughing undertaken by Janaka was for the sake of preparing an altar for the sacrifice. Thus, after the opening sacrifice (*prāyaṇīya-iṣṭi*), the sacrificer is required to undertake ploughing and also planting the seeds. This is to restore Prajāpati, who having created creatures became disjointed. Restoring Prajāpati, who is said to be the sacrifice and thus Agni, is symbolically identified with the building up of the fire-altar.³ Thus the sacrificer yoking a plough and planting the seeds is said to heal and supply Agni-Prajāpati with food, as was done by the gods in ancient times.⁴ The *Śat.Br.3* (VII. 2.2.2) here says that the plough *sīra* is the same as *scra* (*sa+irā* i. e. with food.)

The sudden gain of Sītā by Janaka is thus from the sacrificial context. In the *Thai Rāmāyaṇa* named *Ramakcin*, Sītā is said to be the daughter of Rāvaṇa, abandoned by him through Bibhīṣaṇa in a jar, on hearing from the foretellers future destruction of himself and of Laṅkā at the hands of Sītā. Later on the jar is said to have been found by Janaka, which he keeps underneath the earth for sixteen years, as he is practising penance and thereafter finds the same by digging the earth with a plough.⁵ The *Skanda P.* (II.1.3.22) mentions that king Ākāśa, the son of Mitravarman, while tilling the sacrificial ground with a golden plough finds a girl, whom he names Padmini and later marries her to Śrīnivāsa. The custom of sowing the seeds though not of ploughing is marked in the famous car-festival of Lord Jagannātha. A forest-sacrifice (*Vanayāga*) is performed before the construction of the chariots of the gods. Before three or five days of the forest-sacrifice, there is ritual of sowing the seeds (*Aṅkurāropaṇa*) of five types viz. *yava* (barley), *sālī* (paddy), *mudga* (green beans), *māṣa* (black beans) and *tila* (sesamum), in the containers like *śarāva* and *pālikā*, towards the north-east direction of

the *yajñasālā* (sacrificial pavilion). When the seeds germinate, they are offered to the deities before the *homa* begins.⁶

In this context it is worthwhile to note the birth of Dhṛṣṭadyumna and Draupadī from the sacrificial fire, when *Yāja* and *Upayāja*, the sages were performing a sacrifice on behalf of king Drupada,⁷ who was desirous of getting a son.

About the birth of Sītā, the *Brahmavaivarta P. (prakṛti-khaṇḍa 14.10ff)* states that Vedavātī, the daughter of Kuśadhvaja and Mālāvātī performed severe penance on the mountain *Gandhamādana*. Rāvaṇa being enamoured of her, approached her and touched her. She instantaneously left her body through control of breath and was born as Sītā in the next birth.

An interesting detail about Sītā found in some traditions is that she is regarded as the daughter of Rāvaṇa. This is marked in the tradition of the Jaina *Rāmāyaṇa*.⁸ Such a detail from the *Rāmakaṇḍa*, the *Thai Rāmāyaṇa* is already noted above.⁹ A folk-tale prevalent in India, in the Uttar Pradesh is worth noting in this context. According to it, Rāvaṇa kills many sages and fills a jar with their blood. Once Mandodarī and Śūrpaṅkhā make a fun of him, saying that he never laughs. Rāvaṇa in order to outwit them, laughs so much that the jar full of blood breaks, to give birth to Sītā from it. Thus Sītā is regarded as the daughter of Rāvaṇa according to this folk-tale.

The pattern for the tale of Rāvaṇa running after Sītā, who is regarded as his daughter by these traditions, mentioned above, might have been provided by the brahmanical myth of Prajāpati running after his own daughter.¹⁰ This myth though not fully developed can be traced back to the *Ṛgveda*.¹¹ The *Purāṇas* later on echoed it, replacing Prajāpati by the god Brahmā and his daughter many a time by Umā¹² and sometimes by Sandhyā, Vāk or some other beautiful girl. Anyway the myth of father, being passionate running after his own daughter was well-set in the tradition. And it is very likely that the Jaina tradition took a clue from it and remoulded the relationship between Rāvaṇa and Sītā accordingly. Now the position is this — in the earlier well-set myth, the father knowing fully that she is his daughter runs after her, while in such *Rāmāyaṇa* accounts, Sītā of whom Rāvaṇa appears to be enamoured, is later presented as his daughter. From another angle Prajāpati, the father runs after his daughter, while here Rāvaṇa is shown as the pseudo-father, running after Sītā, his daughter. This shows how an actual event gets variegated when it starts on the path of a myth.

As noted earlier, the gain of Sītā by Janaka is from the sacrificial context. The same context is seen further in her performing the fire-ordeal in Laṅkā, when she is brought before Rāma after the great battle. Not having any desire to live, being discarded by Rāma, Sītā enters fire, only to be given back to Rāma by the same fire-god.¹³ Strikingly the similes used here are

also from the sacrificial context.¹⁴ The same context is referred to when Sītā enters the earth, never to come back. At that time, Rāma addressing the earth says that the latter is his mother-in-law, since from her only Janaka with the plough in his hand had taken out Sītā in the past.

The influence of the sacrificial religion on the *Rāmāyaṇa* can be marked on other accounts also. Viśvāmitra's request to Daśaratha to send Rāma for the protection of his sacrifice from the demons Mārīca and Subāhu,¹⁵ Rāma's killing Tātakā¹⁶ Rāma's promise to the sages in the *Daṇḍaka* forest that he would kill the *rākṣasas*,¹⁷ who were the enemies of the ascetics and his killing Khara, Dūšana etc. can be considered in this respect. These details show the chronological nearness of the *Rāmāyaṇa* to the Vedic sacrificial tradition.

To turn to the point of fire-ordeal of Sītā again — it is to be marked that the *Mbh.* as well as the *purāṇas* record the cases of abduction, but they do not say anything about the ordeal undergone by the abducted women. The *Mbh.* describes Jayadratha's passion for Draupadī, her abduction by him and her subsequent release from him by the Pāṇḍavas defeating Jayadratha.¹⁸ Here there is not even an iota of doubt in the mind of Yudhiṣṭhira regarding the chastity of Draupadī, even after hearing from Mārkaṇḍeya the story of Rāma, who suffered a similar lot in the case of his wife.¹⁹ The *Bhāg. P.* gives an account of the abduction of Tārā, Bṛhaspati's wife by the Moon-god, the great battle between the gods and the *asuras* and the subsequent return of Tārā, by the Moon-god, when compelled by Brahmā.²⁰ Here there is no reference to any ordeal undergone by Tārā. On this background, the fire-ordeal of Sītā is certainly a mythical account. Again the fire-ordeal laid down by the ancient Indian law is of a different nature *viz.* carrying a red-hot iron-ball in hands, walking slowly through eight circles and throwing that ball on to the ninth circle.²¹ The account of Sītā literally dropping herself into the fire and again coming back from it, appeared to be so unbelievable, at the same time necessary also, to the composer of the *Brahmavai. P.* that he was compelled to give a further mythical account, which served as an embroidery to the original myth of the fire-ordeal.

Thus the *Brahmavai. P.* states that²² when Sītā was accompanying Rāma to the forest, the fire-god approached Rāma in the form of a brahmin and gave him a magic-replica of Sītā. He asked Rāma to carry that *māyā-sītā* (magic Sītā) along with him, leaving the real Sītā with the fire-god. Sītā abducted by Rāvaṇa was this *māyā-Sītā* and the real Sītā was returned by the fire-god, when Sītā (the *māyā-Sītā*) performed the fire-ordeal. This *māyā-Sītā* called *chāyā* settled in heaven and after propitiating Śiva with her penance, was born as Draupadī in the next birth, to get five husbands (i.e. Pāṇḍavas), since by mistake, with her eager desire for husband, she uttered the word for 'husband' five times. This episode of *māyā-Sītā* later on named as *chāyā-Sītā*

is clearly based on the myth of Sañjñā and the Sun-god. The real wife of the Sun-god leaves him and in her place she keeps her shadow (*chāyā*), which the Sun-god comes to know later and ultimately he becomes successful in reaching Sañjñā.²³

Thus the composer of the *Brahmavai. P.* could not get away from the myth of fire-ordeal, as it was deeply rooted in the tradition, but then it tried in its own way to simplify it, taking recourse to the myth of Sañjñā and the Sun-god.

About the separation of Sītā from Rāma due to her abandonment by him in her pregnancy, the *Padma P.* introduces a curse,²⁴ and an episode of parrots. Thus once in her childhood Sītā hears a pair of parrots talking between themselves, that she would be the wife of Rāma in the future. The birds when caught by Sītā tell her that they have heard the *Rāmāyaṇa* in the hermitage of Vālmiki. Sītā asks the birds to stay in the palace. But the male bird pleads that the female was about to lay eggs which she would do only in the forest. But to this Sītā does not agree and keeps the female in the cage, leaving the male fly back to the forest. The female then curses Sītā that she would likewise be separated from her husband in her pregnancy. The female parrot dies in the cage and so dies the male, when he learns about it. The curse comes true in the life of Sītā.

Such curses, as also sometimes boons, are a strategy adopted by the composers of the epics and the *purāṇa-s* to explain many a fact in the actual life of the important personalities.²⁵ The curse pronounced upon Sītā by the female parrot, as mentioned in the *Padma P.* can be explained on the above lines.

A commonly conceived notion about Sītā's nature, in comparison with that of Draupadī, is that she was a weakling, born to suffer, never raising her voice against the wrongs done to her. But the text of the *Rāmāyaṇa* does not support such a notion. Thus, when Rāma shows his unwillingness to take her to the forest and paints the dark side of the forest-life, obviously having anxiety for her, her reproach to him is very harsh, caustic and in a way unique. Thus she says to Rāma as to what her father would think having got such a son-in-law, who is a woman (because of his cowardice), having only the form of a man.²⁶ She further says that like an actor, he is giving to others his wife, who is tender-aged and a chaste one.²⁷ When Lakṣmaṇa, knowing the *māyā* (magic power) of the demon Mārīca, who imitates the voice of Rāma, denies to go where Rāma is, Sītā suspecting his intentions, utters such harsh words that he has to leave her alone to her fate and has to rush to Rāma.²⁸ Her angry words to Rāvaṇa, even when she is helpless in the Aśoka-garden²⁹ and her words to the *rākṣasīs* when Rāvaṇa leaves her giving his proposal,³⁰ point out that she has not lost her

morale, in spite of her being alone. After the great battle in which Rāvaṇa is killed, she is brought in front of Rāma by Bibhīṣaṇa on his own order. Rāma asks her to go anywhere, for he will not accept her as she stayed in Rāvaṇa's residence. On this occasion, her words are worth noting and prove that she has utmost self-respect.³¹ She says that if she was touched by Rāvaṇa, it was not at her sweet will but fate is to be blamed for that. Her mind, which is in her power belongs to Rāma alone. She further says that by not accepting her, Rāma has forgotten everything about her viz. her noble birth, conduct, his love for her, her devotion for him and her character and out of anger, like a mean person has hit her at her feminity (*strītvam*), where she does not have any control.³² And then comes her fire-ordeal, which proves her chastity, on the authority of the very fire-god. The same boldness she shows while taking an oath of her chastity, prior to entering the earth, never to come back again.³³ From several centuries, Sītā has remained an ideal of a chaste wife, because of her self-confidence and self-respect. She is never shown as a weakling. The mythical accounts of the two ordeals obviously only heighten her stature but do not mar her character. Even the twentieth century woman of the era of "Womens' Lib." can accept Sītā for her self-confidence.

These are some striking facets of the story of Sītā, one of the principal characters of the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

Notes and References

1. *Rām. Uttara*. 98.7 Rāma's words to the Earth-goddess, when Sītā goes underneath the earth.
कामं श्वश्रूर्मैव त्वं त्वत्सकाशाद्धि मैथिली ।
कर्पता हलहस्तेन जनकेनोद्धृता पुरा ॥
2. *Padma P., Pātālakhaṇḍa* 57.4,5.
Ibid. 4. - तस्य संकर्षतो भूमिं सीतया दीर्घमुख्यया ।
सीरध्वजस्य निरगात् कुमारी ह्यतिसुन्दरी ॥
3. *The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, pt. III tr. by Eggeling J. *SBE*, Vol. 41, Delhi, 1989 (1894), p. 150, note 3.
4. *Śat. Br.* VII. 2.2.2.
5. Satyavrata Shastri, *Śrīrāmākīrtimahākāvyaṃ*, based on the *Thai Rāmāyaṇa Rāmakaṇ*, New Delhi, 1990, p. 21 (IV. 49.52).
6. Dhal U. N., "Ratha-Yātrā - A sacrificial Festival of Lord Jagannātha," *Sacrifice in India, Concept and Evolution*, Aligarh, 1987, p. 182.

Also Summary given by the editor p. ii.

7. *Mbh. Ādi.* 166. 39-44.
Ibid. 44a कुमारी चापि पाञ्चाली वेदीमध्यात् समुत्थिता ।
8. *Rāmāyana* of Puṣpadanta ed. by Vaidya P. L., LXX. 8. Mārīca asked Mandodarī to abandon Sītā as she was destined to bring calamity on the family. He also said that if Daśagrīva was alive, she would get another daughter. Also summary given by the editor, p. ii.
9. Satyavrata Shastri, op. cit., IV. 21-52 for the whole account.
10. *Mait. Sam.* IV.2.12; *Śat. Br.* I.7.4.1-10; 13-17; *Ait. Br.* III.33 or 13.9; *Jaim.Br.* III. 261, 262; *Taṇḍya M. Br.* VIII. 2.10.
11. *RV* I.71.5,8; I.164.33, 35; III.31.1,2; X.61.1,2,5-9.
12. For Umā as the daughter Śīva P. *Rudreśvara Saṁhitā, Pārvatikhaṇḍa*, 49.5-40; *Vāmana P.* 28.56-59; for Sandhyā as the daughter *Skanda P.* II. 2.26; for Vāk as the daughter *Skanda P.* III. 1.40.6ff; for a beautiful girl *Skanda P.* I.3.5.49-62; *Vāmana P.* Saromāhātmya 28.3ff. Also see Smt. Dange S. S., "Prāśītra in Myth and Ritual.", Dr. P. N. Kawathekar Fel. Vol., Lucknow (in press).
13. For the full account *Rām. Yuddha.* chaps. 118-121.
14. *Ibid. Yuddha.* 119.32,33 -
सीतां कृत्स्नास्त्रयो लोकाः पुण्यामाज्याहुतीमिव ।
प्रचुकुशुः स्त्रियः सर्वास्तां दृष्ट्वा हव्यवाहने ॥
पतन्तीं संस्कृतां मन्त्रैर्वसोर्धाराभिवाध्वरे ।
ददृशुस्तां त्रयो लोका देवगन्धर्वदानवाः ॥
15. *Ibid. Bāla.* 19.9-12.
16. *Ibid. Bāla.* chaps. 24-26.
17. *Ibid. Aranya.* 6.24, 25.
18. *Mbh. Vana.* chaps. 264-272.
19. *Ibid. Vana.* chaps. 274-292, where Rāma-account is given.
20. *Bhag. P.* IX. 14.3-14.
21. For full details — Kane P. V., *Hist. of Dh.Ś.*, Vol. III, 2nd ed., Poona, 1973, pp. 370-371.
22. *Brahmavai. P., Prakṛtikhaṇḍa* 14.34-60. Cf. *Rām. Uttar.*, Chap. 17, Vedavatī enters fire and is reborn as Sītā.
23. The earliest reference to the myth occurs at *RV* X. 17.1-2, where she is named Saranyū and not Sañjñā. For further details, see Dange S.

A., *Encyclopaedia of Puranic Beliefs and Practices*, Vol. IV., New Delhi, 1989, pp. 1255-56.

24. *Padma P., Pātālakhaṇḍa* 57.7-59.
25. For a fuller treatment of Curse in the *Purāṇas* see Smt. Dange S. S., "Curse - An Effective Strategy", *The Bhāgavata Purāṇa - Mytho-social Study*, Delhi, 1984, pp. 59-88.
26. *Rām. Ayodhyā.* 30.3.
किं त्वामन्यत वैदेहः पिता मे मिथिलाधिपः ।
रामं जामातरं प्राप्य स्त्रियं पुरुषविग्रहम् ॥
27. *Ibid.* 8.
स्वयं तु भार्या कौमारीं विरमध्युपितां सतीम् ।
शैलूष इव मां राम परेभ्यो दातुमर्हसि ॥
28. *Ibid. Aranya.* 45.21-26.
29. *Ibid. Sundara.* 21.12-34.
30. *Ibid. Sundara.* 26.3-51.
31. *Ibid. Yuddha.* 119.5-19.
32. *Ibid.* 14 त्वया तु नरशार्दूल क्रोधमेवानुवर्तता ।
लघुनेव मनुष्येण स्त्रीत्वमेव पुरस्कृतम् ॥
33. *Ibid. Uttara.* 97. 15-17.

RELATION BETWEEN THE ṚBHUS AND THE ṚTUS IN THE ṚGVEDA

G. V. DAVANE

Introduction : The Ṛbhū are minor divinities, who have been invoked in 11 hymns (viz. I-20, 110, 111, 161; IV-33 to IV-37; VII-48) in the *Ṛgveda*. They are three brothers, Ṛbhū or Ṛbhukṣan, Vibhvan and Vāja. Their father is Sudhanvan of Aṅgiras family. They are as bright as the sun *sūracakṣasaḥ*. They are strong and sturdy having chins as strong as iron *ayaḥśiprāḥ*, children of strength *śavaso napātaḥ*, heroes *narāḥ*. They possess physical and mystical power *śacī* and can wield their miraculous powers *māyāḥ*. They are intelligent *vipaścitaḥ* and wise *dhīrasaḥ*. By nature they are cheerful *raṇāḥ* and straightforward *ṛjūyavaḥ*. They are of truthful chants *satyamantrāḥ*, gracious *sucetasāḥ* and bountiful *maghavānaḥ*. They are very generous and they bestow choice-treasures upon the worshippers *vājaratnāḥ*. They are skilled artisans *svapasaḥ*, with deft hands *subhastāḥ*. While working they use inventive power *dhī*, *dhīti* and work with mental concentration *manasaḥ paridhyā* and with special knowledge *vidman*. They are intimately connected with sacrifice. They are conductors of sacrifice *vahnayaḥ* and officiating priests *vāghataḥ*.

The feature that is very important about them is that they are mortal *martāsaḥ*. These mortals could become immortal because they performed the following 5 miracles :-

1) From the hide of a dead cow they have brought out a living cow and have thus reunited the bereaved calf with its mother. 2) Their aged parents had become crippled and were lying low like pillars. The Ṛbhū attended upon them wholeheartedly and rejuvenated them. 3) For the Aśvins they fabricated a comfortable non-jolting chariot, which does not deviate from its track. Without horses, without reins and with three wheels only it goes around the whole firmament. 4) For Indra they fashioned two bay-coloured horses, easy to yoke, which yoked themselves just on his word. 5) Tvaṣṭṛ had created one bowl *camasa* for the gods to drink their *Soma*-offering. These Ṛbhū made it fourfold. The gods were highly pleased with their feats, especially with the last one. Now the Ṛbhū were given a share in the *Soma*-offering during the Third libation *sāyam savana*. Being immortal now they became the friends of gods and particularly of Indra. Now they stayed high up in the heaven.

There is yet one more curious thing about these Ṛbhū. They reposed

and slept at the house of *Agohya* for 12 days. During this period they made the fields fertile, plants stood on desert-lands and water flowed in low-places.

With this much information about the Ṛbhus, the scholars have tried to solve the problem. Who were the Ṛbhus originally ? Diverse theories have been put forth by various scholars in this regard. Following is the discussion about one such theory viz. The Ṛbhu - *Ṛtu* theory.

The words Ṛbhu and *ṛtu* are phonetically very close. Probably that is why one is reminded of the *ṛtus* while speaking about the *Ṛbhus*. The *Ṛbhus* have been identified with the seasons or the deities of the seasons long since. It was Alfred Ludwig, who put forth this theory for the first time. He says¹, "In the oldest time the seasons are three. They were personified in the Ṛbhus." Again he repeats², "Tvaṣṭṛ had prepared one bowl. This is the whole year. The three beakers are the three divisions of the year in three seasons. They measure it like a field with the measuring rod, the wide-opening bowl and divide it. (RV I 110,5). They serve the year naturally always anew and through it become sharers in the sacrifice." Scholars like Prof. Kaegi, Prof. Zimmer accepted this identification. Mr. B. G. Tilak accepts it and explains it in further details. Accepting Sāyaṇa's opinion that the Ṛbhus are also praised as the rays of the sun he remarks,³ "We must, therefore, go a step further and hold that the Ṛbhus did not merely represent the rays of the sun generally, but the three seasons as connected with them as several European Scholars have suggested." After that Alfred Hillebrandt⁴ explained this theory in all details, taking the help of the *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Śrautasūtras*. He connects RV IV 33, 9 cd - *Vājo devānamabhavātsukārmā Ṇdrasya Ṛbhukṣā Vāruṇasya Vibhvā* with the *cāturmāsya* ritual in Ś.Br. II 6,4,1 and relates *Vāja* to *Sākamedha*, *Ṛbhukṣan* to *Vaiśvadeva* and *Vibhvan* to *Varuṇapraghāsa*. Ludwig and Tilak had already compared the 12 days slumber of the Ṛbhus with the twelve days of winter-solstice. Hillebrandt confirms it. He points out that the Ṛbhu-hymns in the RV have been used on different days of the *Dvādaśāha* sacrifice, especially in the Third *Savana* and that the Ṛbhus receive their share during this *Savana*. According to him *Dvādaśāha* must have been originally connected with the winter-solstice, though at present it does not have any noticeable connection with it, excepting its significant name. In the Ṛbhu-hymns Indra has been referred to as a friend of the Ṛbhus, *Ṛbhukṣan* has been assigned to Indra and Indra himself has been called *Ṛbhukṣan*, the lord of the Ṛbhus. According to Hillebrandt this is so, because Indra, the Sun-god is naturally the master of the seasons.

As a further proof for the Ṛbhu-*Ṛtu* identity he points out that during the *Agniṣṭoma* the Ṛbhu-s are offered *Soma* at the Evening-pressing. Here the *Udgātṛ* recites the *Ārbhava Pavamāna* and the *Hotṛ* uses the *Vaiśvadeva Śāstra*, which contains the Ṛbhu-hymn I 111 - In this *Śāstra* at first homage is made to the *Pitṛs*, then a *graha* is offered to *Savitṛ*, then there is salutation to *Savitṛ* and then comes the Ṛbhu hymn. Correspondingly in the *Gṛhyasūtras*

the year ends with *Aṣṭakās*. Generally the deities of the *Aṣṭakās* are *Pitṛs*, *Viśvedevas* and alternatively the *Ṛtus*. Thus according to him there is a parallelism between *Dvādaśāḥ* - *Ṛbhus* and *Ekāṣṭakā* - *Ṛtus*. In the *Dvādaśāḥ* the *Ṛtu-grahas* are drawn on the sixth day and this is regarded as beneficial to the vegetation and this takes place in the morning. In the afternoon the *Ṛtus* are remembered only indirectly, while in the evening there is no reference to the *Ṛtus*, Hillebrandt feels that this is so because the *Ṛbhus* are present there. Thus according to him in these rituals the *Ṛbhus* and the *Ṛtus* are alternating and the two names replace one another to a certain extent.

In the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* IV, 25, Prajāpati requests the seasons and the months to offer a sacrifice to him and given them *ūrjā* vigour for it. This reminds Hillebrandt of the *Ṛbhus* bringing fertility while staying at Agohya's. He, therefore, says⁵, "This also leads us to the assumption that *Ṛbhu* was an old name for the seasons and that as an appellative it has been replaced by *ṛtu* as early as in the *Brāhmaṇa* period."

After Hillebrandt many scholars have repeated this theory. Recently Prof. Jean Haudry of the University of Lyon (France) has advocated this theory very vehemently in his scholarly article⁶ written in French "Les *Ṛbhus* et les *Alfes*" (The *Ṛbhus* and the *Elves*). He maintains that the *Ṛbhus* are the deities of seasons, whose main function is to lead the year at the critical period when it is decaying in winter and to reach it safely to the beautiful season of Spring of the next year. He explains the five miracles of the *Ṛbhus* and their long slumber of twelve days in the light of this theory.

1) He begins with the quadruplication of the cup of *Tvaṣṭṛ*. According to him making the cup fourfold means reproduction of one cup in three examples, perfectly identical, so that these are indistinguishable from the original. The three, along with the original, make the number four. One cup was the indifferentiated year, a sort of chaotic condition. The *Ṛbhus* as three seasons make it into four by means of the creation of the annual cycle of three seasons. Prof. Haudry draws attention to two similar cases pointed out by Prof. Dumezil in his *Tarpacia*. In the Roman Mythology, Mamurius Veturius reproduces the shield of Mars in 11 examples exactly identical. These represent the year with the twelve months. Similarly in the German mythology the ring of *Draupnir* reproduces its own example every ninth night. This is symbolic of the reproduction of 3 seasons of three months each. Haudry says that in all such cases a miraculous power is at work. It is the capacity of exactly identical reproduction, imitation, which is simultaneously a creation and an illusion, *Māyā*. These are the *Māyās* of the *Ṛbhus* referred to in RV III 60,1.

2) About the rejuvenation of the parents, Haudry has absolutely no difficulty in explaining the parents as the Heaven and the Earth, as several scholars before him had already explained. These parents are decaying towards the end of the winter and are refreshed again at the advent of the Spring.

3) In the miracle of the cow, the hide of the dead cow is the old year and the living cow coming out of it is the new year. The calf is the year. It loses its mother at the end of the winter and regains her.... when the Spring begins. In RV I 161, 10 one Ṛbhū leads a paralytic cow to water. According to Haudry in order to gain the new year the Ṛbhū sacrifice the old year, having attended upon it during its full course. Elsewhere the cow is called *Viśvarūpa* and stands for the abundance brought out by the good season.

4) While explaining the miracle of the horses of Indra, Haudry bases his views on the explanation of the Indra-Vṛtra myth as given by Prof. Lüders and Prof. Hillebrandt. According to these scholars this is a cosmogonic myth, which represents the end of the winter brought about by the sun of the summer. Every year Vṛtra, the winter, is murdered by Indra, the sun of summer. According to Haudry the Ṛbhū have no connection with the heroic feats of Indra, because they do not possess martial characteristics. As deities of seasons the Ṛbhū fashion symbolic horses for Indra and these horses bring him every year face to face with Vṛtra, the cosmic winter. The fashioning of the horses is not real but is to be taken just symbolically.

5) While explaining the miracle of the chariot of the Aśvins, Haudry says that the Aśvins were originally the deities of Light. Later only they have become deities of Health, Physicians. Their sister-spouse Sūryā (the day-time sky) is carried away by the demon of Darkness and they rescue her. In the annual cycle they rescue the normal sky from the demon of winter. The Chariot of Aśvins serves the same purpose. The chariot fabricated by the Ṛbhū is just symbolic and not real.

Haudry has given a very critical and profoundly scholarly explanation of the twelve days' slumber of the Ṛbhū. According to him these 12 days are the 12 days of the winter-solstice. Before him eminent scholars like Ludwig⁷ Weber, Zimmer, B. G. Tilak⁸, Hillebrandt⁹ had already explained the slumber of the Ṛbhū as the standstill of the year during the 12 days of the winter-solstice. The twelve days approximately represent the difference between the 12 lunar months and one solar year. Haudry points out that in the Iliad, Zeus along with other gods goes for the feast of the Ethiopians (those with the faces of light) for 12 days. This period is said to be the night for humanity. He also finds parallel between this sleep of the Ṛbhū and 'the sleep of the year' in the Greek mythology. There EVI cc UTOS is called the nocturnal period and this is originally a word for the winter-solstice. During their sleep the Ṛbhū have made the fields fertile. They have made the plants grow on desert lands and have led water to low-places. According to the Greek mythology also this period is the Time, outside the time, when everything else excepting the Time is asleep. While sleeping the Ṛbhū, the seasons, preside over the passage of the new year, thus assuring the return of the

good seasons. Thus they are responsible for the good running of the annual cycle, at the critical period when the preceding year passes to the next. These events of the annual cycle have been later transferred to the cosmic cycle and the Ṛbhus have been taken as responsible also for the good running of the cosmic cycle, when the preceding cosmos passes to the next.

According to Haudry the statement that the Ṛbhus attained immortality means that the seasons obtained the year. He points to a reference¹⁰ in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* where immortality has been equated with the year. He refutes the view that the Ṛbhus were skilled artisans or smiths. *Rta* with which the Ṛbhus are associated in the hymns is connected with the word *ṛtu* by Haudry. He thinks that the word *ṛtu* originally denoted 'concordance' and then only it came to denote a season. It is the concordance which symbolises the cup of Tvaṣṭṛ and its reproductions.

The whole discussion is, indeed, very scholarly. Yet I find it difficult to accept that the seasons form the original natural basis of the Ṛbhus in the *Ṛgveda* proper.

1) In the *Ṛgveda* proper there is no trace of this identity. In the course of all places where the Ṛbhus are mentioned, nowhere do we come across any reference to the *ṛtus*. In the 11 Ṛbhu-hymns neither the Ṛbhus nor their miracles have any connection with the *ṛtus*. The *ṛtus* have been referred to only once in the course of these hymns viz. IV 34, 2 - *Utá ṛtubhiḥ Ṛbhavo mādayadhvam*. Here the *Ṛbhus* have been invoked to find intoxication (in *Soma*) along with the *ṛtus*. In fact since here the Ṛbhus and the *ṛtus* have been mentioned quite distinctly, side by side, is this not a clear proof of the fact that the two are not identical? The adjective *ṛtupāḥ* occurs only once in IV 34, 7. There it means, 'those who drink at the appointed hour.' Now *ṛtu* as a common noun occurs in the RV so often in various grammatical forms as *ṛtavaḥ*, *ṛtūn* etc. Among these numerous places not even once is there any reference to the Ṛbhus or to any one of their miracles.

2) Most of the old traditions of the RV are known to Sāyaṇācārya and he always voices them through his commentary. It is worth noting that throughout his commentary he has nowhere referred to the Ṛbhu-*Ṛtu* identity. At I 161, 11 he remarks, "Here the Ṛbhus have been praised under their form as the rays of the sun" and quotes Yāska - "*Ādityaraśmayo'pi Ṛbhava ucyanṭe*." Thus he accepts the rays of the sun as the natural phenomenon underlying the Ṛbhus; but he never refers to their connection with the seasons. It is a proof of the fact that in the *Ṛgvedic* tradition the Ṛbhus were not identified with the seasons till the period of Sāyaṇācārya.

3) While explaining the sleep of the Ṛbhus as the winter-solstice Ludwig interprets *ābhogaya* in I-110, 2 as 'the inclination of the ecliptic with the vernal equinox'. I think it just means 'that which was coveted by the Ṛbhus'

i.e. 'a share in the *Soma*-offering.'

Ēkam camasām catúrah kṛmotana (I-161, 2) clearly refers to the four divisions of the cup and hence this cannot denote the three seasons as Ludwig holds.

4) Hillebrandt is supposed to be a staunch advocate of the Ṛbhu-*Ṛtu* identity and is often quoted as such by the later supporters of this theory. But if one carefully reads the sections on the Ṛbhus in his Vedic Mythology, it is clear that he is very much hesitant in accepting this identity in the Ṛgveda proper. In the section 'The *Ṛtus* in the Ritual' Hillebrandt says¹¹ about the *ṛtus*, "----- they are never actually treated as independent deities ----- That is to say, the *Ṛtus* play a minor role in the *Ṛgveda* in comparison to the Ṛbhus and their celebrated efficacy. Their name has not developed beyond its appellative sense. There is no mention either of the divineness attained by them or of their special deeds. ----- On the other hand, no special significance has been attached to the efficacy of the cult of the Ṛbhus outside the *Ṛgveda* and its schools." A little further he points out the close connection between the art of chariot-making and the Ṛbhu-s in the *Śrauta-sūtra* prescription that a *Rathakṛt* should install his fire with the laws of the Ṛbhus (Ā.P.Ś.S. V 11, 7; K.Ś.S IV 9, 5). He closes¹² the section on the Ṛbhus with the words, "I think in the Ṛbhus we have the gods of a tribe in which the art of chariot-making was specially cultivated. It cannot, however, be ascertained whether they were originally regarded in the tribe as the genii of the seasons or they attained this position only after they had been admitted into the Vedic cult; but this is not of importance. Perhaps Ṛbhus was the name of the gods of the tribe and Sudhanvan the name of its mythical progenitor; we cannot decide more exactly---- The importance of chariot-making and the skill needed for it might have been the basic reason for accepting the tribe and for including their gods in the Vedic cult." Thus it appears that Hillebrandt is convinced about the Ṛbhu-*Ṛtu* identity in the post-Ṛgvedic period, in the period of the *Brāhmaṇas* and *Śrautasūtras*; but he is very much hesitant in accepting this identity in the *Ṛgveda* proper. He admits that it cannot be ascertained whether the Ṛbhus were originally the genii of the seasons.

Also one cannot accept Hillebrandt's opinion that the Ṛbhus and the *Ṛtus* are alternating in the *Śrauta*-rites and that the *Ṛtus* are the substitute for the Ṛbhus there. For instance, in the *Darśapūrṇamāsa* sacrifice the Ṛbhus-hymns have been used only very sporadically. While the *Ṛtus* are offered their *grahas* ceremoniously. Each *graha* has its own deity and its own officiating priest. Even the seasonal-bricks, *Ṛtavṛyās* have been treated at length during the *Agnicayana*. The *Ṛtus* are not absent even in the rituals where *Ārbhava Pavamāna* is recited. The parallelism which Hillebrandt establishes between *Dvādaśāh*-Ṛbhu and *Ekāṣṭakā*-*Ṛtu* is very much far-fetched.

4) No doubt Prof. Jean Haudry's dissertation on the Ṛbhus is profoundly scholarly. However, it is difficult to accept his theory that the Ṛbhus are originally the genii of the seasons. The five miracles of the Ṛbhus cannot be explained reasonably on the basis of this theory. Rightly has Dr. J. R. Joshi said,¹³ "Further, the miraculous deeds of the Ṛbhus are not explained satisfactorily on the basis of the naturalistic interpretation of the Ṛbhu-mythology."

Let us take a survey of the 5 miracles, one by one, from this angle.

i) Quadruplication of one cup of Tvaṣṭṛ cannot be the reproduction of one cup into three identical cups, denoting the division of one indifferenced year into the cycle of three seasons. In that case it ought to have been described as the division of one cup into three only. How can the three seasons make the number four along with the original year ? When the year is divided into the three seasons, the chaotic condition of the indifferenced year comes to an end. The two cannot co-exist. On the other hand, the Ṛbhu-hymns refer to the co-existent four cups so often e.g. *Utá tyáñ camasám návamakartaścatúraḥ púnaḥ* (I 20, 6); *Tyám cit camasám... ékam sántamakṛṇta cáturvayam* (I 110, 3 cd) etc. The fact that the four divisions are coexisting is obvious from IV 33,6 - *vibhrájamānamicamasán áhevávenat Tvāṣṭā catúro dadṛśván* "when Tvaṣṭṛ saw the four cups, shining like a day, he longed for them." Moreover, the description 'shining like a day' can be applicable to the summer and to a certain degree to the winter, but definitely not to the rainy season.

Again when Tvaṣṭṛ sees the one cup divided he is so annoyed that he thinks¹⁴ of killing the Ṛbhus. Now an indifferenced year being divided into three seasons is not such a grave fault that should upset Tvaṣṭṛ so much. Moreover, the gods are highly interested in one cup being divided into four. At I 161, 2 Agni says, "Make one cup into four. This is what the gods have told you. O Ṛbhus, if you do this you will be worthy of sacrifice along with the gods." Why should the gods be interested in the division of one year into three seasons so much that they have put such a good incentive for that work ? In the period of the *Rgveda* the gods never received any seasonal sacrifice. It was a later development.

In fact the preparation of the four cups has been described in the Ṛbhu-hymns in such realistic terms that it cannot be just symbolic as Haudry understands it. The Ṛbhus are taking measurements of that cup with wide opening, in the manner of a real surveyor. While they are doing it the people have collected around and are admiring this feat (RV I 110, 5). While preparing these bowls there is a difference of opinion among the three brothers as to in how many divisions it should be divided, in two or three or four. (IV 33, 5). This work requires quite some time. While working the Ṛbhus

are discussing as to which one out of the waters, the fire and the earth is the most important. (I 161, 9). The work requires a lot of wisdom, an original inspiration, *Kāvya* (IV 35, 4). Unless the work was a skilled work, the gods would not have bestowed upon the Ṛbhus such a high prize as immortality.

Again in I 161,3 the Ṛbhus say to Agni, "We have yet to finish our previous commitments viz. (i) the fashioning of a horse (ii) The fabrication of a chariot (iii) the fashioning of a cow (iv) rejuvenation of the old ones. O brother, after we have performed all these works, we shall look to your work."

If the division of one cup into four means the division of one indifferenced year into three seasons, then this division being brought about all the remaining works will be automatically accomplished and this work of division of cup need not be postponed on account of the commitments. According to Haudry the remaining four miracles also denote that the Ṛbhus as season lead the old year to the new one at the critical period of the passage of the previous year to the next.

(ii) Once the Ṛbhus are taken as the seasons, their parents can easily be explained as the Heaven and the Earth that grew old in winter and regained youth in the Spring. But this feat of the Ṛbhus also has been described in the Ṛbhu-hymns in a very realistic manner and it deserves to be explained¹⁵ otherwise. Probably the parents suffered from something like a paralytic stroke. The Ṛbhus served them with hard work (*'pariviṣṭi'*) attentive care (*'veṣanā'*) and miraculous powers, *damśanā* (IV 33,2). It seems that the Ṛbhus had knowledge of some medicinal herbs rich in what we today call 'Vitamins' and 'hormones.' After a long standing rigorous treatment in addition to these herbs, the parents were cured to such an extent that they could walk freely.

(iii) It is difficult to understand the hide of the dead cow as the old year out of which the living cow of the new year is created. How can the calf, the year itself lose the old year and regain the new year ?

This miracle has been described in the hymns in very realistic manner and needs to be explained¹⁶ otherwise. It seems that the Ṛbhus have accomplished this feat with their knowledge of veterinary medicine and surgery.

In case of miracles (iv) and (v) the forms of the root, *takṣ* have been scrupulously used again and again as pointed out by Haudry himself. He feels that the action denoted by that verb is not actual but just verbal and it should be taken in a secondary sense; but it is possible to explain it as actual 'carving' by these skilled artisans.

In order to prove that the horses are not real but symbolic, Haudry maintains that the Ṛbhus have no connection with the martial exploits of

Indra and they do not possess martial characteristics; but in the course of the Ṛbhu-hymns we do come across reference to their heroism in battles. At I 110, 7 Ṛbhuḥ has been called '*naḥ Índraḥ śávasā návyān* Our Indra, younger by strength.' They are called *śávasaḥ napātaḥ* 'children of strength' very often as in I 161,4; IV 34,6; IV 35,1; IV 35,8; IV 37,4. They are addressed as *naraḥ* 'heroes' time and again, e.g. I 110,8; I 161, 11; IV 34,5 and 9; IV 36,5. Their heroic deeds *vīryāṇi* are glorified in III 60,4. They have fatty horses, *pīvo aśvāḥ* and iron-strong chins *ayaḥśiprāḥ* (IV 37,4). Vāja is called upon to protect the worshippers in battle (VII 48, 2) and the three Ṛbhhus along with Indra have been invoked to crush down the attacks of the enemies in VII 48,3. Hence there is no reason why they should not be associated with Indra in his heroic deeds and should not fashion the horses for him.

The chariot of the Aśvins also need not be just symbolic. These skilled carpenters might have really fabricated it.

Further I do not think that immortality has been equated with the attainment of year in the *Ṛgveda*. It might be so in the post-Ṛgvedic period. Moreover, one cannot accept 'concordance' as the original meaning of the word *ṛtu*.

As for the 12 days' slumber of the Ṛbhhus I must admit that till now I have not found a convincing explanation of this slumber on the basis of the Ṛbhhus being taken as human artisans. It is possible that this refers to some Ṛgvedic saga known in the days of the *Ṛgveda*, but lost to the later tradition. In this context one can note Prof. Geldner's remarks about this slumber :- "Unfortunately the myth is too fragmentary (Der *Ṛgveda* Notes on I 110,3)." "An obscure legend. The acceptance among the gods seems to be preceded by a transitional period, a somnambular condition, similar to sleep." (Notes - I 161, 12) "Does the *pāda* belong to the speech in the Agohya-legend?" Notes - I 161,13).

It is possible that the Ṛbhhus had introduced some important innovations — probably in the practice of the sacrifice —, which were strongly opposed by the orthodox sections in the society. The Ṛbhhus might have undertaken a tour for the propaganda of their innovations. During the course of the tour they might have stayed in the house of an influential person named Agohya. Through his influence the orthodox people might have been persuaded to accept these innovations and thenceforward the Ṛbhhus might have been given an honourable status in the society.

Finally, the statement that the Ṛbhhus were mortal beings, who attained immortality through their good works has been repeated time and again in the course of the Ṛbhu-hymns. *mártāsaḥ śánto 'amṛtatvámanaśuḥ* (I 110,4) *ámartyeṣu śráva icchámānāḥ* (I 110,5) *Yá devásaḥ ábhavatā sukṛtyá* (IV 35,8) *Saúghanvanā ábhavatamṛtasah* (IV 35,8) *Áthā devésvamṛtatvámanáśa* (IV 36,4) etc.

The Ṛbhus themselves are conscious of their lower status, being human earlier *vidānāso janmanaḥ* (IV 34,2).

It must be noted that in case of no other deity has such a statement been ever made that the deity is mortal. The human origin of the Ṛbhus has been hinted at the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* III 30, where other gods are reluctant to share the *soma*-offering with them due to their human smell- *manuṣyagandhatvāt*.

All this leads one to conclude that the *Ṛtus* do not form the original basis of the Ṛbhus at least in the *Ṛgveda*.

Notes and References

1. Der Ṛgveda - Verlag von F. Temsky, Prag 1877, Vol.III, p. 188.
2. *Ibid.* p. 335.
3. Orion, Tilak Brothers, Poona, 1893 p. 167.
4. Vedische Mythologie Vol. II pp. 120-137; English Tr. by S.R. Sarma, Motilal Banarasisass, Delhi 1987 pp. 78-89.
5. *Ibid.* p. 85;
6. Bulletin d' Etudes Indiennes, Association Francaise pour les Etudes Sanskrites, PARIS, No. 5, 1987, pp. 159-219.
7. *op. cit.* Vol. III 335.
8. *op. cit.* Orion pp. 168-170.
9. *op. cit.* p. 84;
10. *Ś. Br.* XI 1,2,12.
11. *op. cit.* p. 87.
12. *op. cit.* p. 89.
13. Some Minor Divinities in Mythology and Ritual in the Veda - Deccan College Post-graduate and Research Institute, Poona 6, 1971 p. 60.
14. RV I 161, 5 *Hānāmcnān īti Tvāṣṭā yadābravīccamasām yé devapānamānindiṣuḥ*.
15. I have dealt with this miracle in details in a paper to be published elsewhere.
16. I have explained this miracle in an article to be published soon elsewhere.

TWO EARLY VĀSUDEVA IMAGES AND JINA PĀRŚVA ICON FROM KARṆĀṬAKA

M. A. DIHAKY

So far no pre-Cālukyan, that is to say early Kadamba (c. 350-540 A.D.)¹ or, for that matter, early Gaṅga (c. A.D. 350-750)² sculptures have been traced in ancient Karṇāṭaka. And even of the very early Cālukyan period only very rarely loose sculptures have been found.³ The knowledge concerning the state of the earliest Cālukyan sculptures is restricted to the rock-cut cave temples met with at the famous sites of Bādāmi (Vātāpi) and Aihole (Ayyavōḷe or Ayyavaḷe)⁴. And among these caves only one, ... Cave III, ... attributable to the period of the Cālukya regent Maṅgaleśa (A.D. 578), is of *Bhāgavata* dedication and, as its consequence, possesses Viṣṇuite figural content. Under the circumstances, the two early Vāsudeva-Viṣṇu images noticed in this article assume significance even when they are not in the best state of preservation, nor do they possess artistic pretensions of high order. They are, if anything, purely archaeological documents, of course of some positive value to the history of early sculptural art in Karṇāṭaka.

The first instance hails from Agarā, District Mysore, in the ancient Gaṅgavāḍī tract of south-eastern Karṇāṭaka. Except for the lower left arm (akimbo) which holds a remnant of an indistinct object, the three other arms are noticeably mutilated (Pl. I). The deity's *kirīṭa*-crown, alongwith the presence of four arms, however, may be taken as an evidence for a Viṣṇu (and not for Sūrya or Skanda⁵) image. The general posture of the deity, the shorter *upavīta* (pearl-cable type), and the style of the waist-cloth indicate its southern origin as well as a date late in the sixth or at least early in the seventh century A. D. The face is somewhat abraded; but the sculpture reflects power and strength of poise which early southern Viṣṇu figures most often do.

This Viṣṇu image, when photographed, was located within the environs of an old Gaṅga temple now going by the name of Durgā-Paramēśvarī. (The sculpture, assumably, may still be there.) The temple under reference is an interesting structure. Above the base, the *vimāna*'s walls and superstructure reveal fresh construction, the *gūḍhamaṇḍapa* or closed hall is more or less preserved in original condition. The *pratīkrama adhiṣṭhāna* (Pl. III) with its *jagatī* (basal plinth course), heavy *kumuda*-torus and the *prati-kaṇṭha* showing *vyāla* figures in profile is in a typical Gaṅga style and is reminiscent of the *adhiṣṭhānas* of the temples at Talkāḍ (Talakāḍu), the old capital of the

Gaṅgas.⁶ The Agarā temple, which to-date has remained undescribed in detail, may be of the 10th century or even possibly earlier, though how much, can be ascertained only after a detailed analysis which in the present context is not relevant, with one qualification that there may have been an earlier foundation in brick in these environs in which the Viṣṇu image probably was enshrined. As far as the provenance of the Viṣṇu sculpture is concerned, it was ancient Gaṅgavādī. It can then be looked upon a Gaṅga sculpture, a truly rare and fairly early piece for that matter. It may have been shaped in the period of the Gaṅga monarch Durvīṇa (c. A. D. 575-625).

The second image of Vāsudeva (Pl. II) hails from Baḷḷigāmve in Dharwar District. Some 25 years ago, it was noticed by the author in the collection of sculptures within the precincts of the famous Kedāreśvara temple. Excepting for the weather-beaten or abraded and damaged face and the mutilated feet, the image is well-preserved. The *cakra*, the conch, the personal ornaments, and also the meagre terracotta-like *padmaprabhā*-halo exude the flavour of folkish art, the craft of carpentry to be precise. The stone-bar at the back of the image's head, which connects the upper hand attributes, is a feature generally not met with in Indian context but is encountered in some of the Cambodian Harihara images of the 7th century A. D.

Our Vāsudeva-Viṣṇu apparently is of the date converging toward the beginning of the 7th century as judged by its general style including the striated plates of the *dhōṭī*, a feature that one notices with the sculptures of Maṅgaleśa's times.

The image of Jina Pārśva (Pl. IV) included in this article is also from Baḷḷigāmve and was also seen amid the aforementioned collection. To all seeming, it was a cult figure in one of the three Jaina temples reported in the inscriptions from this ancient town.⁷ Besides the halo (*bhāmaṇḍala*) and the seven-hooded Nāgarāja Dharaṇendra (partially damaged), there is the parasol (*chatra*) as one of the *prātihāryas* or attendant glory-symbols included in the icon's accompaniments. The *grāsamukha* at the apex acts as though a key-stone mask, swallowing the upsurged ends of the convolving *makara-tōraṇa* (also mutilated) which forms the upper section of the *parikara*. The left hand is broken and the fingers of the right arm of the Jina are effaced; so are the legs from knees downwards along with the lower half of the *parikara*-frame mutilated. Image's beautifully formed meditative countenance, though eroded and slightly mutilated, places it above the general run of the Jina figures of the period of the Cālukyas of Kalyāṇa. Very probably it belongs to the period transitional toward the Cālukyan.

Notes and References

1. Early Kadambas had been vanquished by their erstwhile feudatories, the

Cālukyas, by c. A. D. 540.

2. The early Gaṅgas had to accept the vassalhood of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas in the latter half of the eighth century.
3. One of these is what seems a Viṣṇu image that was lying in the Mahākūṭa temple group precincts : (Cf. *the Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture*, Vol. I, Part 2, New Delhi 1986, pl. 6); the second is a lower half of the Mahiṣamardinī image (*Ibid.*, pl. 27).
4. One Śivaite and the other a Jaina cave at Aīhoḷe and Cave I-III (Brāhmanical) and Cave IV (Jaina) at *Bādāmi*.
5. Skanda is usually represented as a single-headed and two-armed deity in early instances as known from Śāmaḷāji in Northern Gujarat (c. 5th cent. A. D.). The famous Uḍipi Śri-Kṛṣṇa, judging from its photograph seen by the author, is a two-armed Skanda holding a spear (right arm) and a cock (left arm, akimbo). I have no knowledge whether the photograph of this image has been published in any serious journal or in a book pertaining to art or archaeology.
6. Cf. *EITA*, II, part 2, New Delhi 1986, p. 188, Text Fig. 66 d.
7. Probably it was in the *basadi* of Kesaṇanandi Aṣṭopavāsī-bhaṭṭāraka. (Cf. *Epigraphia Carnatica* VII, Shikarpur II., n^o120.)

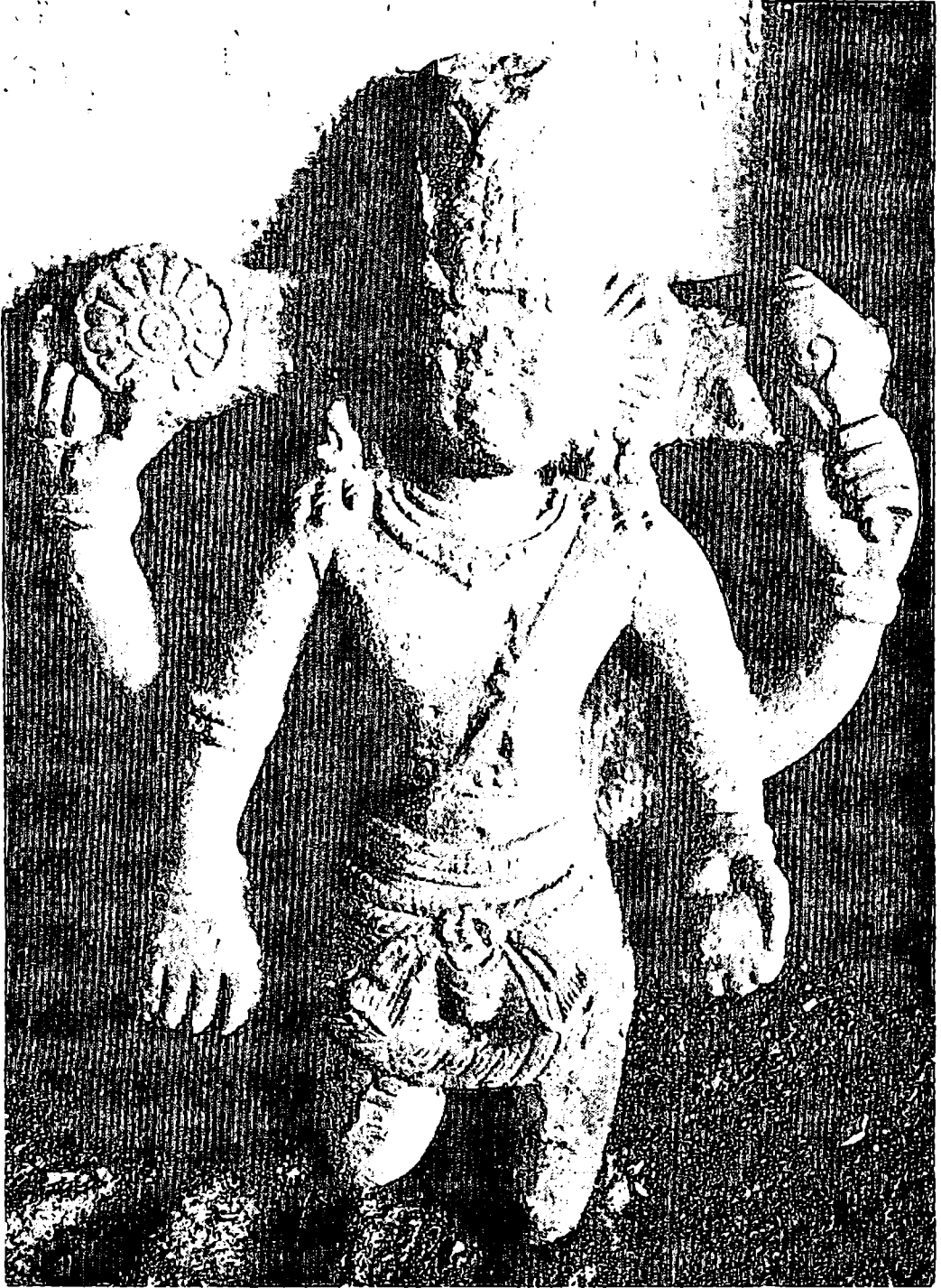
List of Illustrations

- I. Agarā, Karṇāṭaka, Viṣṇu, standing. c. late 6th or early 7th cent. A. D.
- II. Baḷḷigāmvē, Karṇāṭaka, Viṣṇu, standing. c. 7th cent. A. D.
- III. Agarā, Karṇāṭaka, Durgā-Paramēśvarī temple, *pratīkrama adhiṣṭhāna*. c. 10th cent. A. D. or earlier.
- IV. Baḷḷigāmvē, Karṇāṭaka, Jina Pārśva, standing. c. mid 10th cent, A.D.

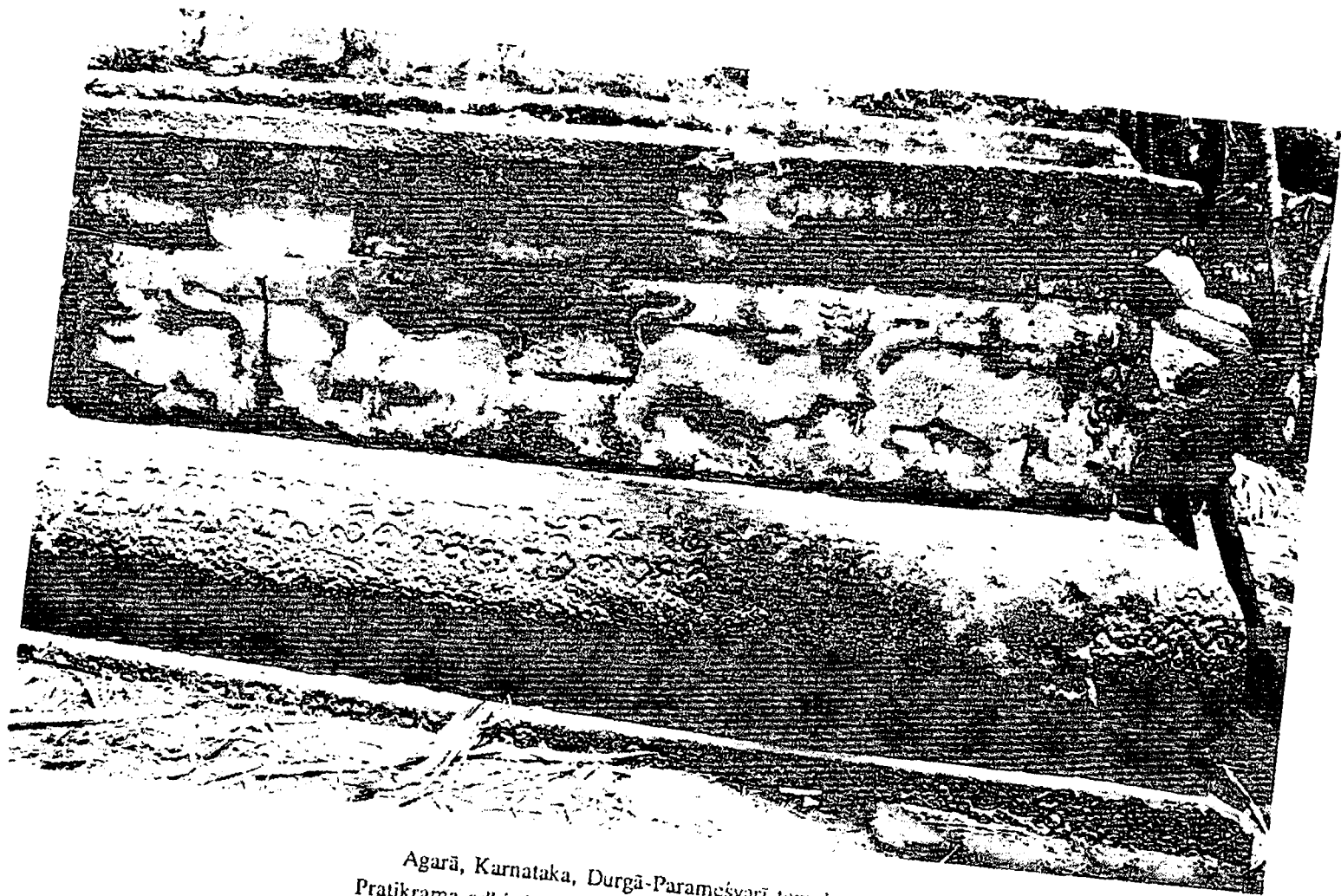
(All the photographs are reproduced here by the kindness and courtesy of the American Institute of Indian Studies, Varanasi.)



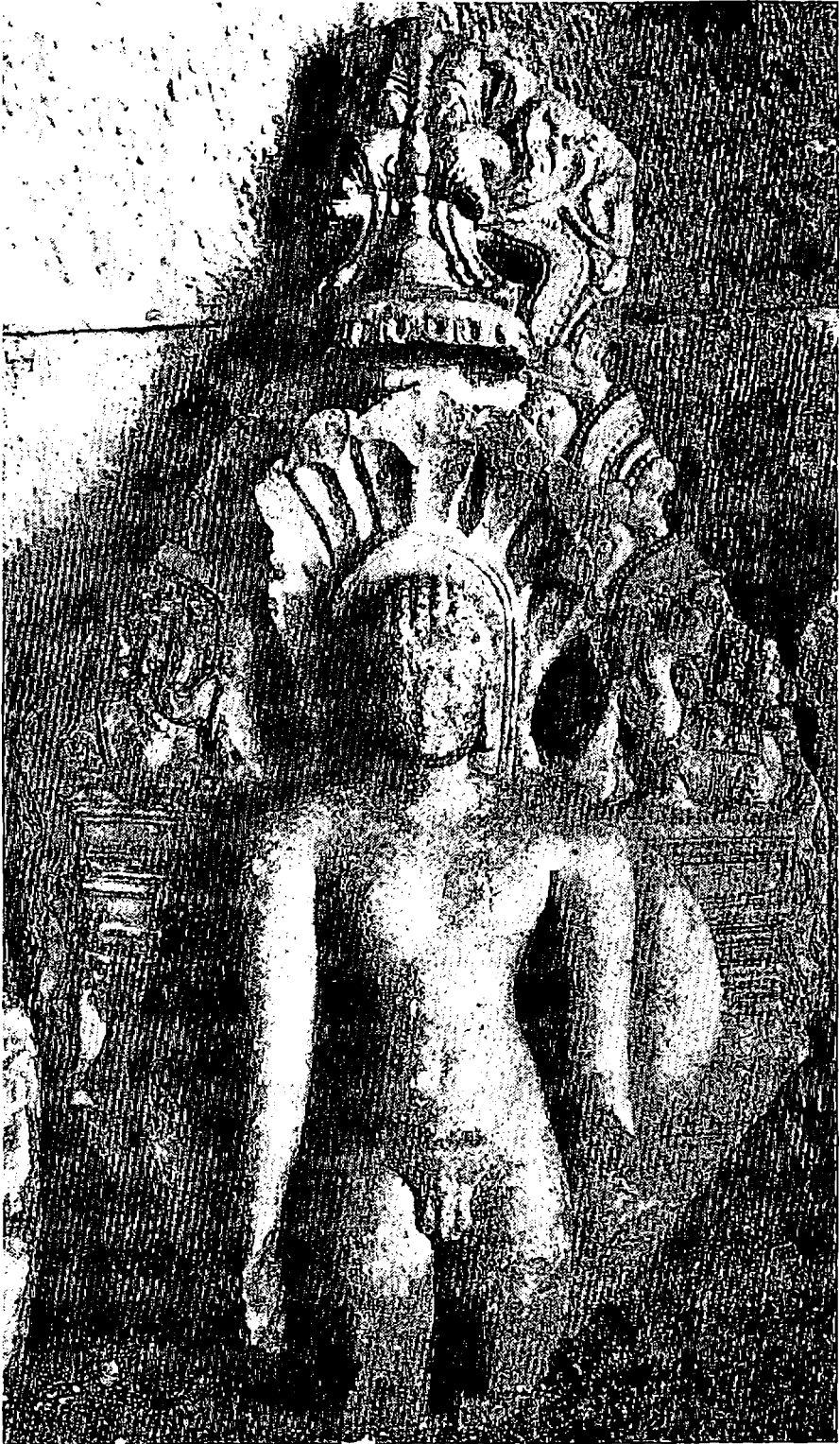
Agarā, Karnataka, Viṣṇu, standing.
c. late 6th or early 7th century A. D.



Balligavi, Karnataka, Viṣṇu standing. c. 7th century A. D.



Agarā, Karnataka, Durgā-Parameśvarī temple,
Pratikrama adhiṣṭhāna. c. 10th century A. D. or earlier



Balligāmve, Karnataka, Jina Pārśva,
standing, c. mid 10th century A.D.

A MARCH TOWARDS THE TEXT OF KĀLIDĀSA LITERATURE

REWAPRASADA DWIVEDI

The manuscripts, emerged through the pen of Kālidāsa himself, for his own literature (KL) are not available in their original form and script : *Brāhmī*. What is available as the source of KL for us are the copies prepared under a long current of copies, coupled with manifold treatment of transliteration into different scripts of India and her territories of ancient days. The practice of copying and transliteration have also been continuing for a period of 15 to 21 centuries of India's past. Obviously the copies, designated as manuscripts and the transliterations, available to the present age happen to be the specimen, prepared in the latter half of the second millennium for the KL after it came into existence. At the same time, KL had had an opportunity to be received vastly in every part of India, and in almost all of her subcontinents, called the Greater India for all of the centuries past till then. As a result every part of India is equipped with a large number of copies of KL in so many scripts. This kind of plurality in centuries, scribes, scripts and time is enough to deviate any literature from its original form upto a considerable extent, especially in the ages of scarcity of paper and absence of printing press. The KL also faced this crisis of change in its original shape upto 25% at least. Words were misdeciphered, sentences were reshaped, orders of verses and dialogues were reversed and some new chapters were introduced into the KL. So much so, some complete works like *Nalodaya*, *Jyotirvidābharāṇa* etc. were also credited to Kālidāsa, the writer of *Raghuvamśa*, etc. Contrary to it, some genuine verses were dropped from running text of *Raghuvamśa*, etc. even by the commentator like Mallinātha.¹

Since 1792 the editors of KL have constantly been facing these challenging questions, finding the majority of manuscripts, as also the antiquity of records incapable for a complete solution thereof. At this stage of serious change in old documents, a concentration upon the practice of reconstruction is the only way left for a scientific solution.

As informed by me in the paper "The Problem of Reconstruction of Kālidāsa's Text",² as also in the introduction to the second revised edition of the Complete Works of Kālidāsa,³ it is only the suitability of Readings, Orders, etc. which can help the march towards the reconstruction of KL. To the best of my knowledge the majority and antiquity of manuscripts,

as also the citations and commentaries of ancient days have not proved of much help in many cases. As far as the suitability is concerned, it permits to reshape the old readings and, if needed, to imagine a fresh reading also. This step of editing needs the prior knowledge of the shapes of the symbols of the alphabets in contemporary scripts and the exercise of transliteration too. In a nutshell, the comparative study of changing script and suitability of readings are the best means to restore the original text of an old record, the original manuscript of which is not available and, therefore, which is a subject of imagination through a long chain of copies alone. After a lapse of 210 decades or so the KL also needs its reconstruction and the search of suitability of readings, existing and imagined both, on the grounds of different shapes of transliteration, based on a thorough exercise of KL itself. For example—

1. In the fourth stanza of the first verse of *Abhijñānaśākuntala* 'pratyakṣābhiḥ prapannastā^o' etc. the term 'PRAPANNAḤ' can easily be dropped. The absence of this term will cause no harm to the main idea - 'pratyakṣābhiḥ tanubhiravatu vastābhīraṣṭābhīrīśaḥ'. Same is the position of its only variant reading 'PRASANNAḤ,' preferred by the eastern tradition of *Śākuntala*'s text, published in the Harvard Oriental Series.⁴ 'PRASANNAḤ' is a clear term in comparison to the term 'PRAPANNAḤ,' which is a rather vague one, yet the latter alone suits to imagine a suitable reading 'PRAPANNĀMS,^o' readily made available in the second revised edition of the *Complete Works of Kālidāsa* (BHU, Varanasi-1986) on the grounds of suitability of meaning and the paleographical error in deciphering the *Brāhmī* script of Kālidāsa's age (B.C. 150 to A.D. 400).

Suitability :

In the reading imagined afresh = PRAPANNĀMS with the application of 'Ā+N' after 'NN' the sense of this term reaches its indispensability, by being an epithet to the meaning of 'vas' = 'you and we both' used in the stanza itself. Obviously the statement has now reached a stage of logical reasoning, presenting the sense — 'may the God, called ĪŚA protect you and us all, surrendering ourselves to Him.' This kind of sense of 'śaraṇāgati' or 'prapatti' has been introduced by Kālidāsa himself in the first verses of his two other plays. In the play *Mālavikāgnimitra*, the God is called 'praṇatabahuphala' having its variant reading 'phale.' So also the God, named 'STHĀṆU,' is admitted obtainable by a firm devotion towards Him, 'sīhirabhaktiyogasulabha' in the play *Vikramorvaśīya*. This sense of devotion is wanted in the first verse of *Śākuntala* also. It is available with the new reading 'PRAPANNĀN' only, even though it is imagined one.

Paleographical Error :

In the script called *Brāhmī* of Kālidāsa's time the symbols of the syllable

Ā and N/M were so indistinct that those could be missed easily if written in haste or by a scribe not knowing the meaning of the term in advance. I do believe that those are missed in the present case and the real reading, 'PRAPANNĀMS^o' is deciphered as 'PRAPANNAS^o' resulting into the variation 'PRASANNAḤ'. The term 'PRAPANNA' in the sense of 'surrendered devotee' is used even by^{4^} Kālidāsa. His predecessors like Vyāsa too use this term in the sense of devotion '*śiṣyastecham śādhi mām tvām prapannam*' (*Gītā* II.7). On the other hand 'P' could easily be deciphered as 'S' as the symbols of these syllables are very much akin to each other. Happily the reading 'PRAPANNAḤ' has been supported by the copy No. G-340 of Asiatic Society, Calcutta, and by the commentators Kāṭayavema, Rāghavabhaṭṭa, Śrīnivāsa, etc. explaining the word in the terms '*Upetaḥ*' (*Kāṭayavema*), '*Yuktaḥ*' (*Rāghava*), '*Prāptaḥ*' (*Śrīnivāsa*) like '*Niṣpannaḥ*' in the dissertation called '*Śākuntalacarcā*⁵. If the establishment of *Īśvara* is meant, as reflected from the synonyms '*Prāptaḥ*' and '*Niṣpannaḥ*' = perceived and established, the poet would have then used the term '*pratipannaḥ*' used recurrently by him elsewhere in his works.⁶ The term '*Prasiddha*,'⁷ Kālidāsa's one of the most dear terms, would have been much suitable in that case — '*Pratyakṣābhiḥ prasiddhastanu*^p' etc. After all one has to face the dispensability or uselessness of the term PRAP/SANNAḤ and has to find way of their proving must. No doubt the tokens of Ā and Ñ are missed here and the original text remained 'PRAPANNAḤ' alone.

2. I am happy to realize that the reading in *Raghuvamśa* XVII. 47 suggested by me in my paper read in the VI World Sanskrit Conference, is duly approved by the Copy No. 468-B/1892-1902 of Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. The bundle contains folios of different parts of different copies of *Raghuvamśa*. The paper of the bunch containing canto KVII is black, perhaps due to its oldness. Prof. R. G. Nandargikar could not check this bundle in his edition of *Raghuvamśa*.

In this verse Ragh. XVII. 47 '*Śauryam Śvāpada*^o' is the famous reading. I have accepted it, as '*Śauryācāpada*^o' on the ground of the suitability, paleography and the variant readings preserved in different traditions of India's East and West corners.^{7^}

The suitability of the new reading is discussed in my paper published in 'South Asean Review' (Dec. 1984). On the paleography it is to be submitted that 'Ś' and 'Ñ' have been modelled in a similar way of writing since 300 B.C. to 200 B.C. as is evident from the Girinar inscription of Aśoka's Edict and that of Bhattipraulū etc. श = Ś and ञ = Ñ were modelled in the similar shapes.⁸

So also 'C' (च) and 'V' (व) were written in a very resembling figure. In the case of mixture of both these groups one may be led to mistake

one for the other, especially when written indistinctly, i.e., (३) and (३) would be deciphered as ३ and ३ if written with a hasty hand. Similarly, in the writings of these syllables continued in the inscriptions of Kuṣāṇas, Usavadāta, Rudradāman, Sātavāhana, Samudragupta (400 A.D.), Candragupta (500 A.D.) etc., nasals were symbolised by giving dot ‘.’ on the top of their preceding vowels. The symbols of ‘D’ (३) and ‘L’ (३) are also equal in these inscriptions.⁹ In this position and situation ‘śauryam śvāpada^o,’ the famous reading can easily be changed into ‘śauryañcāpada^o,’ especially in the case of ‘parasavarṇa’ where the nasal M/N is changed in Ñ to join ‘C’. As the reading ‘CĀPADA’ happens to be suitable, the other reading may be admitted as a paleographical error in deciphering the writings of old Brāhmī.

3. In the Allahabad inscription of Samudragupta, the symbols of ‘N’ (३) and ‘M’ (३) also run with equality. It is not, therefore, impossible if ‘Kṣama’ is taken as ‘Kṣaṇa’ in गर्माधानक्षम^o *Meghadūta* IX. As discussed earlier the symbols of ‘Ā’ and ‘.’ modelling nasal ‘N’ are all the time written in an indistinct lining. As such ‘^oKṣama-paricayam’ would have been deciphered as ‘^okṣaṇa-paricayān’ by Mallinātha and other commentators. The sense, ‘Cranes would also join you, as your look is able to make them pregnant’ is expressed here as a suggested meaning. In the reading ‘^oKṣaṇa-paricayān’ the sense of cause and effect is put in a clear expression, but the causation is not fixed in the cloud. The cranes are reported to be glad due to the pleasant occasion of pregnancy, leaving the agency of impregnancy understood. In this case the symbol of Ā is imagined, as the same line which is used as a symbol of Ā is readily available in the figure of ‘Y’ in *Brāhmī*. Obviously the lines given on the top and at the bottom of the figure are enough to flash the idea of Ā in the Brāhmī script of ‘y’. After the practice of ‘Parasavarṇa’ is followed and the symbol of A is imagined, the ‘^oyannū^o’ is transformed into ‘^oyānnū^o’ in the present case. I think, on these paleographical grounds ‘^okṣamaparicayan-nūnam’ should be admitted as original reading which suits the context but deciphered otherwise : ‘*kṣaṇaparicayānnūnam.*’

In the same verse the first stanza ends with ‘*tvām*’ instead of ‘*tvam*’ due to the imagination of the symbol of Ā after ‘*iva*’. In case *tvām* would have been the original reading, the sincere and sensitive craftsmanship of the Poet would not have, then, used ‘*yathā*’, the sense of which (*yathā*) is expressed by using the term ‘*anukūla*’ in the same stanza. If the term *yathā* is used in the sense of ‘*Yatas*’ = because, then the use of the term ‘*tatas*’ or ‘*tathā*’, is a must in the main clause of the sentence. And that is not available therein. The term ‘*Nūnam*’ could not represent the term ‘*tatas*’ or ‘*tathā*’, as it is not found so used. If the sense of causation between the statement of first and latter halves is meant like ‘*yathā = yataḥ tvāmanukūlaḥ ṭapavano nudati, yataḥ cātako nadati, nūnam = tataḥ bhavantam balākāḥ khe seviṣyante*’, then the reading ‘*tvām*’ would only be the suitable text. But

it would be possible only when causation is settled between senses of two statements. That is not the case. Merely a description is meant in this verse. It is, therefore, sufficient to say — 'Wind is blowing in your favour, by your left your friend *Cātaka* is also roaring like you. The cranes, I believe, would also follow you in the sky, as your appearance is able to make them pregnant.'

4. The symbols of *Anusvāras* in old script like *Brāhmī* used to be missed by writers/scribes in the copies. The omission of *Anusvāras* also has resulted into some serious change in the text. For example, the suitable reading which is preserved in copies and different traditions is 'AVYĀHATAḤ SVAIRA-GATEḤ' in Ragh. II.5 (*Āsvādavadbhīḥ*, etc.). Due to paleographical mistakes it is understood as '°HATA-SVAI°' in so many copies described in the footnotes of KG-2. When the *Anusvāra* is applied, the original reading is changed into the reading 'AVYĀHATAIḤ' that has been followed by the commentators like Mallinātha and Dinakara. At the same time the last syllable of the word '*svairagateḥ*' is changed in the '*taiḥ*' and by that the case is formed as instrumental resulting into a total shakeup of the poetic expression. The means of the service pleasant to the Cow were enumerated with the end of the first half of the verse and their enumeration was finished with the usage of the term 'CA.' It is, therefore, very much pinching if the same practice is started again in the latter half of the verse by adopting the reading - 'AVYĀHATAIḤ SVAIRAGATAIḤ', adopted by Mallinātha, etc. At the same time the parity is marred when one of the two epithets (SVAIRA) of GATI is put in compound, leaving the other (AVYĀHATA) as independent one. The compound is also not admissible in such cases. In that case 'AVYĀHATAIḤ SVAIRAIḤ GATAIḤ' would have been the apt composition. But it is all deplorable, as the real reading is existing before the sensitive enjoyer of poetry : '°TAḤ SVAIRAGATEḤ.' The services are not possible if the movements of the cow are checked and the servant Dilīpa does not reach the point where the cow has reached. Both these invariable qualities are introduced into both the parts of service, when this new reading is favoured as an original reading. A large number of manuscripts with Hemādri and Nārāyaṇa missed the '*anusvāra*' after '*avyāhata*' and read the text as '*avyāhataiḥ svairagataiḥ*' instead of '*avyāhataḥ svairagateḥ*' supported by a good number of manuscripts and known to Aruṇagirinātha as a variant reading.

The omission of '*anusvāra*' is the fact that resulted the text '*Sukhāvagāhaḥ*' into the reading '*sukhāvagāha°*' in the first verse of *Ṛtusamhāra*. Same is the case in the second verse of *Ṛtusamhāra* wherein the terms '*Nisāḥ*' and '*Śāsāṅkaḥ*' are deciphered as '*nisāsāsāṅka°*'.

5. The symbols of Ṛ and R were similar. So also symbol of A could have been deciphered as the symbol of 'U' easily. This is why the original reading 'SRṢṬAM' in *Kumārasambhava* III.51 is understood as 'SRAṢṬUM'.¹⁰

6. The conversion of 'd' in 'kh' as also of 'a' in 'u' is also possible in the *Brāhmī* script of second century¹¹ A. D. If the *Ṛtusamhāra* is attributed to Kālidāsa, then the change of 'sukhā' = सुखा into 'Sadā' = सदा too falls into the category of a paleographical error in the Kālidāsa literature.¹² Same is the case of the reading 'Purastāt' in *Mālavikāgnimitra* I.1 where 'pu' is understood as 'pa' that is insignificant at all, because it provides the idea of 'aboveness' which does not go in favour of Śiva, by suggesting the sense 'above or beyond all the *Yatis*.' It is not sure that one himself observes the yoga which is announced beyond the practitioners of yoga. 'Purastat' is a reading which does not have ambiguity, whatsoever.

The symbol of 'E = ॡ' is introduced afresh and that of 'O' is converted into the symbol of 'E = ॡ' in the same verse of *Mālavikāgnimitra*, while accepting the reading '*Ekaiśvārye-sthito'pi praṇatabahu-phale*' instead of the original text '*Ekaiśvārya-sthito'pi praṇatabahu-phalo*'. This is also one of the paleographical errors in decipherment of the script *Brāhmī*. The readings with locative case have been adopted in all the editions but KG-2, whereas the majority of manuscript copies were reported to be in favour of the reading bearing nominative case (°phalo). If the compound in the first two words is not admitted to be, the first two words of the second stanza would, then, be composed as - '*dehe sammīśra-kānto'pi*' and not as it exists.¹³

So far as the existing reading¹⁴ is concerned, it dissolves the vagueness of the relation being depicted between *Īśā* and '*praṇatabahuphalatva*' directly. In the reading having locative case with '*phala*', the '*aiśvārya*' becomes the counterpart of relation and that falls to be a subject of the fallacy called '*neyārthatva*' = indication, as it is related with *Īśā* after a longer process, i.e., first it joins '*aiśvārya*', then '*Īśā*' one who possesses '*aiśvārya*' ! For the stronger paradox this kind of delay in exact relation is uncalled for. 'One who is seen giving fruits of so many kinds, and therefore possessed the highest riches with him, bears the '*Kṛtī*', the skin of elephant, due to his detachment for wealth' is the paradox to be expressed here. It is given more clarity when the reading '°phalo' is adopted as original. These cases fall into the purview of paleographical illusion in the symbols of 'e' and 'o' in the verse तस्य स्थित्वा etc. of the *Meghadūta* (KA = f), KE = f =, KO = f¹⁵. The illusion is more possible in the symbols of 'Y' and 'L' because they themselves possess the vertical line on their heads,¹⁶ which symbolises the token of 'e' and 'o' as seen above.

7. In the verse V. 12 of *Ṛtusamhāra* the reading adopted on the ground of imagination by me in KG-2 is as follows - 'nimna-madhyāvasā nāpyuṣasi.' It was an error of decipherment of the syllables 'ś' and 's', which gave an illusion of the word '°avasāna' giving the sense of end, i.e., 'a lady, the end of whose middle portion of the body is well-sloped.' The statement 'it is dawn even then the lady does not take herself off the bed' is left

un-reasoned. When the syllable 's' is imagined as 'ś', this difficulty is dissolved - 'She is not leaving her bed as she is 'avaśā', not capable to do that' is the clear idea put with justification.

8. The term 'Saṅga' is taken as 'bhaṅga' in *Ragh.* II.42, so also the term 'bhaṅga' as 'saṅga' in *Ragh.* III.63. In the inscription of Bhattipraulu the tokens of 'Bh' and 'S' are twin brothers. The confusion between the two is not impossible, therefore, it is to be stated here that the term 'bhaṅga' in *Ragh.* II.42 is caused by the printing mistake occurred in Nirṇayasāgara edition alone. All the other editions and copies run with the correct reading 'Saṅga' only. In the verses III.63 the term 'saṅga' is changed into 'bhaṅga' by me, as it alone supports the main idea of the sentence.

9. The orthographical changes in the words *rasanā / raśanā, bisa/visa, kubera/kuvera, kośa/koṣa, kosala/kośala, vasiṣṭha/vaśiṣṭha* etc. are also the cases of paleography in KL. Grammatical etymology helps here in the selection of better reading. The root रस् = Ras suits more than रश् = Raśa in the sense of taste and sound, if etymology is taken care of. It is, therefore, not improper if one reads '°रसना: = rasanāḥ' instead of '°रशना: = °raśanāḥ' in *Meghadūta* XV ('*Pādanyāsaḥ kvaṇitarasanā*' etc.)¹⁷ The case of 'Saudamini' instead of 'Saudama^o' and of 'dohada' and 'dauhṛda' instead of 'daurhṛda' are also the similar ones which may be decided only on the ground of etymology. The '*Dvirūpa Kośa*', wherein *Saudamini, dohada*, etc. are also given place, seems to be a move of channelization of the wrong done.

These are a few cases of paleographical mistakes being faced in the editing work of KL. These are solved on the ground of suitability of meaning in KG-2 and I am happy to realise that almost all of them are supported later on by the copies called manuscripts.

II

The arguments in selecting the words, similes and ideas of KL are recorded in detail in my articles printed in *Sāgarikā*^{17A}. Here is the record of new set-up of dialogues and plots of Kālidāsa's plays in brief.

1. There is a long chain ¹⁸ of conversation (2, 5-20) between the heroine and her lady friend Bakulāvalikā after the verse XIII of the act IV of *Mālavikāgnimitra*. Here the statement number XIII '*Paḍhamam gaṇidam via hadāsāe uttaram*'¹⁹ is reported to be a speech of Nipuṇikā, a lady servant of Irāvati, in the manuscript copy of Jaipur and the copies 'B,C,D,F,G' checked by Pandit in his edition. So also Nipuṇikā is the speaker of this sentence in the editions of Tārānātha, Śrinivāsa, Karnataka Publishing House, Sahitya Akademi, Joshi and KG-1. Nipuṇikā and the second queen Irāvati, are present where this chain of 17 dialogue, has taken place. On the other hand, in the copies 'A' and 'E' checked by Pandit this (XIII) sentence is spoken by

the Heroine = Mālavikā herself. There must have been some reaction from Irāvati if the statement would have been made by her friend Nipuṇikā. But no reaction from Irāvati's side is introduced here. On the other hand, the sense of pleasure in heroine is left unexpressed, if the sentence XIII is not spoken by her. Thirdly, the statement XII of Bakulāvalikā is standing unresponded from the side of the heroine to whom it was addressed. The fourth difficulty is this that the statement XIV would not take place unless Mālavikā expresses her disaccord for the statement XII. All these objections are dissolved, if the sentence is spoken by Mālavikā²⁰. Through the term 'hadāsae' a dramatic excellence is also woven here if the sentence XIII is spoken by Mālavikā. By that she wanted to make two statements : (i) 'You are very innocent in replying me thus, as the reality is not so' (your *āśā* = desire is 'hata' = baseless), (ii) 'Oh, so clever you are.' In this second statement Bakulāvalikā is slightly abused by her friend Mālavikā in a friendly manner, as she will do in her statement XIX by speaking '*dujjāde*' = दुजादे (i) in calamity and (ii) one who is an illegal child. An abusive language is welcome among the friends. By the term 'hadāsae' Mālavikā expressed her pleasure also, which was a must for the pleasant statement made by Bakulāvalikā in her speech no. XII.²¹

2. In the dialogues²² 12-13 after the verse III and 1-2 after the verse IV.i the snake-biting episode of the fourth act of *Mālavikāgnimitram*, the speakers differ from edition to edition. The episode starts with —

- (i) the proposal of cutting the limb, etc.
- (ii) the opposition of the proposal followed by a new proposal of inviting physician, and
- (iii) the acceptance of the second proposal with king's order to call the physician.

The speaker of the sentence of the first proposal is *Parivrājikā* in the manuscript of Jaipur, so also in the editions of Pandit, Nirnayasagara, Karnataka Publishing House, Bombay, Sahitya Akademi and KG-1. On the other hand, it (first proposal) is moved by the king in all the seven manuscripts 'A-G', used by Ś. S. Pandit for his edition of *Mālavikāgnimitra*. In these editions and manuscripts, *Parivrājikā* is reported to be the speaker of the sentence bearing the second proposal preceded by the refutation of the first. In KG-2 the speakers are arranged as under —

Event	Speaker
1. The proposal for cutting thumb	King
2. Difference of opinion on king's proposal for the invitation of a physician	Parivrājikā

3. Acceptance of the second proposal and order to King implement it soon

This order of speakers prevents the proposal from Queen's suspicion. She would have taken it otherwise if it would have been moved by the Lady Monk and opposed by the King. In the changed order when the King himself proposes the cutting of thumb of his friend = Vidūṣaka, he seems to be a sincere and serious person for the Queen. At the same time for spectators King's proposal stands humorous, because they know the fact that this plan of biting has been seconded by the King himself. On the other hand, credit of the final proposal goes to the Lady Monk who would have opposed a proposal moved even by the King. On these and some other grounds the new order of speakers in the snake-biting episode of *Mālavikāgnimitra* stands suitable upto a good extent.

3. The first statement (No. I) after *Mālavikāgnimitra* V. 16 is reported to be a statement of Dhāriṇī in the manuscript of Jaipur and the editions of Nirayasaagara, Taranath, Pandit and Iycr. Some other editors have also put it in the mouth of Vidūṣaka. The dialogue next to it V.16.2 is available in the following shape in the editions published from Nirayasaagara and Sahitya Akademi - (after 'Vacchao') -

- (i) Rājā : *Maudagalya ! nanu kalabhena yūthateranukṛtam.*
- (ii) Kañcukin : *Deva ! ayam Kumāraḥ - 'Naitāvatā'* (verse 17)
- (iii) Rājā : *Maudagalya !*

Taranath reads it in this way -

- (i) Rājā : *Maudagalya ! nanu kalabhena yūthateranukṛtam.*
- (ii) Kañcukin : *Naitāvatā vīra* (etc. verse 17)
- (iii) Rājā : *Maudagalya !*

Both of these readings bear the reaction from the side of Heroine as well as from Hero, after hearing the news of victory of their son Vasumitra. The Vidūṣaka and the Kañcukī are debarred from the chance of greeting the Royal Couple on this auspicious occasion. If the first sentence is spoken by Dhāriṇī, the Vidūṣaka is left silent, and if the second sentence is spoken by King, the Kañcukī has also lost his chance of greeting.

In the reading available in the manuscript of Jaipur and in KG-2 the reactions of the Hero and the Heroines are dropped, leaving them for Vidūṣaka and Kañcukī to speak. Reality is that the term '*rājā*' after 16.1 is superfluous. The Kañcukī becomes the speaker of this second sentence, if the word '*rājā*' is removed. And then emerges the real shape of the dialogues. Why does the king address Kañcukī alone when his close friend Vidūṣaka is sitting

by the side of him? Why is the Queen left unthanked by the King, reported to be greeted by her in these readings? Reality is that both, Queen and King, observe silence at the moment of greeting from Parivrājikā, Vidūṣaka and Kañcukī., Earlier also the Queen observed silence after the speech XIV.6 of the same act. She is there reported expressing her sorrow without verbal expression - 'Dhāriṇī' : *viṣādam nāṭayati*' (V.XIV.7). With this silence 'dhīratā', an essentiality of heroes (-hero and heroine both-) is also maintained.

4. In the second prelude for the fourth act of Śākuntala, Anasūyā enters with a statement which seems to be irrelevant in all the printed editions (but KG-2). She is reported to be saying - 'I am not capable of moving my hands and feet even for my usual duties. As such what would I do even if awakened earlier?' At the same time another reading is available in *Rasacandrikā* wherein this incapability is shown in the Heroine. In *Rasacandrikā* Anasūyā says - 'It is dawn. Let me awake Śākuntalā. But what would she do even after she is awakened, as her hands and legs do not move even in her daily works, very much accustomed to her.' From both these readings to me the latter one is to be regarded as an original one. The term 'SE = से' is understood as 'ME = मे' and the harm is done to this entire speech of Anasūyā. I have adopted this very reading as original in KG-2.

5. In the third act of Śākuntala too one complete chapter of dialogues of Priyamvadā and Anasūyā is interchanged in so many editions. They should also be adjusted on the ground of suitability.

III

The demarcation of plots called '*dṛśya*' and '*sūcya*' in the plays of Kālidāsa is also a difficult task. Between the acts in all the three plays Kālidāsa has put preludes at the beginning of act I, III & V of *Mālavikāgnimitra*, II-V in *Vikramorvaśīya* and II-IV & VI in *Abhijñānaśākuntala*. The Editors of the edition of Nirnayasagara press etc. put the headings '*Anka*' = 'Act' at the starting point of prelude also. Sir M. M. Williams had tried his best to avoid this kind of mixture of the plots of two different natures, yet he could not extend the preludes of *Vikramorvaśīya* act III & V and of *Śākuntala* act II, IV and VII upto the point, found in the shape of report = '*sūcya*.' The authority of the demarcation is bestowed upon the editors as manuscripts are of ambiguous nature. In KG-2 these *sūcya* plots are recast and even in the chapters reported above preludes are admitted and the suitable headings are added to. The peculiar thing is that more than one prelude is marked in *Śākuntala* before the acts IV and VI. Happily one copy of *Śākuntala* preserved in the L. D. Institute of Ahmedabad runs with the term '*dvitīyaḥ praveśakaḥ*' before the entry of *śīśya* at the beginning of the fourth act.²³

On the ground of the cases discussed above and to be discussed in

future, one is bound to consider the paleographical illusions, took place in the decipherment at the stage of transliteration. Besides, the originality in one of the available readings is to be decided on the basis of suitability alone so far as the reconstruction of Kālidāsa Literature is concerned. And, if needed, some new readings and orders may also be sculptured in this march²⁴ without hesitation.

Notes and References

1. Kālidāsa Granthāvalī, 2nd Edition, 1986 (KG-2), Introduction, page XVII.
2. Published in 'South Asian Review', Dec. 1984; Vol. VIII.5., University of North Florida, Jacksonville, FL, U.S.A.
3. Page XVI.
4. Published in the Harvard Oriental Series, Volume 16, 1922 for the second time.
- 4A *Ragh.* VII.68, XIV.1,63,69, XVI.10, XVIII.34; *Kumār.*I.5,12, V-59, so also the verse VI-21 of *Ragh.* असौ शरण्याः etc.
5. University of Kerala. Sanskrit Series No. 195, 1961.
6. *Ragh.* I.1, XV.93, 102, etc.
7. '*Prasiddha*' = '*Siddha*' = proved; *Kumar.* III.19, *Mālavikā.* III.5 etc.
- 7A. Introduction to KG-2, page XXVI and footnote on the verse.
8. *Prācīnalipimālā* plates I-IV.
9. *Prācīnalipimālā* plates I-IV.
10. Introduction to KG-2, page XXIII, para. VIII.
11. *Prācīnalipimālā* plates VI, VII and IX.
12. Introduction to KG-2, 1986.
13. KG-2.
14. Admitted as original reading, i.e., "phalo yaḥ svayam kṛtīvāsāḥ."
- 15-16. *Prācīnalipimālā* plate IV of Bhattipraulu (200 B.C.). Also in the plate III 'LO' is modelled as KO. (line III).
17. In KG-2 I have also somehow read '*rasāna*' even preferring '°rasana.'
- 17A. कालिदाससाहित्ये मूलानुसन्धानम् ।
18. KG-2.
19. Variants : *Puḍhama*° (in compound), *Puḍhamam* for *paḍhamam*. *Gaṇidam*,

Guṇidam and *Bhaṇidam* for *Gadidam*. For details see KG-2, page 371 f.n. The term 'Hadāsāe' stands for both 'Hatāsāyāḥ' (genitive) and 'Hatāsāyā' (imperative) in Sanskrit.

20. So is done in KG-2.
21. My note on the term 'hadāsāe', KG-2, page 371-2.
22. KG-2.
23. Page LXII, Introduction to KG-2, for photocopy of the manuscript.
24. See my verse no. 2 on the page LII in the Introduction of KG-2.

ABBREVIATIONS

- Aruṇagirinātha : In his commentary *prakāśikā* on *Raghuvamśa*, Sanskrit College, Tripunithura, Keral.
- Hemadri : In his *Raghuvamśa-darpaṇa*, 1973-74, K.P. Jayasawal Research Institute, Patna, Bihar.
- KG-1 : Kālidāsa Granthāvalī, 1976, Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi, Uttar Pradesh.
- KG-2 : Kālidāsa Granthāvalī, 1986, Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi, Uttar Pradesh; Revised Second Edition.
- KL : Kālidāsa-Literature-
 1. *Rtusaṃhāra (1-6 Chapters)*
 2. *Mcghadūta (1-111 Verses)*
 3. *Kumārasambhava (1-8 Cantos)*
 4. *Raghuvamśa (1-19 Cantos)*
 5. *Mālavikāgnimitra*.
 6. *Vikramorvaśīya*.
 7. *Abhijñānaśākuntala*.
- Kumāra. : *Kumārasambhava* in KG-2.
- Mālavikā. : *Mālavikāgnimitra* in KG-2.
- Nārāyaṇa : In his commentary *Padārthadīpikā* on *Raghuvamśa*, Sanskrit College, Tripunithura, Keral.
- Prācīnalipimālā : By G.H. Ojha, 3rd Edition, 1971.
- Ragh. : *Raghuvamśa* in KG-2.

ĀŚVAGHOṢA'S BUDDHA-CARITA IN THE LIGHT OF SANSKRIT POETICS*

M. D. GOKIALE

Until the year 1892, when the French scholar, Sylvain Le'vi published the first chapter of the *Buddha-Carita*, the readers and scholars of Sanskrit knew Āśvaghōṣa only by name. Today all his important works have been published and he is recognised as one of the most prominent poets of Sanskrit literature. He is well-known as poet and philosopher, and as the creator of drama, epics and other philosophical and lyrical compositions.

So far as Āśvaghōṣa's date is concerned, scholars almost unanimously opine that Āśvaghōṣa lived in the first century A.D.¹. Yet, very little of his personal history is known to us, though some information is provided by his works themselves; and some legends have come down to us by tradition. Thus, in brief, he was a native of Sāketa and was the son of Suvarṇākṣī. He was a *bhikṣu* or Buddhist monk. He was born a *Brāhmaṇa* and was master of various branches of Brahmanical learning; afterwards, he was converted to Buddhism. He was called *Ācārya* and *Bhadanta* as well as *Mahākavi* and *Mahāvādīn*. These epithets clearly indicate his scholarship as well as his fame as a poet.

The three literary works, which are known for certain to be Āśvaghōṣa's are the *Buddha-Carita*, the *Saundarananda*, and the *Śāriputraprakaraṇa*. His fame as a great Sanskrit poet rests mainly on the *Buddha-Carita*.

The *Buddha-Carita* originally consisted of twenty-eight cantos. The Chinese and the Tibetan translations contain twenty-eight cantos and I-tsing, who travelled in India in A.D. 671-695, also knew this number. But, unfortunately, the available Sanskrit text consists of seventeen cantos. Even of these seventeen cantos, only the first thirteen are genuine. The remaining cantos are composed by Amṛtānanda at the beginning of the nineteenth century. He adds that he did so, because he could not find a manuscript of the remaining cantos.² The first thirteen cantos are definitely composed by Āśvaghōṣa, hence only those are taken into consideration for the purpose of the present article.

The first canto begins with the birth of prince Siddhārtha and the thirteenth canto describes Siddhārtha's victory over Māra and the attainment of ultimate reality (*bodhi*). Thus, the *Buddha-Carita-Mahākāvya* deals with the life of the exalted personality named the Buddha and the *Mahākavi* named Āśvaghōṣa

is the most suitable personality to deal with such a noble subject. He is an intelligent scholar thoroughly acquainted with all Brahmanical as well as Buddhist learning. Secondly, he is an earnest devotee of the Buddha and possesses a mind filled with intense love and reverence for the Buddha. The third and the most important thing is that he is a poet by nature endowed with creative imagination. Thus, with all these qualities, when Aśvaghōṣa composes the life-history of the Buddha, he presents a masterpiece of poetic art to classical Sanskrit literature.

Tradition says that Aśvaghōṣa was born a *Brāhmaṇa* and afterwards he was converted to Buddhism. Modern scholars also agree with the tradition.³ The evidence of his *Buddha-Carita* makes it clear that the poet has full acquaintance with various branches of Brahmanical learning. There are a number of places in the *Buddha-Carita* where Aśvaghōṣa uses terms, concepts, legends, narratives and *upamānas* from Brahmanical religion, culture, philosophy and literature. They conform with the tradition that Aśvaghōṣa was of a *Brāhmaṇa* family, was given disciplined training which was essential for a *Brāhmaṇa* and was then converted to Buddhism.⁴

But, though Aśvaghōṣa wholeheartedly accepts Buddhism, he has obtained profound knowledge of Buddhist religion and philosophy, he is well-known as *Ācārya* or *Bhadanta* and he is an ardent devotee of the Buddha, he cannot keep his mind and his creation away from the impact of Brāhmanical culture and literature. Those deep-rooted impressions never disappear. His poetic imagination lingers happily in the groves of *Veda*, *Vedānta*, Epics and legends which are traditionally known to Brāhmanical society. As Kuntaka says, *pratibhā* is the outcome of the impressions of the past lives as well as the present life which the poet has lived.⁵ Hence very naturally Aśvaghōṣa makes free use of Brāhmanical ideas and legends. The person who is well-versed in various languages, unconsciously slips into his mother-tongue. Same thing like this happens with Aśvaghōṣa. Hardly there is any conscious effort on his part for creating strikingness. Even the question of propriety never touches his mind (while he uses Brāhmanical concepts and legends in the description of Buddha's life); perhaps because, the current of his poetic imagination flows between the banks of devotion and creativity. His *pratibhā* does not accept any other restriction.

Aśvaghōṣa, in some of his verses, uses specific words which are often found in the Vedic literature.⁶ He refers to a number of those characters and legends which are traditionally known to the ancient Indian Society and later on included in either of the main *Purāṇas*, such as *Matsyapurāṇa*, *Vāyupurāṇa*, *Viṣṇupurāṇa* etc.⁷

We find in the *Buddha-Carita* a lot of references to the characters and stories in the *Mahābhārata*. The references to the main characters in the

Mahābhārata are as follows :

- 1) allusion to Arjuna⁸,
- 2) allusion to Bhīṣma⁹,
- 3) reference to Śantanu's love for Gaṅgā,¹⁰
- 4) reference to Parāśara who approached to Kālī, the daughter of a fisherman¹¹,
- 5) reference to Yayāti who enjoyed pleasure with Viśvācī in *Citraratha* grove¹²,
- 6) reference to Paṇḍu who, in spite of getting a curse, enjoyed with Mādrī¹³,
- 7) Śuddhodana's kingdom is compared to Yayāti's kingdom¹⁴,
- 8) reference to the story of Śakuntalā¹⁵,
- 9) reference to Bhīṣma as being obedient to his father¹⁶,
- 10) reference to the complete destruction of the Kurus, Andhakas, Vṛṣṇis, Mekhalas and Daṇḍakas¹⁷.

Along with the main story, *Mahābhārata* consists of a vast collection of ancient legends. Aśvaghoṣa uses many of them in the course of narration. They are as follows :

- 1) Siddhārtha's birth is compared to that of Aurva from the thigh¹⁸, to that of Pṛthu from the hand¹⁹.
- 2) Aśvaghoṣa gives illustrations of kings to show how a person does not get real satisfaction after enjoying material pleasures. He refers to Nahuṣa²⁰, Bali²¹, Ugrāyudha²² and Sunda and Upasunda²³.
- 3) Aśvaghoṣa mentions some legends about seers who were fascinated by the women. He refers to Dīrghatapas Gautama, who, in his old age, was attracted to a young woman, low in caste²⁴. There is a reference to Ṛṣyaśṛṅga who was attracted to Śāntā²⁵.
- 4) Aśvaghoṣa refers to Śukra and Bṛhaspati as the creators of the science of royal policy²⁶.
- 5) He mentions that Vyāsa arranged that *Veda* in many sections²⁷.
- 6) There is a reference to Bṛhaspati and Mamatā (wife of Utathya) as they gave birth to Bharadvāja²⁸.
- 7) There is an allusion to Purandara who fell in love with Ahalyā²⁹.
- 8) Vasiṣṭha and Akṣamālā are referred to as the parents of Kapiñjalāda³⁰.
- 9) 'Dakṣiṇādik' is called 'Agastyajuṣṭādik'.³¹

Thus, we can observe how Aśvaghoṣa is indebted to the *Mahābhārata*.

He mentions many characters and stories from the *Mahābhārata* for allusion and comparison.

When we look at the references to *Rāmāyaṇa* in the *Buddha-Charita*, we are surprised to observe how deep the impressions of *Rāmāyaṇa* on Aśvaghōṣa's mind and creativity are. Aśvaghōṣa acknowledges Vālmīki as the 'Ādikavi'³² and it seems that he considers *Rāmāyaṇa* as the ideal before him.

The references to *Rāmāyaṇa* are as follows -

- 1) Rāma is a sprout of the dynasty of Ikṣvāku. Buddha also belongs to the dynasty of Ikṣvāku³³.
- 2) People of Kapilavastu wept when they saw that Siddhārtha had not come back, just as people of Ayodhyā wept when they saw the chariot of Daśaratha's son returned without him. The charioteer (Chandaka) and the horse (Kanthaka) returned without Siddhārtha.³⁴
- 3) Chandaka compares himself to Sumantra who came back to Ayodhyā after leaving Rāma in the forest.³⁵
- 4) Śuddhodana profusely lamented, like Daśaratha dominated by grief for Rāma³⁶.
- 5) Aśvaghōṣa compares the visit of Śuddhodana's Purohita and minister to Siddhārtha with the visit of Vasiṣṭha and Vāmadeva to Rāma in the forest³⁷.
- 6) Aśvaghōṣa describes that Gautamī was lamenting having the thought in her mind how Siddhārtha would be able to live the hard life of an ascetic in the forest.³⁸ We find similar description in *Rāmāyaṇa*. Kausalyā also grieved thinking how Rāma and Sītā would tolerate the hard life in the forest.³⁹
- 7) Chandaka's sorrow and his speech to Siddhārtha⁴⁰ closely resemble to Sumantra's sorrow and his speech to Rāma⁴¹.

Aśvaghōṣa's indebtedness to *Rāmāyaṇa* is not limited to allusions and comparisons (as it is in the case of *Mahābhārata*). Some of the episodes in the *Buddha-Charita* closely resemble to those in *Rāmāyaṇa* so far as the matter and the manner are concerned. The whole episode of Chandaka's returning to Kapilavastu without Siddhārtha reminds us of the episode of Sumantra's returning to Ayodhyā without Rāma⁴². The episode containing the description of the night-scene in the harem also has a parallel in *Rāmāyaṇa*⁴³. The epic describes the ladies sleeping in Rāvaṇa's harem. Both episodes are equally poetical and highly coloured. In *Rāmāyaṇa*, the episode is merely an ornamental episode; in *Buddha-Charita* it is an essential episode which supplies the final impulse to Siddhārtha for leaving home.

Hence it can be clearly noted that Āśvaghōṣa is fully familiar with *Rāmāyaṇa*. It has left deep impression on his mind, perhaps because he is a native of Sāketa, the land of Rāma. The impact of *Rāmāyaṇa* does not leave him even after his conversion to Buddhism. The impact is twofold, i.e., that of the story of Rāma and that of the *Mahākāvya* style of Vālmīki. We find the beginning of the *Mahākāvya* in *Rāmāyaṇa*. Therefore, perhaps, he is inspired to compose Buddha's life-history and he chooses the *Mahākāvya* - style when he thinks of composing *Buddha-Carita*. At the conclusion of his *Saundarananda*, he declares that he is writing for a large public and not merely for a learned audience⁴⁴. To serve this purpose, *Mahākāvya* - form is quite suitable, for, it had been popular in those times.⁴⁵

Āśvaghōṣa does not want to restrict his audience only to Buddhist people. He wants the whole population to be his audience, and the population possesses deep impact of the Brahmanical literature — especially that of *Rāmāyaṇa* on the heart and on the soul. When he interweaves in his composition the ideas and legends, which occur in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and other literature and are traditionally known to them, he gets them involved in the Buddhistic teachings.

Thus, the concepts and legends in the Epics nicely serve Āśvaghōṣa's purpose. But they occur very naturally in the course of description. Āśvaghōṣa does not make any determined effort to interweave them in his narration. And it is a big achievement on his part.

Sanskrit literature and Sanskrit Poetics are closely related to each other. The history of Sanskrit literature begins with the *Vedas*. One can find therein a number of hymns and legends having literary value. Then Sanskrit literature is endowed with the two great Epics, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*. The so-called classical period starts with Bhāsa (approximately fourth century B.C.), and then centuries after centuries it prospers in the hands of Āśvaghōṣa, Kālidāsa, Śūdraka, Bāṇa, Bhavabhūti and many others.

If compared to Classical Sanskrit literature, Sanskrit Poetics — as an independent faculty of knowledge — begins later. The oldest work on Poetics available to us in Bhāmaha's *Kāvyaśāstra*,⁴⁶ originated in the fifth or sixth century A. D. since when Sanskrit Poetics went on developing upto sixteenth century A. D. at the hands of Daṇḍin, Vāmana, Ānandavardhana, Kuntaka, Mammaṭa, Jagannātha and many others. It does not, therefore, mean that there were no thoughts or concepts formally stated about *Kāvyaśāstra* before the fifth century A.D. One can observe that there were some vague and stray ideas related to the composition of *Kāvya* in the minds of the Vedic poets⁴⁷. The activity of a poet is compared to that of a weaver or a carpenter. The words like *Suṣṛktī*, *Suṣṛutī*, *Kāru*, *Atakṣāma* etc. clearly indicate the poet's conscious efforts for making a hymn a well-finished product. They

are aware of decorating their hymns, since the words like *Śumbhāmi*, *Supēśas Karati*, *Vācam pipiśuḥ* are often used. Thus, in Vedic period, poets were aware of the fact that poetry should give delight to the readers or listeners and there are some modes or peculiarities which make poetry delightful. Then one comes across the Epic-period and notices that the seer-poets, in the course of narration, deliberately use some devices in order to create beautiful and delighting poetry.

Bharata, the author of the *Nāṭya-Śāstra*, is the only writer prior to Bhāmaha who, though not recognised as a poetician, discusses poetical concepts in relation to drama. Drama consists of the *vācika-abhinaya* as one of its elements, and in this connection Bharata has treated *Kāvya* in his *Nāṭya-Śāstra*. He discusses thirty-six *lakṣaṇas*, then *guṇas* and four *alaṅkāras* as the adorning elements of poetry. They are nothing but the various beautiful modes of expression prevailing in his times. There is a divergence of opinion about the date of Bharata which spans the period from the fifth century B.C. to the third century A.D.⁴⁸

Thus, in the period prior to Bhāmaha, though there may not be any treatise on *Kāvya-Śāstra*, the poets were aware of some concepts related to the modes or formula of poetic expression. They used those modes or devices in order to create beautiful poetry which delighted the readers. Bhāmaha and other poeticians observed contemporary poetry. They took into consideration current and successful formulas used by the poets. They systematized the scattered ideas about the composition of poetry. Thus, they formulated the science of poetry⁴⁹. In the course of discussion, they referred to the names of ancient as well as current poets, gave illustrations from their works, praised, criticized or estimated their compositions in accordance with certain criteria.

These treatises on Poetics guided and advised later poets. They followed the models and standards raised by Poetics. Thus, Sanskrit poetry and poetics are related to each other.

It will be interesting to see how far Aśvaghōṣa and his *Buddha-Carita* are related to Sanskrit poetics. This, however, depends on whether Aśvaghōṣa was acquainted with Poetics and whether Sanskrit Poetics had taken notice of Aśvaghōṣa and his *Buddha-Carita*.

So far as Aśvaghōṣa's acquaintance with Poetics is concerned, there is a clear evidence. In the closing verses of the *Saundarananda*, Aśvaghōṣa states that the poem has been written in the *Kāvya-style*. It deals with the subject of Salvation. The poet has handled other subjects in it besides Salvation in accordance with the 'law of *Kāvya*' to make it palatable, as sweet is put into a bitter medicine to make it drinkable.

इत्येषा व्युपशान्तये न रतये मोक्षार्थगर्भा कृतिः
 श्रोतॄणां ग्रहणार्थमन्यमनसां काव्योपचारात्कृता ।
 यन्मोक्षात्कृतमन्यदत्र हि मया तत्काव्यधर्मात्कृतं
 पातुं तिकमिवौषधं मधुयुतं हृद्यं कथं स्यादिति ॥⁵⁰

The verse indicates that Āśvaghōṣa knows that poetic expression is different from and superior to ordinary expression. When the subject is conveyed through ordinary expression, it cannot attract the minds of the people and hence it makes less impression on them. But when the same subject is conveyed through poetic expression, it immediately attracts the readers, pleases them, and finally achieves deep impact on their minds. In order to attain this purpose, poetic expression possesses some peculiarities which are not found in ordinary expression. Āśvaghōṣa calls them as '*Kāvya-dharma*'. When these peculiarities are enumerated and discussed in a systematic form, they are known as the rules of poetic composition. When a subject is expressed in accordance with these rules, it can be called as '*Kāvyaopacārāt Kṛta*' (written in the *Kāvya-style*). These rhetorical concepts appear to be known in Āśvaghōṣa's times. Āśvaghōṣa is fully aware of them. Perhaps he knows some regular work on Poetics which has not come down to us.⁵¹

Unfortunately no work on Poetics known in Āśvaghōṣa's times is available to us, but we can observe what types of poetical concepts are known to Āśvaghōṣa and how far they correspond to the concepts put forward by later Sanskrit poets. The *Buddha-Carita* is known to be the *Mahākāvya*. The characteristics of the *Mahākāvya* are known to Āśvaghōṣa. Later on, Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin speak in detail of the characteristics of the *Mahākāvya*. Most of them correspond to those which are found in the *Buddha-Carita*. For example :

- 1) The *Mahākāvya* is always divided into cantos (*Sargabandho mahākāvyaṃ*).⁵³ The *Buddha-Carita* observes this rule.
- 2) Every canto of the *Mahākāvya* ends in a different metre. All thirteen cantos of the *Buddha-Carita* end with a verse which is composed in a different metre as compared to all other verses in the canto.

Āśvaghōṣa's skill in the use of classical metres is remarkable. He smoothly handles different metres like *upajāti*, *praharṣiṇī*, *vasantatilakā*, *mālinī*, *śikharīṇī*, *śārdūlavikrīḍita* etc. His composition can be called '*Śravyaṃ*'⁵⁴ as recommended by Poetics.

- 3) The *Mahākāvya* should describe famous deeds of great personalities.⁵⁵ The hero is born in well-known dynasty and possessor of all virtues including valour, knowledge, purity, etc. He follows the way accepted by good people.⁵⁶ His enemy also possesses equal strength; hence when the hero defeats such an enemy, his glorious success appeals to the

readers⁵⁷. The death of the hero never takes place in the *Mahākāvya*⁵⁸.

Siddhārtha, the hero of the *Buddha-Carita* suits to these conditions. In the opening verse, the poet tells that Siddhārtha is born in the noble race of Ikṣvāku. He is *udātta* by nature. His aim is attainment of *bodhi* and he makes hard and constant efforts putting aside all temptations as well as oppositions. Māra, his enemy, is not a human being; but the God of love, the emperor of the whole world of passion, the conqueror of great personalities like Aiḍa and Śantanu. But Siddhārtha by his steadfastness and tranquillity conquers Māra and attains exact knowledge of the ultimate reality. Thus, the life-story of Siddhārtha proves to be suitable to the *Mahākāvya*. The poet also fulfils the condition that the subject of the *Mahākāvya* should be based on historical legends (*ītihāsa-kathodbhūtam*).

- 4) The *Mahākāvya* should consist of various episodes. For example - the descriptions of towns, oceans, mountains, seasons etc., the descriptions of marriage, birth of a son and other festivals, pleasures in groves, watertanks etc., the descriptions of counsel, despatch of a messenger, journey, war etc.

In the *Buddha-Carita* Aśvaghōṣa portrays various episodes, such as birth of the prince (I.8-38), Siddhārtha's excursion on the royal highway and description of citizens eager to see him (III 8-25), the sight of an old man, that of a man afflicted by disease and that of a dead body (III 26-61), women trying to capture Siddhārtha's mind (IV. 1-7), women sleeping in harem (V. 47-61), the deputation of the counsellor and the *purohita* to Siddhārtha (IXth Canto), the war between Siddhārtha and Māra (XIIIth canto) etc.

It is remarkable that every episode appears to be necessary in the course of the story. No episode appears to be deliberately joined to the story in order to fulfil the requirement of the *Mahākāvya* style or to decorate the story.

- 5) As indicated by Poetics, these episodes are not much abridged and at the same time not much elaborated (*asaṅkṣipta* and *anativistīrṇa*.) The descriptions therein are appropriate to the experience of wordly life (*iyuktam lokasvabhāvena*). They show poet's minute observation of life.⁵⁹ According to *Kāvyaśāstra*, the *Mahākāvya* should be decorated with various *rasas* like *Śṛṅgāra*, *Vīra*, *Karuṇa*, *Raudra*, *Bhayānaka*, etc.⁶⁰ Furthermore, it should be embellished by various *alaṅkāras* (*sālankāram* or *alankṛtam*).

The *Buddha-Carita* does not fail to give us enjoyment of *rasa* as well as pleasure of poetic figures. (Detailed discussion of the *rasas* and *alaṅkāras* in the *Buddha-Carita* is given elsewhere).

Thus, it appears that Āśvaghōṣa is quite familiar to the characteristics of the *Mahākāvya* prevailing in his times. These characteristics are accepted and established by the poeticians like Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin. Hence, the *Buddha-Carita* and the later Sanskrit *Mahākāvya*s look similar so far as their construction is concerned.

Āśvaghōṣa's *Mahākāvya* consists of the life-story of the Buddha, which is nothing but the story of constant efforts for the attainment of ultimate reality. A composition consisting of such subject may become a bare recital of incidents containing dry and unattractive exposition of doctrines. But Āśvaghōṣa is more a poet than a monk. As a genuine poet he conceives the life-story of the Buddha in the spirit of the *Kāvya* in respect of narrative, diction and imagery.

Āśvaghōṣa's choice of incidents is quite suitable to the measure and form of the *Kāvya*. As Dasgupta observes, Āśvaghōṣa casts out miraculous and extravagant details in the Buddha-legends⁶¹. At the same time, he invents imaginary incidents which are attractive as well as suitable to the flow of the story. For example, the description of the ladies watching the prince when he passes through the royal path⁶²; the description of the ladies who try to attract Siddhārtha's mind, etc.⁶³ Sanskrit poeticians always mention that the poet must possess the capacity of selecting proper incidents as well as of inventing novel incidents⁶⁴. Āśvaghōṣa is successful in keeping the interest of the readers by interweaving such imaginary incidents.

Āśvaghōṣa is remarkable in the well-planned artistic arrangement of the episodes. For example, the episode of the women watching the prince is full of joy and enthusiasm. It is followed by the incident of the vision of the threefold sorrows in the world. The latter becomes more striking owing to his early background. This contrast effectively brings out the transient nature of worldly pleasures as well as the all-pervading nature of sorrow.

The poetic composition demands an organic unity of various episodes. Every episode should possess the beauty of its own; and at the same time it should be mutually connected to other episodes. The episodes should be harmonized in such a way that the relation of the episodes should be of mutual support or help. It is an important aspect of plot construction stated by Poetics⁶⁵. Āśvaghōṣa is aware of this aspect. In the fifth canto of the *Buddha-Carita*, Āśvaghōṣa presents the highly-coloured description of the night-scene in the harem, wherein Siddhārtha observes women asleep having distortion in the gestures of their limbs. The whole scene is endowed with poetic beauty; but it is not a mere decorative episode introduced to show poet's artistic skill. It is an essential element in the story, as it supplies the final impulse which stirs Siddhārtha to abandon the palace and thus leads to the dénouement intended by the poet.

Aśvaghōṣa's narratives do not appear to be dull or uninteresting, because he infuses poetic emotions in them. His delineation of the *karuṇarasa* touches the reader due to its simplicity and depth. He never allows himself to cross the limits of decorum. Perhaps he is aware of the fact that indecorum is the main cause of a breach in sentiment⁶⁶. Hence the episode containing Yaśodharā's lamentation becomes one of highly remarkable episodes in the *Buddha-Carita*.⁶⁷ The thirteenth canto consists of the description of the war between Māra and Siddhārtha, and presents beautiful combination of *Vīrarasa*, *Raudrarasa*, and *Adbhutarasa*. The poet infuses the so-called *ojas* with his remarkable skill of narration and without any support of harsh syllables and long compounds. He describes Māra, on the one hand, as being proud of himself and possessing marvellous force and weapons: and on the other hand, he describes Siddhārtha as standing alone and possessing the virtues like *sūma*, *dāma*, *vairāgya* and *niścaya*. This contrast lifts the whole incident to the higher level and emphasises the extraordinariness and nobility of Siddhārtha's achievement. Here we obviously notice how active *pratibhā* (which is considered by Poetics as the main - or rather sole-cause of Poetry)⁶⁸ endows the narrative with poetic beauty.

Thus, Aśvaghōṣa's narratives possess various specialities. Moreover, his narratives give us an experience of freshness, simplicity, spontaneity and uprightness. They are almost free from subtle technicalities and conventional tricks which show the earned skill on the part of the poet. These qualities endow the *Buddha-Carita* with excellence, but the most important speciality of the *Buddha-Carita* is the spontaneous emotion which overflows in the poem. The sources of this emotion are Aśvaghōṣa's ardent devotion to the Buddha and his faith in Buddha's doctrines that shine in every line and illuminate the whole poem.

Kāvya is nothing but the *sāhitya* or mutual combination of words and meanings. The expression (*śabda*) and the content (*artha*) are equally important in the *Kāvya*. Since Vedic period, poets are aware of the fact that the contents should be beautiful by themselves, and they become more so when they are conveyed in appropriate style. They use different forms of expression and attain expressional strikingness which certainly attracts the readers and conveys the content more effectively.

No wonder, if Poetics also is aware of the power of expression. Bharata, in his *Nāṭyaśāstra* elaborately discusses *lakṣaṇas* which are nothing but the modes of stylistic expression that would beautify poetry⁶⁹. These *lakṣaṇas* consist of *atīśaya* or extraordinary strikingness as their fundamental characteristic. The *atīśaya* is the basic principle of the so-called *vakrokti*. *Vakrokti* is nothing but the striking beauty of both the word and the sense. The term *Vakrokti* is first of all used by Bhāmaha. He nowhere defines the term *vakrokti* and emphasizes it as it is well-known in his times. So

it appears that the concept of *vakrokti* is well-known in the period prior to Bhāmaha.

Āśvaghoṣa seems to be aware of this concept, as has been evident through his striking expressions⁷⁰ and alliterative verses, smooth and soothing in movement.⁷¹ For Example :-

१) काले ततश्चारुपयोधरायां यशोधरायां स्वयशोधरायाम् ।
शौद्धोदने राहुसपत्नवक्त्रो जज्ञे सुतो राहुल एव नाम्ना ॥⁷²

२) काचित्पद्मवनादेत्य सपद्मा पद्मलोचना ।
पद्मवक्त्रस्य पाशर्वेऽस्य पद्मश्रीरिव तस्थुषी ॥⁷³

३) सराजसुनुर्मृगराजगामी मृगाजिरं तन्मृगवत्प्रविष्टः ।⁷⁴

Sometimes the effect is created by proper and charming use of verbs :-
न चुक्रुथुर्नो रुरुदुर्न शश्वसुर्न चेलुरासुलिखिता इव स्थिताः ।⁷⁵

One can find rare instances of the *śabda-śleṣa*. For example—

विमानपृष्ठान्न महीं जगाम विमानपृष्ठादिव पुण्यकर्म ।⁷⁶

Sometimes Āśvaghoṣa achieves both excellence and novelty of expression in one and the same verse. For example :-

१) कश्चित् सिषेवे रतये न कामं कामार्थमर्थं न जुगोप कश्चित् ।
कश्चित् धनार्थं न चचार धर्मं धर्माय कश्चिन्न चकार हिंसाम् ॥⁷⁷
(Nobody enjoyed *kāma* for sensual pleasures.
Nobody protected wealth for attaining *kāma*.
Nobody observed *dharma* for getting money;
and nobody accepted violence for attaining *dharma*).

२) एकं विनिन्द्ये स जुगोप सप्त सप्तैव तत्याज ररक्ष पञ्च ।
प्राप त्रिवर्गं बुबुधे त्रिवर्गं जज्ञे द्विवर्गं प्रजहौ द्विवर्गम् ॥⁷⁸

(He disciplined the one (mind), protected the seven (*dhātus*), abandoned the seven (*malas*), protected the five (*tattvas*), attained the three (*pruruṣārthas*), realised the three (*śatru, mitra and udāsīna*), knew the two (*nīti* and *anīti*), and gave up the two (*kāma* and *krodha*).

Thus, is the *Buddha-Carita*, one finds the verses remarkable for *vicchitti* or *vaichitrya* that springs up from peculiar arrangement of words. They are less in number, because Āśvaghoṣa is not much interested in playing with words. As he says, at the conclusion of the *Saundarananda*, that he writes for a larger public, and not merely for a learned audience; for the attainment of peace and not for the display of skill in the poetic art. Therefore, expressional strikingness occurs in the course of narration without any special effort on the part of the poet. It adds beauty to narration, but does not suppress natural beauty of the matter. Thus, his expression is hardly felt laboured and devoid of elegant simplicity. It is free from artificial devices and their

hundreds of varieties discussed by later poetics as well as overused by later poets.

Aśvaghōṣa's aim makes him stress more on sense than on manner. In Mammaṭa's language, Aśvaghōṣa wants to achieve '*Kantāsammitatayā upadēśā*'⁷⁹ The reader should get attracted to the story, he should enjoy the story and should get involved in it; so that he should get influenced by the advice therein, unnoticing that it is so happening ! This project requires natural beauty and grandeur of the subjects and its presentation through minimum required strikingness of expression. It leaves no room for deliberate straining to compose decorative expression. As a result, Aśvaghōṣa chooses the style later known as of *Vaidarbha* type⁸⁰.

Aśvaghōṣa's language is overall simple, elegant, devoid of long compounds and strange words, artistic but not artificial⁸¹. It is attractive but not dazzling. His verses are melodious in general, but he never strives for melody; otherwise he may lose his grip on the content and poetic quality.⁸²

Aśvaghōṣa is very moderate in the use of the *arthālaṅkāras* also. He mainly uses such figures of speech as *upamā*, *utprekṣā*, *rūpaka*, *arthāntaranyāsa*, *aprasūta-praśamsā*, etc., which are based on comparison. Comparison is the oldest means of embellishment frequently used by the poets since the Vedic period. The great poets like Vālmiki and Kālidāsa use comparison for more than the other rhetoric principles. Comparison proves to be the essential principle, not only for embellishment, but for lifting the narratives from the level of mere statement to the level of poetic description. The bare statements of the facts, however well-worded, usually appear to be dull and uninteresting⁸³. They fail to convey the inner intention of the poet which he wants to communicate to the reader. Therefore, in order to communicate his internal emotions, he tries to suggest more than he expresses. He wants to stimulate the reader's imagination. This object can be obtained by those expressions which are different from and superior to ordinary expression⁸⁴. Such expressions mostly consist of comparison in either of its forms. Aśvaghōṣa seems to be well-acquainted with this importance of comparison.

Of all varieties of comparison, *upamā* is most frequently used by the poets. Aśvaghōṣa is not an exception. He mainly uses those *upamānas* which are based on natural phenomenon. The moon is used as an *upamāna* in a number of verses; but everywhere the *upamāna* occurs with a novel flash of imagination. For example - *Śuddhodana* is said to be pure in conduct and beloved of his people as the moon in autumn⁸⁵. The prince, who gradually grew up in all due perfection, is compared to the lord of the stars in the bright fortnight⁸⁶. Like the moon with the constellations mounting the sky, the prince is described to proceed towards the road.⁸⁷ The ladies in the garden feel, because of his noble and pleasing personality, that the moon

has come down to earth in person with her rays veiled⁸⁸. Though Siddhārtha is emaciated due to penance, he is a source of joy to the eyes of others, as the moon in autumn at the beginning of the bright fortnight is to the night-lotuses⁸⁹. Thus, the poet successfully uses one and the same *upamāna* with different facets of imagination⁹⁰.

Some other beautiful *upamānas* based on Nature are as follows :

- A) At the birth of the prince, the earth trembled like a ship struck by the wind.⁹¹
- B) The king swells with joy over the prince's birth as a river swells with the flood of water.⁹²
- C) Due to the narrowness of the windows, the faces of women seemed like the bunches of lotuses tied to the windows.⁹³
- D) A woman clothed in blue garments and with a girdle partly seen, looked like the night with the flash of lightning.⁹⁴
- E) Siddhārtha tossed his crown in the sky just as one tosses a swan into the lake.⁹⁵
- F) As the creepers waving in the wind strike themselves with their own tendrils, so the women beat their breasts with their hands⁹⁶.
- G) A piece of rock is compared to an elephant's ear for its dark blue colour.⁹⁷
- H) Though Siddhārtha was extremely reduced, yet with the undiminished depth of the soul, he looked like the ocean whose depth never diminishes.⁹⁸

Even when Āsvaghoṣa describes philosophical concepts, he clothes them in poetic garments with the help of appropriate *upamās*. For example :-

लोकस्य कामैर्न वितृप्तिरस्ति पतद्भिस्मोभिरिवार्णवस्य ।”

The *upamāna* seems to be quite suitable to the speaker and to the situation. For example - A lady, who tries to fascinate Siddhārtha's mind, shows him a *tilaka* tree embraced by a branch of mango tree, and compares it to a man in white garments embraced by a woman in yellow body-paint.¹⁰⁰

The poet skilfully presents *Mālopamā*. At one place he composes a series of similes, wherein Siddhārtha, who deserts his father, mother, wife and son, is compared respectively to an atheist abandoning the good law, to an ungrateful man neglecting kind treatment, to a coward giving up the prosperity he has obtained, and to a vicious man losing his excellent repute¹⁰¹. At another place Āsvaghoṣa presents an instance of *Mālopamā* wherein every verse contains a separate simile to show uselessness of *Kāma*¹⁰². All these similes occur very naturally in the flow of narration and they do not appear as artificially

imposed afterwards.¹⁰³

At very few places we feel that the comparison is artificially imposed.¹⁰⁴ At some places we notice that the gender or the number fails to correspond¹⁰⁵. But such instances are very rare in the *Buddha-Carita*.

The poet presents a beautiful *rūpaka* wherein he says that the city is burning up with the fire of grief, whose fuel is separation from the prince, whose smoke is sighs and whose flames are sorrow, and it longs for the water of a sight of the prince.¹⁰⁶

Aśvaghoṣa conveys philosophical contents through charming *rūpakas*. These *rūpakas* make the philosophical concepts vivid, easy to grasp and at the same time colourful and beautiful to be suitable to a poetic composition. For Example :-

प्रज्ञाम्युवेगां स्थिरशीलवप्रां समाधिशीतां व्रतचक्रवाकाम् ।
अस्योत्तमां धर्मनदीं प्रवृत्तां तृष्णादितः पास्यति जीवलोकः ॥¹⁰⁷

At one place he gives a series of such *rūpakas*.¹⁰⁸

He uses philosophical concepts also as the *upamānas*. For example :-

तस्मिंस्तथा भूमिपतौ प्रवृत्ते भृत्याश्च पौराश्च तथैव चेरुः ।
शमात्मके चेतसि विप्रसन्ने प्रयुक्तयोगाय यथेन्द्रियाणि ॥¹⁰⁹

These philosophical concepts used as the *upamānas* bring forth the poet's acquaintance with philosophical and religious literature, but the remarkable thing is that his scholarship never dominates his poetic genius.

Aśvaghoṣa endows his poem also with some other *alaṅkāras*, such as *dṛṣṭānta*¹¹⁰, *vyājastuti*¹¹¹, *dīpaka*¹¹², *nidarśanā*¹¹³, *arthāntaranyāsa*¹¹⁴, *viśama*¹¹⁵, etc.

Thus, Aśvaghoṣa employs limited varieties of the poetic figures.

Aśvaghoṣa's creative imagination never allows the narratives to be dull and monotonous, because it finds different beautiful ways of expression and thus makes the readers to be involved in the poem.

It appears that some modes of stylistic expression were popular in Aśvaghoṣa's times. They were known and used as the beautifying elements of poetry. It seems that Bharata, the author of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, collects and systematizes many of them in his concept of *lakṣaṇas*¹¹⁶. Many of the later *alaṅkāras* have their counterparts in some of the *lakṣaṇas*. Bharata's emphasis on the *lakṣaṇas* as the inevitable characteristics of poetry, his elaborate description of the *lakṣaṇas* and their number which is far bigger than that of the *alaṅkāras*.¹¹⁷ clearly indicate the importance and popularity of the *lakṣaṇas*. The *lakṣaṇas* are nothing but the striking flashes of poetic imagination

through which the poet tries to convey his intended meaning as effectively as possible. We come across many of such striking flashes of Aśvaghōṣa's creative art. We need not try to put them in ready-made moulds of poetic figures which has been done by later poets. It is worthwhile enjoying them. But one should not be lost only in the poetic beauty of the *Buddha-Carita*. One should discover the noble message which is clothed there. This is what Aśvaghōṣa desires to accomplish.

Thus, we notice Aśvaghōṣa's acquaintance with rhetorical concepts prevailing in his times. We also observe that those concepts have impressed later Sanskrit poets. We should have expected Sanskrit poets to refer to Aśvaghōṣa and his *Buddha-Carita* in one connection or the other, as they have referred to a number of other poets and drawn their illustrations from his compositions. But when we try to search for such references, Sanskrit Poetics fails to fulfil our expectation.

In the whole realm of Sanskrit Poetics, there is only one and the single reference to Aśvaghōṣa. Rājasekhara, in the opening pages of his *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*¹¹⁸, gives a quotation from the *Buddha-Carita*—

--- त्रिधा च शब्दकविर्नामारख्यातार्थभेदेन ।----
नामारख्यातकवि :-
हतत्विषोन्धाः शिथिलांसबाहवः
स्त्रियो विषादेन विचेतना इव ।
न चुक्रुशुर्नो रुरुदुर्न सस्वनु -
र्न चेलुरासुर्लिखिता इव क्षणम् ॥¹¹⁹

Rājasekhara rightly says that the verse is remarkable for proper and charming use of nouns and verbs.

Except this quotation, there is no other reference to Aśvaghōṣa by name, nor any other quotation from his works¹²⁰. Hence the question arises why Sanskrit Poetics has not shown any acquaintance with Aśvaghōṣa and his works.

Aśvaghōṣa is not an ordinary Buddhist monk; but he is a renowned philosopher and spiritual adviser to Kanīṣka. He is well-known as a great poet and is remembered with respect even after centuries. Hiouen Tshang, who visited India in the seventh century, mentions him along with Deva, Nāgārjuna and Kumāralabdha, as 'the four suns which illumine the world'¹²¹. I-tsing, who visited India in 673 A.D. admires Aśvaghōṣa's *Buddha-Carita* in the following words -

"It is widely read or sung throughout the five divisions of India, and the countries of the southern sea"¹²².

These quotations prove that Aśvaghōṣa was already established as a poet

and philosopher. His *Buddha-Carita* had obtained a place of honour in the minds of scholars as well as of the public.

But Poetics does not take notice of such a great poet and his renowned poetry. The reason seems to be non-rhetorical. Sanskrit Poetics had always been one of the faculties of Brahmanical learning. Sanskrit poetics belong to Vedic-Brahmanical traditions. Therefore, perhaps, they are not ready to look at the literature belonging to a different religion. Aśvaghōṣa is a Buddhist monk and his poetry deals with the Tathāgata's noble doctrines. So the poetics consider him as a stranger and the subject of his poem as an extraneous subject. According to them, the poet and his poem do not fit into their tradition. Due to this feeling and perhaps due to prejudices against Buddhism, they do not feel it necessary to take notice of the literary happenings taking place among the Buddhists. It seems that Sanskrit poetics deliberately avoid to refer to the Buddhist writers like Aśvaghōṣa and their compositions. Rājasekhara is the only poetician who gives up this typical mentality and shows his acquaintance with Aśvaghōṣa's *Buddha-Carita*. Overall it seems that Aśvaghōṣa and his *Buddha-Carita* remain limited only to Buddhist readers. Sanskrit Poetics unfortunately loses an opportunity to enjoy and to review the masterpiece of a genuine poet.

Notes and References

This paper was prepared during the tenure of *Fellowship in Indology*
- Oct. 1991 to Oct. 1992.

1. *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, Keith A. B., Oxford University Press, London, 1953, p. 65.

cf. *The Buddha-Carita*, ed. by Johnston E. H., Punjab University, Oriental Publication No. 32, Lahore 1936, Part II Intro. p. XVI.

cf. *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, Dasgupta, Calcutta, 1947, Vol. I. p. 70.

2. *History of Indian Literature*, Winternitz M., Calcutta 1977; Vol. II, pp. 258-59.

cf. *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, Keith A. B., p. 58.

cf. *The Buddha-Carita*, ed. by Cowell E. B., Oxford, 1894, Intro. pp. X-XI.

3. *A History of Sanskrit Literature* - Keith A. B., London, 1953, p. 65.
History of Indian Literature - Winternitz M., Calcutta 1977, Vol. II; p. 265.

4. *A History of Sanskrit Literature* (Classical period) - Dasgupta, Calcutta,

1947, Vol. I., p. 70.

5. *Vākrokti-Jīvita*, ed. by Krishnamoorthy K., Dharwad, 1977, p. 45 -
 प्राक्तनाद्यत्नसंस्कारपरिपाकप्रौढा प्रतिभा ।
6. For example : Aśvaghōṣa uses the word 'dvija' for *agni* (*B. C. XI. 71*), 'nābhi' for *agni* and 'dhāman' for *soma* (*B. C. XIII 68*), 'aurvaśeya' for *Vasiṣṭha* (*B. C. IX. 9*). He employs the Vedic words 'prokṣaṇa' and 'abhyukṣaṇa' (*B. C. XII. 30*).
7. For example : 1) The science of healing was proclaimed by Ātreya (*B. C. I. 43*) cf. *Agnipurāṇa* 285 and *Garuḍapurāṇa* I.I.146.
 2) Vasiṣṭha and Akṣamālā gave birth to Kapiñjalāda (*B. C. IV. 77*), cf. *Matsyapurāṇa* III. 117.
 3) Candramā and Tārā (wife of Bṛhaspati) gave birth to Budha (*B. C. IV. 75*) cf. *Padmapurāṇa, Sṛṣṭi 82*.
 4) Pṛthu was born from the hand (*B. C. I. 10*), cf. *Viṣṇupurāṇa, Ch. 22*.
 5) Aiḍa enjoyed with Urvaśī (*B. C. XI. 15*), cf. The story is found in the *śatapatha-brāhmaṇa* as well as in *Matsyapurāṇa, Vāyupurāṇa, Padmapurāṇa* and *Viṣṇupurāṇa*.
 6) Senajit attained *mokṣa* (*B. C. IX. 20*), Senajit is referred to by *Viṣṇupurāṇa, Vāyupurāṇa, and Matsyapurāṇa*.
8. *Buddha-Carita*, X. 17.
9. *Ibid.* XI. 18.
10. *Ibid.* XIII. 12.
11. *Ibid.* IV. 76.
12. *Ibid.* IV. 78.
13. *Buddha-Carita* - IV. 79.
14. *Ibid.* II. 11.
15. *Ibid.* I.88; XIII.16.
16. *Ibid.* IX. 25.
17. *Ibid.* XI. 31.
18. *Ibid.* I.10 cf. *Mahābhārata, Ādi. 179*.
19. *B. C. I.10* cf. *Mahābhārata, Śānti. 59*.
20. *B. C. XI. 14* cf. *Mahābhārata, Udyoga. 17*.

21. *B. C. XI. 16* cf. *Mahābhārata, Sabhā. 38.*
22. *B. C. XI. 18* cf. *Mahābhārata, Śānti. 27.*
23. *B. C. XI. 32* cf. *Mahābhārata, Ādi. 208-211.*
24. *Buddha-Carita IV. 18* cf. *Mahābhārata, Sabhā. 21.*
25. *B. C. IV. 19* cf. *Mahābhārata, Vana. 113.*
26. *B. C. I.41* cf. *Mahābhārata, Ādi 65.* *Śāntiparva* also deals with the science of royal policy proclaimed by Bṛhaspati and Śukra.
27. *B. C. I.42* cf. *Mahābhārata, Ādi. 63.*
28. *B. C. IV. 74* cf. *Mahābhārata, Vana. 104; Anuśāsana. 142.*
29. *B. C. IV. 72* cf. *Mahābhārata, Śānti. 342.*
30. *B. C. IV. 77* cf. *Mahābhārata, Udyoga. 117.*
31. *B. C. IX. 26* cf. *Mahābhārata, Vana. 104.*
32. *Buddha-Carita, I.43.*
33. *Ibid. I.1.*
34. *Ibid. VIII. 8.*
मुमोच बाष्पं पथि नागसे जनः पुरा रथे दशरथेस्त्रिवागते ।
35. *Buddha-Carita, VI. 36.*
36. *Ibid. VIII. 81.*
37. *Ibid. IX 9.* The epic contains the visit of Vasiṣṭha and Bharata to Rāma. *Rāmāyaṇa, Ayodhyā. III.*
38. *Buddha-Carita, VIII 52-58.*
39. *Rāmāyaṇa, Ayodhyā. 24 2-3, 61 307.*
40. *Buddha-Carita, VI 26-41.*
41. *Rāmāyaṇa, Ayodhyā. 52 37-58.*
42. *Buddha-Carita, VIII 5-30.* Compare to *Rāmāyaṇa, Ayodhyā. 57 5-16.*
43. *Buddha-Carita, Vth Canto.* Compare to *Rāmāyaṇa, Sundara. IXth and Xth cantos.* Both poets present a simile of the river in their descriptions. cf. *Buddha-Carita V. 49* and *Rāmāyaṇa, Sundara. IX. 50.*
44. *Saundarananda, ed. by Jonston E. H., Lahore, 1928, XVIII 63.*
45. cf. *A History of Sanskrit Literature, Dasgupta, Calcutta 1947, Vol. I p. 317* - "The *Mahākāvya*, as an extensive and elevated poetic endeavour,

probably came to be regarded as the highest type of composition and as the indispensable test of a great poet."

cf. *History of Indian Literature*, Winternitz M., Delhi, 1977. 2nd edn. Vol. III, Part I, p. 45. Winternitz states that Āśvaghoṣa had composed his epic only according to some long-standing model. He does not think that a confirmed Buddhist like Āśvaghoṣa should have been the first poet to have directly composed in this style; On the contrary, the possibility is that he adopted the style of the *Mahākāvya* to Buddhist themes for the simple reason that this was the usual style for secular poetry in his age.

46. There is a keen controversy as to who is the earliest Sanskrit poetician - Bhāmaha or Daṇḍin. Actually both belong to 5th or 6th century A. D. The scholars like A. Sankaran hold that Bhāmaha represents a period earlier than that of Daṇḍin.

cf. *Some Aspects of Literary Criticism in Sanskrit*, Sankaran, A., III edn. Delhi, 1973, p. 22.

47. cf. *Some Poetical Aspects of Ṛgvedic Repetitions*, Mainkar, T. G., Poona, 1966.

The Ṛgvedic Foundations of Classical Poetics, Mainkar T. G., Delhi, 1977. *Kavi And Kāvya in the Atharvaveda*, Shende N. J., Poona, 1967.

48. cf. *Bharata-Nāṭya-Maṅjarī*, Bhat G. K., Poona, 1975, Intro. pp. III-IV.

49. *Kāvya-lankāra*, VI. 64.

अवलोक्य मतानि सत्कवीनामवगम्य स्वधिया च काव्यलक्ष्म ।

सुजनावगमाय भामहेन ग्रथितं रक्विलगोमिसूनुनेदम् ॥

cf. *Kāvya-darśa*, I.2.

पूर्वशास्त्राणि संहृत्य प्रयोगानुपलक्ष्य च ।

यथासामर्थ्यमस्माभिः क्रियते काव्यलक्षणम् ॥

50. *The Saundarananda of Āśvaghoṣa*, XVIII. 63, ed. by Jonston E. H., Lahore, 1928.

51. cf. *History of Indian Literature*, Winternitz M., Delhi, 1977, 2nd ed. Vol. II., Part I, pp. 45-46.

cf. *A History of Sanskrit Literature* (Classical period), Dasgupta, Vol. I, Intro. p. 14.

52. *Kāvya-lankāra*, I.19-23.

Kāvya-darśa, I. 14-22.

53. *Kāvya-lankāra*, I. 19, *Kāvya-darśa*, I.14.

54. *Kāvyaḍarsā*, I.18.
55. *Kāvyaḷankāra*, I.19 - *Mahatām ca mahat ca yat*.
56. *Viṣṇudharmottara-purāna*, I.15.6 -
नायको धर्मविजयी सतां पन्थानमाश्रितः ।
57. *Kāvyaḍarsā*, I.22 -
वंशवीर्यश्रुतादीनि वर्णयित्वा रिपोरपि ।
तज्जयान्नायकोत्कर्षकथनं च धिनोति नः ॥
58. *Viṣṇudharmottara-purāna*, I.15.8 -
नायकस्य महाराज मरणं नैव वर्णयेत् ।
59. For example - *Buddha-Carita* III. 23.
The poet conveys an instant reaction of the women beholding the prince in the full glory of his beauty and majesty - 'Blessed is his wife' (*dhanyāsyā bhāryeti śanairavocat*).
60. *Kāvyaḍarsā*, I.18 - '*rasabhāvanirantaram*'.
Kāvyaḷankāra, I.21 - '*yuktam.... rasaiśca sakalaih pṛthak*'.
61. *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, Vol. I. p. 73.
62. *Buddha-Carita*, III 13-23.
63. *Buddha-Carita*, IV 24-53.
64. *Dhvanyāloka*, Krishnamoorthy K., Poona, 1955, III.2.
इतिवृत्तवशायातां त्यक्त्वाननुगुणां स्थितिम् ।
उत्प्रेक्ष्याप्यन्तराभीष्टरसोचितकथोन्नयः ॥
65. cf. *Vakrokti-Jīvita*, IV. 5-6.
प्रबन्धस्यैकदेशानां फलबन्धानुबन्धवान् ।
उपकार्योपकर्तृत्वपरिस्पन्दः परिस्फुरन् ॥
असामान्यसमुल्लेखप्रतिभाप्रतिभासिनः ।
सूते नूतनवक्रत्वरहस्यं कस्यचित्कवेः ॥
66. This fact is repeatedly emphasised by later poeticians cf. *Dhvanyāloka*,
ed. by Krishnamoorthy K., Delhi, 1982, 2nd edn., p. 138.
अनौचित्याद्भूते नान्यद्रसभङ्गस्य कारणम् ।
प्रसिद्धौचित्यबन्धस्तु रसस्योपनिषद् परा ॥
67. *Buddha-Carita*, VIII 31-71.
68. cf. *Vakrokti-Jīvita*, ed. by Krishnamoorthy K., Dharwad, 1977, p. 16,
133.
69. *Nāṭya-śāstra*, ed. by Kavi M. R., G.O.S., Baroda, 1934, Ch. XVI 1-39.

70. The artistic skill of the poet to create striking expression is connoted by the phrase - वैदग्ध्य-भङ्गी-भणिति: cf. *Vakrokti-Jīvita*, I.10.
71. cf. *Buddha-Carita*, ed. by Jonston E. H., Lahore, 1936, Part II, Intro., p. xcii.
72. *Buddha-Carita*, II. 46.
73. Ibid. IV. 36.
74. *Buddha-Carita*, VII.2.
75. Ibid. VIII. 25.
76. Ibid. II. 32.
77. Ibid. II. 14.
78. Ibid. II. 41.
79. *Kāvyaṣṭakāśa*, I.2.
80. Āśvaghoṣa's choice of *vaidarbha* style can be well-explained in Kuntaka's words. As Kuntaka says, the nature or the temperament of the poet is the true criterion for choosing the mode of poetic composition. The poetic imagination directs poetic activity through the particular way of poetic speech in accordance with the nature of the poet himself. cf. *Vakrokti-Jīvita*, ed. by Krishnamoorthy K., pp. 41-42.
81. All these qualities are stated as the *guṇa-s* of the *Vaidarbha* - style by later poetics like Daṇḍin and Vāmana. cf. *Kāvyaśarṅga*, Ch. I. *Kāvyaśarṅga-sūtra-vṛtti*, 3.1.
82. cf. *Kāvyaśarṅga*, I.34.
- अपुष्टार्थमवक्रोक्तिं प्रसन्नमृजु कोमलम् ।
भिन्नं गेयमिवेदं तु केवलं श्रुतिपेशलम् ॥
- Āśvaghoṣa's poem possesses all those qualities which are stated by Bhāmaha as the essential qualities of poetry.
- cf. Ib. I.35 - अलङ्कारवदग्राम्यमर्थं न्याय्यमनाकुलम् ।
83. cf. *Kāvyaśarṅga* II. 87.
- गतोऽस्तमर्को भातीन्दुर्यान्ति वासाय पक्षिणः ।
इत्येवमादि किं काव्यं वात्तमिनां प्रचक्षते ॥
84. cf. Ib. II 85.
- सैषा सर्वैव वक्रोक्तिरनयाऽर्थो विभाव्यते ।
यत्नोऽस्यां कविना कार्यः कोऽलङ्कारोऽनया विना ॥

85. *Buddha-Carita*, I.1.
 86. Ibid. II. 20.
 87. Ibid. III. 9.
 88. Ibid. IV. 5.
 89. *Buddha-Carita*, XII.98.
 90. Similarly Aśvaghōṣa uses the sun as an *upamāna* in different connections. Ibid. I.12, 13; II. 20, 50.
 91. Ibid. I. 21.
 92. Ibid. II.1.
 93. Ibid. III.21.
 94. *Buddha-Carita*, IV.33.
 95. Ibid. VI. 57.
 96. Ibid. VIII. 28.
 97. Ibid. X. 21.
 98. Ibid. XII. 99.
 99. Ibid. XI. 12.

See also, VI. 26, 46, 47; XI. 25 etc.

100. *Buddha-Carita*, IV. 46.
 101. Ibid. VI 31-34.
 102. Ibid. IV. XI 23-33.

See also, Ibid. I.37; VII.8; XI.35; II.20.

103. Sanskrit Poetics emphasizes that the *alaṅkāras* should be naturally woven in the course of narration. They should not appear to be superimposed on the subject. Kuntaka stresses that poetry is the name of what is adorned; and hence the question of super-adding of the ornaments to pre-existing poetry does not arise (*sālaṅkārasya kāvyatā*) *Vakrokti-Jīvita*, I.6 and the *vṛtti* thereon.
 104. *Buddha-Carita*, V.49, 56.
 105. Ibid. II.45, V. 62, VI. 26, VIII. 26.

cf. *Kāvya-darśa*, II. 51.

न लिङ्गवचने भिन्ने न हीनाधिकतापि वा ।
 उपमादूषणायालं यत्रोद्देशो न धीमताम् ॥

106. *Buddha-Carita*, IX. 29.
107. *Ibid.* I.71.
108. *Ibid.* I.70-74.
109. *Ibid.* II.45, See also VI. 31, XII. 93, 114; XIII. 47, 48, 49, 50, 51.
110. *Buddha-Carita*, IV. 60-61 :
- यस्तु दृष्ट्वा परं जीर्णं व्याधितं मृतमेव च ।
 स्वस्थो भवति नोद्विग्नो यथाचेतास्तथैव सः ॥
 वियुज्यमाने हि तरौ पुष्पैरपि फलैरपि ।
 पतति च्छिद्यमाने वा तरुरन्यो न शोचति ॥
111. *Ibid.* VIII. 34 -
- प्रियेण वश्येन हितेन साधुना
 त्वया सहायेन यथार्थकारिणा ।
 गतोऽर्ष्यपुत्रो ह्यपुनर्निवृत्तये
 स्मस्व दिष्टया सफलः श्रमस्तव ॥
112. *Ibid.* II. 37 -
- वेदोपदिष्टं सममात्मजं च सोमं पपौ शान्तिसुखं च हार्दम् ।
113. *Ibid.* VI. 40 -
- यो हि चन्द्रमसस्तैक्ष्ण्यं कथयेच्छ्रद्धधीत वा ।
 स दोषांस्तव दोषज्ञ कथयेच्छ्रद्धधीत वा ॥
114. *Ibid.* XI. 35 -
- गीतैर्हियते हि मृगा वधाय रूपार्थमग्नौ शलभाः पतन्ति ।
 मत्स्यो गिरत्यायसमामिषार्थो तस्मादनर्थं विषयाः फलन्ति ॥
115. *Ibid.* VI. 28 -
- विमानशयनार्हं हि सौकुमार्यमिदं क्व च ।
 खरदर्भाङ्कुरवती तपोवनमही क्व च ॥
116. *Nāṭyaśāstra*, Ch. XV.
117. Bharata enumerates 36 *lakṣaṇas* and only 4 *alanākāras*.
118. *Kāvya-mūnānsā*, ed. by Dalal C. R. and Sastry R. A., Baroda 3rd edn. pp. 17-18.
119. *Buddha-Carita*, VIII. 25.
120. Jonston shows similarity between *Buddha-Carita* IV. 33 and *Kāvya-darśa* II. 44; and *Buddha-Carita* XI. 71 and *Kāvya-darśa* III. 120. He thinks that Daṇḍin here may be referring to Āśvaghoṣa.
 - *The Buddha-Carita* ed. by Jonston E. H., p. XXXII.

121. *The Buddha-Carita* ed. by Cowell F. B., Oxford, 1894 Intro.
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LOCAL CUSTOMS RECOGNISED BY JAINS

JAGDISIICILANDRA JAIN

Laukika dharma or local custom consists of social norms, customs, laws, rules and institutions. It is applicable to all those who live together in a common region whether Hindu or Jain or Buddhist. *Laukika-vidhi* or *loka-ācāra* was so important that it had to be observed by all. It is said *yadyapi śuddham lokaviruddham nā karaṇīyaṃ nā caraṇīyaṃ*, i.e., though it is pure and true but if contrary to worldly customs, it should never be observed and practised. While dealing with *janapada-parīkṣā* by Jain monks, it is made obligatory for them to be well-acquainted with the local dialects, so that they are in a position to expound their religious sermons effectively and forcefully. They should also be able to narrate the local tales charmingly and pleasantly. Not only that, they are expected to have physical and geographical knowledge of the region such as regarding the irrigation of cultivable land by rain water, by river water, by tank water, by well water or by flood water.¹

If we travel to a north Indian village, we come across a village deity known as Bhumia or Bhomia, a minor territorial deity widely worshipped in the form of a construction of a pile of earth, brick or stone. It is considered a village deity (*grāma-devatā*), situated at the outskirts of a village and often worshipped by village women in Western Uttar Pradesh. The images of Bhomia are also found in Rajasthan. "All Jain temples have Bhomia images formless stone-shaped heads which are regarded by Jains as the local protectors of the temple. Such Bhomias are found at the shrines of all deities in Rajasthan, such as those of Mātā-jī, Dev Nārāyan, Tejā-jī and Gogā-jī", writes Caroline Humphrey.²

Kesariyājī in Udaipur district, Mahāvīrajī in Sawaimadhopur district, Nakoḍājī in Bārmer district and Padmapur near Jaipur are all pilgrim places of Jains where there are annual fairs of enormous popularity attended by Jains as well as non-Jains. Kesariyājī or Ṛṣabhadeva is surrounded by 90% of Bhīl population. According to tradition, once a rich person with no heir went to the statue and promised to bestow a baby's weight in saffron (*kesara*) provided a son was granted to him. This is said to be the origin of the word Kesariyājī. Even today lot of saffron is powdered every day for the application on the body of the statue. The temple contains the Hindu and the Bhīl deities with the Jain image in the centre. As the story goes, a Bhīl farmer had a cow, which did not provide milk in the evenings. It was noticed

that she provided milk while standing under a tree of its own accord. The Bhīl dug the place and found a black statue of a Tīrthaṅkara in the ground. This statue of Ṛṣabhadeva here is known by Bhīls as Kālājī or Kariā-Bābā. The members of the Bhīl community sing devotional songs before the statue which have nothing to do with Jainism. This place is worshipped by both the sects of Jains as well as by Bhīls.

Another such place of pilgrimage, worshipped by both Jains and non-Jains is Mahāvīra-jī. As the tradition goes, a farmer known as Kṛpārām of the Jāt community, a resident of Chandangaon, had a cow that returned home every evening dry of milk. The cow used to give forth milk of its own accord at a certain place. This place was dug and a Jain statue was discovered in the ground. This spot is known as *devatā kā ṣilā* (the mound of deity). The Jains have built a huge temple at this place. At the time of *jaṭrā* or *ratha-yāṭrā* of the statue, there is a huge procession when the Mīnā and Gūjar tribes along with the Bhīls assemble in a large number and dance and sing before the procession. They pray for the birth of a son, prosperity in their business, recovery from illness and good health. But it is significant that unless the farmer Kṛpārām or his descendant touched the wheel of the chariot, it would not move and proceed to its ritual journey to the main temple.

Nākoḍājī is another important place with a popular appeal. Nākoḍājī or Nākoḍā Bhairon Dev is supposed to be the protector of the village Nākoḍā. As the legend goes, it was Bhairon Dev who indicated the presence of the statue of Pārśvanātha in the ground. A statue of this deity is situated just outside the temple of Pārśvanātha. It is to be noted that the cobra-headed Pārśvanātha is quite popular among non-Jains. Pārśvanātha is also popular among Santhals of Hazaribagh district in Bihar, who call the deity as Bābā; they assemble on the mountain, chanting "*sānvariā Pārasanāth śikhar par bhale virāje jī*" (having a pleasing countenance Pārasanāth is well-seated on the top of the mountain). Nāgaḍā (snake-clan) is also a clan of the Oswal Jain community.

Padmapura, a small village near Jaipur, dedicated to Tīrthaṅkara Padmaprabha, is another place popular among Jains and non-Jains. Kṣetrapāla, the guardian deity of the Tīrthaṅkara is located in the temple wall beside the main entrance. Here also there is a myth of cow's giving milk and the image discovered. Here also an annual fair is held when people from far off places bring their commodities for sale. People from all castes and communities assemble in the temple and pray for their safety from illness and epidemic diseases. The statue known as Bābā is supposed to possess miraculous power. Those who suffer from the possession of evil spirit, enter the temple, move in a twisiting motion on the floor in front of the statue and pray for exorcising the spirit.³

This shows, if Jainism had to have a wide appeal, the popular beliefs and traditions have to be incorporated in their religious teachings. There is a popular saying :

*dharmasya tattvam nihitam guhāyām
mahājano yena gataḥ sa panthāḥ*

i.e., the essence of religion treasured up in a secret place (i.e., it being difficult to comprehend), the best way is to follow the path that great men have taken. Somadevasūri (10th century A.D.) has put it as under :

*sarva eva hi jainānāṃ pramāṇaṃ laukiko vidhiḥ yatra samyaktva-hānirna yatra
na vrata-dūṣaṇam (upāsakādhyayana 34.476).*

i.e., All worldly precepts (*laukika vidhi*) are valid (*pramāṇa*) as long as there is no loss of pure insight (*samyaktva*) nor there is violation of the precepts (*vrata-dūṣaṇam*).

Other Popular Deities

The *Āṅgavijjā*, a Prakrit text of antiquity (4th century A.D. or earlier) and other Jain texts refer to folk deities whose worship is performed from time immemorial. The worship of trees (*rukḥa*)⁴, rivers (*nai*), tanks (*taḍāga*), ponds (*sara*), mountains (*pavvaya*), hills (*giri*), caves (*dari*), wells (*kūva*), ploughs (*hala*), gardens (*ujjāṇa*) and others is mentioned. They were worshipped to dispel diseases, natural calamity, misfortune, invasion of enemies, to acquire progeny, good harvest, health, prosperity and success in life. Sea-trading merchants, before their departure, used to offer flowers and *bali* to gods, worshipped sea-winds and marked the ship with their fingers dipped in red sandalwood. We are told in the *Sirivālālakahā* (14th century A.D.), when the ship did not make any headway even at full sail, a human being equipped with thirty-two bodily marks was offered to the sea-deity (*samudra-devatā*). At the time of calamity of ship-wreck, passengers offered jewels, coconut, milk, butter and sugar to the sea. The sylvan deity (*vana devatā*) was another folk deity. In order to cross wild forests the travellers propitiated the sylvan deity. They stood in meditation and implored the deity to guide them to the right direction. The farmers worshipped the plough-deity (*hala devatā*) and offered sacrifice to *sītā* (furrow), the deity of harvest, in order to have a good crop. The cowherds worshipped the mountain-deity (*parvata-devatā*). The worship of well-deity (*kūpa-devatā*) and that of potter's wheel is common in Western Uttar Pradesh. Among goddesses, the goddesses of crematorium (*śmaśāna*), of 'excretion pit' or privy (*varca*) and of dung-hill (*ukkurudīā*) are referred to.⁵ The worship of dung-hill is prevalent even today in certain parts of Uttar Pradesh.

The chapter IX of the *Āṅgavijjā* refers to various goddesses such as Apalā, Aṅāditā, Airāṇī, Timisrakeśī and Śālimālinī besides Hṛī, Śrī, Lakṣmī,

Medhā, Buddhi, Sītā, Vidyā, Devakanyā, Asurakanyā, Bhagavatī, Alambuṣā, Menakā, Rambhā, Tilottamā, Urvaśī and many others. It is interesting that out of these the first five are foreign goddesses : Apalā is identified with the Greek goddess Pallas Athene, Aṅgīdītā with the Avestic goddess Anahita, Airānī with the Roman goddess Irene, Timisrakeśī with the nymph Themis and Sālimālinī with the Moon-goddess Selene.⁶ Then, Alambuṣā, Menakā, Rambhā, Tilottamā and Urvaśī are well-known names of nymphs in Brahmanic tradition.

Condemnation of Miraculous Powers

Samantabhadra, a renowned Digambara Jain author of the 5th century A.D. has condemned the acquisition of miraculous powers such as the arrival of divine gods and goddesses *devāgama*, moving in the sky (*nabho-yāna*), waving the flywhisk (*cāmarādi*) and so on.⁷ But it seems, in spite of such mandates, when the glorification of one's creed became imminent, the Jains could not disregard it. The *Jambudvīpa-prajñapti* (5.112-123) and other Jain texts provide an elaborate description of birth-ceremony of Ṛṣabha, the first Tīrthaṅkara. As soon as the Tīrthaṅkara was born, alarmed by the shaking of their thrones, several groups of goddesses appeared in the birth-house. They paid their reverential homage to the Tīrthaṅkara and his mother. With the help of their magic power they cleared the ground around the birth-house of grassblades, leaves, fragments of wood and dirt and remained singing and rejoicing by the side of the mother and the child. They created clouds effecting rain of scented water, pacifying the dust. They also created rain of flowers to fall from flower-clouds. The throne of Śakra shakes and accompanied by his large retinue, he flies to the birth-house. He greets the mother and the child. He puts the mother to sleep, creates double of the child and puts in at her side. He takes the child to the summit of Mount Meru where a gorgeous consecration (*abhīṣeka*) ceremony is performed with hundreds of gold and silver jars. At the end the Śakra carries back the Jina to the birth-house and lays him by the side of his mother. A proclamation is made, saying "if anybody thought of ill of the Tīrthaṅkara his head would split into hundred pieces."⁸ But as indicated earlier, in course of time, such wondrous powers, had to be admitted by Jain preceptors. It has been stated that the persons endowed with superhuman powers, those equipped with eightfold of *mahānimittas* and those possessed with various spiritual powers are included among eight illuminaries of the Jain faith.⁹

It is to be noted that the list of gods and goddesses mentioned in the *Jambudvīpa-prajñapti* as a whole seems to be a motley collection of divergent names with no underlying relation to the nature of goddesses or to the four quarters : (i) some of them such as Nandā etc. are the names of *tithis* (a lunar day); (ii) Nandivardhana is the end of the *pakṣa*; (iii) ekanamśā is the day of the new moon; (iv) *navamikā* probably stands for *navamī*;

(v) Nandā, Ekanamśā, Vijayā and Aparājitā are surnames of Durgā; (vi) Alambuṣā is a well-known nymph; (vii) Vijayā, Vaijayantī, Jayantī and Aparājitā are the four *vimānas* of the highest celestial regions of the Jains.¹⁰

Other Popular Deities

Besides, there were other popular deities such as Indra, Skanda, Yakṣa and Bhūta. The *Niśītha-sūtra* (19.11-12) and its *Bhāṣya* refer to the four great festivals (*mahāmaha*) celebrated in honour of these deities on the full moon day of Āṣāḍha (June-July), of Āśvina (September-October), of Kārttika (October-November) and of Caitra (March-April) respectively. The *Indra-maha* is said to have been celebrated with great pomp by King Durmukha in the city of Kāmpilyapura (modern Kampil in Farrukhabad district in Uttar Pradesh). The festival was also celebrated in the country of Lāṭa (Saurāṣṭra), in Mahārāṣṭra, Dvārakā and other places. The clouds are said to have poured the desired rain where the festival was celebrated.¹¹ Unlike Indra, Skanda is a folk deity whose cult is popular among common people. The festival in honour of this deity was in vogue during the life time of Mahāvīra. When the Master arrived in the city of Śrāvastī, a well-decked image of the deity was taken out in a chariot procession. His image like that of Mukunda was made of wood. An oil lamp was kept burning in front of the image during night when at times the wick of the lamp was removed by mouse or shaken by dog, caused fire to the image.¹² Skanda is known as Khaṇḍobā in Mahārāṣṭra. A Khaṇḍobā temple of mid-18th century is located in Pal, near Poona. The original shrine now hidden under crust belongs to the Yādava period.¹³

The worship of a Yakṣa was very common in ancient India. Even now Yakṣas are regarded as protectors of villages and worshipped by all castes and communities. It is stated that by practising self-control one is born among Yakṣas.¹⁴ Various Yakṣas have been mentioned in ancient Jain texts, Pūrṇabhadra and Maṇibhadra being more prominent amongst them. The *Aupapātika Sūtra* (2) provides a detailed description of the Pūrṇabhadra shrine in Campā. The city of Mithilā is said to have a shrine of Maṇibhadra. Bibhela Yakṣa is said to have been in attendance on Mahāvīra during his ascetic life.¹⁵ Each Tīrthaṅkara has been assigned a Yakṣa on his right and a Yakṣiṇī on his left. They are known as *Śāsana-devatā* (guardian deity) who are supposed to protect him. This again is a sign of endorsement of prevailing custom with regard to the Hindu gods and goddesses. In South India, the creeds of Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism have given prominence to the female deities such as Pārvatī, the consort of Śiva and Lakṣmī, the consort of Viṣṇu. Now if the Jains in South India had to compete with these creeds and to play on the popular sentiment of the local people, they had to associate their Tīrthaṅkaras with Yakṣiṇī or Yakṣa. The Yakṣiṇī Ambikā (or Kuṣmāṇḍinī) is associated with Neminātha, the 22nd Tīrthaṅkara, Siddhāyikā with Mahāvīra, the 24th Tīrthaṅkara, Padmāvatī with Pārśvanātha, the 23rd Tīrthaṅkara and Jvālāmūlinī

with Candraprabha, the 8th Tīrthaṅkara. These divinities are most popular in South India and are supposed to be benevolent, fulfilling the wishes of their devotees. Ambikā is portrayed as riding a lion which is her vehicle and carries in her two hands a bunch of mangoes and a child which are her attributes. This Yakṣiṇī or Bhaṭārī as it is called in Tamil, is very popular in Tamil Nadu. She seems to be more impressive than other deities. She is represented here by the rock-cut image. Later when the ownership of the temple changed, it came to be known as goddess Bhagavatī and even now it is worshipped under the name of a Hindu deity. Siddhāyikā, another deity is represented as warrior Yakṣiṇī sitting on a lion, having four hands, holding a drawn sword in the right hand and arrow in the left, the other two hands bearing weapons. She is known as golden Yakṣī or Ponn (gold) Iyakkiyār (Yakṣiṇī) in Tamil. She is portrayed with two hands in a blessing pose (*varada-mudrā*) and holding a book. She seems to be quite popular in Tamil Nadu. In the cave where this deity is figured there is no other sculpture of any Jina or Tīrthaṅkara which indicates the preference of this Yakṣiṇī to Jina. In Jain tradition, the snake-god Dharaṇendra with his consort Padmāvati protected Pārśvanātha from rains and other calamities by extending its hood forming an umbrella (*ahicchatra*). As Ambikā gained popularity in Tamil land, so did Padmāvati in Karnataka. As she is said to reside in the *loki* tree, she is known as Lokiyabbe, a local folk deity. Like Siddhāyikā she is elevated to the status of a main deity of the temple and is worshipped with great ceremony. She is considered a tāntric deity invested with occult powers. It seems, in course of time, when she gained popularity in Tamil land, she began to be called as Kāḷiamman, a popular deity of the 10th century A.D. A rare bronze icon of the deity is preserved in the collection of Hamburg Museum in Germany. The Candraprabha-basadi at Śravaṇabelagoḷa in Karnataka possesses an image of this deity. She has two hands; on the pedestal is the figure of a lion with riders seated one behind the other. In another figure she is portrayed as seated on a bull and the flames are coming forth from her crest. Here she has eight hands, the right one bears a disc, pronouncing safety (*abhaya*), mace and spear, and the left one conch, shield, skull (*kapāla*) and a book. On the top of the hill is carved the image of Helācārya, an eminent monk of the Draviḍa saṅgha, supposed to be the originator of this cult.¹⁶ Thus, like other Indian sects Jainism too could not avoid the influence of Tāntricism. Actually this cult inspired Ācārya Malliṣeṇa to have composed his well-known treatise titled *Bhairava-padmāvati-kalpa* and the *Jvālīnī-kalpa*.

Bhūta-maha was another festival celebrated in ancient India. People obsessed by the evil spirit were treated by demonologists. The offering (*bali*) was made and soothing rites were performed to placate them. The *bhūtas* have been described as dancing with spear, javelin, club and axe carried in their hands. Their bodies were smeared with ashes, they wore the skin

of a deer, their yellow hair were dishevelled, they were covered with a mantle of black serpents, a boa constrictor coiled around their necks, they had protuberant bellies and large faces; they wore earrings of an iguana, mouse, mongoose and lizard (*Vasudevahiṇḍi*, 386, 4-7).

Besides, there were numerous feasts and festivals which were celebrated with gaiety and merriment. The feast of *Puṇṇamāsīṇī* (*Paurnamāsī*) was celebrated on the full moon day of the month of Kārttika; it was also known as *Kaumudī-mahotsava*. *Madana-trayodaśī* was rejoiced in honour of Kāmadeva, the Indian cupid. The *Ujjāṇiyā* feast was enjoyed by men and women in a garden. The festival of *bahu-milakkhu* was enjoyed by *mlecchas* and the *dāsī-maha*, by maid-servants, the latter was celebrated at Śrāvastī. *Thāṇuppāḍīya* (*sthānautpātika*) had no fixed date and time, it was celebrated whenever a guest arrived. The birthday ceremony was rejoiced with great pomp. *Cāummāsīya-majjanāya* (*cāurmāsika-majjanaka*) was held after the four months of the rainy season were over. *Samkhaḍī* (*saṃkhaṭī* in Pali) was another important festival which was an occasion for joy and merry-making. This festival was held in Selapura (in Orissa) every year for eight days at the lake of Isitalāga (ṛṣitaḍāga). It was also celebrated in Bhṛgukaccha, Prabhāsa, Arbuda, the eastern bank of the river Sarasvatī near Ānandapura, Ujjain and other places. *Goṣṭhīs* or special gatherings were held.¹⁷ Needless to say that such occasions for feasting or celebrations are valuable for day-to-day life as one may feel relaxed and relieved from strain; they have nothing to do with sectarian norms as such.

Then, people in general, observed certain common rites which formed a part of their daily life. Before proceeding to take up some work, they had their bath, made offerings to a house-deity (*bali-karma*) and observed auspicious and expiatory rites (*prāyaścitta*), put on a *tilaka* on their forehead, held mustard, curds, rice and *dūrvā* grass and observed protective rites. They were also keen with regard to particular directions. The eastern direction was considered most auspicious. A Tirthaṅkara is said to have preached while seated facing the east. It has been stated that while disposing the dead body of a monk, an appropriate direction has to be taken into consideration. It is said that any work should be undertaken after observing the auspicious *tithi*, *karaṇa* and *nakṣatra*. This was also applicable in the case of Jain monks. Formalities were observed by trading merchants while undertaking a journey. Eight auspicious objects (*aṣṭa-maṅgala*) are mentioned, it also includes a pair of fish (*matsya-yugma*). The norms for studying scriptures (*svādhyāya*) are laid down. *Svādhyāya* is prohibited on the four great festival days (*mahā-maha*), referred to earlier. Various other omens and superstitions were observed in ancient India. A newly born child was placed under cart, in a winnowing-basket or thrown on a dung-hill for procuring long life. In a newly constructed house the residence of Jain monks was considered auspicious. Drinking of

liquid gold was considered a remedy for removing poverty. The day of birth (*sūtaka*) and death (*pātaka*) was observed for a period of ten days.¹⁸

The fourteen *vidyā-sthānas* (subjects of study) are referred to in the *Viyāhapaṇṇatti* (2.1) They are : *Rgvēda*, *Yajurveda*, *Sāmaveda*, *Atharvaveda*, *Itihāsa* (*Purāṇa*), known as the fifth Veda, and *Nighaṇṭu*, the sixth Veda; six *Vedāṅgas*, comprising *saṁkhāna* (arithmetic), *śikṣa* (phonetics), *kalpa* (ritual), *vyākaraṇa* (grammar), *chandas* (metrics), *nirukta* (exegesis) and *jyotiṣa* (astronomy-astrology) and *Ṣaṣṭhitantra*, an authoritative treatise on Sārnkhya school. Devendraṇi's commentary on the *Uttarādhyayana* (3, 56a) adds *mīmāṁsā*, *nyāya* and *dharmaśāstra*. The *Anuyoga* and *Nandi* which seem to be of late origin add *Mahābhārata*, *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Kauṭilya*, *Vaiśika*, *Vaiśeṣika*, *Buddha-śāsana*, *Kapila*, *Lokāyata*, *Māṭhara*, *Nātaka*, *Trairāśika*, *Patañjali* and others under popular learning (*laukika-śruta*). This shows that the Jains studied these works to add to their general knowledge, particularly, to understand the views of other upholders of the Indian philosophical systems so that they could criticise and review them in order to justify their own system.

Jain authors have composed valuable treatises on secular topics not only on mathematics, grammar, astronomy, politics, medicine, music and so on but also on prognostication, foretelling by casting dice, alchemy, testing of precious stones and coin, cooking, training of elephants and horses, knowledge of birds and animals, archery, construction of buildings, and so forth. *Tājika-vidyā* (*tāzī* is a Persian word, meaning 'Arabic') was quite popular in the 18th or 19th century A.D. Muni Bhojasāgara is said to have composed the *Tājika-grantha*. We are told that once when the Moghals invaded the region of Gujarat, they caught hold of many people, including a learned Jain *Muni*, and took them to Khurasan (a city of Persia). There the Jain muni learned the local language and during his stay made a study of *Yavanikā-sāstra*. Later when he returned to his native land he composed the *Tājika-grantha*.¹⁹ A large number of Jain works on secular literature are not available and many more are lying in Jain Bhāṇḍaras awaiting publication.

Extension of Jain Religion

At the time of Mahāvīra the centre of activities of Jain monks was restricted to modern Bihar and a part of eastern and western Uttar Pradesh. Later after about 300 years, King Samprati (220-211 B.C.) the grandson of Emperor Aśoka extended the range of Jainism to twenty-five and a half countries. He deputed his soldiers under the garb of Jain monks and made the regions of Āndhra, Draviḍa, Mahārāṣṭra, Kuḍukka (Coorg) and Saurāṣṭra accessible to Jain monks. It seems as far as the proselytising of people into Jainism is concerned, miraculous powers played a more important role than practising of ethics or morals. A common man suffered from poverty, ill-health, attack of enemy, displeasure of king, deficiency of a son, loss in business, failure

of love between husband and wife and so on. As such Jain monks who were supposed to possess miraculous powers, came forward to help people in their distress and subsequently converted them to Jainism. They composed religious lyrics or *stotras* and demonstrated their wondrous powers in royal assemblies and large gatherings. In fact it was due to the versatile genius of *ācārya* Hemacandra that Jainism gained ascendancy in Gujarat in the 12th century A.D. He converted Siddharāja Jayasīma (1094-1143 A.D.), a devotee of Śaivism, and later his successor King Kumārapāla turned to be a devout follower of Jainism.

In Rajasthan, most of the Jain converts belonged to the Kṣatriya class. These Jains, we are told, are not very orthodox like many other Jains. Many of them have not given up hunting as yet and they worship non-Jain deities such as Gaṇeśa, Laksmī and Sarasvatī, and while wishing each other instead of addressing 'Jai jinendra' they say 'Jai Srī Kṛṣṇa'. Like their Hindu brethren, they even go to immerse the ashes of the dead to the Gaṅgā. They are also not keen about having their meals before sun-set as is customary in many other parts of the country. *Rātri-bhojana-tjāga* (to refrain for eating at night) is considered one of the essential vows to be observed by Jains.

Thus, we see that the Jains formed an integral part of Indian society in general. They tried to assimilate the customs, practices, usages and habits prevalent in the existing society which was necessary for their survival. Of course, they have emphasised on moral and ethical precepts, preaching upliftment of society by way of non-injury (*ahiṃsā*) and manysidedness of truth (*anekāntavāda*) which is their great contribution towards Indian society. In order to expound the spirit of accommodation, assimilation and harmony on the part of Jainism, Ānandaghana (18th century A. D.), a mystic saint of Gujarat has proclaimed 'the six systems of Indian philosophy as six important constituents of God Jina' (*ṣaṭ darśana jina-aṅga bhaṇījai*). The famous Haribhadrasūri (6th century A.D.) has put the same idea differently. He says : "The Buddhist religion is worth hearing, the Jain religion worth following, the Vedic religion worth putting into practice and the prominent God Śiva worth meditating."

*Śrotavya saugato dharmah kartavyah punarāhataḥ /
Vaidiko vyavahartavyo dhyātavyah paramah śivah //*

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ARCHAEOLOGY AND KRṢṆA'S DVĀRAKĀ

L. B. KENNY

For the first time Dvārakā was excavated in the thirties of this century by Hiranand Sastri, when he could find relics of a settlement of 1st century A.D. At Bet Dvārakā no archaeological finds before 3rd century B.C. could be traced. The identification of Dvārakā, however, in the Jamnagar district as Kṛṣṇa's Dvārakā, is borne by a copper-plate grant of 574 A.D. by the Garulaka King Simhāditya who describes his father as "*Dvārakādhipati*" cast in the mould of Śrī Kṛṣṇa¹. But the first systematic excavation of Dvārakā was conducted by the archaeologists of the Deccan College of Poona in 1963 under the guidance of Dr. H. D. Sankalia. The excavation report concluded that "the earliest Dvārakā was founded at least in the 1st-2nd century B.C. — A. D."². The later archaeologists working at Dvārakā, however, rejected the date with the following remark :

"This observation is self-contradictory, because the references in the *Harivaṁśa* and *Ghaṭa Jātaka* quoted by the excavators are earlier than the 2nd-4th century B.C..... The *Ghaṭa Jātaka*, an independent source referring to Dvārakā, is not later than the 3rd century B.C."... "From these reliable texts", the remark continues, "it is obvious that Kṛṣṇa's Dvārakā must have existed long before the 3rd century B.C., and the date 1st century B.C. — A.D. assigned by Sankalia to the first Dvārakā, was incorrect."³

It looks very strange and amusing that an archaeologist rejects the result of an excavation, and respects literary sources like the *Mahābhārata*, *Harivaṁśa* and *Ghaṭa Jātaka* as more "reliable texts."

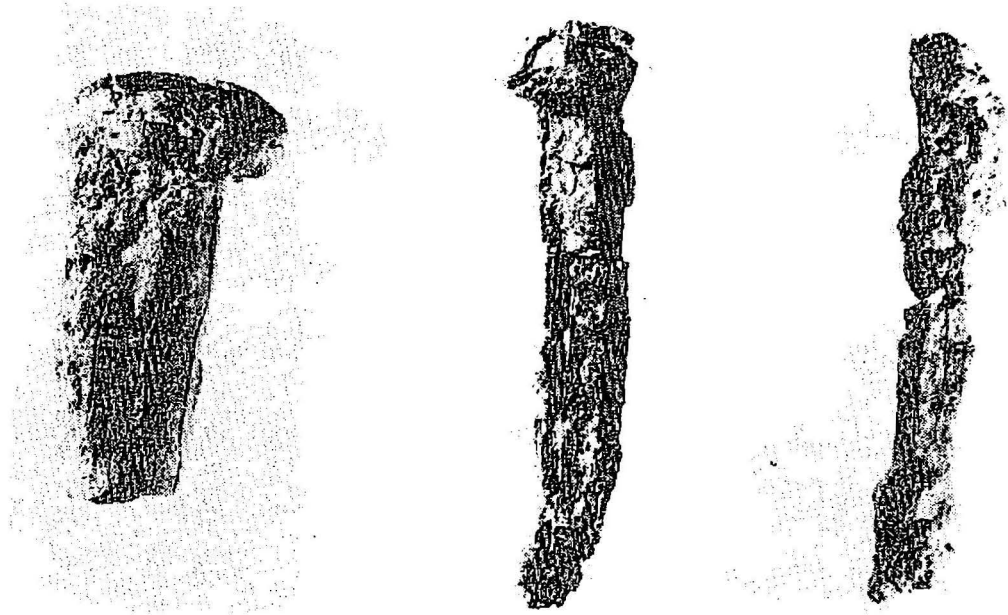
With what evidences are the *Harivaṁśa* and *Ghaṭa Jātaka* dated earlier than 4th century B.C.? How could an archaeologist prove that Kṛṣṇa "must have occupied the position of God of Gods" long before the 2nd century B.C. at Dvārakā founded by him? How could statements like "He could re-establish *dharma* after overcoming all evil forces," and "people in gratitude appear to have raised him to the status of a God"⁴ made about Kṛṣṇa, be useful to prove the historicity either of Kṛṣṇa or of Dvārakā?

In spite of the absence of any mention of the Mahābhārata War in the *Vedas* or later Vedic literature, and in spite of the conflicting statements regarding the duration of the ruling dynasties or reigns of kings given in the *Purāṇas*, opposed to Vedic evidence, the archaeologists excavating Dvārakā

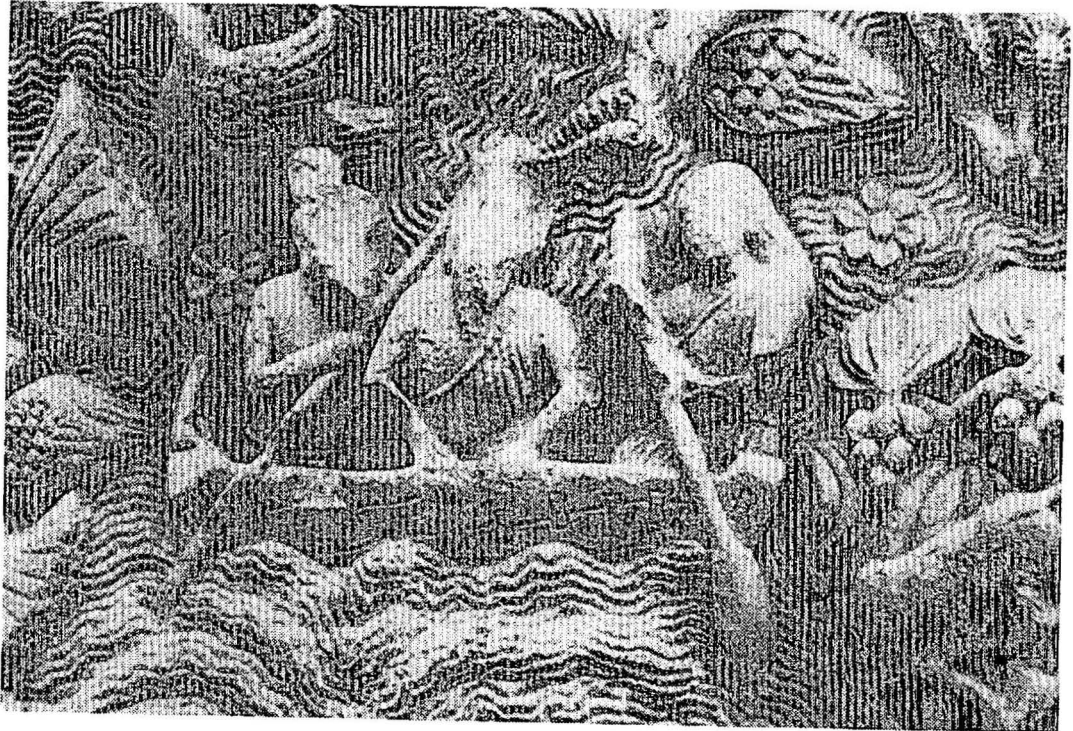
have upheld the *Mahābhārata* date as 1500-1400 B.C.⁵ Was it historically possible at that very ancient time, for the rulers of eastern and southern borders of India, to participate in the Kuru-Pāṇḍava War fought in the Eastern Punjab? Could King Bhagadatta of Prāgjyotiṣa or Assam, for example, be an important participant in the Mahābhārata War in spite of the Kingdom and its rulers being conspicuous by their absence in the Vedic literature?⁶ Dr. D.C. Sircar has also stated that “a close fight on a single battle-field between 7 and 11 *akṣauhīnīs* of soldiers was an impossibility not only in the ancient world, but even today, an *akṣauhīnī* being composed of 21870 chariots, as many elephants, 65610 horsemen and 109350 foot-soldiers, and involving about 40 lacs of men. It must be regarded as a flight of fancy”⁷.

The so-called Mahābhārata War seems to have been originally a small tribal feud or struggle, gradually magnified by poets and minstrels over the centuries, to finally compose and write in its epic form the present *Mahābhārata* of the Gupta period. Thus, “The earliest phase of the epic society reflects a people busy with savage fights with hands, nails, teeth, clubs or maces ‘*gadā*’, bow and arrow, consuming human flesh and blood, still in the hunting and cattle-herding stage, and ignorant of family life.... In fact, head-hunting, cannibalism, rape (in modern ethical norms), torture of captives, massacre and other forms of terrorization and atrocious nerve-warfare were more effective means at that level than true combat... Like Kṛṣṇa, “the dark”, the primitive heroes of the Mahābhārata War could be not only pre-Aryan but pre-Dravidian as well”⁸. The Kṛṣṇa of the Dvārakādhīsh and other temples of Dvārakā, the Kṛṣṇa of the *Gītā* preaching the philosophical sermon of the *Bhakti-mārga*, and styled as ‘Bhagavān’, the Kṛṣṇa of the submerged stone-structure and anchors, the Kṛṣṇa advising the political moves of the Pāṇḍavas, the Kṛṣṇa of the time of the iron-nail-using ships, the Kṛṣṇa using the ‘*cakra*’ as a weapon (a poetic replica of a primitive boomrang), and the Kṛṣṇa killed in the forest by a hunter’s arrow, are different personages, reflecting the different phases of the cultural life described in the long epic.

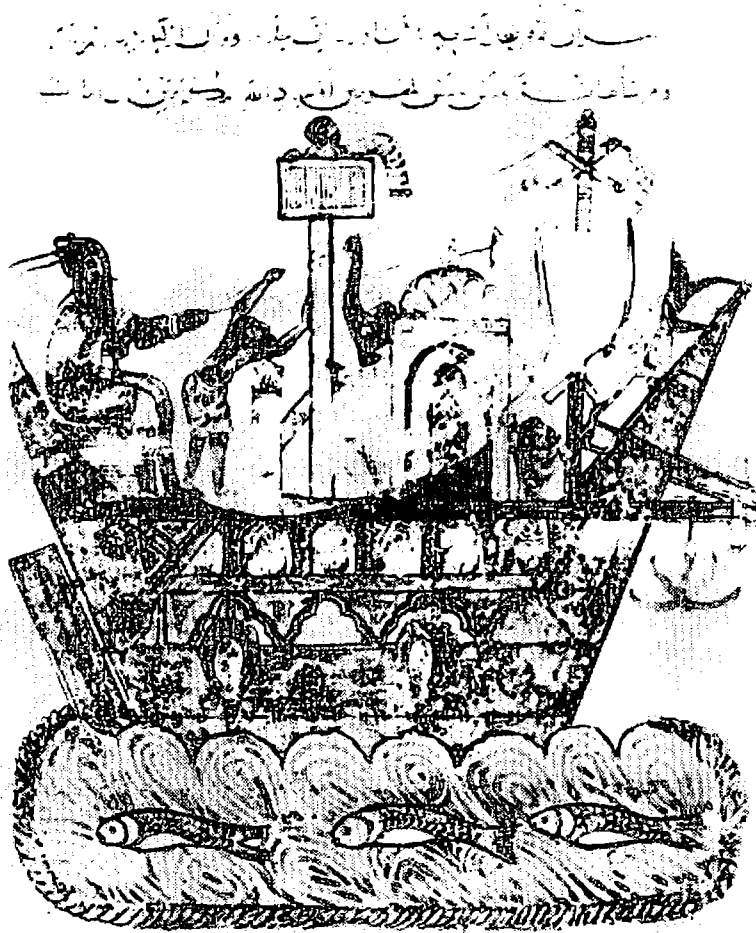
Would there be no Dvārakā without or before the Dvārakādhīsh? Would Dvārakā cease to exist without Kṛṣṇa? Has not Dvārakā, described in the *Skanda Purāṇa* as a place on the west coast where the Gomati river joins the sea⁹, existed much before the *Skanda Purāṇa*? Could the accounts of saints like Ādi Śaṅkara, Rāmānuja, Mādhava, Mīrā and Rāmādās be taken as historical evidences to prove Kṛṣṇa’s Dvārakā of Okhamandal in the Jamnagar District as a historical entity? How far could we rely on the *Mahābhārata* and other literary sources with no proper dates of their writings, as more authentic historical sources than the scientifically conducted excavations/explorations? A historian’s interest has to be the historical Dvārakā and not the mythical Kṛṣṇa’s Dvārakā. When Kṛṣṇa is described as “Beloved Lord Kṛṣṇa”¹⁰, his historicity is vitiated. Archaeologists are expected to be reasonable



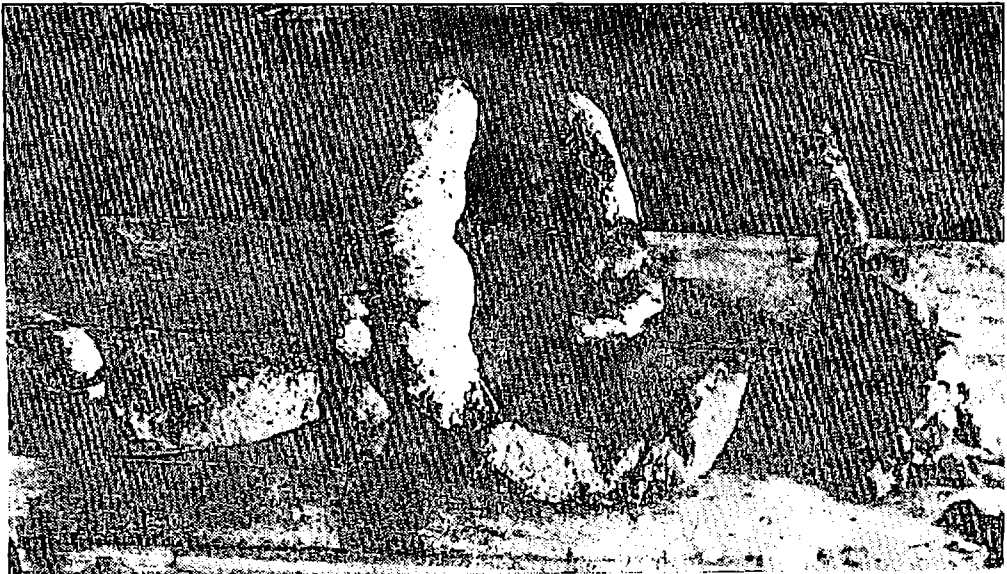
A. Three Iron nails from Dvārakā site belonging to Mahābhārata period (1500-1400 B.C.)



B. Sanchi pleasure boat with a Šārdūla prow and manned by a man and woman.



A. Illustration to al-Harīrī's Maqāmāt of A. H. 634 (A. D. 1237)



B. Dvārakā : Iron anchors

and open-minded in their approach, and rational in their assessment. Archaeological dating has to be not for antiquity but for historicity. "The inner and outer fortification walls of the city and its gateways in the Arabian Sea off Dvārakā and the remains of a submerged city extending over four kilometres in the intertidal zone of Bet Dvārakā" may be a historical reality; but their association with the Dvārakā of 1500-1400 B.C. described in the *Mahābhārata*, seems to be an invention of poetic imagination.

Obsession for antiquity of the *Mahābhārata* and not its historicity has led archaeology to perplexing conclusions. Three iron nails from Dvārakā site have been dated to the Mahābhārata period of 1500-1400 B.C.¹¹ (Pl.V,A), in spite of their scientific and technological examination declaring that "It is difficult to make sound scientific observations on such corroded materials"¹². But they are at least available for a good photograph. One of the nails with 5.7 cm. length and 63 gm. weight, is said to have remained in the sea-water since 1500 B.C. and has corroded considerably in about 3400 years of sea habitation. We have, however, an 18th century anchor around two and a half metres long and about a ton in weight, exhibited in the open space facing the Lalbahadur Shastri Nautical and Engineering College at Bombay's Haybunder, in a very eroded skeletal form. With the heavy amount of erosion caused by sea-water to the huge iron anchor recovered from the bottom of the creek near Vijayadurga Harbour on the western coast of Maharashtra, one wonders whether any nail 6 cm. long and 63 gm. weight could keep behind even a particle of the metal for any test or examination in a laboratory, after 3400 years of consistent damaging assault of the sea-water.

It is not that iron was not available in Dvārakā. It has been always mined and worked in many regions of India. But it seems that the processes of mining, smelting and manufacturing the nails was expensive in ancient India, while materials for the stitching of boats were available close at hand to primitive men in their regions. Iron and bronze for nails were still hard to procure¹³. The scientific and technological investigations of the iron nails of Dvārakā "point out that the Dvārakā artisan exploited the available iron ore, extracted metal after roasting it and varied the content of silicate impurities in wrought iron"¹⁴. The studies indicated that the nails were "fabricated with impure wrought iron bloom heavily forged to remove only some of the slag, imparting the pointed shape"¹⁵ and "that the iron technology was in the preliminary stage"¹⁶.

A number of metal objects like a copper bell, bolts, etc. with heavily corroded anchors of iron and stone, have been found along with submerged fort bastion and wall of the 14th-15th century B.C.¹⁷. But, in spite of the availability of iron anchors and several contrary evidences, the archaeologists of Dvārakā maintained that the ships of Dvārakā of the Mahābhārata period (1500-1400 B.C.) used iron nails.

Iron being very dear, the Indians used it very economically for their need of ploughs for cultivation and wheel rims for bullock carts, which they could not ignore, by paying specialised metal workers. Therefore, the use of iron for other purposes was minimised. As explained by Moreland, "Ships were built without iron, just as carts were built; and the cost of the metal would discourage craftsmen from experimenting with it"¹⁸. And writing about the ships of the Arabian Sea about A.D. 1500, Moreland continues to state that till the Portuguese came, "the stitched ships were good enough"¹⁹.

We also have very interesting and significant information from him regarding the Gujarat ships. By about 1500 A.D., according to him, the Arab ships were still stitched and destitute of nails, and that the Gujarat ships presented the same features²⁰. Like the Arab ships, the Gujarat ships were not sea going ships but small craft that could be rowed as well as sailed. No sea-going vessels from Sind are heard of, as the region was served only by coasting craft, westwards to Hormuz, and south and east to Gujarat. The sewn vessels, whose planks were held together with coir ropes, had the advantage of being flexible in shallow waters but they were not strong to withstand long voyages and bad weather at sea²¹.

There are two more archaeological evidences to prove that the ships of Dvārakā could never have used iron nails during the Mahābhārata period 1500-1400 B.C. We have, for example, two historical illustrations. On one of the Sanchi sculptures of the second century B.C., a boat is depicted carrying three persons. (Pl. V, B). The vessel is meant for shallow water of a river or a creek, as one of the three persons holds a long pole to push the boat pressing the pole to the bottom of the shallow river-cum-creek, and the other one holds a long paddle or oar or spade-like object used as a primitive propeller or rudder. But what is most significant for our information are the stitched planks flush with the side of a caravel built ship. We do not find the use of nails²².

The second is an illustration to al-Harīri's *Maqāmāt*, a manuscript done by a Mesopotamian scribe, in A.H. 634 (A.D. 1237). It depicts the stern-rudder, the look-out boy, the sailors bailing out water, the merchants in their cabins, the grapnel anchor, and the stitching of the planks²³. (Pl. VI, A)

Crude stone anchors with a hole in the middle for ropes were used in the Persian Gulf in the last decade of the 17th century. At Calicut, anchors of marble stone were used. "But metal anchors were perhaps known," according to Hourani, "as they had been in the Mediterranean for a long time"²⁴. The Harīri ship illustrated in the *Maqāmāt* of 13th century A.D. has a grapnel iron anchor, very similar to the corroded anchors found at Dvārakā. (Pl. VI, B). But in spite of the use of the iron anchor, the Harīri ship is stitched, and not nailed. This definitely proves that iron anchors were used much

before the iron nails.

The above evidences indicate that the iron nails found at Dvārakā cannot belong to the ancient Mahābhārata period of 1500-1400 B.C. The practice of nailing the ships by iron nails could be placed any time after the 13th and before the 16th century A.D.

Unless archaeology, an auxiliary science of history, is used scientifically, along with literary sources, the excavations of Dvārakā would continue to be pseudo-scientific as they appear to be today. History is interpretation based on human reasoning, not on emotion.

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8. L.B. Kenny, "The Mahābhārata War - A Historical Perspective," *The Bharata War and Puranic Genealogies*, (ed. D.C. Sircar), pp. 35-36.
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11. O.P. Agarwal, K.K. Jain, Hari Narain, G.P. Joshi and Tej Singh, "Scientific and Technological Examination of some objects from Dwarka", *Journal of Marine Archaeology* (Vol. 1, January 1990), p. 103.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 104. The length and weight of the three iron nails are as follows: 5.7 cm. and 63 gm., 7.3 cm. and 80 gm., and 21 cm. and 351 gm. respectively, cf. p. 109.
13. George Hourani, *Arab Seafaring*, pp. 94-97.
14. O.P. Agarwal, et al, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

15. *Ibid.* p. 106.
16. *Ibid.* pp. 106, 107.
17. S.R. Rao, "Excavation of the legendary city of Dwarka in the Arabian Sea," *Journal of Marine Archaeology*, Vol. I, January 1990, p. 74 (Fig. 14); p. 81 (Figs. 20, 21); p. 83 (Figs. 22, 23); p. 84 (Fig. 24); p. 85 (Figs. 26, 27); p. 91 (Fig. 34); Cf. S.R. Rao (ed.), *Marine Archaeology of Indian Ocean Countries*, p. 167 (Pls. 5, 6); p. 177 (Pls. 28,29); p. 178 (Pls. 30, 31); p. 179 (Pl. 32); p. 180 (Pls. 34, 35).
18. W.H. Moreland, "The Ships of the Arabian Sea about A.D. 1500" *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* (1939), p. 187.
19. *Ibid.* p. 188.
20. *Ibid.* p. 179.
21. K.N. Chaudhari, *The Trading World of Asia and the English East India Company 1660-1700*, p. 201; George Hourani, *op. cit.* p. 96; Moreland, *op. cit.* pp. 65-74, 177.
22. S.R. Rao (ed.), *Marine Archaeology of Indian Ocean Countries*, p. 183 (Pl. 41c).
23. George Hourani, *op.cit.* p. 98.
24. *Ibid.* p. 99.

RASA THEORY AND PURUṢĀRTHAS

V. M. KULKARNI

Kāvya (poetry including drama) differs from *śāstra* (science). The former is the product of *pratibhā* (creative imagination, genius) whereas the latter, of *prajñā* (intellect, intelligence)¹. Again, *prīti* or *ānanda* (pleasure, delight) is the chief goal of *kāvya* whereas *vyutpatti* (instruction in the four goals of human life), of *śāstra*.

Now, writers on poetics and dramatics deal with the topic of *kāvya-prayojana* (purposes of poetry) at some length. Among the various purposes the two most noteworthy are *prīti* (or *ānanda*) and *vyutpatti*. Bharata says that *dharma*, *artha*, *kāma* and *mokṣa* are the topics presented in drama and that *nāṭya* is *krīḍanīyaka*, *viśrāntijanana* and *vinodakaraṇa*². In other words, *vyutpatti* and *prīti* (or *viśrānti* or *vinoda*) are the two purposes of poetry. On the authority of Ānandavardhana, Bharata may be regarded as holding the view that instruction in four goals of human life is the major goal of drama and delight only a secondary purpose.³

Abhinavagupta refers to the view of some earlier critics (*anye*) that drama produces only joy or delight in the spectators and not such feelings as sorrow, etc.⁴ Dhanañjaya in his *Daśarūpaka* declares that dramas overflow with joy and it is silly to say that their only purpose is *vyutpatti* as in the case of *itihāsa*, etc.⁵ Dhanika, his commentator, says—some claim; “Reading and study of good poetry confers fame and pleasure as well as proficiency in the four goals of human life — *dharma*, *artha*, *kāma* and *mokṣa* and proficiency in the fine arts as well.” They thus wish to show that the purpose of poetry is to give knowledge of the three goals of human life, etc. The purpose of the ten types of drama, according to the author of *Daśarūpaka* is sheer aesthetic enjoyment, which is of the form of the highest delight or bliss that is inwardly felt and not merely instruction of the three goals of life, etc. ‘Abhinavagupta deals with this topic in his commentary *Locana* on *Dhivanyāloka*. At one place he says : “Although *vyutpatti* and *prīti* for the reader are both present... nevertheless *prīti* is the main thing... Even of instruction in the four goals of human life *ānanda* (delight) is the final and major result.”⁷ At another place he says that *prīti* yielded by poetry is only a means of bringing about the *vyutpatti*.⁸ Still at another place he says that the thrill of delight and surprise produced by poetry is only an accessory of *vyutpatti*.⁹ These statements are obviously contradictory. But this

contradiction Abhinavagupta cleverly removes. He argues : princes, etc., must be instructed (*vyutpādyā*). The best way to instruct people in the four goals of human life is by entering their hearts (*hṛdayānupraveśā*), which is just another name for *rasa* in general (*hṛdayānupraveśāśca rasāsivādamaya eva*). And this *rasa* comes about, thanks to the presentation of the *vibhāvas*, etc. which are essential to *vyutpatti* in the means to the four goals of human life. These *vibhāvas* must be appropriate to *rasa*, then only the engrossment in the aesthetic experience will become the cause of *vyutpatti* which naturally follows; so *prīti* is the cause of *vyutpatti*.... Nor are *prīti* and *vyutpatti* really different from one another, for they both have the same cause : The *vibhāvādyaucityā* is the cause of *prīti* that we derive from poetry. Similarly, the *vibhāvādyaucityā* is the cause of *vyutpatti* that we derive from poetry. Thus, both *prīti* and *vyutpatti* depend on *vibhāvādyaucityā*. Since both are the outcome of one (and the same) cause, they are not different from one another.¹⁰

Now, about the *rasa* theory : A brief statement may be made here regarding the nature of *rasa* : *kāvya* yields pleasure or delight by depicting *rasas*. In *kāvya*, *rasa* occupies the first and foremost position. There are eight or nine permanent emotions (*sthāyībhāvas*) like love (*rati*), sorrow (*śoka*) and the like. These permanent emotions, when combined with their respective *vibhāvas* (fundamental determinants), *anubhāvas* (consequents), *sāttvikabhāvas* (involuntary states) and *vyabhicāribhāvas* (transitory feelings) attain the condition or state of *rasa* like *śrīngāra*, *karuṇa* (the erotic and the pathetic sentiments). Of these nine permanent emotions, some are conducive to the four *puruṣārthas* : 1. *rati* (love), 2. *krodha* (anger), 3. *utsāha* (dynamic energy) and 4. *śama* (tranquillity or calmness) which primarily consists of world-weariness. And because they conduce to the four *puruṣārthas*, they are regarded as predominant. In the performance of the different types of drama, the corresponding *rasas* of these permanent emotions namely, 1. *śrīngāra*, 2. *raudra*, 3. *vīra*, 4. (*bībhatsa* and) *śānta* are present as the very life of the four *puruṣārthas*.

But only a few writers on poetics and dramatics, it would seem, deal with this interesting and important topic : ‘*The rasa-theory and Puruṣārthas.*’ Pratīhārendurāja, Abhinavagupta, Hemacandra and his two famous disciples, Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra deserve particular mention in this connection. Pratīhārendurāja for the first time draws our attention to the fact that the nine *rasas*, *śrīngāra* and others, are the means of acquiring the four goals of human life (*puruṣārthas*)¹¹. He, however, does not expand his statement by adding suitable examples connecting specific *rasas* to specific *puruṣārthas*. It is Abhinavagupta who deals at length with this topic in the course of his commentary on the sixth chapter called *Rasādhyāya* and the 18th chapter called *Daśarūpakavidhāna*. The passages and the contexts connected with this

topic may now be taken up for discussion :

1. *Nāṭyaśāstra* VI. 15 -

Abhinavagupta while commenting on this verse makes a determined effort to explain the reasons behind the order of enumeration of the *rasas* followed by Bharata. While explaining the reasons he connects *rasas* with *puruṣārthas*. He connects *śrīṅāra* with the (third) *puruṣārtha kāma* (pleasure and love), *raudra* with *artha* (material prosperity economics, politics, etc., are directed to the fulfilment of this end), *vīra* with *dharma* (moral and religious duty, righteousness, duty) and *śānta* with *mokṣa* (the liberation or redemption of the soul from the flow of existence, emancipation from recurring births).¹²

2. *Nāṭyaśāstra* VI. 31 (*rasasūtra*) : *apradhānatā*, the sixth *rasaviḥna* (obstacle to the realisation of *rasa*) -

Among the permanent emotions, some are conducive to the goals of human life. These are the predominant ones. To specify, *rati* is conducive to *kāma* and *dharma* and *artha* connected with it. *Krodha* (anger), in persons in whom it predominates is conducive to *artha* but can also end in *kāma* and *dharma*. *Utsāha* ends in all three— *dharma*, *artha* and *kāma*. And *śama* which consists mostly in the disgust aroused by the knowledge of truth or reality, is the means of liberation. These four permanent emotions only are the predominant ones. “Even if they are not to be found in a predominant position all four together, and the emergence of one of them naturally postulates the subordination of the other three, nevertheless someone of them is always predominant in each drama, so that all of them are clearly recognised as being, in turn (that is, one in this drama and the other in another one), equally predominant. Moreover, if things are more closely examined, all four of them will be seen to be present in the same drama, in various passages (Acts or parts), in a pre-eminent position.”¹³

3. *Nāṭyaśāstra* VI.39.41 -

Bharata declares that there are four major or principal *rasas* which give rise to the other four. The original four are : 1. *śrīṅāra*, 2. *raudra*, 3. *vīra* and 4. *bībhatsa*. Regarding these original four *rasas* Abhinavagupta remarks that they are pervaded with their respective *puruṣārthas* (1. *kāma* (and *dharma* and *artha* connected with it), 2. *artha*, 3. *dharma* and 4. *mokṣa*). It is true that Bharata speaks of the fourth original *rasa* as *bībhatsa* and not *śānta*. And it is possible to criticise Abhinavagupta for introducing his own view here disregarding Bharata’s authority. R.P. Kangle goes a step further and asserts in his Notes (*Rasa-bhāva-vicāra*, p.224) that it is impossible to connect *bībhatsa (rasa)* with any of the four *puruṣārthas*. Abhinavagupta himself, however, unambiguously declares later in his commentary (*NS. XVIII.110*)

: “*śānta* and *bībhatsa* occur in connection with *mokṣa*.” Abhinavagupta defines *śama*, the *sthāyin* of *śānta* as ‘*tattvajñāna-janita-nirveda-prāyaḥ*.’ This *nirveda* and *jugupsā*, the *sthāyin* of *bībhatsa* are akin to each other. So Abhinavagupta is justified in saying that *śānta* and *bībhatsa* occur in connection with *mokṣa*. Being pervaded by *puruṣārthas* these four original *rasas* attain extraordinary beauty. The remaining four derivative *rasas*, *hāsya*, etc. are pleasure-giving (*rañjaka*) and therefore they may be used as connected with their major *rasas*.¹⁴

4. *Nāṭyaśāstra* XVIII. 110 (p.451) :

In a very important passage which opens with the words ‘*idamiha mūnāmsyam*’ and ends with ‘*tadāṅgatayā tatra bhavati*’ (pp.450-451). Abhinavagupta deals with the place of particular *rasas* in particular types of drama and the interrelation between *rasas* and *puruṣārthas*. Here we must consider this — in the types of drama like *Utsṛṣṭikāṅka* etc., one *rasa* alone is portrayed. This is no doubt true of the type *nāṭaka*, etc. Still in them, although they are fit for portraying all *rasas*, in *nāṭaka* and *prakaraṇa*, the *dharma* or *dāna* - or *yuddha-vīra* is, really speaking, predominant. For all the types of hero are characterised by heroism. In the type called *samavakāra*, though the presence of *śṛṅgāra*, etc. is indicated, either *vīra rasa* or *raudra-rasa* alone is predominant. “Thus, *vīra*, *raudra*, *śṛṅgāra* (are used there) respectively, occurring in these works by being engendered by (the aims of the character portrayed) *dharma*, *artha* and *kāma*, while *śānta* and *bībhatsa* occur in connection with *mokṣa*. But not every character can carry the main role in this (latter) case, only the occasional saint.¹⁵ Although in the *nāṭaka*, *śānta* or *bībhatsa* may be the principal *rasa* when *mokṣa* is the principal goal, this is not a common practice, so they, although engendered by the best of human aims (the character’s pursuit of *mokṣa*) are considered subordinate to the other *rasas* — *vīra*, *raudra* and *śṛṅgāra*. Thus, the main *rasa* of a drama is really governed by the *puruṣārtha* it portrays, but other *rasas* occur in support of it as a result of the variety of subject-matter included.”¹⁶

5. *Nāṭyaśāstra*, XVIII (concluding verse) :

Abhinavagupta at the end of his commentary on Ch.XVIII (p.459) remarks : “There are only these ten types of drama (*lakṣaṇāni*)..... their use for the (instruction in) the (four) *puruṣārthas* has already been shown in the course of our exposition of each one of them. Hence we do not repeat it here again.” With a view to verifying the truth of this claim, we take up the two types of drama called *nāṭaka* and *prakaraṇa*.

In the course of his exposition of Bharata’s definition of *nāṭaka*, Abhinavagupta explains the phrase ‘*nānāvibhutibhir yutam*’ as ‘endowed with the splendour of the four goals of human life : *dharma*, *artha*, *kāma* and *mokṣa* as ‘fruit’ (*phala*)’. Among these four goals, says he, *artha* and *kāma*

should be mainly depicted as all people yearn for them. Keeping this in mind Bharata adds in the definition of *nāṭaka* '(yutam) ṛddhivilāsādibhir'. By 'ṛddhi' Bharata indicates the goal of 'artha' and by 'vilāsa' that of 'kāma'. A poet, therefore, must not show in his drama that a king (of course, the hero) making a gift of his kingdom to *brāhmaṇas* and himself accepting *vānaprasthāsrama* (the third stage of one's religious life - of an anchorite or hermit). For a common man longs for immediate and concrete *phala*, objective, goal of human life. A fruit like heaven of the performance of a sacrifice is doubtful for him and is to be attained only after death!

In the case of *prakaraṇa*, following Bharata (*NS* XVIII.47), Abhinavagupta says that the same 'fruit' mentioned in regard to the *nāṭaka* is to be had by extension for *prakaraṇa* as well. The only difference is : in *nāṭaka* the 'fruit' (one or two or three goals of human life - *dharma*, *artha*, *kāma*) accrues to the hero 'rājarsi' (a royal sage), whereas in *prakaraṇa* to a middling character — a *brāhmaṇa*, a merchant, *amātya*, etc.

Abhinavagupta has linked the following six types of drama with the *puruṣārthas* : 1. *nāṭaka*, 2. *prakaraṇa*, 3. *samavakāra*, 4. *ḍima*, 5. *vyāyoga* and 6. *īhāmṛga* and the additional type *nāṭikā*. He asserts that the governing sentiment of *nāṭikā* is *śṛṅgāra* (and thus it is connected with the third *puruṣārtha*, viz., *kāma*). Regarding the three types, *utsṛṣṭikāṅka*, *prahasana* and *bhāṇa* he observes that *karuṇa*, *hāsyā* and *vismaya* (i.e. *adbhuta*) are their predominant sentiments respectively and thus they mainly serve to entertain and give pleasure to spectators. Thus, these types differ from the above-mentioned types *nāṭaka*, *prakaraṇa*, etc., which give instruction, indirectly though, in the four goals of human life. As regards the remaining type *vīlī*, Bharata says that it is rich in characteristics of all *rasas* (*sarva-rasa-lakṣaṇādhyā*). Abhinavagupta, however, is silent regarding its link with *puruṣārthas*.

Incidentally, it may be noted that Hemacandra in his *Kāvyaṅuśāsana* (Ch.VIII, *Sūtra* 3, pp. 443-445) deals with this very topic of types of drama and their use for the four goals of human life. He is certainly influenced by Abhinavagupta, but his treatment is refreshingly somewhat new. Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra, the two famous disciples of Hemacandra dwell on this topic in the course of their exposition of the types of drama. They follow, it would seem, both Abhinavagupta and Hamacandra.

Regarding *mahākāvya*, Bhāmaha says that although it portrays all the four *puruṣārthas*, it shall predominantly inculcate *artha* (*Kāvyaśāstrakāra*, I.20-1). Daṇḍin too gives 'caturvargaphalāyattam' as a feature of *mahākāvya*; it promotes the four goals of human life, *dharma*, *artha*, *kāma* and *mokṣa*.

To conclude, *rasas* occupy the first and foremost position in dramatic poetry. The main *rasa* of a drama, however, is really governed by the *puruṣārtha* it portrays, and other *rasas* occur in support of it as a result of the variety

of subject-matter included in it. There are a few critics who look upon *prīti* or *ānanda* (pleasure or delight) as the major goal of poetry; but a majority of them insist on instruction in the four goals of human life as very important and *rasas* as means to that end. Abhinavagupta does not regard *prīti* and *vyutpatti* as two distinct or different things as their source '*vibhāvādyaucitya*' is one and the same. He deserves all praise for his deep and penetrating insight into the subtle relationship between *rasas* and *puruṣārthas*.¹⁶

Notes and References

1. द्वे वर्त्मनी गिरां देव्याः शास्त्रं च कविकर्म च ।
प्रज्ञोपज्ञं तयोराद्यं प्रतिभोद्भवमन्तिमम् ॥
2. क्वचिद् धर्मः क्वचित् कामः क्वचिदर्थः क्वचिच्छमः
- *Nāṭyaśāstra* I.106.
~ cf. तुष्यन्ति तरुणाः कामे विदग्धाः समयान्विते ।
अर्थेष्वर्थपराशैव मोक्षेष्वथ विरागिणः ॥
- *Nāṭyaśāstra* XXVII, 59.
क्रीडनीयकम् (I.11)
विश्रान्तिजननम् (I.80)
विनोदकरणम् (I.86)
3. शृङ्गाररसाङ्गैरुन्मुखीकृताः सन्तो हि विनेयाः सुखं विनयोपदेशान् गृह्णन्ति । सदाचारापदेशरूपा हि नाटकादिगोष्ठी विनेयजनहितार्थमेव मुनिभिरवतारिता ।
- *Dhvanyāloka* III.30 *Vṛttī*.
मुनिभिरिति - भरतादिभिरित्यर्थः ।
- *Locana* - III.30, p.399.
4. सामाजिकानां हि हर्षकफलं नाट्यं न शोकादिफलम् ।
- *Abhinavabhāratī*, Vol. I, p.289.
5. आनन्दनिरस्यन्दिषु रूपकेषु व्युत्पत्तिमात्रं फलमल्पबुद्धिः ।
योऽपीतिहासादिवदाह साधुस्तस्मै नमः स्वादुपराङ्मुखाय ॥
- *Daśarūpaka* I-6.
तत्र केचित् 'धर्मार्थकाममोक्षेषु वैचक्षण्यं कलासु च ।
करोति कीर्तिं प्रीतिं च साधुकाव्यनिषेवणम् ॥'
(— *Bhāmaha*, I.2).
6. इत्यादिना त्रिवर्गादिव्युत्पत्तिं काव्यफलत्वेनेच्छन्ति तन्निरासेन स्वसंवेद्यः परमानन्दरूपो रसास्वाद्यो दशरूपाणां फलम्, न पुनरितिहासादिवत् त्रिवर्गादिव्युत्पत्तिमात्रमिति दर्शितम् । नम इति सोल्लुण्ठम् ।
- *Avaloka*-I-6.
7. श्रोतृणां च व्युत्पत्तिप्रीति यद्यपि स्तः ----- तथापि तत्र प्रीतिरेव प्रधानम् । ---- चतुर्वर्गव्युत्पत्तोरपि चानन्द एव पार्यन्तिकं मुख्यं फलम् ।
- *Locana*, pp. 40-41.
8. ---- रसास्वाद्यवैवश्यमेव स्वरसभाविन्यां व्युत्पत्तौ प्रयोजकमिति प्रीतिरेव व्युत्पत्तेः प्रयोजिका ।

- *Locana*, p. 336.

9. प्रीतेरेव चालौकिकचमत्काररूपाया व्युत्पत्त्यङ्गत्वात् ।

- *Locana*, p. 455.

10. प्रीत्यात्मा च रसः --- । न चैते प्रीतिव्युत्पत्ती भिन्नरूपे एव, द्वयोरप्येकविषयत्वात् ।---

- *Locana*, pp. 336-37.

11. एते च शृङ्गारादयो नव यथायोगं चतुर्वर्गप्राप्त्युपायतया तदितरपरिहारनिवन्धनतया च स्त्यादीनां स्थायिनां नवानां भावानां यः परिपोषस्तदात्मकाः अतस्तथाविधेन रूपेणारस्वाद्यत्वादास्वादभेदनिबन्धनेन तान्त्रिकेण रसशब्देनाभिधीयन्ते ।

---- तदाहुः---

चतुर्वर्गतरौ प्राप्यपरिहार्यौ क्रमाद्यतः ।

चैतन्यभेदादास्वाद्यात्स रसस्तादृशो मतः । इति ।

- *Laghuvṛtti on Kāvyaśālikāra-sāra-saṅgraha*, pp. 52.53.

12. तत्र कामस्य सकलजातिसुलभतयात्यन्तपरिचितत्वेन सर्वान्प्रति हृद्यतेति पूर्वं शृङ्गारः । --- ततस्त्रिवर्गात्मक-प्रवृत्तिधर्मविपरीत-निवृत्तिधर्मात्मको मोक्षफलःशान्तः ।

- *Abhinavabhāratī Vol. I, 6.15.*

13. तत्र पुरुषार्थनिष्ठाः काश्चित् संविद इति प्रधानम् । तथा — रतिः कामतदनुषङ्गिधर्मार्थनिष्ठा, क्रोधस्तत्प्रधानेष्वर्थनिष्ठः कामधर्मपर्यवसितोऽपि, उत्साहः समस्तधर्मादिपर्यवसितः, तत्त्वज्ञानजनितनिर्वेदप्रायो शमश्च मोक्षोपायं इति तावदेषां प्राधान्यम् । यद्यपि चैषाममप्यन्योन्यं गुणभावोऽस्ति तथापि तत्तत्प्रधाने रूपके तत् तत् प्रधानं भवतीति रूपकभेदपर्यायेण सर्वेषां प्राधान्यमेषां लक्ष्यते । अदूरभागात्रिनिविष्टदृशा तु एकस्मिन्नपि रूपके पृथक् प्राधान्यम् ।

- *Abhinavabhāratī Vol.I, VI. Rasasūtra.*

- as translated by Gnoli, *Aesthetic Experience*, pp.70-71.

14. ये चात्रोत्पत्तिहेतव उक्तास्ते यथास्वं पुरुषार्थचतुष्कव्याप्ताः ।

तद्धि सौन्दर्यातिशयजननरूपम् । रञ्जका हासादयस्तदनुगामित्वेन रूपकेषु निबन्धनीयाः ।

- *Abhinavabhāratī Vol.I, VI-41.*

15. The word 'apaścimajanman' means 'One who at the end of this life will be free from the life and death cycle.'

16. As translated by Prof. Wright, BSOAS, Vol. 26, 1963, p.115.

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THE ŚAIVITE MONASTERIES, PONTIFFS AND PATRONAGE IN CENTRAL INDIA

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The Śaivite monasteries of Central India surviving today at Kadwaha, Surwaya, Terahi, Ranod and Chandrehe are very strong, massive and exclusive structures, largely utilitarian in character. Though in a ruined condition now, they yet reveal a well laid-out plan and an impressive elevation (Figures 1-4), and are built sometimes like 'fortresses' with surrounding walls and battlements. They invariably impress as epitomes of power and authority of pontiffs who presided over them and lived there in opulence and glory. In every case, these *mathas* have or had temples, sometimes in groups, built adjacent to them.

Contemporary epigraphs and textual details¹ add much more content to these monasteries on many counts for instance, their long history of more than six centuries from seventh to thirteenth and even beyond; their widespread presence and particularly their tenacity in incorporating within their scope both religious and political power which gave a significant meaning to their patronage. The patronage so invested in and retained by the monasteries and their pontiffs has a special meaning in the domain of art activity, but the designs of its operation are significant too. One observes here a phenomenon in which patronage was appropriated, serialised, distributed and redistributed and in all these operations it unabatedly strengthened the ruler-pontiff ties. The self-perpetuating, expansionistic programme of these Śaivite *mathas* is not missed in this entire movement which was rooted in the central seat at Mattamayūra (i.e., Kadwaha,² Distt. Guna) and its branch at Madhumatī³ (Mahua, Distt. Shivapuri) to which the upcoming *mathas* and their pontiffs continually owed allegiance. The allegiance is noticed in the lineages⁴ and also from monastery to monastery⁵ where action lay and which grew in quick succession. The sequence of this growth is described below along with a brief sketch of each monastic complex, their presiding pontiffs and their 'spiritual' genealogy :

1. The movement seems to have started with the Śaivite saint Guhāvāsī⁶ (same as Kadambaguhādhivāsī, "the inhabitant of Kadambaguhā") possibly at Kadwaha⁷ in c. A. D. 675. A regular *matha* (Pl. VII, A) was later built here by Purandara⁸. Eventually, this line of ascetics came to be re-designated as *mattamayūra*⁹ taking after the name of

- its locus. Purandara similarly was re-designated as Mattamayūranātha.¹⁰
2. According to the Ranod inscription Kadambaguhādhivāsī was followed by *Śankha-maṭhikādhīpati*, “the lord of the *Śankha* monastery”¹¹. Evidently, this term refers to a monastery as well as its presiding pontiff. The monastery may be identified with that (Pl. VII, B) of Surwaya (Distt. Shivapuri), and following the succession of pontiffs from Guhāvāsī, as described in the Ranod inscription, it may be dated in c. A. D. 700. The Surwaya monastery today has three temples and a *baoli* (10th century), all built within the same complex which is enclosed by a fortress, built later.¹²
 3. There is yet another monastery at Terahi (Pl. VIII, A) (Distt. Shivapuri), a place which seems associated with Terambipāla, “the protector of Terambi”. This pontiff was third in succession from Kadambaguhādhivāsī¹³. Terahi has two temples dating from 9th to 10th century.
 4. Next to come up was a *tīrtha* at Āmmardaka (Amrol, Distt. Gwalior) founded by Āmmardaka-tīrtha-nātha¹⁴ (c.A. D. 775; whose real name was Rudraśambhu¹⁵). In the Ranod inscription he is mentioned as fourth in descent from Kadambaguhādhivāsī, but certain texts take him to be a descendant of Durvāsas.¹⁶ As for Amrol, it is famous for its three temples locally known as Rāmeshvar Mahādeva, Mata-Ki-Madhiya and Denebaba-Ki-Madhiya (7th-8th century A.D.)¹⁷.
 5. Purandara (same as Mattamayūranātha) was fifth in descent from Kadambaguhādhivāsī according to the Ranod inscription¹⁸, but a Kadwaha¹⁹ inscription lists Purandara as the first saint in the (Mattamayūra) line. Other inscriptions in the Cedi region refer to him as a descendant rather than the founder. He established a monastery respectively at Mattamayūra (Kadwaha, Distt. Guna) and Araṇipadra (Ranod, Distt. Shivapuri). The *maṭha* at Kadwaha is a very solid and robust structure which continued to flourish till 15th century A.D., as is indicated by an inscription of Sultan Dilawar Khan Ghuri of Malwa.²⁰ The Mattamayūra line of the pontiffs after Purandara included Dharmāśambhu, Sadāśiva, Purandara II “Mādhumatēya” and Cūḍāśiva at Kadwaha in that order.²¹ Then Hṛdayaśiva²², the disciple of Cūḍāśiva, went to Maihar, invited by Lakṣmaṇarāja (c.A. D. 946 to c. A. D. 973), a Kalacuri ruler. The sequence of pontiffs’ succession at Kadwaha thus covers the period from c. A. D 825 to c. A. D. 946, i.e., from the time of Avantivarman (c.A.D.825)²³ Cālukya to the time of Lakṣmaṇarāja (c.A.D. 946-973). There must have been other pontiffs at Mattamayūra after Hṛdayaśiva. For instance, a Kadwaha inscription refers to the disciple (name lost) of Dharmāśambhu who gave *dīkṣā* to Harirāja (c. 984 A.D.), a Later

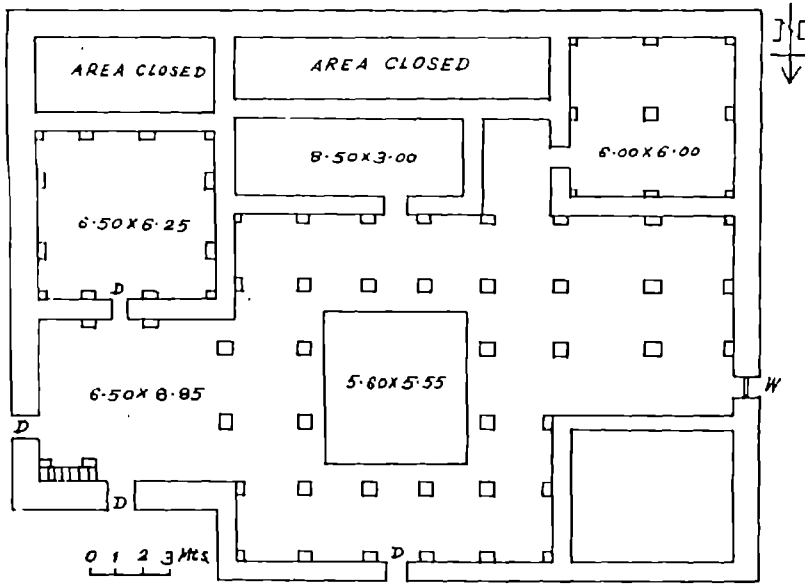
Pratīhāra chief of Malwa.²⁴

6. Purandara established another *maṭha* at Araṇipadra. (Pl. VIII, B). Since he operated from Mattamayūra, the *maṭha* at Araṇipadra (Ranod, Distt. Shivapuri) was placed in charge of his disciple Kavacaśiva who was followed respectively by Sadāśiva, Hṛdayaśiva, Vyomaśiva and Pataṅgaśambhu²⁵ in that order from c.A.D. 825 to c.A.D. 950 (considering an occupancy period of 25 years for each pontiff excluding Purandara who was lodged at Mattamayūra). Numerous antiquarian relics including temples, wells, a tank, tombs, and a mosque were built at Ranod upto 17th century.²⁶
7. Pavanaśiva, 'the lord of Madhumatī', (c.A.D. 900) founded the monastery at Madhumatī (Mahua²⁷, Distt. Shivapuri). He was succeeded by Śabdaśiva whose disciple Īśvaraśiva was invited and established by the Kalacuri queen Nohalā (A.D. 915-945) at Bilhari.²⁸ Other pontiffs of this line who went to the Kalacuri territory include Prabhāvaśiva, Praśāntaśiva, Īśānaśambhu and Prabodhaśiva. In the Chandreche Stone Inscription of Prabodhaśiva²⁹ all these pontiffs are said to belong to the line of Madhumatī but this introduction is prefaced by a mention of the Mattamayūra line also from which they derived. These assertions indicate that the two lines viz. Mattamayūra and Madhumatī were indeed only one in which the latter formed a branch while the former remained the main seat. As for Mahua, it still has temples dating to 8th and 9th century.
8. Prabhāvaśiva of the Madhumatī branch of Mattamayūra line was invited by Yuvarājadeva I (c. A.D. 915-945) to his dominion to take charge of a monastery built at a great cost (at Gurgi, near Rewa). Gurgi had two temples close to each other near the monastery. Of these, one was built by the ruler and the other by Praśāntaśiva, the disciple of Prabhāvaśiva.³⁰
9. Praśāntaśiva, the disciple of Prabhāvaśiva, established two *siddhasthānas* respectively at Varanasi and on the banks of the river Śoṇa. He also built two temples of which the one has been mentioned above, while the other one was built at Chandreche (Distt. Sidhi)³¹. The Gurgi Stone Inscription of Kokalla II glorifies this saint in most eloquent terms.³²
10. Īśvaraśiva of the Madhumatī branch founded a *maṭha* at Bilhari (Distt. Jabalpur) on the invitation and support of Nohalā, the queen of Yuvarājadeva II (c.A.D. 915-945). This monastery was christened as "Nohaleśvara". A temple was built by the queen close to the monastery. The queen granted seven villages to the temple. Two other villages were exclusively given by the queen to Īśvaraśiva.³³ Later, the occupancy of the "Nohaleśvara" monastery was passed on to Aghoraśiva, the

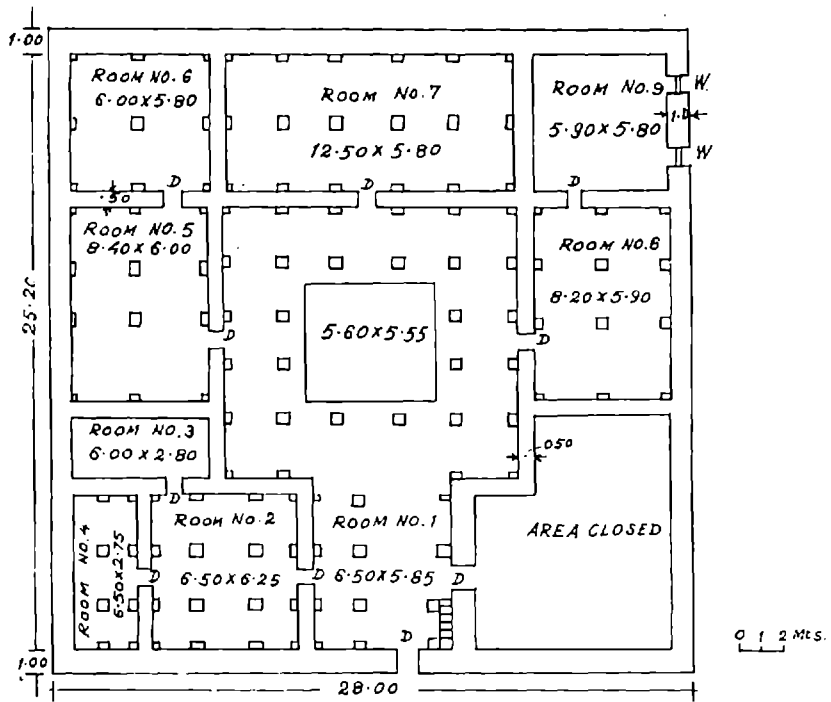
disciple of Hṛdayaśiva.³⁴ Bilhari has many rich archaeological remains, including an extremely elegant, though now derelict, temple.³⁵

11. Hṛdayaśiva, the disciple of Cūḍāśiva of the Mattamayūra seat, founded the Vaidyanātha monastery (946-973 A.D.), perhaps at Maihar (Distt. Satna). Maihar today is left with only a temple which is locally known as *Gola maṭha*. It dates to 10th century.³⁶
12. Prabodhaśiva, descending from Praśūntaśiva, founded a monastery at Chandrehe (Distt. Sidhi) in c.A.D. 973. Though in a ruined state today, this massive structure yet impresses as a grand monument. The site also contains a beautiful temple (built by Praśūntaśiva).³⁷
13. The Tewār Stone inscription of Gayakarṇa (A.D. 1151) refers to Bhāvabrahma, an ascetic who built the "encircling walls, temples and monasteries"³⁸, but he appears to have been a Pāśupata ascetic independent of the Śaivite lineage of other pontiffs.
14. A monastery and several temples seem to have come up at Tripurī (near Jabalapur) sometime in the 9th century. A line of the Śaivite pontiffs descending perhaps from Prabhāvaśiva (Sadbhāvaśambhu) is indicated in the Malkapuram inscription of Rudra.³⁹ The monastery under this line perhaps started during the reign of Kokalla II (990-1015 A.D.). This line consisted of pontiffs descending from Durvāsas (?) and continuing through Vimalaśiva I down to Vāstuśiva, Śaktiśiva, Kīrtiśiva, Vimalaśiva II and finally by two brothers — Śāntaśiva and Nādaśiva who descended from Vimalaśiva II.⁴⁰ Yet another disciple of Vimalaśiva II was Dharmāśiva and the latter's disciple Viśveśvaraśiva founded the *Viśveśvara golakī*, a Śaivite monastery, at Malkapuram⁴¹ (Mysore). The *mattamayūra* line fell into lean days in Madhya Pradesh after the Kalachuri Vijayasinhha (A.D. 1188), for, Śāntaśiva and Nādaśiva are mentioned as mortgaging the village of Alaura, which was their property, to the *rāṇaka* Dhareka during the reign of the Candella ruler, Trailokyamalla.⁴² The details about the pontiffs of Jabalpur branch indicate a fairly long duration of the ruler pontiff correspondence extending from c. 990 A.D. to c. 1188 A.D.

To recapitulate, this entire monastic movement seems to encompass four ruling dynasties, viz, the local branch of the Gurjara Pratīharas of Malwa (V.S. 960, / A.D. 899 to c. A.D. 947), the Cālukyās of Malwa (c.A.D. 825 to c. A.D. 975), the Later Pratīhāras of Malwa (c.A.D. 948 to c.A.D. 1184) and the Kalacuris of Tripurī (c.A.D. 915 to AD. 1188). It reveals several ruler-pontiff pairs throughout the course of its development. Chief among these groupings are the pontiff-ruler pairs of Purandara and Avantivarman Cālukya (c.875 A.D.) at Kadwaha; of *Śaṅkhamatīkādhipati* and *mahāsāmantādhipati* Undabhaṭṭa at Terahi (V.S. 960 / c.A.D. 899); of



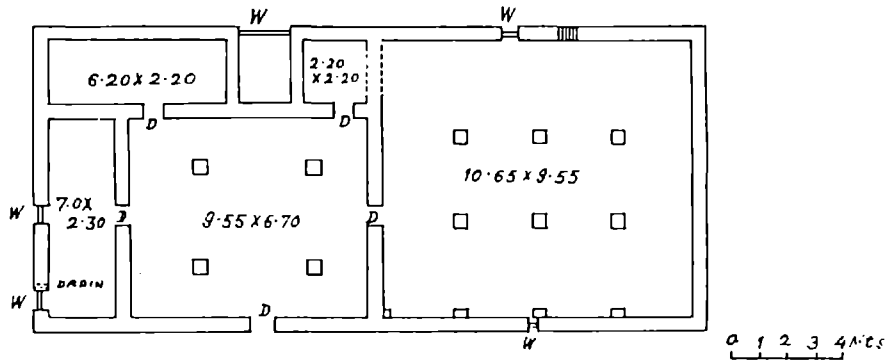
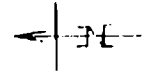
FIRST FLOOR (PLAN)



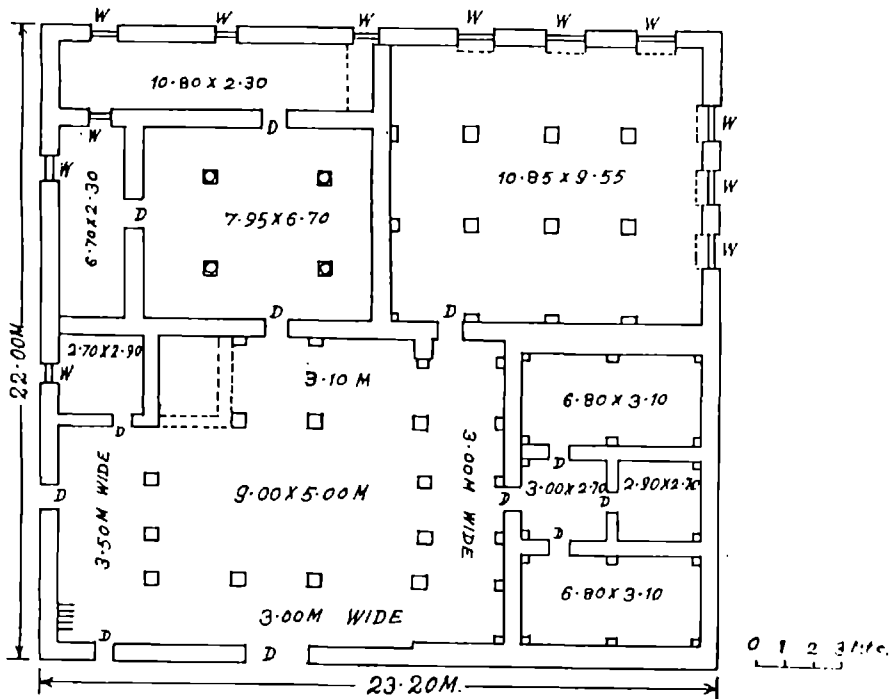
GROUND FLOOR (PLAN)

KADWAHA MATHA

Fig 1



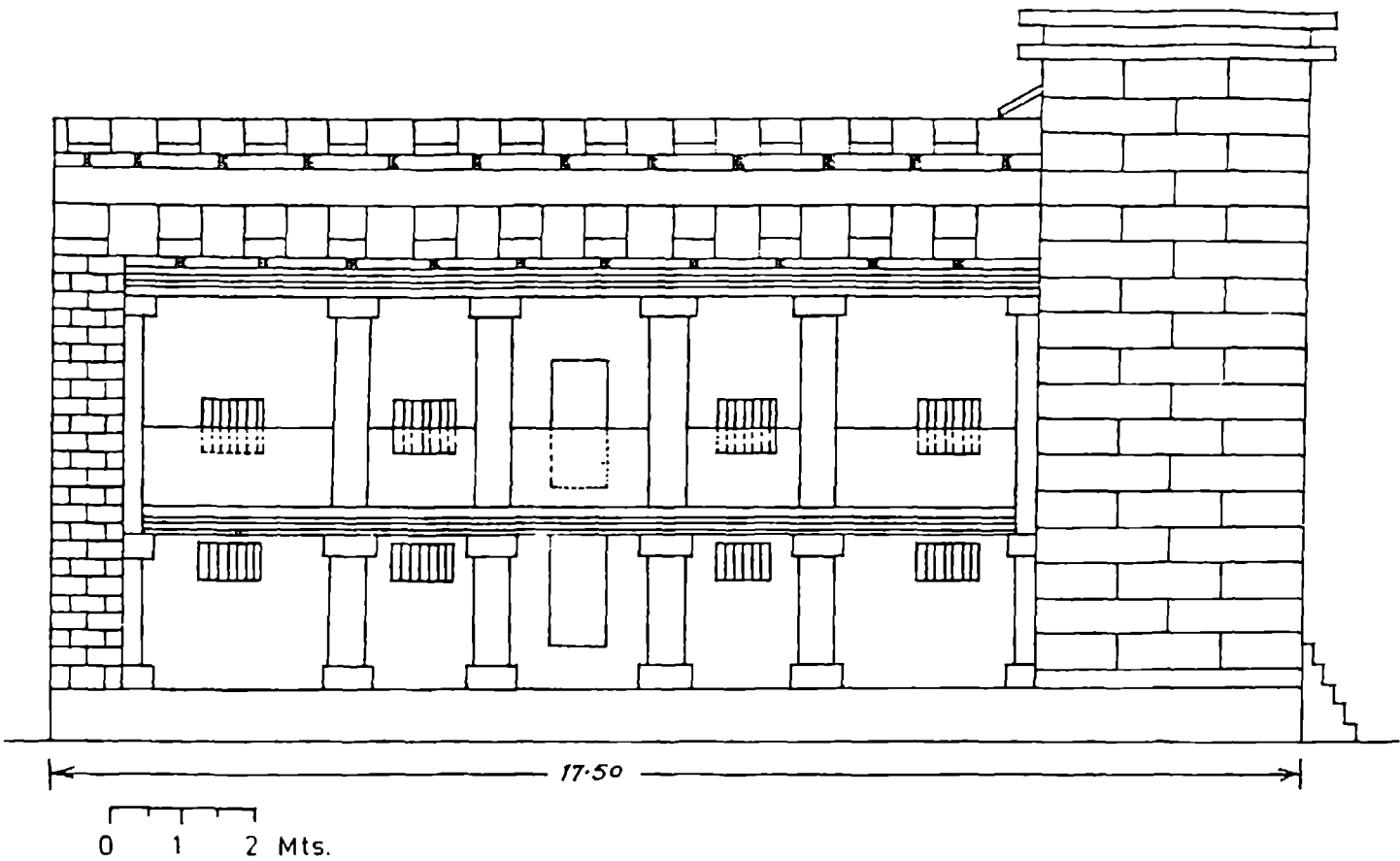
FIRST FLOOR (PLAN)



GROUND FLOOR (PLAN)

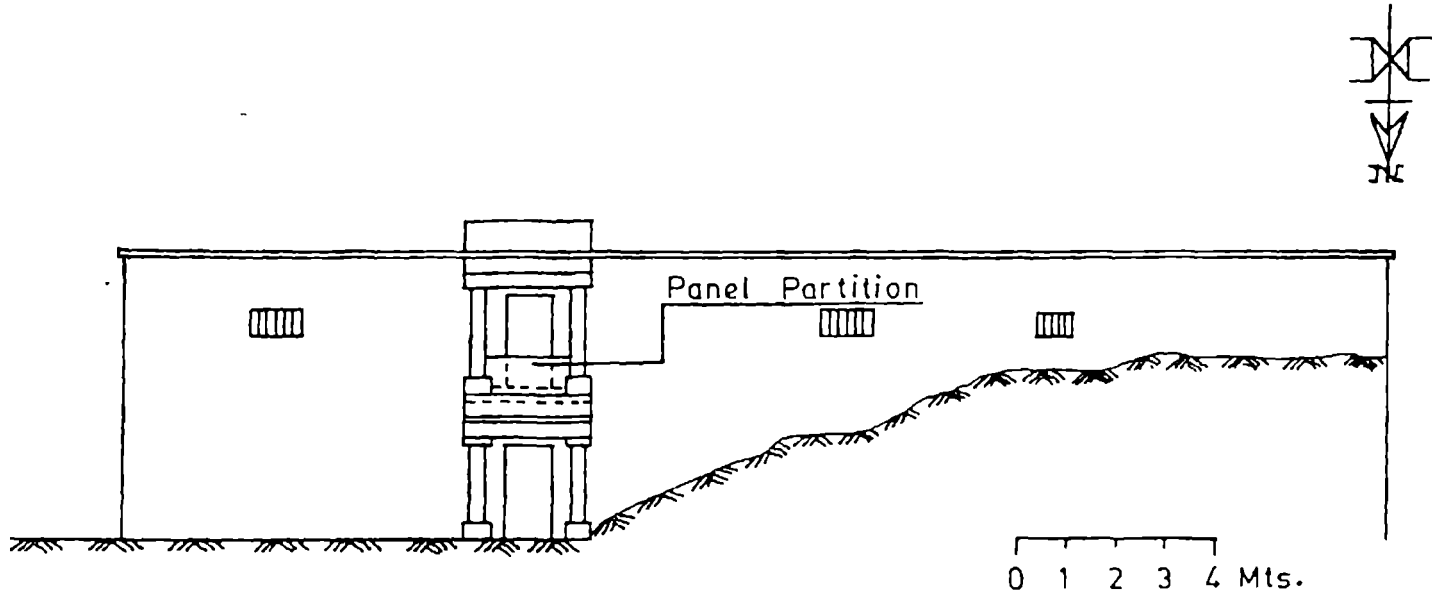
SURWAYA MAṬHA

Fig. 2



Front Elevation of Ranod Matha

Fig. 3



Front Elevation of Terahi Maṭha

Fig. 4

mahārāja Durbhāṭa (c.A.D. 912-913) and the *bhūpa* Gobhāṭa (sometime between c.A.D. 913 to A.D. 948-49) and the saint Dharmasīva at Kadwaha; of the *nīpacakravartī* Harirāja and a disciple (name lost) of Dharmasīva at Kadwaha (A.D. 984); of Prabhāvasīva and Yuvarājadeva I at Gurgi (c.A.D. 915); of Nohalā, the queen of Yuvarājadeva I and Īśvaraśīva at Bilhari (c.A.D. 915); of Lakṣmaṇarāja II and Hṛdayaśīva at Vaidyanātha (Maihar; c.A.D. 946); of Lakṣmaṇarāja II and Aghoraśīva at Bilhari (c.A.D. 946); and then of the different successive pontiffs and their royal disciples of the Kalacuri dynasty for approximately two hundred years in Tripurī from c.A.D. 990 to A.D. 1188, i.e., from the time of Kokalla II to that of Jayasinha.

The rise of particular pontiffs to prominence is initially seen independent of rulers in every instance above; the rulers seem to have come in contact with them only later. This was universally the situation whether in the case of the monasteries and their pontiffs in the Guna-Shivapuri region where the movement started or in the central and eastern Madhya Pradesh where the institution was transplanted. Everywhere, the pontiffs seem to have appropriated royal patronage on account of their already established status and eminence. In all these different instances, the ruler-pontiff conjunction consolidated pontiffs' brotherhood whereby the central monastic seat of Mattamayūra (Kadwaha) and its several branches in central, northern and eastern Madhya Pradesh became rallying points of the entire movement. Everywhere, this movement vigorously promoted art activity with temples, monasteries, etc. built in dozens mostly through the pontiffs' patronage. In substance, this entire movement and its operation indicates the clergies altering the dynamics of patronage by appropriating it from the rulers. Art flourished in this system, aided and promoted by pontiffs who typified continuities through a large and strong network⁴³ of monasteries and by their interdependent brotherhood reinforced by a common descent from the Mattamayūra seat.

There must have been some pressing reasons for the rise of these clergies to such a prominent status. Birth in a higher *varṇa*, income and authority are the well-known determinants of status and mobility. Of these, the clergies' income was dependent on grants from rulers too who donated village to them for maintenance; similarly, authority was invested in them by the rulers in a sufficient measure. These favours flowed to them only after the rulers had established them in their seats. What could have been the reason, in the first place, which might explain their acquiring such a predominant status? Birth in a high *varṇa* may not explain their ascendancy for, inscriptions often refer to many *brāhmaṇas* who appear lesser than them, supplicating to and receiving favours from them. Also, if the *Pañcatantra* stories⁴⁴ present the objective reality, then merely the recitations of the *Śīva-mantra* and ash smeared on the body were sufficient for *dīkṣā* into Śaivism regardless of birth as *Śūdra*, *Cāṇḍāla*, etc. Whether these ascetics were non-*brāhmaṇas* initially

before *dīkṣā*, is difficult to prove despite the fact that Vimalaśiva alone is explicitly singled out for his “high birth”⁴⁵. There may be a few more such cases where a high birth may be directly inferred. So, regardless of their high or low birth, the reason for the ascendancy of these ascetics, who were endowed with high intellect, doctrinal proficiency and moral rigour⁴⁶, must be addressed to their other functions. In all probability, reason for their supremacy lay in their utility in preparations for war and in discharging administrative responsibilities. This may indeed explain their ascendancy, while their other attainments may be taken as contributory factors. Their warlike prowess and their administrative capacities are mentioned in the inscription obliquely. But an explicit mention of their role in defeating an invading force occurs in the Fragmentary Stone Inscription from Kadwaha.⁴⁷ According to a verse (14) of this record the prince (*bhūpa*) Gobhaṭa along with his army of elephants, visited Dharmāśiva in his monastery : *tatrājagāmonmada sindhurāṇām balena bhūpaḥ kila Gobhaṭākhyah*. In the verse 16-17 of the same inscription, it is said that, “filled with compassion, and like Tripurāntaka (Dharmāśiva) conquered the whole army of the foes by means of bow and arrow acquired by his own... miraculous powers.” Dharmāśiva here seems to have aided Gobhaṭa (or perhaps his successor). The emphasis on the battle by the pontiff with the bow and arrow “acquired by his own... powers” needs being noted, for it seems to admit the possibility of the *maṭha* being an arsenal of weaponry too. The same inscription tells us later (verses 31-32) about the elephants which were offered to a pontiff by the Later Pratīhāra chief Harirāja. The pontiff declined this gift and accepted some villages instead. But the roaring elephants and neighing horses, gold, jewels and a rich store of corn formed the possession of the monastery at Araṇipadra⁴⁸.

Investiture of the pontiffs in the monasteries as a pre-requisite to launching an expedition for conquest seems to be suggested in the Bilhari Stone Inscription.⁴⁹ The instance underscores their significance during the period when the monarch was away on a war front. The details here indicate that Lakṣamaṇarāja II invited Hṛdayaśiva to the Cedi country (from Malwa), showing his devotion to him by sending presents through the “well-conducted messengers”. This was followed by the act of establishing him and his disciple Aghoraśiva respectively at Vaidyanātha (Maihar) and Nohaleśvara (Bilhari) monasteries. Then, “having accomplished his object, (the ruler) with all his elephants and horses, powerful feudatories and foot soldiers proceeded to western quarters (for victory)....” These details seem to lend meaning to the sequence of events and the pontiff’s presence is explicitly a prelude to the military expedition in the case.

There are other instances also of the militaristic association of the pontiffs. The Gurgi inscription⁵⁰ (verses 17-18) of Kokalladeva II refers to Īśānaśambhu’s “conquest” and compares him with Paraśurāma. In the same way, Prabodhaśiva

is mentioned in the Chāndrehe Inscription⁵¹ as 'Paraśurāma.' He is said to have "conquered all his enemies" and "showed the effect of his power on mighty kings" in which act he has been compared to Kārttikeya. The skills of Vimalaśiva have been described in detail in the Jabalpur Stone Inscription of Jayasimha⁵². He is eulogised for his "political wisdom" and for showing his "power against enemies." He is specially mentioned as 'adept in the art of religion and weaponry,' "*śastra-śāstra-viśāradaḥ*" in the Dhureti Plates of Trailokyamalla.⁵³ Other pontiffs had similar reputation. For instance, Kirtiśiva⁵⁴ is said to have reduced to ashes the city of enemies and have wrested the glory of enemies". Similarly, Śaktiśiva⁵⁵ is described as one who 'augmented' the royal power of Gayakarṇa. In view of these oblique references besides those explicit, mentioned above, it appears likely that the Śaiva pontiffs were in demand because they may have served the purpose of the state in its war efforts. This they could have done by means of offering training, garrisoning the royal forces — elephants and horses included, maintaining arsenals, manufacturing weapons, and taking care of the state's affairs when the monarchs were away on military expedition. They might also have recruited the combatant force from among the labour force which they kept engaged for building temples, monasteries and other works.⁵⁶ The Malkapuram inscription tells us of ten different kinds of artisans in the regular service of the monastery of the pontiff Viśveśvara. These included blacksmith, coppersmith, sculptor, architect etc. who could all be useful both in warlike or peaceful operations.⁵⁷ Similar situation may be extrapolated in the case of the monasteries of Madhya Pradesh whence the monastic system of the Viśveśvara golakī of Malkapuram possibly derived.

Such role and function of the Śaivite pontiffs may perhaps explain the inevitability of their presence and their royal connections. This may also explain why the *mathas* came up mostly in the peripheral regions of the state which, for that reason, were more vulnerable to external aggression. The presence of the monasteries and faithful pontiffs in the distant regions of empire must have given immense relief to the rulers who supported them,

The pontiffs seem to have participated in civil administration too, as did Vimalaśiva whose different roles in this sphere are eloquently described in the Jabalpur Stone Inscription of Jayasimha. "By his counsel (he) made even the most distant people pay taxes."⁵⁸ In every way, therefore, the pontiffs of the Mattamayūra lineage became indispensable to the state. Besides, their erudition, spiritual pursuits, opulence and moral rigour made them highly acceptable to the contemporary rulers. Inscriptions, time and again, mention that their "venerable feet were revered by the lustre of the crest jewels of the princes."⁵⁹

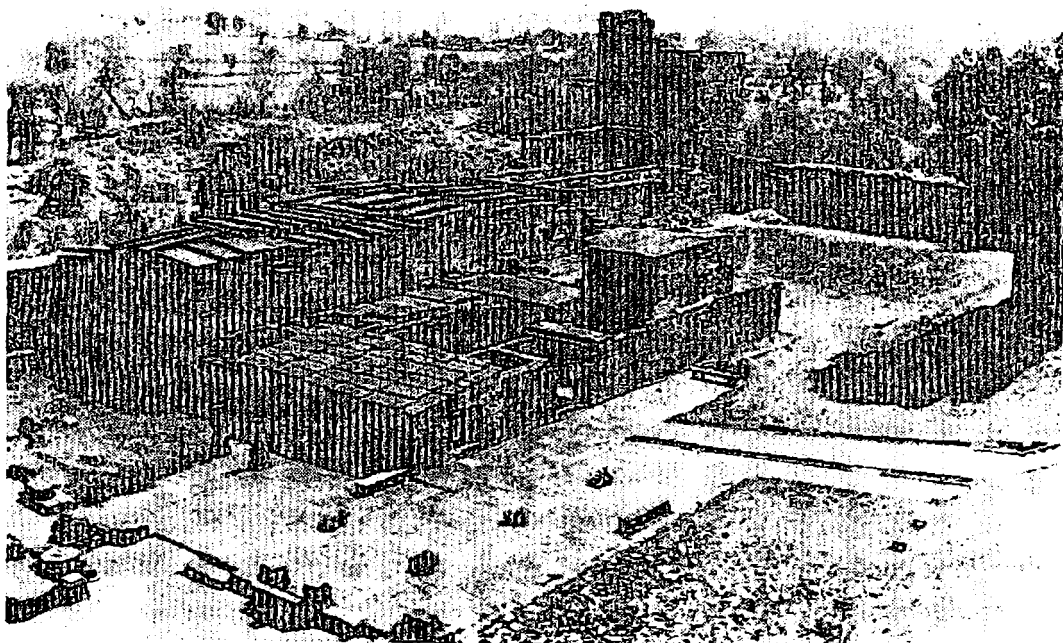
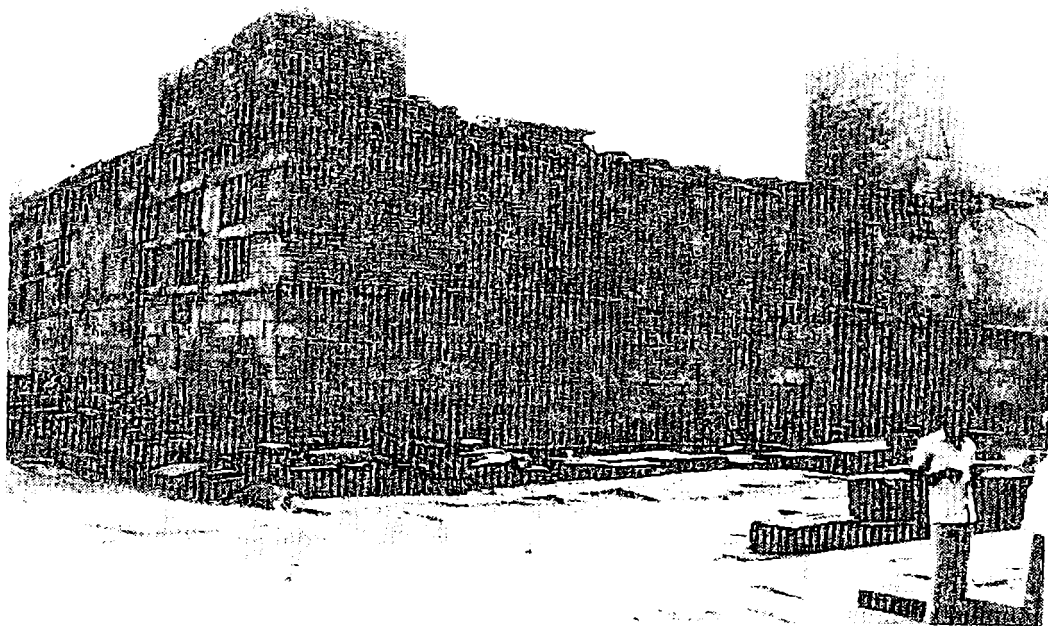
This entire movement thus seems to have translated the patronage in art into instrument of power in which the ruler and the clergy strengthened

each other and integrated the community. Institutionally, it betrays a pantheon of power in which religion, doctrine, art and political authority were all embedded together into the temporal authority of the Śaivite pontiffs who exercised control with the support of the rulers and sometimes even despite them. The authority and influence of the pontiffs is underscored by their pre-eminent status independent of the rulers, their massive and strong, "fortress" like exclusive monastic establishments, their material wealth and acquisitions, specially the elephants and horses, gold and jewels and plentiful corn,⁶⁰ their well-knit "spiritual" genealogy,⁶¹ their mythically sanctified descent traced back to Brahmā and blessed by Śiva,⁶² their assistance to rulers in battle, their titles like *adhipati*, *pāla* and *nātha*⁶³ and by the supplication of rulers to their temporal authority.⁶⁴ Under the dispensation of the pontiffs, art — in terms of building of temples and monasteries and embellishing them with sculptures — flourished unabated.⁶⁵ The fall of dynasties created only a temporary setback, for in such circumstances, the branches alone fell into disuse. This is indicated by the case of Śāntaśiva and Nādaśiva, the two sons of Vimalaśiva, who were forced to mortgage out their village, Alaura, to the *rānaka* Dhāreka.⁶⁶ But since the patronage to the monasteries and its activities were appropriated by the pontiffs from the rulers and distributed and redistributed through a wide network of the branches, the fall of the rulers could dry up their sources only partially. Art activity continued to flourish with the pontiffs seeking out new regions and resources and managing to get them without any let.

Notes and References

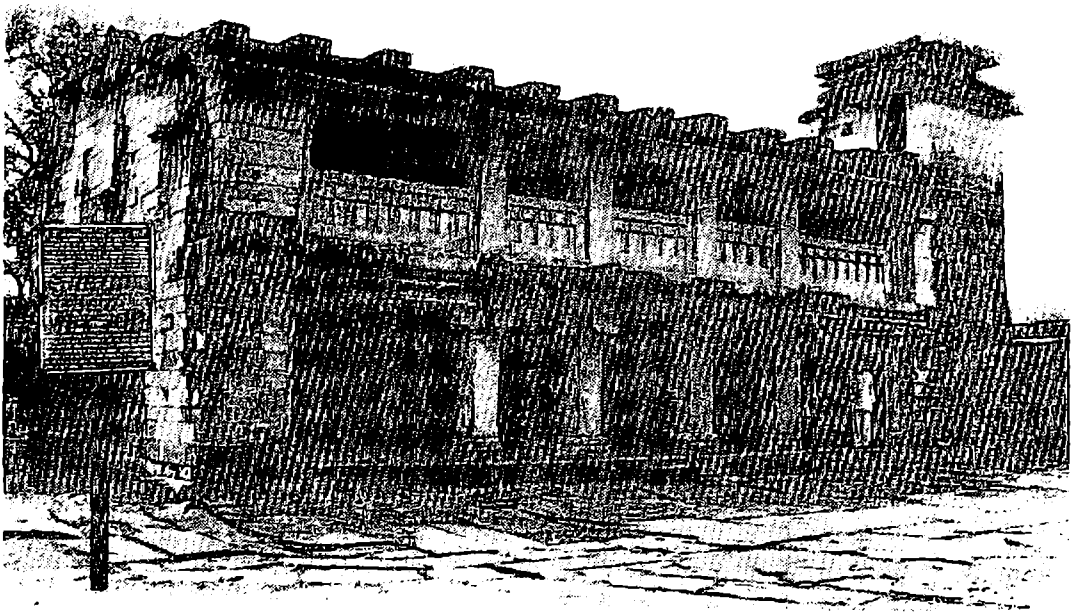
1. Cf. V.V. Mirashi (1955), *Inscriptions of the Chedi-Kalachuri Era, Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. IV (ii), Ootucamund; V.S. Pathak (1960), *Saiva Cults in Northern India*, Varanasi; Ajai Mitra Śastri (1971), *Tripurī*, Bhopal; R.K. Sharma (1980), *The Kalachuris and Their Times*, Delhi.
2. V.S. Pathak (1960), pp. 32-34; On the basis of the *Mahābhārata* it is placed by Pathak in the kingdom of the Varmans of Sīrīhapura somewhere near Rohtak in 7th-8th century A.D. Mirashi refers to a Kadambapadraka in Malwa but favours identification of Mattamayūra with Kadwaha, as suggested by Kielhorn, Cf. Mirashi (1955), *Intro.* p.clii.
3. *Ibid.* Inscription no. 44, vv. 3-4.
4. Allegiance is indicated in the pontiffs' proclamation of their descent from particular monasteries and their *acāryas*, e.g., *sā Kadambaguhā mānyā yatrasīt- siddha santati* or *śrīman Mādhumateya vitata kīrtiś ciram vardhitā*, Mirashi (1955) insc. no. 45, vv. 45, 55; or, *śrīmat mattamayūra varṣa tilako niḥśeṣa vidyānidhiḥ*, Mirashi (1955), insc. no. 44, v.4; no. 46, vv. 3,5,19.

5. For instance, the *mathas* of Ranod and Kadwaha (Mattamayūra) built by Purandara functioned on the same line, garrisoning elephants and horses, building temples, tanks, etc., and pursuing similar religious and doctrinal tradition.
6. Cf. Pathak (1960), p. 28-29; Guhāvāsī is placed by him in c. A.D. 675, *ibid.* p. 31.
7. Kadwaha is sometimes mentioned as 'Khajuraho of Gwalior region.' It has about a dozen temples of 10th-12th century A.D. Cf. also D.R. Patil (1952), *The Descriptive and Classified List of Archaeological Monuments in Madhya Bharat*, Gwalior, nos. 746-757.
8. F. Kielhorn (Rep. 1971), "A Stone Inscription from Ranod (Narod)", *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, p. 355, vv. 11-12.
9. See above, note no. 4.
10. Mirashi (1955), insc. no. 45, v. 49.
11. F. Kielhorn (Rep. 1971), p. 355, v. 8.
12. Cf. D.R. Patil (1952), nos. 1608-1611.
13. F. Kielhorn (Rep. 1971), v. 9; For the antiquarian remains from Terahi, cf. D.R. Patil (1952), nos. 1627-1633; R.D. Trivedi (1990), *Temples of the Pratihāra Period*, Delhi, pp. 121-125.
14. V.S. Pathak (1960), pp. 30-31 distinguishes him by listing him under the line of Durvāsas. But the Dhureti Plates of Trailokyamalla (Mirashi, 1955, insc. no. 72, line 11-12) mentions Vimalaśiva also as an incarnation of Durvāsas which descent is confirmed by the Malkapuram inscription of Rudra.
15. Mirashi (1955), insc. no. 45, v. 48.
16. Pathak (1960), p. 30-31.
17. Cf. R.D. Trivedi (1990), pp. 70, 86-89.
18. F. Kielhorn (Rep. 1971), vv. 11-12. Building a *matha* by Purandara at Ranod may suggest that the place was dear to him and might even have been the original place where he performed his penances. The punning in the name of Purandara (e. g. Indra; Upendra, in other words) many suggest that just as Purandara was Upendra, his place of the *tapas* was the Upendrapura (e. g., Ranod). Because of this association he built the *matha* at Araṇipadra (Ranod) even after he settled at Mattamayūra (Kadwaha) on the insistence of the Cālukya Avantivarman.
19. V.V. Mirashi and Ajai Mitra Shastri, "A Fragmentary Stone Inscription



A. The monastery at Kadwaha

B. The monastery at Surwaya



A. The monastery at Terahi

B. The monastery at Ranod

from Kadwaha," *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 118.

20. Cf. D.R. Patil (1952), no. 755. Genealogies indicate Purandara's connection with Mattamayūra (Kadwaha) which is proved by the Ranod inscription too. Only the Kadwaha inscription (above, no. 19) mentions him as the first pontiff at Kadwaha which may be due to the fact that in reinforcing the Guhāvāsī line, he built the *maṭha* here and made it the place of his residence. This formal inauguration of the *maṭha* at Kadwaha by Purandara may explain the assertion made in the Kadwaha record.
21. Mirashi (1955) insc. no. 45, vv. 48-54.
22. *Ibid.* vv. 54-58.
23. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 120.
24. *Ibid.* p. 118, vv. 22-32. Īśvaraśiva of Kadwaha is associated with the Later Pratihāra chief Dhīma, one of the successors of Harirāja of Malwa, Cf. V.S. Pathak (1960), p. 35.
25. F. Kielhorn (Rep. 1971), pp. 352-353; also V.V. Mirashi (1972), "Gwalior Museum Stone Inscription of Pataṅgaśambhu", *Journal of Madhya Pradesh Itihasa Parishad*, Bhopal, Vol. 2, pp. 1-12. This record mentions Pataṅgaśambhu at Ranod. Quoted in *Studies in Indology*, Vol. IV, (in Hindi) trans. Ajai Mitra Shastri, Bhopal, 1974, pp. 173-182.
26. D. R. Patil (1952), Nos. 1394-1407.
27. For the archaeological remains at Mahua, cf. *ibid.* nos. 944-946; R.D. Trivedi (1990), pp. 67 ff.
28. Mirashi (1955), insc. no. 45, vv. 43-45.
29. *Ibid.* insc. no. 44, vv. 4-12.
30. R.N. Misra (1987), *Sculptures of Dahala and Dakṣiṇa Kosala*, Delhi pp. 41-42.
31. *Ibid.* p. 43.
32. Mirashi (1955), insc. no. 46, vv. 8-16; also insc. no. 44, vv. 6-8.
33. R.N. Misra (1987), p. 42.
34. *Ibid.*
35. *Ibid.*, pp. 87-89.
36. *Ibid.*, pp. 45-46; Mirashi (1955) insc. no. 45, vv. 54-58, 82.
37. R.N. Misra (1987), p. 45.

38. Mirashi (1955), insc. no. 58, v. 12.
39. J. Ramayya Pantulu (1929) "Malkapuram Stone Inscription of Rudra (Rudramba)", *Journal of Andhra Historical Research Society*, Vol. IV, i-ii, pp. 147 ff. Pathak (1960) works out the total history of this line of ascetics from Prabhāvaśiva to Viśveśvaraśiva (12 generations) but this is not accepted by Mirashi. cf. R.K. Sharma (1980), p. 229-231. Whatever may be the truth about Vāmaśambhu, there is little doubt about nine generations from the founder of the line at Jabalpur (Tripurī-Bheraghat tract) to Vimalaśiva including his descendants in the Rewa region, namely Śantaśiva and Nādaśiva, the brothers whose names occur in the records from Jabalpur and Dhureti, Cf. Mirashi (1955) insc. nos. 64 and 72. Reference to Durvāsas in the Malkapuram and Dhureti records and the similarities of names in the former and the Jabalpur records lend credence to Pathak's views. We may suggest that Prabhāvaśiva of the Chandrehc and Gurgi inscriptions may have shifted to Jabalpur after installing Praśāntaśiva at Gurgi and then founded the *maṭha* in the Jabalpur region whence arose his pre-eminence in genealogy (like Mattamayūranātha) in reference to Jabalpur line of the pontiffs which is described in the Malkapuram record. For the monuments of the Bheraghat-Jabalpur region, cf. R. N. Misra (1987), pp. 36-38, 50-51.
40. Cf. Jabalpur Stone Inscription of Jayasimha, in Mirashi (1955), no. 64, vv. 8-46; no. 72, lines 15-18.
41. Cf. J. Ramayya Pantulu (1929), pp. 147 ff.; Pathak (1960), p. 50.
42. Mirashi (1955), insc. no. 72, lines 15-18.
43. A network is suggested by (a) linkage proclaimed by the disciples to the central seat of Mattamayūra and (b) interlinking of the *ācārya*-disciple relationship as in the case of Hṛdayaśiva and Aghoraśiva.
44. Quoted by V. S. Pathak (1987) *Smarta Religious Tradition*, Meerut p. 48, footnote 46.
45. Mirashi (1955), insc. no. 64, v. 35 : *jātiḥ sajjanapūjitāḥ*.
46. Cf. *Ibid.* insc. no. 44, vv. 4-12, no. 45, vv. 43-56, no. 46, vv. 3-25, no. 64, vv. 4-44; F. Kielhorn (Rep. 1971), vv. 8-44.
47. Mirashi and Shastri, *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 117-124.
48. F. Kielhorn (Rep. 1971), p. 357, v. 30.
49. Mirashi (1955), insc. no. 45, vv. 56-59.
50. *Ibid.* insc. no. 46.
51. *Ibid.* insc. no. 44, vv. 9-10.

52. *Ibid.* insc. no. 64, vv. 38-46.
53. *Ibid.* insc. no. 72, line 17.
54. *Ibid.* insc. no. 64, vv. 23-24
55. *Ibid.* v. 18.
56. *Ibid.* v. 28 which it is said that "though (the Śaiva pontiffs) were vagrant mendicants, their sacrificial rites and charitable works were performed with abundance of wealth and in praiseworthy manner like those of kings."
57. Cf. R. N. Misra (1987), pp. 25-26.
58. Mirashi (1955), insc. no. 64, v. 40.
59. *Ibid.* insc. no. 44, vv. 50, 51, 54. Disciples of the sages were such that their "command would be borne by kings on their heads :", Mirashi (1955) insc. no. 46, v. 16; *ibid.* insc. no. 63, line 19 f. mentions Vimalaśiva as the *rāja-guru*.
60. *Dhānya-hiranya-ratna-nivahair-niḥśeṣamantarvahis-, tvaṅga-tuṅgam air madabharo dhattaiścha garjat gajaḥ*, Kielhorn (Rep. 1971), p. 357, v. 30.
61. *Ibid.* p. 355, vv. 5-22; Mirashi (1955), insc. no. 44, vv. 4-9; no. 45, vv. 43-50, 82f; no. 46, vv. 3-4, 36-43; no. 64, vv. 4-34.
62. F. Kielhorn (Rep. 1971), p. 355, vv. 6-7.
63. *Ibid.*, vv. 8-9.
64. See note 59 above.
65. See note 56 above.
66. Mirashi (1955), insc. no. 72, lines 5-20.

Acknowledgement : The plans and elevations of the monasteries illustrated in this paper have been kindly lent to me by my student Sri Anil Kumar Jain who prepared an M. Phil. dissertation on the subject under my supervision. I profusely thank him for his generosity.

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PT. REWAPRASAD'S KĀVYĀLAMKĀRA-KĀRIKĀ'

TAPASVI NANDI

अपूर्वं यद्वरतु प्रथयति विना कारणकलां
जगद्द्यावप्रख्यं निजरसभरात्सारयति च ।
क्रमात्प्रख्योपाख्यं प्रसरसुभगं भासयति यत्
सरस्यत्यास्तत्त्वं कविसहृदयाख्यं विजयते ॥

Pt. Rewaprasad's (R.) काव्यालङ्कारकारिका is characterized as much by its author's profound erudition and insight in the subject, as by his pleasant, lucid and at times forthright expression blessed with his original thinking and boldness. The author has no hesitation in challenging the wisdom of twelve to thirteen centuries of sound thinking in the field of Sanskrit literary criticism, which is cast in its almost perfect and final shape by stalwarts such as Ānandavardhana, Abhinavagupta, Mammaṭa and Jagannātha, the great luminaries of the so-called *rasa-dhvani* school of thought. They had observations which were not always in tune with those passed by the protagonists of what we may call the Mālava school of thought as represented by Bhoja, the author of *Sāhitya-mīmāṃsā*, Śāradātanaya and others. Our author is open to both the Kashmir school and the Mālava school and goes beyond both of them - अत्यतिष्ठत् दशाङ्गुलम् ! In this excellent modern treatise, we have original observations on practically all important topics treated of by Sanskrit *ālaṅkārikas*. The author quite often differs and at times denounces and pooh-poohs the efforts of the earlier masters. We will make an attempt to evaluate the author's views as critically as possible.

In this work we have thirteen chapters called *adhikaraṇas* dealing with various topics. At the outset we may say that by and large, the author emulates the pattern set by Vāmana but his style has all the grace and beauty of Ānandavardhana, Rajaśekhara and Hemacandra, with a tinge of red when occasionally he resorts to some presentation in *navya-nyāya* diction, and goes closer to Jagannātha, at the same time never missing the pink of Kuntaka and Mahimā.

We may enumerate the topics or *adhikaraṇas* covered by him as : (१) काव्यस्य सार्वपारिषदं मङ्गलपर्यं लक्षणम्, (२) काव्यकारणम्, (३) काव्यप्रयोजनम्, (४) काव्यस्य आत्मा, (५) काव्यस्य ज्ञानैकरूपत्वम्, - काव्ये शब्दज्ञानस्योपाधित्वम्, - भाषातत्त्वम्, अर्थस्य ज्ञानैकरूपत्वम्, (६) सहृदयवृक्षा काव्यविवारः, (७) काव्यत्वस्य महाव्याप्तिः, (८) काव्यतद्धर्मयुगपदुत्पत्तिवादः (९) काव्यधर्माः, (१०) रसे काव्यधर्मत्वाभावः, (११) काव्यलक्षणम्, (१२) अस्माकं काव्यदर्शनम्, (१३) उपसंहृतिः. Only

a glance at the above will make it clear that he is interested only in theoretical discussion of the highest order and hardly in the normal pattern as laid down by works of giants such as Mammaṭa, Hemacandra or Viśvanātha. Perhaps we are justified in placing him with Ānandavardhana, Kuntaka, Mahimā, and Jagannātha. Certain questions from an orthodox student may remain unanswered as to how the Ācārya will explain Bharata's *rasa-sūtra*, or the normal division and sub-division of poetry. Perhaps for him a piece of poem is either poetry or not, with difference in degrees of success even in one and the same poetic work, not to talk of works by different poets.

We may also get used to his style of treatment. He has three types of *kārikās*, which are named as *Mūlakārikās*, *Saṅgrahakārikās* and *Upaskārikārikās*. In his introduction he suggests : अथेमानुपच्छन्दयामहे काव्यालङ्कारकारिकाम्। द्वावस्या भागौ, कारिका वृत्तिश्च। वृत्तिरेव विवृतिरपि। कारिकाञ्च त्रिविधा, - मूलकारिका, संग्रहकारिका, उपस्कारकारिका चेति। वृत्तिरपि त्रिविधा, संस्कृतमयी, अंग्रेजीमयी, हिन्दीमयी च। सर्वं चेदं स्वोपज्ञमेवास्माकम्। The Hindi *Vṛtti* is not published as yet, but the Ācārya has been kind enough to lend me a typed copy of it for my use, and it has proved to be of great help. I acknowledge his act of grace with gratitude.

In the very first *Kārikā, maṅgala* is performed and the definition of poetry is also given तत्रादौ शिष्टजननेदिष्टं मङ्गलमावध्नीमः, प्रस्तुवीमश्च काव्यस्य स्वोपज्ञं स्वालक्षण्यं योगपद्येन - आनन्दकोशस्योद्भासे लोकोत्तरविभावना।

अलङ्कृतार्थसंवित्तिः कविता, सर्वमङ्गला ॥१॥

The knowledge (or concept) of an "Adequate subject matter" is poetry. It is adequate as it possesses an outstanding power to generate the Supreme Bliss. It is a benediction launched for the universe. In place of the usual term '*kāvya*', here the word '*kavitā*' is used which, in Gujarat, is reserved for what we call a poem. It may also be observed that the definition of poetry, is sans the normal use of terms such as '*śabdārthau*' or '*Śabdah*' qualified by charming sense, etc. Instead we have 'अलङ्कृतार्थसंवित्तिः', i. e., knowledge of adequate subject-matter. So, poetry for the Ācārya is संवित्ति, i. e. of the form of knowledge, which is 'अलङ्कृत'. Here 'अलङ्कृत' is not to be taken in the traditional sense of 'सालङ्कार' i. e., adorned with figures such as *upamā*, *utprekṣā*, etc. or *anuprāsādi*. No, never. Rather, it would mean 'अलङ्कृत' - conveying the idea of 'enough' - adequate - perfect to cause literary beauty. So, the knowledge of such stuff as would be dubbed as adequate or enough, which means neither more nor less but perfectly suited for the job, absolutely balanced, that makes for poetry. The learned, with a closer acquaintance with Kuntaka will try to compare Kuntaka's observations. Hence, poetry is knowledge, so to say, i. e., it is an absolutely abstract art having no touch of physicality, at all! : संवित्तिश्चित्कलापरपर्यायो विमर्शः। ततश्च काव्यं विज्ञानमात्रमेव। संवित्तिं विशेषणमलङ्कृतोऽर्थः। विशेषणत्वं च विषयित्वेन तादात्म्येन च, अर्थस्य अत्र संविदेकरूपतयेवाभ्युपगमात्। शब्दोऽप्यत्रार्थरूप एव, संवित्सतत्त्वात्। सोऽप्यत्र जीवात्मनि स्थूलनिकायवद् उपाधिमात्रमेव प्रपञ्चयिष्यमाणेन नयेन। ततश्च नात्र तस्य संग्रहः। (p. 5).

What differentiates poetry from the rest of literature - वाङ्मय - is the fact of अलंकृतिः' — "तत्र वाङ्मयान्तरव्यतिभेदकं 'अलंकृतिः'। सा च वक्ष्यमाणलक्षणालंभावपरपर्यायालंकारमात्रात्मा। (p. 6). Poetry is common to both the poet and the enlightened reader - *sahṛdaya*. It can be both expressed or manifested outside or may remain totally unexpressed, i.e., only in the mind of the poet. When poetry finds expression, the poet's task is over and he ceases to be a poet and becomes a '*sahṛdaya*.' ततश्च कविरप्यत्र सहृदय एव आनन्दकोषोत्थासे। (p. 6).

It is further observed that so far as its intrinsic form of knowledge is concerned, poetry shares this quality with the arts of sculpture (मूर्तिकला) and painting. It is only in their exterior that these arts differ : संवित्तिरूपतायां च चित्रं मूर्तिः काव्यं चेति त्रितयमप्यव्यतिरेकि, बहीरूपतायामेव तेषामेषामन्योन्यं घट-पटादिवद् व्यतिरेकस्य दर्शनात्। It may be observed that even if basically art in its intrinsic form may be one, the medium it seeks to express itself in brings out the difference only in degree. Thus painting with colours as its medium, and sculpture with clay or metal as its medium has a grosser expression as compared to poetry with meaningful word as a subtler medium.

As observed earlier, if poetry is instrumental in causing supreme bliss-आनन्दकोषस्य उन्नासः, then now it is observed that this *ullāsa* is threefold : उन्नासश्चैषः त्रिविधः - (a) उपमाविच्छित्तिविशेषविषयत्वेन, i.e., one having beauty in the form of *upamā* (and the like); (b) शृङ्गारादिरसविषयत्वेन, i. e., one having for its subject the sentiments (i.e., aesthetic relish) such as *śṛṅgāra* and the like, and (c) वस्तुमात्रविषयकत्वेन च, i.e., one having '*vastu*' (i.e., *Vibhāvādis* a special meaning fixed by the author) as its subject. All the three forms may be called after '*rasa*' (in the special sense of अलंभाव). The *upaskāra-kārikās* (3-9, p. 7) explain that poetry is knowledge having adequacy for its soul which is brought about by simile, etc. embellishments or *guṇas*, sense other than expressed (अर्थान्तर), and expression of *vastu* where *vastūkti* carries the special sense of depicting proper *vibhāvādis*, leading to *rasa*-experience. By *arthāntara* is meant *avācya artha* which could be लक्ष्य - indicated or व्यङ्ग्य-suggested in the sense accepted by Sanskrit criticism. But here it is stated that because the very concept of *śabda-vṛtti* is not acceptable — and this we will have an occasion to discuss later — all the three viz. the so-called *vācya*, *lakṣya* and *vyaṅgyā* are termed as *pratīyamāna*, implicit sense that is collected from poetry. Bhoja's '*rasokti*' is rejected for 'रस' can have no 'उक्ति,' and the term *vakrokti* in Bhoja has no proper subject of its own, as it is covered by the four-fold scheme of औपम्याद्युक्तिः गुणोक्तिः अर्थान्तरोक्तिः and वस्तुक्तिः। It may be observed that R. has made certain observations that may completely unsettle the orthodox thinking. Special connotation to the term वस्तुक्ति is attached where 'वस्तु' stands for *vibhāvādis* alone, for anything that is not part of विभावादि has no place in poetry and therefore need not be taken as poetry. It is also observed and a reference is made to *Kā.* 127, p. 190¹ that the concepts in painting and sculpture are also poetry as these are also subjective. In

their objectivity they may differ from poetry. We have observed earlier that in a way all art is abstract and we may add that when we talk of poetry in particular as seen in painting or sculpture, it is only a figurative or metaphorical use of language as when Shri K. N. Prabhu, for example, observes that the excellent catch held by Eknath Solkar in leg-slip was "a piece of poetry"!

It is further observed that only प्रतिभा, flash-intuition is the sole cause of poetry and it means flashing of subject in the intellect like "flash of lightning in dark, gathering clouds."² This intuition of a poet is a sister (i.e., similar) to that very mental state which springs forth in concentration or समाधि of the *yogins* and which is called '*viṣayavatī*' and also '*jyotiṣmatī*' (Kā. 8, p. 13). This 'प्रतिभा' or intuition is two-fold, viz. '*svayambhu*' as seen in *Ādi-kavi* Vālmīki and '*sa-hetu*' as in the case of Śrī-Harṣa, who composed *Naiṣadha* was a result of his *tāntrika*-austerities. For the second variety of intuition there can be a number of causes as enumerated by earlier *ālamkārikas*, but the root-cause is only one.³ And it is *sattvodreka* or excess of *sattva*-purity. The several *kāraṇas* include *adṛṣṭa*, *vyutpatti* and *abhyāsa*. There are any number of variations in the mixture of *sattva* with *rajas* and *tamas* resulting in innumerable differences in the expression of सहेतुप्रतिभा, not only in the compositions of different poets, but in even one and the same composition of one and the same poet.⁴ A taste of practical criticism in the fashion of Ānandavardhana and Kuntaka is felt when the above assertions are illustrated with instances from the *Naiṣadhīyacarita*, *Raghuvamśa*, *Kumārasambhava* and the like (p. 21).

It is suggested (p. 22) that for poetry, *pratibhā*, flash / intuition is both the material and auxiliary cause, because poetry eternally rests in the womb of *pratibhā* and never comes out. Even then we feel that poetry is enjoyed by people, externally. But the real secret is that what we experience externally is not poetry but only books containing the same, and we know that poetry and the book of poetry are two different entities.⁵ One has to realize the difference between poetry and its composition in outward craft as such, viz. sound or utterance. Sound (*Śabda*) is as much different from poetry as the script from language or from paper on which it is written. In Kā. 11, p. 120, it is explained that even with a difference in script, there is no difference in language (e.g. Skt. can be written in Devanāgarī, Roman, Malāyālam scripts etc.) and with a difference in language, poetry does not differ (e.g. *Śākuntala* remains the same even when translated in different languages.). So, the conclusion drawn is (p. 22) presentation is two-fold, inner and outer. The former is subjective, of the form of knowledge of matter having 'adequacy.' The latter is objective and is reflected in script, sound, etc. The first one is never external, for knowledge can never be so. Now, taking advantage of this situation if any third person would claim to be a poet, we have to accept him if he is not a liar!⁶ This observation is remarkable and undeniable

and yet it will be interesting how daily usages such as : काव्यं श्रुतं, पठितं वा, अर्थो न ज्ञातः, etc. are explained. The answer will be that those expressions pertain to not the abstract thing that goes under the name of poetry, but rather they concern themselves with external sound, or script, or printed material as such.

Kā. 11-17 deal with the purpose of poetry which is not what earlier *ālahnikārikas* have mentioned but is an expression of pure joy, supreme bliss, a spontaneous expression of one's nature on the part of the poet. Like a sparrow singing her heart out in your garden at the break of dawn, the poet just composes poetry.⁷ Vālmīki or Tulasī had no selfish motive to serve. But there can be a purpose of a higher type e.g., suggesting a solution in the case of a situation of social mess, e.g., in the case of *Raghuvamśa*.⁸ This can be likened to the *kāntā-samīnita upadeśa* spoken of by the ancients. Protection of *dharma*, can be seen as the purpose in *Rāmācaritamānasa* and we may find *rāstradevaprabodha*, etc. also.⁹ But for the reader, poetry begets everything like mother's milk. Poetry secures 'caturvarga' for the *sāmājika*, irrespective of caste, creed or sex.¹⁰

Kā. 18 embarks upon a very vital topic, viz. the soul of poetry. First of all some old concepts are reviewed. Tradition in Sanskrit poetics has taken both poetry and poetics as 'Sāhitya.' For the latter, Kṣemendra is the authority cited. Now 'Sāhitya' consists of twelve relations between word and sense as referred to by Bhoja, the anonymous author of *Sāhityamīmāṃsā* and Śāradātānaya. Out of these twelve, eight are common to 'Vāṃmaya' in general and the last four are exclusive to poetry, and they are *doṣahāna*, *guṇādāna*, *upamāḍīparigraha*, and *rasāvīyoga* (*Vṛtti* on *Kā.* 18). It is suggested that these are covered by *alaṅkāra*.

Kā. 19-25 refer to the various *prasthānas* or schools of thought prevalent in Sanskrit literary criticism.

Traditionally six schools of thought are spoken of in Sanskrit poetics. Out of these, *rasa*, *rīti* and *aucitya* are assumed to have merged in *dhvani*, while *alaṅkāra* subsumes *vakrokti*. Thus, *alaṅkāra* and *dhvani* alone hold out till the end, like नर and नारयण of Vedic mythology. In reality, *alaṅkāra*, *rīti*, *dhvani* and *vakrokti* are but streams of one and the same reservoir of milk, and are named separately. *Rasa* follows as a result of all these and dwells in the heart of a cultured reader / spectator, and *aucitya* is nothing else but removal of obstacles in the path of *rasa*-enjoyment. So, *alaṅkāra* alone stays in the ultimate examination of poetic form. The idea is that in *kārikā* 19, the classification represents the poetics proposed in the 9th cen. A. D. and afterwards. Before that, every characteristic of poetry was termed as *Alaṅkāra*. This concept continued upto 17th cen. A.D., i.e., right upto Jagannātha, but only in a sub-conscious form. *Kā.* 20 opines that

rasa is covered up by *dhvani*. Quite obviously so, for *rasa-dhvani* is one of its varieties. As for *rīti*, it is known to us that Ānandavardhana and his followers do not attach any special significance to *rīti*, over and above the concept of *guṇas*, or poetic embellishments. For them *guṇas* are but 'dharmas' qualities of *rasa* and also decide upon the outward nature of sound (i.e., *śabda*) and sense (i.e., *artha*). Actually we know that Ānandavardhana almost concedes the point that *guṇas* are qualities of sound and sense, perhaps secondarily. But the discussion of the nature of *Samghaṭanā* would lead us to believe that the heart of Ānandavardhana is crying out to take *guṇas* as qualities of sound and sense directly, not unlike simile and such other figures of speech. Now this almost identity of *rīti* and *guṇas* will lead us to a position that they are themselves no more soul of poetry but go with *dhvani*, say, *rasa-dhvani*. *Aucitya* for Ānandavardhana is a high quality without which *rasa* cannot exist, for it paves the way to the latter, and is therefore only an instrument and not the soul of poetry by itself. Thus *aucitya* also merges in the wider concept of *dhvani* / *rasa-dhvani*. Actually even Vāmana's school, if any, should be named after 'Saundarya' and not *rīti* because even with the expression viz. *Rītirātmā kāvyasya* for him *rīti* is ultimately only a means to *saundarya* which is again 'alamkāra'. Logically whatever is a means to something, cannot be termed as 'soul.' So, these so-called schools of thought are but different names of one and the same basic poetic beauty. The taste of milk does not differ even if its streams vary in shape and size. Actually right upto Mammaṭa and even after him, no one has raised a slogan such as '*Alamkāraḥ kāvyasyātma*' and yet the irony is that a number of modern scholars take *alamkāras* such as simile, metaphor etc. etc. as the soul when they talk of the so-called '*alamkāra* school'.¹¹ If then one were to take '*vakrokti*' as *alamkāra*, which of course it is not, then Kuntaka should be taken as the first and last protagonist of the so-called '*alamkāra* school'¹². So, ततश्च निकृत्तमूलमेतद् यदुपमादीनां काव्यात्मत्वप्रस्थानमिति।

Now Ruyyaka held that the earlier *alamkārikas* such as Bhāmaha and others had subsumed *dhvani* or implicit sense under various *alamkāras*. Vāmana defines *vakrokti* as a metaphorical expression based on similarity, and he too tries to subsume *dhvani* under this *lakṣanā*. For Udbhata *guṇas* and *alamkāras* were identical as noted by Mammaṭa. Thus the earlier *alamkārikas* were clear about the supremacy of *alamkāra*, one way or the other. For Kuntaka *vakrokti* covers up every thing. It is, of course, a matter of opinion whether to agree with Ruyyaka or not and accept his assertion that the earlier authors knew *dhvani* technically and subsumed it consciously. It is actually *dhvani* that has incorporated all other concepts except the one of *alamkāra*, like Surasā's mouth swallowing everything but Hanumān. *Kā.* 28. explains that like Agni, which is called '*annāda*' swallowing up *soma*, the '*anna*' and remains all alone and supreme in the universe, *Alamkāra* remains supreme in poetry. It covers up even the all-pervading *dhvani*, when taken in its

wider connotation of 'Saundarya'. It is not difficult for us to agree with this.¹³

It is further observed that *rasa* actually resides in the mind of the *sāmājika* and hence it cannot be the soul of poetry, which is not its substratum. If something residing elsewhere can be taken as the soul of something else, then no one will be taken as dead till the last person dies on this earth! Even 'dhvani-tva' or being a variety of *dhvani* also cannot be granted of *rasa* because *dhvani* resides in poetry and *rasa* in the *sāmājika*. If it is argued that *dhvani* has that quality of implicitness which is charming, then the *dhvani* also ceases to be a quality of poetry, because in the form of implicit sense, it too resides in the consciousness of the *sāmājika* only, then the answer is that well even Abhinavagupta has recognized *dhvani* as the quality of *kāvya* when he explains the term either as 'ध्वन्यते अस्मिन् इति' or ध्वनति इति ध्वनिः. Poetry and even so-called expressed sense *Vācyārtha* is also conveyed by the term *dhvani*. But of course, if the objector is in a mood to do away with even Abhinavagupta's opinion and reject *dhvani* as a quality of poetry and insist on its being a quality of the *sāmājika*, then even he, the objector, accepts the thesis of the *siddhāntin* that poetry is but of the form of knowledge only!¹⁴

The author says (p. 49) - अधुना अलंकारस्य काव्यात्मत्वं कंठस्वरेणैव ब्रूमहे-

काव्येऽलंकार एवात्मा स एवास्मिन् स्थितो यतः ।

अन्यकायस्थितो धर्मः किमन्यत्रात्मतां व्रजेत् ॥२६॥

एवं सति न कोऽपि स्यान्मृतोऽस्मिन् मर्त्यभूतले ।

यावत् सर्वेऽपि निष्प्राणाः न भवेयुः शरीरिणः ॥२७॥

(p. 50) स्थितमेवं काव्यकायस्थितेनैव धर्मेण काव्यस्यात्मत्वम् न त्वन्यदीयेन केनचिद् धर्मणेति । This is not laid down for the first time here in this work only. Even Kuntaka and Vāmana have said as much :

एतच्चेदं प्रथमतया अस्मदुपज्ञतया वा न नेयम्, युन्तकेनापि "सालंकारस्य काव्यता" (व. जी १/६) इति बुवाणेन घष्टापथस्यास्योन्मीलितचरत्वात् वामनेनापि च सौन्दर्यस्यालंकारस्त्ववादिना (का. सू. वृ. १/१/२).

The author then proceeds to define what he means by '*alaṅkāra*'. Prior to that the opinions of Daṇḍin, Vāmana, Udbhata, Jayaratha, Abhinavagupta, Mammaṭa, etc. and Navyas like Vaidyanātha, Devaśaṅkara, etc. are cited. Actually (p. 51) the opinion of the *Navyas* is pooh-poohed because they resort to the *navya-nyāya* style in defining *alaṅkāra* and it terminates into mere verbal acrobatics. These *Navyas* have nothing new to say except the mode of saying it. The *siddhānta* is, "*Alaṅkāra* is an Adequacy" and it includes (i) poetic charm itself and (ii) its causes. The *Alaṅkāra* or Adequacy pervades both as the spirit pervades both *Jīva* and *Brahman* (*Kā.* 28). As in both the manifested forms of worldly beauty, viz. the Sun and the Moon,

only one Lord Fire stands with its full glory, so the *alamkāra* stands for both - viz. poetic beauty (सौन्दर्य) and its sources, whatever they are. The etymology of the word '*alamkāra*' has to be looked into carefully. For the word 'अलंकार' two etymologies are cited; one is कर्तृव्युत्पत्ति, i.e., one which makes anything adequate (अलंकियते अनेन; अलं करोति इति वा). This is obtained by applying the अण् suffix fixed for the nominative case preceded by the word of an accusative case-ending, acc. to पा. सू. २/३/१ - 'कर्मण्यण्'. The word 'अलं' will stand here for the accusative case, just like the word 'सायं' and 'प्रातः' for locative. The other etymology is well-known and is the गाव व्युत्पत्ति: which means 'सौन्दर्य' - beautification - itself (अलङ्कृति: अलङ्कार:). The latter one is based on suffix घञ् (पा. सू. ३.३.११७) (applicable to both ल्युट् and घञ्).

The author illustrates (*Kā.* 31.32) this with natural, partly-natural and man-made illustrations. The first is बीज वृक्ष-वृक्षचित्र-दृष्टान्त which is नैसर्गिक, here वृक्षचित्र is its reflection in water. शैल-शिला-मूर्ति-दृष्टान्त is partly-natural and adds that नर्मदेश्वर found as शालग्राम on the banks of नर्मदा is नैसर्गिक, while an idol prepared by an artist is अर्ध-नैसर्गिक. मृत्तिका-मृत्तिकापिण्ड-घट-दृष्टान्त is purely man-made. These three go to illustrate types of poetry and *alamkāra* as seen in *Rāmayaṇa Raghuvamśa XII, Mahābhārata and Bhāratacampū or Veṅṅīsamhāra*. The difference lies in 'Adequacy' only : कस्तत्र विशेषः चमत्कारपरपर्यायं पर्यायभावमृते ? मूर्तिदृष्टान्तश्चात्र सर्वविधशिल्पसंग्राहकः । मूर्ती हि न भवति केवलमाकारमात्रम्, अलंकरणस्यापि तत्र प्रतिष्ठापनात् । तदित्थं व्याख्यात एषोऽलंभावापरपर्यायः अलंकारः । (*Kā.*, 32, *Vṛtti*). With the help of reflection, image (मूर्ति) and pot (घट) every type of poetry is indicated. Poetry may be of pre-meditated nature or spontaneous. In either case there could be both elaboration and abridgement (*vistara* and *samkoca*). Either can appeal to different readers. Thus individual differences do not carry much weight in the enjoyment of an artistic work.

A further interesting point is made in the next *kārikā*, no. 33. It is observed that earlier masters took *alamkāra* to be of expressed nature, i.e., '*vācya*'. But this is not the state of things. For, if we take any *alamkāra* to be *vācya*, or directly expressed, then in the utterance of the word '*saundarya*' we should have an experience of beauty, i.e., *camatkṛti*. Again (*Kā.* 34) logic also goes against an *alamkāra* being taken as directly expressed. For, an *alamkāra* is always of the form of a sentence-sense. *Vākyārtha* which is a sort of *anvaya* or correlation of word-meanings is conveyed through context only and is never directly expressed.

Scholars who are expert in analysis proclaim the syntactical meaning as a result of intuition, because they know the truth that there does not exist anything like direct expression (i.e., *abhidhā*) between the two, i.e., sentence and its meaning.¹⁵

Read *Vṛtti* - इत्थं स्थितमेतद् यद् अवाच्य एवासौ यद् वाक्यार्थो नाम । अत एवास्य प्रातिभत्वमपि तीर्थकृत्सु प्रसिद्धम् । with this, references from Bhartṛhari are given in support.¹⁶

Pratibhā is explained to be six-fold after Bhartṛhari who says-

(वा. प. २/१५२): स्वभावचरणाभ्यासयोगाद्दृष्टोपपादिता ।

विशिष्टोपहिता चेति प्रतिगां षड्विधां विदुः ॥

Here, *svabhāva* means *nisarga*, nature. *carāṇa tapascarāṇa*, *abhyāsa* is *paunahpunyena pravṛttiḥ*, *yoga* is *sañadhi*, *adṛṣṭa* is *sāhajikāḥ saṃskāra-viśeṣaḥ* and by *viśiṣṭopahitā* is meant *viśiṣṭena Kṛṣṇadvaipāyanādīnā sañjayādiṣūpapādītā viprakṛṣṭatama-Mahābhārata-yuddha-pratyakṣa prajñā*. May be, the last one is a myth for us.

The conclusion is that like *rasa*, etc. *alāmkāra* also cannot be said to be directly expressed by words. In some cases words such as 'इव' are used and are taken as directly expressive of *upamā* by some *ālamkārikas*, but it is only the *śūnya* or similarity which is directly expressed by 'इव' and not the *alāmkāra* viz. *upamā*. Words like 'इव' only make the simile clear, but they themselves are not directly expressive of the *alāmkāra*, as are of their own meaning such as "like, similarity," etc. It should be noted that 'clarity', i.e., making or helping simile get clear is not expression of simile. It is on this basis that masters have divided simile into types such as *luptā*, *ārthī*, and implied, i.e., '*pratīyamāna*.'¹⁷ The *Vṛtti* further explains the point: (p. 76) यदि च इवादिना वाच्य एवालङ्कारस्तर्हि त्वत्पुस्तकं मत्पुस्तकमिव पीनवेदनकमित्यत्रापि भवेन्नामालङ्कारः । नास्ति चात्र सा, चमत्कारस्याभावात् । यश्च चमत्कारः स हि शब्दशतैरप्यावाच्य एव । क्व कुत्र कस्मिन् शब्दे शक्तता, शक्तं पदं, तद्भावः वाचकत्वमितियावत् ।

Kārikās 40, 41 (p. 75) explain that in रूपक, 'आरोप', i.e., superimposition is the soul. Now where do we find a word that is directly expressive वाचक of this 'आरोप' ? It is only implicit like the element of अध्यवसान or complete covering in the figure '*atīśayokti*'. In figure like पर्यायोक्त, समासोक्ति, काव्यलिङ्ग, अप्रस्तुतप्रशंसा etc., also the meaning other than directly perceived is realized by us only implicitly, as there is no directly expressive word for it. It is for this that Jagannātha treats as rubbish the view of the ancients and takes the beauty in simile, etc. as suggested only (p. 77, वृत्ति).¹⁸

And it is precisely because of this that Ānandavardhana places all figures of sense under '*guṇībhūta-vyaṅgya*.' (p. 78, वृत्ति). So, interpreted both ways, this अलंभाव or adequacy that goes under the title of '*alāmkāra*' is a matter of experience only and is never directly expressed. The only difference is that while in case of *rasādi*, terms such as *rasa*, etc. are either totally useless or are positive blemishes, while in case of उपमा and the like, words such as इवादि make for a clearer grasp, i.e., they are helpful in clarifying the gross form of an *alāmkāra*.¹⁹ We may add that from the orthodox point of view, the mention of 'इवादि' is instrumental in tilting the balance in favour of this or that variety, again from their point of view only.

It is further established that poetry is only an abstract art and is always

conceptual or subjective and has never any objective existence. First, a *prima facie* view is presented (p. 80). The ancients held काव्य or poetry either to be रमणीयार्थप्रतिपादकः शब्दः or शब्दार्थः, or as one qualified by *guṇa* and the like. The *siddhāntin* tries to establish poetry as 'knowledge of meaning which is अलंकृत / adequate.' 'अलंकृतार्थविज्ञानस्य काव्यत्वम्.' Now what argument is there to support this assertion?

The reply to this *prima facie* objection is given in *Kā.* 43, 44 (p. 80). The idea is : Everything has a twofold nature, subjective and objective. Poetry has only one nature and it is subjective or conceptual only, because it is only intuition प्रतिभा which is of the nature of knowledge that flashes forth through poetry काव्यं ज्ञानैकरूपं हि, बाह्यत्वं तत्र न क्षमम् ।

प्रतिभा ज्ञानरूपा यत् काव्यत्वेन प्रकाशते 44 ॥ (p. 80).

The author elaborately establishes the conceptuality (ज्ञानत्व) of *śabda* itself and further suggests that in poetry *śabda* cannot be *kāvya* - शब्दस्य अकाव्यत्वं काव्ये (p. 81).

The objector asks that if poetry is of the form of knowledge, then what is the importance and form of *śabda* / word in poetry? The answer is, 'शब्द' is only of the form of an attribute - उपाधिरूपो हि शब्दः काव्ये, like mirror reflecting an image - प्रतिबिम्बग्राहकतया आदर्श इव बिम्बे । Its form is that of knowledge or concept. If word in form of utterance - ध्वनि is taken as poetry then in poetry of a silent poet there will arise difficulty. *Kā.* 45-49 proceed to this effect.²⁰ The idea is that external word is of the form of an utterance and hence objective in nature. It can never be called an 'attribute' of poetry, if it keeps aside its meaning. Now the meaning touches reader's mind through its relation with word in poetry also as in other non-poetic writing. This relation is merely a knot - ग्रन्थि between two knowledges viz. one of words and another of meanings. Consequently this relation - संकेत also is subjective. How can a relation between the cognitions be taken as itself anything else than of cognitive form? (*Kā.* 47). Thus the word enters into संकेत or relation, which when awakened embraces the knowledge of meaning (*Kā.* 49). And this knowledge of meaning puts forth a chain of cognitions / knowledges of other meanings and after sprinkling the nectar or charm / चमत्कार transforms itself into poetry in a रसिक, a cultivated reader. Read the *Vṛtti* on this : (p. 82) एतदप्युक्तं मम्मटेनैव इह अगृहीतसंकेतात् शब्दार्थप्रतीतेरभावः इति । एवं यो हि संकेतः स ज्ञानरूप एव । तस्मिंश्च शब्दः अर्थश्चेत्युगावपि विपयितया विशेषणीभूतौ । ततश्च विपयित्वसंबन्धेन गर्भकृतशब्दोपाधिक-विशिष्टार्थप्रत्यय एव काव्यमिति सर्वजनीनमेव । (*Kā.* 45-49, p. 82).

So, the word though seen as objective (बाह्यः) in outer world, becomes an attribute of poetry only after assuming the form of knowledge. Thus it is absolutely subjective when it sticks to poetry, which in itself is but of the form of knowledge and hence subjective only. Thus no objectivity of word is admissible in the field of poetry. The words of ancient poets are available to us through the medium of their scripts and such other means.

They could not have been made available to us had they been objective or purely physical. Even poetry of poets who never choose to express the same but, so to say compose in silence only, also showers the same honey even today. (*Kā.* 50-52, p. 83).

Word is उपाधि or attribute and not a limb or part : उपाधिर्नत्ववयवः. It is added that — रसापेक्षया मधुशब्दः काव्येऽभ्यधिकं युक्तः । Obviously because for our author *rasa* resides in *sāmājika's* mind only and never in poetry.

After this, both *abhihitānvaya-vāda* and *anvītabhidhāna-vāda* are discussed (*Kā.* 53-56, p. 85, 86), (*Kā.* 57, 58, p. 87). The author holds that 'अन्वयाभिधान' is a better term for the latter. The first is a journey from word to meaning and the latter is its reverse. Mixing up of both these views - समुच्चय - is like dried grass caught in a cyclone. Such a theory has to be discarded. The अखण्डार्थवाद of the grammarians can be tolerated to some extent (*Kā.* 61, p. 91)²¹, but even the grammarians have to accept parts of speech in what they call a प्रबन्धवाक्य, while in normal course of things. The line of argument proceeds thus : if a new sentence does not possess a new word and any complexity therein, the reader will grasp the whole meaning of the sentence as an undivided entity. But such cases are rare. The 'syntactical meaning' could not be accepted as undivided as the sentences clubbed together in any speech would invariably be separated from each other. Here the separation will not be possible if one does not accept difference in their parts such as words and their meanings.

The author now proceeds to suggest how word - knowledge becomes an attribute in poetry. - काव्ये शब्दज्ञानस्योपाधित्वम्. *Kā.* 62, 63, p. 92 read as below : शब्दकाव्यावयवत्वेनाङ्गमभूत्वा उपाधित्वेन एव अङ्गं भवति इति यदनुपदमेवोक्तं तदेव कारिकायापि ब्रूमः -

ज्ञानात्मकोऽपि शब्दः स्यादुपाधिः काव्यवर्ष्णि ।

पात्रं रसे पानकाख्ये, दर्पणो वा तनौ यथा ॥ 62 ॥

अनुप्रासादयश्चात्र पात्रे हैमत्वसन्निभाः ।

उपाधिमात्रधर्माः स्युर्नूपाधिमतः स्वतः ॥ 63 ॥

Word of the form of knowledge becomes an attribute on the body of poetry like a flask to a drink or mirror to the body (reflected in it). Figures such as '*anuprāsa*' or alliteration stand like gold metal of the flask. They are qualities of words and are not attributes of poetry.²²

Thirteen *upaskāra-kārikās* (pp. 93-95) are cited in support. The substance of all this is that though a flask is essential for any liquid drink, it can never be accepted as drink in itself even when it is golden. Similarly, no mirror can be accepted as the image reflected in it. Same is the case of word-knowledge in poetry. Even if words change, e.g., in translation, the

poetry does not change. When poetry is cast in verse, an additional art, music is added to it due to sonorosity. Thus one art can subserve and enhance the impact of another art. Mahimā also observed that metre too is an adornment of poetry. Music adds to the beauty of poetry in prose variation also. In translations, this musical element changes but not the poetic and precisely because of this we can say that this one is Māgha's translation and the other one is that of Hamlet. The outcome is that thus words with their peculiarities are the medium of communication only and not of communicable poetry. (p. 95).

A very interesting question is now taken up (p. 97). The fundamental position is that the poet conveys his poetry to the enlightened reader only through spoken word. The author holds that even if this position is granted, the position stands that word never becomes poetry.²³ When a poet communicates his poetry to the reader, the spoken word is to be taken in the position of a grandfather. The father of the knowledge of poetry is knowledge of word. Poetry of course is of the form of an outburst of beautiful meaning. Just as when a grandson becomes a king, the father and grandfather too gain in status, in the same way word in the form of पितामह and word 'jñāna' in the form of पिता are thoughtlinks.²⁴

A point is raised. The grammarians say : अनुविद्धमिव ज्ञानं सर्वं शब्देन भासते, every concept is so to say a pearl, pierced with (needle in the form of) word. The *Mīmāṃsakas* hold that - औत्पत्तिकस्तु शब्दस्यार्थेन सम्बन्धः eternal is the relation of word and meaning. In view of these observations, the learned accept the identity of word and meaning - आदीयते ततः शब्दार्थयोरुदवादः प्रेक्षावद्भिः। The question now is that given this situation, how can it be sustained with reference to the उपाधिवाद as stated above? The answer is given in *Kā.* 67, 68, and it is that this शब्दानुवेध and अनेद result in word being taken only as an attribute - उपाधित्वमात्र,²⁵ with reference to its meaning. If it is not so, then those who travel by an aeroplane will also be taken as 'पक्षिणः', as the plane is an उपाधि for them. The idea is that the air-travellers would be identical with birds because (the above schools) will have to consider them and their attributes i.e., aeroplanes as identical! Here पक्षिणः are those having पक्ष-साधन, which is 'विमान' here. Even the great Ānandavardhana has therefore discarded the word 'औत्पत्तिक' in favour of औपाधिक' (ध्वन्या. वृत्ति on 3/33). The outcome is (वृत्ति, p. 99) : किं च स्यान्नाम वैदिकानामेतेषां शब्दार्थयोरुदः, आलङ्कारिकाणां त्वस्माकं स निरर्थक एव । अर्थान्तरं हि काव्यस्य सर्वम् । (This is precisely what Ānandavardhana says.) तद्योपाधिकेनैव क्रमेण काव्यशब्दादानीयेत, न तु नित्याख्येनौत्पत्तिकेन मीमांसकाभिमतम् । (p. 100) एवं हि उपाधिरेव शब्दः काव्ये ज्ञानात्मनापि, न तु स्वरूपम् । अर्थं शब्दस्योपाधिमात्रत्वमित्यन्वयः । ॥67॥. Thus for the 'ālanikārikas' 'अर्थान्तर' is every thing : If this 'arthāntara' is 'aupādhika' then no question of 'abhedā' arises. Now if for अर्थान्तर which is dubbed as औपाधिक, the word is related as उपाधि, then for the first sense (= मुख्यार्थ) also, we can safely take the word as उपाधि / attribute only. शब्दज्ञान

is an attribute of अर्थज्ञान. If अर्थ is taken as identical with शब्द, which in fact is its उपाधि, then an air-traveller will be taken as identical with the aircraft which is only साधन / उपाधि for him!

These theories of नित्यशब्दानुबोध and अभेद of the *Vaiyākaraṇas* and *Mīmāṃsakas* respectively are to be discarded in view of a fresh argument also which is given in *Kā.* 69, 70, p. 100. It is argued that if नित्यानुबोध of 'अर्थ' by 'शब्द' is accepted, i.e., if the meaning remains pierced all the time with word, then all other '*pramāṇas*', i.e., means of knowledge would be redundant as the invariable word will be always readily available in their place. Similarly when an absolute identity between word and sense is accepted, our mouth should burn when the word '*agni*' is pronounced! The वृत्ति on *Kā.* 69, p. 101 explains how '*anumāna*,' '*upamāna*' and '*pratyakṣa*' also will be covered by *śabda*, as even in these शब्दानुबोध will be experienced.

Moreover (*Kā.* 71, p. 101) it is asked as to what would happen at the time when a poet, after having composed his poetry, does not convey it to anyone else, and does not utter it for himself also. This situation arose when Vyāsa composed his *Mahābhārata* and no writer was available. Or when Somadeva observes that after composing the *Kathāsarīṭṣāgara* Lord Śiva kept it in His mind and conveyed it to Pārvalī only on a suitable occasion.

The instances are matters of faith, but the fact remains that many a poet for any personal reason keep their compositions to themselves. The problem is : is such private property of a poet given the form of word and sense by him or not? And in case the form, the external one, is not given, how are we to know of it? Is it that the great Ānandavardhana and Abhinavagupta never knew of this situation? Is it that even after knowing it they chose to deal with the so-called formula of expressed word and sense and the whole scheme of *abhidhā*, *lakṣaṇā* and *vyañjanā* that goes with it only to objectively illustrate and distinguish between this poetic beauty and that? Our author may have to answer these questions. However, it may be added to his credit that though a number of his analogies — and he knows full well that analogies are not arguments — spring from his absolute faith in Indian heritage and that they are never off the mark but rather they bring sharpness, lustre and strength to his arguments and above all place him with the great Ānandavardhana, who has evolved poetry even in his *śāstra*, whose *kārikās* at times touch the high-water-mark both of poetry and logical arguments! Hats off to you, Rewaprasadjee!

The author further goes to note that वचनैरेतैः प्रमाणितमेव, अप्रकाशितत्वेऽपि मानसे विद्यमानत्वं काव्यस्य । (*Vṛtti.* p. 102, *Kā.* 71). *Kā.* 72 (p. 103) suggests that when devotees mutter mentally the Vedic *mantras* in their regular morning prayers, no question of वैखरी, i.e., external word-manifestation ever arises! *Kā.* 73-84 (p. 104-113) go to elaborate these observations. He concludes

that mental composition of words to communicate poetry may also be called poetry, though secondarily, if it provides bliss.²⁶ The conclusion of this discussion is arrived at with a jubilant note where it is stated : (p. 114, वृ. Kā. 73-84) (43 तमकारिकातः 84 तमां कारिकां यावत्) यदिदं वैखरीशब्दस्य काव्यत्वं प्रत्याख्यातं तस्यायं मतनिर्गवः

“काव्ये शब्दस्य देहस्तु नैव गृह्येत जात्वपि ।

तस्य ज्ञानं तु गृह्येत किन्तूपाधित्वमात्रतः ॥85॥

अत्र हेतुः - काव्यस्य ज्ञानरूपत्वे शब्दत्वं नोपपद्यते ।

शब्दस्य ज्ञानतायां च शब्दतैव विनश्यति ॥86॥

In no case, objective word can be taken as poetry. The subjective one may somehow enter therein, but that too as an attribute. Poetry is always conceptual and hence it cannot be a word that is objective. And when a word is assumed to be subjective it no longer remains a word, its very quality of being a word, its “wordness” so to say, vanishes. Hence, it is only the knowledge of word which is an attribute of poetry and the entire literature prepared by human beings is absolutely intuitive or subjective : एवं समर्थितं वैखरीरूपस्य ध्वनेरकाव्यत्वम् (*Vṛtti Kā.* 87, p. 115). Eleven (nos. 37-48) *upaskāra kārīkās* (p. 115-116) are cited to corroborate the point. It is stated therein that in poetry word in the form of sound has no place, for it is replaced by other words when translated. If *śabda* is not of the nature of *dhvani* sound, then it is surely ‘स्फोटरूप’. In this form it is bereft of any particularity, i.e., it is निर्विशेष and this has nothing to do with poetry as it can go equally with both काव्य and अ-काव्य. And if we were to take निर्विशेष स्फोट as an attribute of poetry, then also as it is of a conceptual nature, a person who is not a poet will also be deemed as poet due to that.

The author concludes that the intelligent people do not pay attention to either of the two viz. स्फोट, or शब्द, and get satisfied in taking poetry to be beautiful meaning.²⁷

Kālidāsa’s *Meghadūtam*, leaving aside its original language, i.e., Sanskrit, is also enjoyed by way of translations in other languages. This suggests that translation (*anuvāda*) is beyond *Vaikharī*, i.e., spoken, expressed word. Only a change in expression is brought about. *Anu-nāda*’ or reproduction of poetry is vaguely possible in case of children, old people and parrots : अनुनादः समानानु पूर्वकिमुच्चारणम् । अनुवादः पूर्वभिन्नानुपूर्वकिण वचोविन्यासेन पराभिप्रायोदीरणा । So it is not safe to say that a particular poem is untranslatable and that it loses its charm when translated. This is an illusion, because what happens in translation is a change in the musical aspect of a given poem, the element of poetry, however, remains intact as it has nothing to do with external word (*Kā.* 90 p. 119). Just as there is no difference in language even when a script changed, similarly when language is changed poetry does not change (*Kā.* 91, p. 120). Soul remains the same even when bodies alter, or the body

remains the same when dresses are changed (*Kā.* 92, p. 120). What will happen when one and the same poet who knows different vernaculars and dialects expresses the same poetry through them? Vernaculars or dialects are different but poetry remains the same. So, how can the two, i.e., *Vaikhari* and *Kāvya* be held identical? : एकत्वावच्छिन्नस्य अनकेत्वावच्छिन्नेन अभेदः स्वभावविपरीतः, वृक्षस्य पत्रपुष्पादिभ्यः, शरीरस्य लोमादिभ्यो वा । एतेन व्यतिरेकव्यभिचारोऽपि कटाक्षितः काव्येन वैखरीणाम् ॥ (*Vṛtti*, on *Kā.* 94, p. 121).

It is further suggested that language comprises of both स्वर utterance and बोध intellect. An utterance is of the nature of sound (ध्वनि) only. Thus ध्वनि is स्वर which is music or गीत. Thus, वैखरी is utterance, is music. And this external sound is in itself no art as it would then pervade the thunder of a cloud also. Thus for a sound to become language the element of अर्थ meaning is a must. (*Kā.* 95, *Vṛtti*, p. 122). So, actually वाक्य / sentence is भाषा, language. Vākya is a combination of words which give the intended sense. Now even in this form of वाक्य / sentence, वैखरी which is its portion is only an attribute of poetry. The conclusion is वाक्यरूपतायामपि वैखरीमात्रायाः काव्ये उपाधित्वमात्रमिति विवक्षया उच्यते -

भाषाया एकदेशो या वैखरी सापि केवलम् ।

वाक्यरूपतयैव स्यात् काव्योपाधिः, पदं न सः ॥96॥ (p. 122).

The *Vṛtti* on it reads (p. 123) - इदमत्रावधेयं यदिदं 'शब्द'-शब्देनासकृदुदीर्यते तदपि काव्ये वाक्यात्मकमेव, न पदात्मकम्, पदमात्रस्य काव्यतया नेतुमशक्यत्वात् । स काव्योपाधिः । पदं केवलं पदमिति । वाक्यात्मना पदस्यापि काव्योपाधित्वस्य अनुभूतवरत्वात् । "वाक्यात् पदानामत्यन्तं प्रविभागो न कश्चने"ति नीत्या पदानां प्रातिभासिकत्वाच्च ॥96॥

The author then goes still deeper in this problem when an objection is raised as follows: well, वैखरी may not be काव्य, but what is wrong with मध्यमा, पश्यन्ती and परा ?²⁸ The answer is that for मध्यमा there is no harm in its being taken as poetry, provided it is not taken as 'शब्द'. With this a lengthy discussion on the nature of these four forms of language is taken up. परा is the real one and the other three are but its forms. अत्र परैवैका वाक् । सैव च त्रिविधे विग्रहे प्रकाशमाना ताभिस्ताभिः संज्ञागिरुल्लाप्यत इति तान्त्रिकाः । (p. 124). *Kā.* 97 says that forms of speech called मध्यमा and पश्यन्ती are but conceptual — तयोरपि वयं ब्रूमः संविन्मात्रैकरूपताम् ॥ (97 b, p. 126). Now मध्यमा is that intellect in which objects are manifested, while पश्यन्ती has no such manifestation. But both these are far removed from sound as such (*Kā.* 98, p. 127). Beyond these lies परा, the supreme which is, so to say, the queen of all *sainvids* of the whole universe!

Now, it is only the मध्यमा, which is but a shadow of परा, like जीवात्मन् (of परमात्मन्), which is capable of reaching the stage of poetry,²⁹ when it is अलंकृता or adorned. Now what is meant by this '*alankāra*' is already explained earlier. *Paśyantī* has no place in poetry. *Samādhi* / concentration due to

the touch of bliss (स्सोलेख), and having the relish of pure soul, can be called *paśyantī* in poetry but as *rasa* is not a quality of poetry, this *paśyantī* falls beyond poetry.

Thus, (p. 132) word in the form of sound has no place in poetry. *Madhyamā*, which is of the form of संवित् intellect, has two parts, viz. word and meaning. Here the word is only of subjective nature and for the *artha* / sense, there is no escape from its being taken as purely subjective only (*Kā.* 103, p. 132). For, otherwise when we speak the word 'हिमाचल,' we would be crushed if it were gross physical (*Kā.* 106, p. 139). People would tend to be inactive as by the use of poetic word with its meaning, if physical, every thing will be automatically achieved! (*Kā.* 107, p. 140). So also people would realize the nature of god, *brahman*, *dharma*, *paraloka*, etc., by mere utterance. We will enjoy sweets from the market by the very mention of it and sweet-makers will be banished! (*Kā.* 109). Again, the energy wasted after established प्रतीयमान अर्थ - implicit sense, will produce an opposite result (*Kā.* 110, p. 145), for it, as meaning, will be objectively present and its implicitness will vanish!

It is precisely for this reason that the intelligent grammarians accept स्फोट with reference to subjective sense only, and not with reference to objective word.³⁰ A lengthy discussion on स्फोटवाद follows that speaks for the author's erudition. *Kā.* 113 (p. 168) concludes that not only in poetic literature, but in literature as a whole, word and its meaning are both subjective.³¹ Additional arguments in support of subjectivity of word are advanced and refutation of the very concept of *śabda-śakti* — even *abhidhā* — is built up very carefully in the fashion of an architect : *Kā.* 114, 115, say :- काव्ये शब्दोऽर्थश्च इत्युभयोः बौद्धत्वं ज्ञानैकरूपतारूपं प्रसाध्य भूयोऽपि तत्र युक्त्यन्तरमुपतिष्ठापयिषवो ब्रूमः

“शब्दोऽर्थज्ञानसूः शक्त्या” यदि, तत्र निरीक्ष्यताम् ।

सामानाधिकरण्यं किं वर्तते हेतुकार्ययोः ॥114॥

मृत्स्ना चक्रस्थिता सूते चक्र एव घटं यतः ।

ज्ञानं त्वात्मनि चित्ते वा शब्दश्चाकाशगो मतः ॥115॥

If it is accepted that 'word itself (and not its knowledge) produces the knowledge of its meaning with the help of its own *śakti*/power', then the universal theory viz. 'cause always produces its result in its own substratum fails here,' because a lump of clay produces a jar on the wheel only where it is located, but knowledge here dwells in the soul or mind, whereas the word is accepted to be living somewhere else, e.g. in sky only. Thus the substrata of cause and effect in this case are different and hence the violation of the universal rule.

Therefore the knowledge of word is the only substratum of word-power (शक्ता, for the meaning), because it is this only which bears the invariable

co-existence (अन्वय) and the invariable non-coexistence (व्यभिचार) (i.e., transgression, irregularity).³² The point becomes clearer as follows : The presence of word alone does not suffice to produce the knowledge of meaning, if the knowledge of word is absent, no matter it be illusory only, as in the case of 'रुचिं कुरु' where the unwelcome 'चिङ्कु' reveals itself and brings an unexpected filthy meaning to the reader's mind.³³ The *Vṛtti*³⁴ on *Kā.* 117, p. 170 puts it this way : The word 'चिङ्कु' belongs to the *Kashmirian* dialect of 12th cen. A.D., and it means an elevated middle portion of the vagina. A conscious poet would arrange the words as "कुरु रुचिम्" and not as "रुचिं कुरु." Here actually the word 'चिङ्कु' is illusive and has no real existence like रज्जु-सर्प. But it still exists in our mind and helps us in picking us an unwanted sense. What is the nature of all this? Well, exclusively subjective. There is no doubt that here the word-knowledge exists even in the absence of its expressed objective form. What conclusion can be drawn from this? It can be only one viz. that "the knowledge of word (सङ्केतग्रहण) is the cause of the knowledge of meaning. Ultimately therefore, it is a game of two knowledges only and not of an objective word and an objective meaning. So, we have to agree to the point that literature is subjective alone!

Now an important discussion is taken up concerning the *conceptuality* — *subjectivity* — of *śabdaśakti* : शब्दशक्त्यौद्धत्यम् (p. 171, *Kā.* 118, 119): प्रसङ्गापतितत्वेन शक्तेरधिकरणं शब्दस्य ज्ञानं, न तु शरीरं, अतः साऽपि ज्ञानैकरूपा इति धिया उच्यते - "अस्मादेतस्य बोधः स्यादि" ति शक्तिरपि स्वतः ।

शब्दार्थबोधयोः संविद्यन्थिर्बोधात्मकः स च ॥118॥

अत्र युक्ति :

शक्तिर्ज्ञाने, चितौ ज्ञानं, सा न शब्दस्ततश्च का ।

शब्दे शक्तिः ? कुलालस्य जनके घटशक्तिवत् ॥119॥

The *śakti* viz. "such and such a meaning be gathered from such and such a word" is proved to be the knot - ग्रन्थि - between two concepts viz. the concept of word and the concept of meaning. "As this knot resides in intellect alone, it is also of the form of intellect or concept. The so-called *śakti* — this should be known from this — lies in a concept and the concept lies in soul which is not word, — an utterance, which is physical *śabda*. And hence, how can *śakti* of the said concept be treated as living in an objective (i.e., expressed) word? It is as impracticable as the assertion viz. that the energy which produces a jar does not lie in the potter concerned but in his father!"

Another argument is (*Kā.* 120, p. 175)³⁵ that if *śakti* were present in the body of an objective word, शब्दस्य देहे, न तु ज्ञाने like the light in the Sun, then the language of the whole world would be one and the same! The net outcome is : *Kā.* 121, p. 177 -

एवं काव्यस्य या भाषा, यशार्थो, या च तदधियोः ।

शक्तिः; सर्वमिदं संवित्स्वरूपं, न ततः पृथक् ॥121॥

The language, the meaning, and the power in their two concepts, all are merely subjective, i.e., intellectual, conceptual only. The concepts can be three-fold viz. (i) the concept of word, (ii) that of sentence, and (iii) that of meanings. The third one may be subdivided into (a) the concept of word-meaning, and (b) that of syntactical meaning, and (c) the concept of *vibhāvādīs*, i.e., determinants etc., the properties useful for *rasa*.

The so-called *Abhidhā* or the power of direct expression merges into the first group of the latter division, while the second, third and fourth (= लक्षणा, व्यञ्जना, तात्पर्य) functions merge into the second one, and the last two viz. भावकत्व, भोजकत्व or रसन are proved to be related with the third. Now nothing remains as a property of objective word among these powers, or energies, forces, functions!

It is emphasized that the thinking of *śabda-śakti* has passed through three stages viz. (a) stage of *śakti* or power; (b) stage of function — व्यापार and (c) the stage of relativity or 'सम्बन्ध' as such. This transmission shows how the minds of thinkers were facing difficulties while accepting power in objective words. The relativity -सम्बन्ध is the final achievement and that is identical with the doctrine of subjectivity of word, of meanings, and of their relations, called powers, forces, functions, energies or *śaktis* by Jagannātha and other later writers.

Śabara, the known pioneer of *śabda-śakti-vicāra* admitted the subjectivity of *śabda-śakti* by saying that word and meaning are related by the relation of 'conveyor and conveyed' i.e., 'प्रत्याय्य-प्रत्यायकभाव-सम्बन्ध.' This relation is simply based on 'प्रत्याय्य' which is just a concept only. If this 'प्रत्याय्य-प्रत्यायकभाव' is conceptual in its nature, then *śabda-śakti* is also proved to be conceptual only. The concept of *śabda-śakti* is rooted in the belief that Vedas are not produced by human agency but are only revealed and the power lies in the Vedas which is of the form of *śabda*! But if Vedic words are blessed with power to express their meanings, why not other words also? This is how the concept of *śabda-śakti* gathered currency. But then followers of Veda were reluctant to take worldly word as equally potent. This hitch has been working upon the minds of thinkers whom *śabda-śakti* appeared first as *śakti*, then as व्यापार/वृत्ति function and then as सम्बन्ध relation. Ānavadavardhana suggested a way out by considering the element of selfish motive पुरुषेच्छा in the case of human utterances that make them false even if the same नित्य-शब्दार्थ-सम्बन्ध were granted equally in case of Vedic words and popular usage. But this was only a clever escape. Our author suggests that thinking upon *śabda-śakti* and process of *rasa*-realisation in the field of poetic criticism is as good as fisherman's business on the holy banks of Rewaji. Or, it is

like dropping butter-milk in a milk-pot and not taking milk³⁶. This again is an escape, we feel. Actually both these, viz. शब्दशक्तिविचार and रसनिष्पत्तिविचार are precious heritage of Indian literary criticism.

The conclusion is -

एवं नास्त्येव शब्दस्य देहे शक्ती रसो यथा ।

तद्विचारोऽपि यः सोऽत्र करकाऽऽसारतोऽपृथक् ॥123॥ p. 185

Their consideration too is nothing else than a heavy downpour of hails. And hence,

अलङ्कारोऽप्यलंभावरूपो ज्ञानात्मकः परम्

ज्ञानरूपे यतः काव्ये, नाज्ञानात्मा भवेद् गुणः ॥124॥ p. 186

The adequacy called *alāmkāra* is also conceptual alone, because an objective thing, which is अज्ञानात्मा or not of the nature of concept, can never become a quality of a thing which is subjective, only and poetry is very much subjective i.e., conceptual. The वृत्ति thereon reads - ज्ञानरूपेऽधिकरणे ज्ञानभिन्नत्वमनुभवविरुद्धमाधेयस्येत्येवंविधा प्रतिपत्तिः ।

Therefore in poetry, each one — quality, qualified (substance, धर्मी), and the ever remaining relation thereof (समवाय) — is all the time a parrot born in the golden cage of intellect alone.

काव्ये धर्माश्च धर्मी च समवायश्च तद्गतः ।

सर्वमेतत् सदा संवित्स्वर्णपिञ्जरजः शुकः ॥125॥ p. 186.

धर्माः अस्मन्मतेऽलंभावरूपाः प्रतिव्यक्तिभिन्नाः अलङ्काराः, प्राचां मते च दोषाभावगुणालंकाररूपाः । समवायः अपृथक्स्थितिः । (वृत्ति thereon). The sum and substance, (निर्गलितः अर्थः) is 'बौद्धेष्वेवार्थेषु बौद्धधानामेव शब्दानां बौद्धेव शक्तिः काव्यतन्त्रे' इति ।

After this the author dwells upon such topics as use of language (भाषा) with reference to काव्य / poetry. He says, once again giving definition of poetry in different words —

(p. 190, *Vṛtti*) काव्यस्य ज्ञानात्मकत्वमेव पल्लवयन्तो ब्रूमहे —

“प्रतिभी या कवेः सृष्टिः संविन्मात्रेकविग्रहा ।

सैव काव्यकला, तत्र भाषा भवति दर्पणः ॥126॥

The poetic art is an intuitive creation of poet, therefore it is absolutely subjective or conceptual. Language plays the part of a mirror therefore (For the word 'language' *Kā.* 95-96, and 'mirror,' *Kā.* 62 be consulted).

Prior to this, he tries to clarify his position. Read *Ṛtti* p. 187, on *Ka.* 125 -

तदयमत्र निर्गलितोऽर्थः -

“बौद्धेष्वेवार्थेषु शब्दानां बौद्धेव शक्तिः काव्यतन्त्र” इति ।

न चैवं सौगतानुयायित्वमलङ्कारतन्त्रस्य, पदार्थानां बाह्यसत्तानिराकरणपराङ्मुखत्वादलंकारतन्त्रस्य । सौगतानां पुनः पदार्थानां बाह्यसत्त्वनिराकरणमेव परमम् । अविषय एषोऽलङ्कारतन्त्रस्य यदुत सत्त्वमसत्त्वं वा बाह्यमर्थानाम् । विवदन्तां नाम तत्र सामयिकाः बाह्यतत्त्वान्वेषणया । आलङ्कारिकाः पुनस्मिं चमत्कारैकप्रवणाः । सता वा स भवतु, असता वेति, नास्त्यसावेषां पर्यनुयोगभूमिः ।

बौद्धा वा भवद्भिः समर्थ्यन्ते वैदिका वेति प्रश्ने, अमूर्तिर्वयमस्य प्रश्नस्य, नैव वयमनुरोधव्याः । सर्वपाठिषु किल वयम् । नास्माकं ऋचिदेकत्र पक्षपातः । इयत्तु केवलमाशंसामहे यद् माङ्गलिका वयम्, नामाङ्गलिकाः ।

The author then talks of काव्यकला and मूर्तिकला, चित्रकला, काव्य and संगीत, काव्य-नाट्य, सहृदयदृशा काव्यम्, वैखरी, काव्यस्य व्याप्तिः, साहित्यशब्दार्थः, काव्यधर्माः, रूपकादयः, दोषगुणौ, लक्षणानि and finally रसस्य काव्यधर्मत्वाभावः ।

With reference to the सहृदय, a beautiful observation is made in *Kā.* 131, p. 197, which reads :

काव्यं कला, कलानाथो जीवात्मा, ये च भेदकाः ।

ते कलायामलङ्कारः, कलानाथे च ते रसः ॥131॥

Poetry is art. The owner is human soul. In poetry all characteristics are but *ālaṅkāra*. In the owner of art, they (all characteristics) are all ‘*rasa*’. Thus adequacy in poetry happens to be *rasa* in the enjoyer. The owner is reader of poetry and enjoyer of painting and sculpture. *Bheda*kas are characteristics that distinguish poetry from other literature. Now the owners are two, poet and enjoyer. Between them rests the current of utterance, *vaikharī* form (*Kā.* 132). The learned use the word poetry for this line of communication that is *vaikharī* too. But this is only a figurative use of language because they feel that real poetry survives in translation also (*Kā.* 133, p. 199). The author also tries to define poetry from enjoyer’s point of view (*Kā.* 134, p. 200).

अलङ्कृतार्थसंघात - an adorned group of subjective things may be called poetry, which may be arrived at couched in either the intellect of the poet or in the perception of sentences or in sentences themselves as the case may be. (*Kā.* 135, p. 204). Grammarians have different concepts about *śabda*. For Patañjali *śabda* is an utterance. For Bhartṛhari it is but soul. It is both for Nāgeśa, Maṇḍana Miśra, etc. Therefore its nature is somewhat mixed. To rhetoricians word is but subjective even if it be utterance or soul or anything else ! (*Kā.* 135, *Ṛtti*).

Therefore, just like *Brahman* poetry is only one, common to all. Concepts

of sentence differ and sentences too differ from poet to poet. But poetry remains unchanged and in the same shape in each and every poet for all time.³⁷ This observation is both bold and beautiful.

For the author all concepts fall into the fold of अलङ्कार / अलंभाव. So, at the end of his treatise, he recapitulates his concept of poetry (Kā. 178, 179, 180, p. 262) and observes तदिदमत्र निगमनम् -

काव्यं ज्ञानं, अलङ्कारस्तस्यात्मा, मध्यमाभिधा । (- संवित् called मध्यमा) संविदव्यभिचारेण, तत्रोपाधिश्च वाविदे ॥118॥

Poetry is concept / knowledge. *Alaṅkāra* / Adequacy is its soul. The intellect called *Madhyamā* is an invariable attribute of it.

(p. 262) अत्रास्माकीनं दर्शनम् -

प्रमेय-मात्र-दृष्ट्यैतद् दर्शनं नः प्रमातृणाः ।

आनन्दकोषस्योत्थासा ये, तदत्र कथान्तरम् ॥179॥

The philosophy of ours is based on the view point of the perceptible object - poetry. Here the discussion on the overflow of bliss is a different matter (though relevant, but not necessary).

एतदैव पल्लवयितुं रूपकं योजयामः

वृष्टिः काव्यं, कविर्मघः, सस्यसंपद रसा इमे ।

वृष्टिमात्रेकविज्ञाने वयं चातकचञ्चवः ॥180॥ (p. 263).

Poetry is rain; poet is a cloud. These *rasas* are harvest. Ours is the position of the beak of *cātaka*-bird which concentrates only on perception of rain.

Thus like Ānandavardhana our author too skips the topic of *rasa*-realization and concentrates only on poetry, pure and simple. Not that we do not agree wholeheartedly with Pt. Rewaprasad's excellent observations, but in all humility we add that a threadbare analysis of the form and content of a given poetic work, an in-depth study of a poem as such, the so-called poetry-oriented (कृतिलक्षी) objective criticism of a given poetic work is achievement of Indian Literary Criticism and with these observations of our author also, we will have to enter into such criticism on practical grounds. We know, that Ānandavardhana, Abhinavagupta, Kuntaka, Mahimā and Jagannātha top the list in this direction. We feel sure that Dr. Rewaprasad also will not lag behind in practical criticism, i. e., in application of his theory to whatever we call a poetic work. True, any art, and particularly the poetic art is absolutely abstract in nature and is first conceived in mind, but what we are then concerned with is the result, the so-called external form, be it illusory, of a given art. Here it is poetry, with शब्दार्थसाहित्य as an external illusory form. It is this form, this medium, that distinguishes poetry from other art-forms having their

own external illusions and / or medium. Popularly speaking we deal with poetry that is 'शब्दार्थमय' on which stands the great edifice of ध्वनिविचार or वक्रोक्तिविचार. Poetry is शब्दार्थमय like an earthen pot that is मृण्मय for us. It is in its practical criticism that Ānandavardhana, Abhinavagupta, Kuntaka and Mahimā who seem to steal a march over Pt. Rewaprasad. It will be interesting to know how the great pundit as he is, our author would apply his own theory to his own equally great works of poetry such as सीताचरित or the great poetic works of Vyāsa, Vālmīki, Kālidāsa and Tulasī. Ultimately, the real value of any work on literary criticism rests on how we make it applicable to works of poetic art. We are sure, seeking inspiration from the author, we will also try to point-out the *alamkāra-alambhāva* in works of poetic art and justify his observations.

Notes and References

* Edn. चौखम्बा, सुरभारती प्रकाशन, वाराणसी, १९७७.

1. इमां काव्यकलाभेव मूर्तिश्चित्रं च चुम्बतः ।
किन्तु, राधायते काव्यकृष्णे भावेव केवला ॥ 127 ॥ p. 190.
2. कारणं प्रतिभा काव्ये, सा चार्थप्रतिभासनम् ।
प्रज्ञाकादम्बिनी-गर्भे-विद्युद्युतोत्सोदरम् ॥ 2 ॥ p. 9.
3. *Kā.* 6.
4. *Kā.* 7-9.
5. *Vṛtti* on *Kā.* 10.
6. तत्र प्रथमस्य न कथमपि बहिरङ्गत्वम्, संविदो बहिरङ्गत्वासम्भवात् । एवं सति सन्त्येव भवन्तः कवयो यदि नासत्यवादिनः । शिष्टानामयं पन्थाः न दुर्दुरुटानाम् ।
7. *Kā.* 11.
8. मन्वादिप्रतिपादितचरस्य युगावश्यकतापूर्तिमन्त्रस्यास्य व्यक्तिमात्रं कालिदासादिकाव्याधीनं, न तु नवीना सृष्टिः । ततश्च अयं कान्तासम्भित उपदेश एव प्राचीनानाम् ।
9. *Vṛtti* on *Kā.* 16.
10. *Kā.* 17 and *Vṛtti* on it.
11. Kindly also refer to our paper - "The so-called *alamkāra* school" read at A. I. O. C., Dharwad and published in Vidya, Gujarat University, Ahmedabad.
12. Read *Vṛtti* on *Kā.* 25.
13. *Vṛtti* on *Kā.* 28.
14. *Vṛtti* (p. 43).

15. *Kā.* 35.
16. *Vākyapadīya* II, 143-152.
17. *Kā.* 31-39, p. 75.
18. p. 77, *Vṛtti* on *Kā.* 41. - अत एव चोपमादिविच्छिन्नीनामपि व्यङ्ग्यत्वं न नाभ्युपयन्ति पण्डितराजादयः प्राचीनं संप्रदायं निस्तुपीकृत्य ।
19. *Vṛtti*, p. 79. स्थितमेवं यद् द्विविधोऽप्ययमलङ्कारपदवाच्योऽलंभावोऽनुभवैकगम्यः, न तु शब्दवाच्य इति । अयं तत्र विशेषो यद् रसादौ रसादिशब्दप्रयोगोऽ किञ्चित्करो दोषभूतो वा, उपमादिषु पुनरिवादिशब्दोऽपि साहायकमेवाचरत्यलङ्कारस्य स्थूलशरीरस्पष्टतायामिति ।
20. *Kā.* 45-49.
21. *Kā.* 61, p. 91. अखण्डार्थत्ववादस्तु वाक्यब्रह्मविपश्चिताम् ।
यथाकथंचित् सोढव्यः धोरणी-पथिकायताम् ॥
22. *Vṛtti* on p. 93 यथा हि पानकस्य पात्रं हेममयं भवति, तत्र भवत्येव मृग्भयात् पात्राद् वैलक्षण्यम्, तथैव शब्दोऽपि यदि सानुप्रासयमकादिस्तर्हि तत्रापि भवत्येव तत् । तद्योपाधिभाषणं न तु उपाधिमतः काव्यस्य धर्मतया तन्नेयम् ।
23. *Vṛtti* p. 97 ननु यदि काव्ये शब्दस्य उपाधित्वमात्रं, तदपि च ज्ञानरूपेण न तु स्वतः, तर्हि कविः सहृदये स्वं काव्यं कथं नु संक्रामयति, यत्रासौ लेखादिकं मार्गान्तरभनादाय उच्चारणात्मना शब्देनैव स्वं काव्यं प्रकाशयतीति चेदिदमपि सत्यमेव, आनुभाविकत्वात्; किन्तु उच्चार्यमाणेन शब्देन प्रकाशितोऽपि काव्ये न ह्येव प्रपद्यते काव्यभावं शब्दः ।
24. *Kā.* 64-66.
25. *Kā.* 67.
26. *Kā.* 84.
27. *Upaskārikā*, 46.
28. *Vṛtti*. p. 123 ननु वैखरी कामं मा भूत् काव्यम्; मध्यमया, पश्यन्त्या, परया च किमपराद्धम्? इति चेत्, मैवम्, मन्यामहे एव मध्यमायाः काव्यत्वम् ।
29. *Kā.* 100, p. 128 परायाः परमेश्वर्याश्छायां जीवात्मरूपिणीम् ।
आश्रिता मध्यमैवैका संवित् काव्यमलङ्कृता ॥
30. *Kā.* 112, p. 148. अत एव च बौद्धेऽर्थे स्फोटोऽख्यस्य चिदात्मनः ।
शक्तिं स्वीकुरुते प्राज्ञाः शाब्दिकाः न ध्वनौ पुनः ॥
प्राज्ञाः शाब्दिकाः नागेशादयः । ते हि विदेकरूपस्य स्फोटोऽख्यस्य शब्दस्य बौद्ध एव अर्थे शक्तिं स्वीकुरुते ॥
31. *Kā.* 113, p. 168 तमिममर्थं निजिगमयिष्ये कारिकान्तरमुपस्थापयाम :-
“सिद्धमेतेन शब्दार्थद्वन्द्वं ज्ञानैकरूपताम् ।
अपि वाङ्मयमात्रेऽपि धत्ते, काव्यस्य का कथा ॥
32. *Kā.* 116, p. 170.

33. *Kā.* 117, p. 170 "शब्दे सत्यपि तज्ज्ञानाभावे नार्थस्य धीर्भवेत् ।
'रुचिङ्कुर्विति वाक्ये च शब्दभ्रान्त्याऽपि सेष्यते ॥
34. *Vṛtti* on *Kā.* 117.
35. *Kā.* 120, p. 175 यदि शब्दस्य देहे स्याच्छक्तिः सूर्ये प्रकाशवत् ।
- तदा विश्वस्य भाषापि भवेदेकैव केवला ॥ 120 ॥
36. *Kā.* 50-53, p. 183.
37. *Kā* 136, p. 205 वाक्यज्ञानानि भिद्यन्ते वाक्यानि च सुमेधसाम् ।
किन्तु काव्यं सदा तिष्ठत्येकरूपं कवौ कवौ ॥

GODDESS CĀMUṆḌĀ/CARCIKĀ IN THE DEVĪPURĀṆA

PRATAPADITYA PAL

Introduction

Cāmuṅḍā is by far the most important of the group of Seven Mothers or *Saptamātṛkā* in the *Devīpurāṇa* (hereafter *Devīp.*)¹. She is not only described as the best among the Mothers and adored by all the gods (*mātṛṇām pravārā devī sarvadevanamaskṛtā/ 50.37*), but an entire chapter (98) is devoted to her worship. In fact, the *Devīp.* seems to include more material about her cult than any other *purāṇa*, including the other Śākta *upapurāṇas*. Apart from Cāmuṅḍā, the goddess is frequently called Carcikā and Carcā in the text. It must also be pointed out that the *Devīp.* uses the word Cāmuṅḍā to signify a class of deities, like *jambhakā* and *ḍākinī*, rather than a single goddess. (*jambhakā-dyātha cāmuṅḍā ḍākinīyo bhūtamātaraḥ / 7.69*). Elsewhere in the text, in the chapter (110) on pharmacology, Cāmuṅḍā is characterized as the leader of the Śākinīs (*Cāmuṅḍā Śākinīnām*).

Other than Vārāhī, who has her own temples (especially in Orissa), Cāmuṅḍā is the only member of the heptad of Mothers who has enjoyed an independent pan-Indian cult. Known commonly as Kālī or the black one, she is often confused with a later goddess by the same name who is extremely popular in eastern India, especially Bengal. We will have more to say about their relationship in a later section of this article. Kālī is undoubtedly the original and older name of the goddess. As we shall presently discuss, the epithet Cāmuṅḍā does not make its appearance much earlier than the Gupta period, which is when she is first represented in art.

Although the *Mahābhārata* knows of the Mothers in general, it is unaware of the concept of the Seven Śaktis. Kālī is given as a synonym of Durgā (not included in the critical edition) and Kālikā is mentioned in connection with the Skanda legends. Notwithstanding the fact that the epic is about war, Kālī is certainly not a prominent personality and appears only once in a battlefield (*Sauptika Parva*, 8.65-68). Black, with a bloody mouth and disheveled hair, she leads the dead away with a noose. This description agrees essentially with Niṛṛti, the Vedic Goddess of death who is also terrifying and uses a noose.² In the *Matsyapurāṇa* too Kālī is said to roam the battlefield without any clothes and clad only in black clouds.³ The epithet Cāmuṅḍā is unknown to the *Mahābhārata* or to the early *purāṇas* except the *Matsya* and the *Mārkaṇḍeya*. In the latter it occurs only in the *Devīmāhātmya* which was

interpolated into this *purāna* around the sixth century. In the *Matsya* (154.436) Cāmuṇḍā is said to have been present at Śiva's wedding and is included again in the chapter on iconography. As we will discuss later, Kālī and Cāmuṇḍā are further said to be two different forms of Yogeśvarī, but no myth is included regarding the origins of either. Since the *Devīmāhātmya* myth of the origin of Cāmuṇḍā is the most well-known, it must also be the starting point of our discussion.

Myths about Cāmuṇḍā

In the *Devīmāhātmya* (4.39) the Goddess is called Bhadrakālī after the gods sing her eulogy following the destruction of Maḥiṣāsura, but the more common epithet in the first part is Caṇḍikā. The creation of a goddess called Kālī occurs during Devī's battle with the *asuras* or titans called Caṇḍa and Muṇḍa. As the *asuras* approached her, the Goddess became very angry and

“her countenance became dark as ink. Out from the surface of her forehead, fierce with frown, issued suddenly Kālī of terrible countenance, armed with a sword and noose. Bearing the strange skull-topped staff, decorated with a garland of skulls, clad in a tiger's skin, very appalling owing to her emaciated flesh, with gaping mouth, fearful with her tongue lolling out, having deep-sunk reddish eyes and filling the regions of the sky with her roars, and falling upon impetuously and slaughtering the great *asuras* in that army, she devoured those hosts of the foes of the *devas*.”⁴

This was the goddess, known as Kālī, who went after the two *asuras* and having destroyed them, returned to Devī with their heads as trophies. Because she had severed the heads of Caṇḍa and Muṇḍa, she was given the epithet Cāmuṇḍā by Devī.⁵

This legend is unknown to the *Devīp.* which is generally unfamiliar with the *Devīmāhātmya*. While Cāmuṇḍā does accompany the Devī as one of the Matrīkās during her battle with Ruru, the *Devīp.* gives us a different story of her origin.

Early in the text (6.16-30) we are told that in a previous age (*kalpa*), while Viṣṇu was struggling with Hālāhala, the son of Kālāgni-rudra, Brahmā became concerned and prayed to Śiva who sent Cāmuṇḍā to destroy Hālāhala. Apparently Hālāhala had appeared in the form of Agni and is in fact identified with the fire-god.⁶ After saving Viṣṇu, Cāmuṇḍā, who is characterized as having the effulgence of the fire of Time (*kālānālasamaprabhām*), merged with the tongue of Fire.⁷ Kālāgni-rudra is a well-known epithet of Śiva, and the former's son is also identified with Agni. The goddess herself is regarded as Agni as well as his destructive power, and it may be recalled that Kālī

is the name of one of the seven tongues of Agni. In any event, although the gods were saved, Hālāhala was not destroyed by Cāmuṅḍā, for he asked Viṣṇu why he was hurt by the god (6.25). Viṣṇu remained silent and so Hālāhala went to Kālāgni and recounted the entire episode. Kālāgni then prepared to destroy the entire universe, but Cāmuṅḍā once again came to the rescue. Viṣṇu and Brahmā then sang an eulogy of Cāmuṅḍā describing her as the supreme and cosmic goddess, responsible for everything in the universe (6.31-45).

As is usual it is difficult to untangle all the elements of this legend, but it seems to reflect an early stage in the mythology of the Goddess. Even though she is presented as an antagonist of Agni, she herself is characterized as fire. The eulogy begins with the following statement : *namaste kālajalaugha-ghoradipti-prasāmati/* (6.31), but she is also called the soul of fire (*analātmā*). In the *Vāmanapurāṇa* (19.5-8) as well the Goddess is associated with the anger of the gods which is compared with *kālāgni (dr̥ṣṭva'tha cakre sahasaiva kopam kālāgnikalpo harirāvyaśātmā //)*. In the *Lalitāsahasranāma*, she is once described as "she who resides in the centre of the fortress of fire constructed by Jvalāmālinī" and again as "residing in the circle of fire."⁸ These purāṇic assertions of the Goddess' association with Agni are also clearly reflected in the *Mahānārāyaṇa Upaniṣad* : I take refuge in the Goddess Durgā who is resplendent with the fervor (of asceticism) and is lustrous like fire.⁹

It is clear therefore that the *Devīp.* legend about the origin of Cāmuṅḍā is altogether different from the *Devīmāhātmya* myth. She is not a creation of Devī but of Rudra. She is created to save the gods from Hālāhala who is the son of Kālāgni-rudra and no different from Agni. At the same time Cāmuṅḍā herself is identified with Agni. Although Cāmuṅḍā saves the gods in an instant, no battle is described and Hālāhala does not appear to die. Rather, he asks Viṣṇu why he is being harassed but receives no answer. Then as Kālāgni-rudra is about to destroy the universe, Cāmuṅḍā once again comes to the rescue, but we are not told how. Thus, although created by the Supreme Rudra, the goddess is the friend of Viṣṇu and other gods and an enemy of Kālāgni-rudra who, at the same time, is no different from Rudra and Agni.¹⁰ The emphasis on Agni in this myth may indicate that it is a good deal earlier than the *Devīmāhātmya* story where Cāmuṅḍā is merely a commander of the Goddess. Moreover, there she is basically Kālī who is given the epithet Cāmuṅḍā, whereas in the *Devīp.* her name is Cāmuṅḍā. Furthermore, in the *Devīmāhātmya* it is Durgā or Caṅḍikā who is eulogized by the gods and Kālī/Cāmuṅḍā is only an emanation of the Goddess who appears twice to help fight her battles. In the *Devīp.*, however, Cāmuṅḍā is created by Rudra and appears to be none other than the Supreme Goddess herself. This is clear from the eulogy of the gods as well as from the fact that the myth is introduced to explain why she is the presiding deity of

Padamālinī Vidyā, a powerful spell about which more will be said later. Finally, the *Devīmāhātmya* legend is a clear attempt at synthesizing Kālī with Cāmuṇḍā, who is regarded by many scholars as a non-Aryan, tribal goddess, but the *Devīp.* makes no such effort.

The Name “Cāmuṇḍā”

It is rather curious that most modern scholars have avoided discussing the word ‘Cāmuṇḍā’ even though they are quick to point out that the etymology as given by the *Devīmāhātmya* is a grammatical absurdity. That the name caused some problems for ancient pundits as well is evident from the alternative suggestions made in the *Devīp.*

According to one version she is called Cāmuṇḍā because she killed the demon Ruru and held his skin (*carma*) and head (*muṇḍa*) in her left hand.¹¹ Although this explanation is grammatically as contrived as the *Devīmāhātmya*’s effort of deriving Cāmuṇḍā from *Caṇḍamuṇḍa* phonetically, *Carmamuṇḍa* could just as easily be truncated into Cāmuṇḍā. All that is required is to drop the second syllable and lengthen the first. It may further be pointed out that while explaining the various names of Devī, Kālī and Cāmuṇḍā are separated, though both are regarded as her hierophanics. Kālī, we are told, is so called because (1) as Saṭī she became black with anger when her father Dakṣa insulted her husband Śiva or because (2) in time (*kāla*) she destroys (*kalana*) everything.¹²

The second explanation of Cāmuṇḍa in the *Devīp.* associates the name with *caṇḍa* and *muṇḍa* which, however, are not names of demons as in the *Devīmāhātmya*. Rather, we are told that according to some the word *caṇḍa* means terror or ugliness, and *muṇḍa* means either the head of Brahmā or lord (*svāmī*). Thus, because she is the mistress of all that is terrifying or is the creator of Brahmā, she is called Cāmuṇḍa.¹³ Although this version attempts at philosophical profundity, it is as tendentious as the other. The idea that she should carry the head of Brahmā is obviously borrowed from the more well-known Śaiva myth where Śiva decapitated Brahmā. One of Brahmā’s skulls was stuck in Śiva’s hand, which is why he is known as Kapālī. Similarly, elsewhere the *Devīp.* tells us that Devī too is Kapālīnī or Kapālī because she carries or protects the skull of Brahmā.¹⁴ Clearly these explanations are offered to justify her association with the Kāpālikas. In this connection it may be pointed out that the earliest mention of Cāmuṇḍā in a secular text occurs in Bhavabhūti’s *Mālatīmādhava* (7th-8th c. A.D.), where Kapālakuṇḍalā is a devotee of Cāmuṇḍā. Kālidāsa knows of the goddess as one of the Mātṛkās but calls her Kālī.

What does seem clear from such contrived derivations is that in all likelihood Cāmuṇḍā is not a Sanskrit word. If it is not an abbreviation of *Carmamuṇḍa*, then it must be regarded as a combination of *muṇḍa* and the prefix *ca*. Considering her tribal origins, it is tempting to identify her as a goddess

of the aboriginal Muṇḍas. However, the Muṇḍas today have no goddess named Cāmuṇḍā, though an important deity of the Oraons is called Caṇḍī. The word *muṇḍa* means a head or a shaven head, but it occurs rather late in Sanskrit. Possibly like others such as *kuṇḍa* and *piṇḍa* it is a Dravidian loan-word. The word and its deviations are known in most Dravidian languages.¹⁵ Moreover, the Dravidian root *ci* means to “pare, shave or scrape off”, whereas several words relating to death are derived from the root *ca*.¹⁶ Thus, the word *Cāmuṇḍā* could very well mean the one with the dead head, especially a shaven head representing either a demon or an ascetic. And we may recall that the Sanskrit pundits do relate the word to the fact that she holds the severed head of Muṇḍa.¹⁷ The decapitation of heads in honour of the goddess Kālī appears to be an ancient practice in the South as we will discuss presently. The Dravidian connection for the name Cāmuṇḍā may also be augmented by the fact that one of the Seven sisters or Maris of Mysore is called Cammaṇḍāmmā.¹⁸ Cāmuṇḍā could well be an abbreviation of this word. On the other hand, it could be argued that Cammaṇḍāmmā is derived by adding the Dravidian *āmmā* (meaning mother) to Cāmuṇḍā. However, it should be stressed that none of the other names of the Seven sisters has anything to do with the Śaktis of the Sanskritic tradition and hence it is unlikely that only one name, viz. Cammaṇḍāmmā, was borrowed.¹⁹

Thus, although other explanations are possible, the available data indicates that the name Cāmuṇḍā was very likely borrowed from the Dravidian where a head-hunting goddess, also known as Kālī, has been popular from ancient times. Shaving the head, both in connection with asceticism and death, may well have been a Dravidian custom taken over by the Aryans. It is worthy of note that it is far more universal for widows to shave their heads in the south, where it is a sign of chastity,²⁰ than it is in the north. Also, cutting one’s hair and offering it to the deity is more common in the south than in the north. That the word *muṇḍa* is probably of non-Sanskritic origin is also evident from the fact that it does not occur in Pāṇini’s grammar or in early Vedic literature. In fact, concerning the stem *muṇḍ*, Monier Williams writes “probably artificial, to serve as the supposed source of the words below” such as *muṇḍa*, *muṇḍaka* (?), etc.

While the name thus seems perfectly appropriate for a goddess who symbolizes death and destruction (Tamil : *camai*) and holds a severed head (*muṇḍa*; Tamil; *muṇḍai*,²¹ meaning head, skull, cranium), we must not altogether lose sight of the ascetic association. *Muṇḍa* means a male ascetic with a shaven head and hence Śiva’s various epithets are Muṇḍa, Muṇḍaneśa, Muṇḍin, etc. In the *Devīp.* Śiva is also addressed as Cāmuṇḍa (*ugra bhairava cāmuṇḍa diṇḍimuṇḍi jaṭādhara* / 7.68). Similarly, the word *muṇḍā* means a close shaven female mendicant and, hence it is appropriate for Śiva’s spouse to be known as Cāmuṇḍā. It is well-known that Devī is closely associated with Yoga and asceticism. Once Umā performed severe penance to win Śiva as

a husband and a second time to change her complexion from black to white; thus Kālī became Gaurī. The Goddess is also frequently called Yoganidrā and Yogamāyā, and we have seen that in the *Matsyapurāṇa* Cāmuṇḍā and Kālī are regarded as two different manifestations of Yogeśvarī. However, it must be pointed out that Cāmuṇḍā is rarely shown with a shaved head. For that matter, Śiva too is only occasionally portrayed without hair. On the other hand, Cāmuṇḍā is always depicted with an emaciated body, which is appropriate for a yoginī, although this is usually explained as indicative of her perennial hunger as the goddess of death. It may be pointed out though that emaciated ascetics are frequently represented in art and Śiva's devout follower Bhṛṅgī with whom Cāmuṇḍā is sometimes paired is always portrayed with a skeletal frame.

Two other popular names by which Cāmuṇḍā is known in the *Devīp.* are Carcikā and Carcā. The text, however, makes no attempt to explain these names. Both names are more common in Bengal than they are elsewhere in India. The Sanskrit root *carc* means "to repeat a word (in reciting the *Veda*, especially while adding *iti*)."²² Either meaning would be appropriate for Carcikā or Carcā, for Cāmuṇḍā is indeed a menacing deity. It is more likely, however, that the theologians had the second meaning in mind for the repetition of *mantra*, which is often onomatopoeic, is an essential part of Cāmuṇḍā's ritual. Besides, in the eulogy sung by Viṣṇu and Brahmā mentioned earlier, she is said to reside in all *tantras* and *śāstras* including *Veda* and *Vedānta* (*vidyā-vadana-vettāri veda-vedānta-vādiṣu* / 6.41), while elsewhere she is given the epithet Brahmācāriṇī because she moves among the *Vedas* (*vedeṣu carate yasmāt tena sā brahmācāriṇī* // 37.26a). Incidentally, elsewhere the *purāṇa* lists *Carcā* and *Carcakā* as two of the ten branches of *Ṛgveda* (107.14), while Carcikā, along with Viṣṇu, Skanda, Yama and Śakra, resides in all the vowels except *a-kāra*, which is occupied by Śiva as Brahmā (107.7). Besides, Devī herself is characterized as *Vedamātā* (107.8), or the Mother of the *Vedas*. Thus, the names Carcikā or Carcā are probably of Sanskrit origin and reflect the goddess' Vedic association.

Rites and Rituals

It has already been mentioned that Cāmuṇḍā or Carcikā is considered to be the most important member of the heptad of Mothers and an entire chapter (98) is devoted to her ritual. The chapter begins by stating that when worshipped with such rites (*evamācārayuktātmā*) Carcikā grants all desires. This *ācāra* is described in the previous chapter which follows Chapter 96 devoted entirely to the glorification of the *Vedas*.

The chapter on *ācāra* (97) begins with Śakra (= Indra) asking Brahmā to explain the incongruity involved in sacrificing animals and thereby attaining heaven. Brahmā replies that animals were born for the very purpose of sacrifice and no sin is incurred if they are sacrificed for the gods, ancestors and

for human beings. He then continues to list a number of things that a person should or should not do. For instance, one should not use harsh words, should not go to the crossroads along at night, should not linger in a cremation ground or temple, and should not trust a cow that has just calved or a woman. There are injunctions against drinking poison and playing with snakes, quarrelling with anyone while in the waters and copulating on festival days or near a god or an elder. One should always read, write and listen to sacred books. Only such a pure and self-controlled person may worship the goddess Carcikā.

Like Devī herself CāmuṅḌā may be worshipped in a sword, a knife, a bow, footprints, a book, a painting, an image, a prepared ground (*sthaṅḍila*), a flag or a banner. Any of these is a suitable symbol for the goddess, especially if one desires victory in war. The description of the actual ritual is quite brief. Oblations are to be poured into the fire which should be ignited only after one has purified himself by bathing, etc. *Caru* prepared with the five products of the cow (*pañcagavya*) should then be offered, as well as the usual fruit, flowers, clothes, etc. Before the invocation ceremony, *bali* oblation must be offered to the Dikpālas. On the night of her worship one must stay awake by singing and playing musical instruments in the company of actors, dancers and prostitutes. Next morning one should again make offerings to the Dikpālas, perform *homa* to both Agni and the goddess and then feed *brāhmaṇas* and virgins. We are then told that for ten, five, three, one, or for at least half a day, kings should not gamble or hunt, *brāhmaṇas* should not study and the *vaiśyas* should not trade or plough. Nothing is said about the *śudras*. The chapter is brought to a close with the statement that this rite brings good fortune to all men, but especially to kings and women.

But for the association with prostitutes and actors and singing throughout the night, these rituals of CāmuṅḌā are fairly mild and, in fact, there is nothing specifically tāntric about them. It is surprising that no mention is made of any animal sacrifice and neither wine nor blood forms any part of the ritual. This is indeed a far cry from the description of gruesome acts that are performed in the temple of CāmuṅḌā described by Bhavabhūti in his *Mālatīmādhava*. The temple of CāmuṅḌā, also called Karālā, is situated in the great cremation ground and the goddess is delighted with the sacrifice of various kinds of animals. When the hero of the play visits the shrine in the guise of a purveyor of flesh, he sees all sorts of goblins and spirits eating raw flesh and the females making bracelets and garlands with entrails and severed limbs. He is then confronted by Aghoraghaṅṭa, the Kāpālika priest of the temple, who says : "I will please the mother of all creatures (the earth) with your own body streaming with a mass of blood gushing forth from the wounds in the trunk, the head being severed with a stroke of my sword."²³

However, the *Devīp.* does describe another rite that has as its presiding

deity the goddess Cāmuṇḍā. This is described at length in an entire chapter (9) and is called *padamālinī-mantravidyā*. This *vidyā* or charm is considered extremely esoteric. Once Śukra had entered Śiva's belly in order to extract it but was unsuccessful. Śukra, it may be recalled, was a Bhārgava sage and guru of the titans (*asuras*). In any event, a proper performance of the rite is considered to grant every conceivable power to the performer. In fact, the *vidyā* is said to consist of thirty-two *mantras* each of which results in a particular *siddhi*. Apart from attaining the *aṣṭasiddhis* of *tantra*, one can stop rain, make people insane, tame evil spirits, persuade snakes to bite others, etc., etc. The *vidyā* is said to be associated with the *Atharvaveda* which one can master by proper performance of the rite. The *mantra* begins with the following invocation : *om namo bhagavati cāmuṇḍe śmaśānavāsini*. Thus here Cāmuṇḍā is said to dwell in the cremation ground and is entreated to eat hands and legs (*bhuñja bhuñja hastapadau*). She is also addressed as a lover of blood, flesh and wine (*rudhira-māṁsa-madyapriye*) and is asked to chop, tear and kill (*kuṭṭa kuṭṭa, chinda chinda, māraya māraya*). In fact, the *mantra* is full of such onomatopoeic expressions and it is obvious that the proper sound is an essential element of this *mantra*. We are further told that one should repeat each *mantra* eight thousand times in a cremation ground after eating food procured as alms and wearing black dress, black garlands and black unguents. Such a person is called *vīravratadhārī*. One cannot but wonder whether here we are not witnessing the vestiges of the *mahāvratā* of the Vṛātyas of the *Atharvaveda* who also had to wear black attire. In the *Tāṇḍya Mahābrāhmaṇa* we are told :

Now, the (*vṛātya-stoma*) with two sixteen-versed (*stotras*).

This should be performed by those, who, being the youngest, lead a Vṛātya-life...

In that there are two sixteen-versed (lauds), they thereby, are delivered from their bad fortune.²⁴

It has already been mentioned that the *Padamālinīvidyā* too consists of thirty-two *mantras* which, if properly recited, removes all misfortunes and diseases (*sarvopasargaśamanī sarvaṁvyādhinivāraṇī* 9.75a). Furthermore, the *Padamālinī* is associated with the *Atharvaveda* and it may be recalled that Bhārgava Śukra wanted to learn the *vidyā* from Śiva. The Bhṛgu-Aṅgirasas were also associated with the cult of Ekavṛātya.²⁵ Thus, the *Padamālinīmantravidyā* may well have been a tāntric survival or adaptation of a more ancient rite associated with the Vṛātyas, who flourished in eastern India.

Continuing with the ritual, the text tells us that if while performing the rite one does *homa* with three kinds of *madhu* and with *mahāmāṁsa* then one becomes a *siddha* and can accomplish all sorts of astonishing tasks (*mahāmāṁsena trimadhunāktena atyadbhūtāni karmāṇi karoti* / 9.71a).

Mahamāṁsa, as is well-known, is human flesh, while *madhu* means both spirituous liquor and honey; here the former meaning seems more applicable. Thus, it is clear that the rite described as *Cāmuṅḍā Padamālinīmahāvidyā* is to be performed according to the tāntric mode, while the other, described in Chapter 98, follows the Vedic mode. In the *Skandapurāṇa* as well we are told that Garuḍa pleased Cāmuṅḍā by reciting both the Vedic and Laukika (popular) *stotras*.²⁶

Another interesting ceremony involving Cāmuṅḍā is the *puṣyābhīṣeka* performed by kings (*Devīp.* : Chapter 67). This is a periodic (recommended as annual) consecration ceremony that monarchs performed for general welfare of the kingdom, for longevity and for a son and heir. This ceremony was first imparted by Śiva to Brahmā who passed it on to Śukra. Brhaspati learned it from Śukra and revealed it to the gods for the benefit of Indra. Indeed, it seems very likely that this too was originally a non-Aryan rite, but a detailed discussion must be postponed for another occasion. What is relevant for us is that during the performance of *homa* on the second day, along with several other deities (all of them male), the monarch is to offer oblations in the fire by invoking Cāmuṅḍā. (*mātṛmām varade mātṛe cāmuṅḍāyai svadhete ca* / 67.60). Finally, in the rite involving the raising and offering a flag to the Goddess, Carcikā, who is also called Kālikā, is to be invoked while one chants Vedic sounds and recites the great *mantra* (*vedadhvani mahāmantra kālikā carcikā padam* / 35.22a).

Iconography of Cāmuṅḍā

The *Devīp.* is rich in descriptions of Cāmuṅḍā, some of which are familiar but others are not.²⁷ The *Padamālinīvidyā* begins with a powerful description of the goddess where she is said to reside in the cremation ground and is engaged in eating flesh, drinking blood and laughing wildly. She rides a great spirit (*mahāpreta*), has many arms, is adorned with bells and girdles, wears an elephant skin, has round and malignant eyes, fangs and a lolling tongue. Although only two of the attributes are mentioned — the cot's leg and the skull-cup, this is a much more detailed and graphic description of the goddess than that given in the *Devīmāhātmya* (Pl. IX). Such images of the goddess began to appear in the Gupta period, although it is interesting to note that nothing is said here about her emaciated body. However, elsewhere in the *mantra* she is characterized as having a distorted body (*vikṛtarūpadhārīnī*), extended lips (*pralamboṣṭhī*) and a curved or crooked nose (*bhugnanāsikā*). Her eyes are described as sunken (*koṭarākṣī*), and she has the face of an owl (*ulūkavadane*). It is common to describe Cāmuṅḍā as *ulūkavāhinī* or one who rides the owl, and among the Sixty-four Yoginīs we do encounter images where she rides an owl.²⁸ While I know of no representation where her face is that of an owl, some of the early Indian images show goddesses with bird and animal heads. Among the Mothers created by Śiva in the Andhakāsura myth in the *Matsyapurāṇa* (179.9 ff) are several bearing names

of birds and animals, such as Viḍālī, Śakunī, Ulūkī, Kukkurī, Gardabhī, et al.

In the chapter on the Devī's confrontation with the titans (13.73-83), the titan Ghora's destruction is foreshadowed, in a Shakespearean dénouement, in a nightmare he has on the night before the final battle. In that nightmare a spectral image appears before him and her description is interesting. She is said to be ferocious, without flesh, without eyelashes and has the face of a sow. Wearing a garland of bones, bedecked in hibiscus flowers, she arrives like a Bhairavī riding an ass.²⁹ There is no doubt that this figure is a symbol of death, and but for her mount, which is an ass and her sow's head, she is no different than Cāmuṇḍā. Interestingly the sow-headed goddess, Vārāhī of the Saptamātrkās, is consistently described in the text as the śakti of Yama, the god of death. No such spectral figure appears in the *Devīmāhātmya* but in the *Kālikāpurāṇa* Mahiṣāsura has a similar nightmare in which the terrifying Bhadrakālī appears with a sword to cut off his head.³⁰ Thus, the unnamed goddess in the *Devīp.* too must be regarded as none other than Kālī or Cāmuṇḍā.

The ass is generally the mount of the goddess of smallpox known as Śitalā, a popular deity in eastern India, especially Bengal. However, in other ways Śitalā's iconography does not match that of Cāmuṇḍā. Gardabhī is the name of one of the Mothers in the *Matsyapurāṇa*, while an emaciated goddess riding an ass-like animal is included among some of the Yoginīs. More relevant is the fact that the mule, an animal related to the ass, is the mount of one of the most important goddesses of the Tibetan pantheon known as Lha-mo.

A glance at Lha-mo's image (Pl. X) will reveal her iconographical and conceptual kinship with Cāmuṇḍā. She is emaciated, eats human flesh like Cāmuṇḍā/Kālī, wears garlands and ornaments of skulls, has a lolling tongue and generally carries the chopper and the skull-cup. What is even more important is that she is the spouse of Mahākāla, who is none other than the Hindu Mahākāla directly adopted into the Buddhist pantheon. Furthermore, two of her hierophanies --- like the Hindu Devī she too has many forms --- are known as Revatī (Pl. XI) and Tsamundi, which are undoubtedly Tibetan versions of Revatī and Cāmuṇḍī.

According to the *Devīp.* Revatī or Mahārevatī is an epithet of Cāmuṇḍā. In the *Padamālinīvidyā* (Chapter 9) she is addressed as Revatī, Mahārevatī, Śuṣkarevatī (Dry Revatī) and Ākāśarevatī (Sky Revatī). This last name indicates an association with the star known as Revatī, which also is the name of Balarāma's wife. Śuṣkarevatī, however, appears to be an ancient goddess who is mentioned in the *Matsyapurāṇa* in connection with the legend of Andhakāsura. Created by Narasimha, Śuṣkarevatī is the leader of a group of thirty-two Mothers.³¹ It may be recalled that the number of *mantras* in the *Padamālinīvidyā*

is thirty-two, while the later Yoginīs are sixty-four. Elsewhere in the *Matsya* (261.33-37) a distinction is made between two forms of Cāmuṅḍā. It is said that Cāmuṅḍā, also called Yogeśvarī, should ride a vulture or a raven. Her rough body is without flesh, and her terrible face has three eyes. As Cāmuṅḍā she wears the tiger-skin and holds a bell in addition to the spear, the sword, the severed head and a skull-cup, full of flesh and blood. However, when she is known as Kālikā, she is naked, holds a skull-cup and a banner, is decorated with red flowers and rides an ass (*rāsabhaṣṭhā*). It may be recalled that the goddess in Ghora's nightmare is adorned with red hibiscus and rides an ass, while Lha-mo and Remati of the Tibetan pantheon are similarly distinguished, although both ride the mule³² (Pls. X, XI).

The name Revatī occurs earlier in Sanskrit literature than Remati does in Tibetan.³³ However, the terrifying goddess known as Śuṣkarevatī in the two *purāṇas* is an altogether different personality. Usually most Tibetan deities are borrowed from the Indian Buddhist pantheon, but significantly neither Revatī nor Cāmuṅḍā play an important role in Indian Buddhism, if they are known at all. On the other hand, Pal-Idan Lha-mo really is neither a transliteration nor a translation of a Sanskrit name. She is not known in the Indian Buddhist pantheon but is of fundamental importance to Tibetan Buddhism. It would have been unusual for the Tibetans to adopt a Hindu goddess and elevate her to such an exalted position when they did not do so with more important gods such as Śiva and Viṣṇu. Mahākāla or Bhairava had already been accepted in the Indian Buddhist pantheon before he moved to Tibet and, in fact, Tibetans have preserved at least two different legends as to how the cult of Mahākāla entered the country. There is no such legend about Lha-mo, who therefore must have been local deity.

The Tāntric tradition in India, both Hindu and Buddhist, very categorically asserts that the cult of Tārā, or Cīna-tārā, was brought into the country from Bhoṭadeśa, which generally means Tibet.³⁴ In fact the specific form that was brought into India is Ekajaṭā and in the Tibetan pantheon one of the emanations of Lha-mo is known as Ekajaṭī. Thus, here we may in fact be witnessing an interesting instance of reverse borrowal. Lha-mo or Remati may have been a powerful goddess in Tibet whose cult may have spread across the Himalayan foothills among both Hindus and Buddhists. Subsequently, when she was adopted into the Hindu pantheon as a hierophany of the generic goddess Kālī, her name was converted into Revatī. Tsamundi, however, is more probably a Tibetan transformation of the Indian Cāmuṅḍā. Conceptually and iconographically Lha-mo/Remati was similar to Cāmuṅḍā/Kālī so that their assimilation proved a simple task. Lha-mo's mule, more familiar in the mountains, became a donkey or an ass in the plains. It may also be pointed out that the hibiscus, which is the favourite flower of Kālī/Cāmuṅḍā, is not native to India but was introduced from China, perhaps across the Himalayas. In any event, there are many other instances of such intermingling, especially

in the Himalayas, between the Hindus and the Buddhists, which have not received the attention they deserve.

A few comments here regarding the visual evidence will not be misplaced. Cāmuṇḍā, as we have seen, generally rides a spirit or a *preta* (Pl. IX), and to my knowledge never an ass. On the other hand, both Lha-mo and Remati (Pls. X, XI) always ride a mule and rarely, if ever, a spirit. But for this important difference, the iconographic attributes and forms are remarkably similar. Lha-mo seems to be a shade more gruesome than Cāmuṇḍā. At this point it must be emphasized that iconographically there is a significant difference between the North Indian and South Indian Kālī/Cāmuṇḍā. In the South the goddess (Pl. XII, A) is rarely shown as an emaciated hag, even though she may be frightening otherwise. In fact, in the example illustrated here, but for the fangs and hair, she is a very attractive figure. However, in one particular form in Tamilnadu the goddess is shown as militant emaciated figure. This form has been identified as Nisumbhasūdanī, although in the textual tradition it is Devī who destroys Nisumbha rather than Kālī. Thus, even though the concept of Cāmuṇḍā/Kālī may have been taken over from Dravidian culture, her iconography points to a different source of origin.

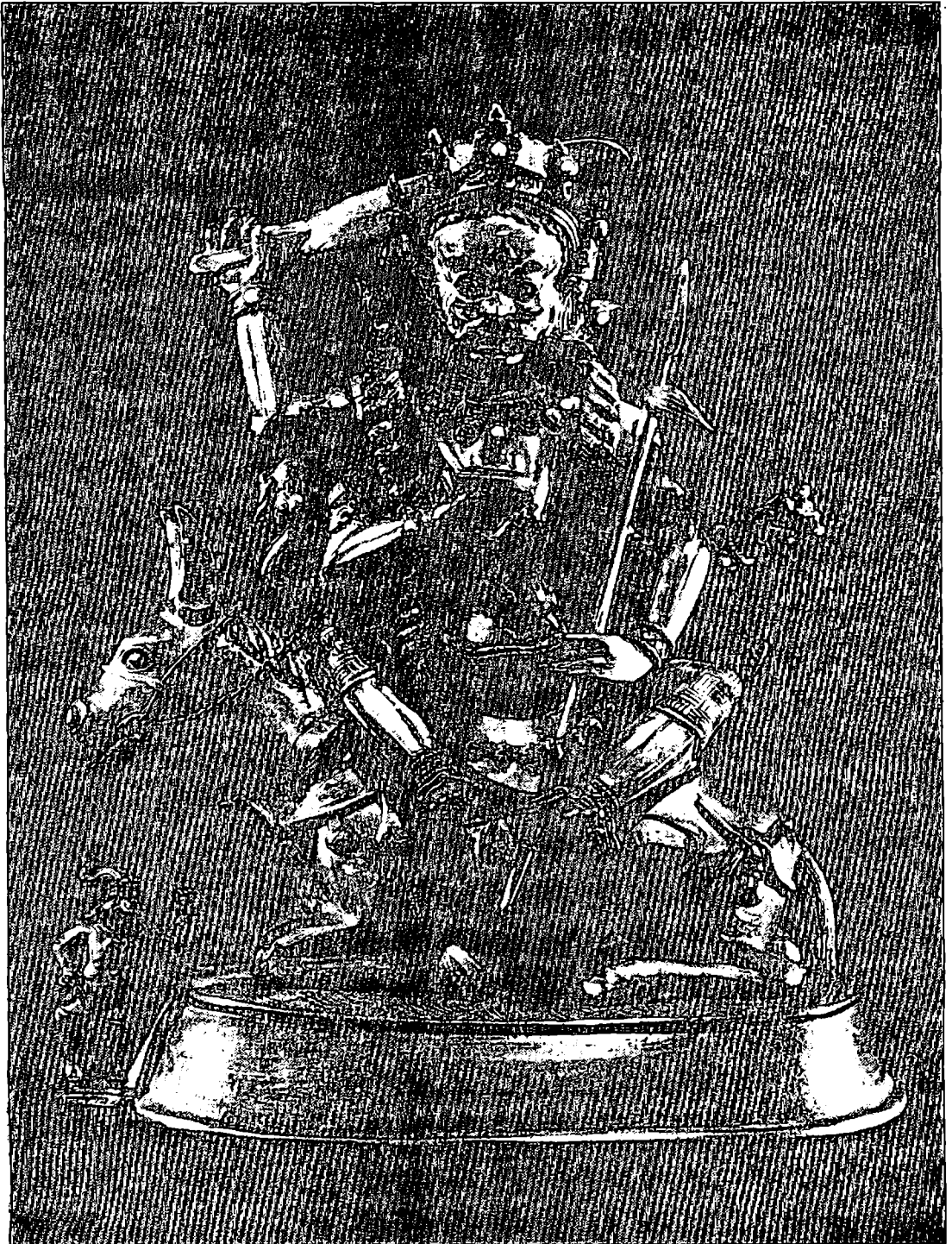
It is undeniable that she is strongly related iconographically to the Tibetan goddess Lha-mo/Remati, except for the difference in their mounts. The ass, however, is given to a hierophany of Cāmuṇḍā/Kālī known both to the *Devīp.* and the *Matsyapurāṇa* as Revatī or Śuṣkarevatī. Revatī seems particularly important in the *Padamālā* rite described in the *Devīp.* Interestingly, the portion where she is addressed as Revatī is as follows : *chi chi revati chi chi mahārevati ehi ehi śuṣkarevati chi chi ākāśarevati ehi ehi himavantacārīṇi ehi ehi kailāsacārīṇi*, etc. (9.57). Significantly, the goddess is described as moving about in the Himalayas and Kailasa. The close association of the Goddess with the Himalayan region is well-known. Even though the image of Cāmuṇḍā/Kālī appears in Indian art before Lha-mo's appearance in Tibetan art, it would be premature to preclude the possibility of a conceptual and iconographic transfer from the Himalayas to the northern Indian plains.

Cāmuṇḍā-Kālī and Mahāvidyā-Kālī

Cāmuṇḍā is often confused with a goddess, who also is called Kālī (Pl. XII, B), and is a popular deity in Bengal and its neighbouring regions. She is so identified with the national consciousness of the Bengali-speaking people that it is facetiously remarked that wherever three Bengalis gather they build a Kālī temple. Called Dakṣiṇakālī or Śyāmā, this goddess is worshipped on the fifteenth day of the dark fortnight of the month of Kārtika (October-November). Known as Diwali or Dīpāvalī, the night is sacred in the rest of the country to Lakṣmī, the goddess of wealth and prosperity. The confusion between the Bengali goddess and Cāmuṇḍā arises from the fact that the same epithet "Kālī" is applied to both, as it is to most terrifying



The Hindu Goddess Cāmundā, Nepal, 14th century,
copper alloy, 20.3 cm., Los Angeles County Museum of Art.



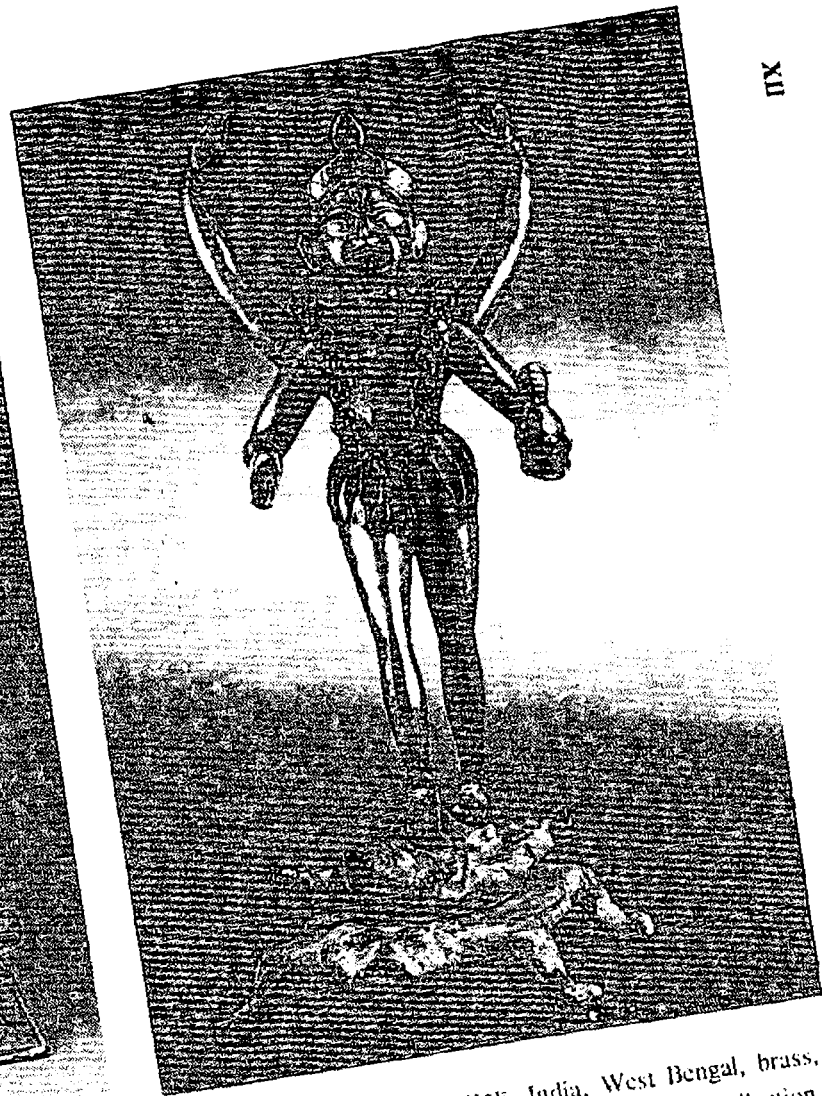
The Buddhist Goddess Lha-Mo, Tibet, 17th century, silver, 15.9 cm. Private collection



The Buddhist Goddess Remati and her retinue, Tibetan Thangka, c. 1800. Opaque watercolours on cotton, 72.4 x 54 cm. From Nasli and Alice Heerbrancek collection. Los Angeles County Museum of Art.



A. The Hindu Goddess Kālī, India, Tamilnadu, copper alloy,
11th century 49.5 cm., Los Angeles County Museum of Art.



B. The Hindu Goddess Kālī, India, West Bengal, brass,
18th century, 33.0 cm., Zimmerman family collection.

goddesses.

In one of the most recent books on Kālī, it is stated that

“in Bengal, where she is most popular today, Kālī was not widely known or worshipped until a fairly late period. Kālī is known in other parts of India besides Tamilnad and Bengal, and in some of these areas at a fairly early period. In Assam, Orissa, the Vindhya mountain region, and western India, particularly Rajasthan, there are temples in her honour and icons of her on a fairly wide scale dating back (in western India) to the fifth century A.D.”³⁵

Those readers who do not know that the author is talking about two different goddesses who happen to have the same name would rightly be puzzled by the above statements. What is correct is that while the cult of Cāmuṅḍā-Kālī is ancient, that of Dakṣiṇakālī appears to be a religious phenomenon that developed late in Bengal. In fact, this Bengali goddess is not Chamuṅḍa-Kālī of the group of Mothers, but one of ten goddesses known collectively as Daśamahāvidyā or the Ten Great Vidyā deities. Although generally *Vidyā* means knowledge, in Tāntric parlance it denotes an esoteric rite such as the *Padamālinīvidyā* discussed earlier in connection with Cāmuṅḍā-Kālī. While the cult of the Daśamahāvidyā is still familiar in Bengal, for some reason Kālī was singled out and became a focus of special devotion by the Bengalis probably in the eighteenth century.³⁶ Thus in this article she will be referred to as Mahāvidyā-Kālī to distinguish her from Cāmuṅḍā.

Although theologians repeatedly tell us that all goddesses are hierophanies of the Magna Mater and although there are similarities among their cultic practices, there are important conceptual and iconological distinctions among the various goddesses that must not be lost sight of. In fact, the Śākta religion in India was an assimilative movement similar to that of the ancient goddess Isis in West Asia. Just as Devī, in her role as a meta-goddess, absorbed all sorts of images and cults during the long history of Indian religions, so also under the generic name Kālī, the Śāktas assimilated all forms of terrifying goddesses, such as Cāmuṅḍā, Revatī, Mahāvidyā-Kālī and others who were originally distinct personalities.

It will not be possible here to describe all the significant differences between Cāmuṅḍā and the Mahāvidyā-Kālī, but a few brief remarks should be made. Iconographically, Cāmuṅḍā is lean, emaciated and ferocious (Pl. IX), but Mahāvidyā-Kālī (Pl. XII, B) has a beautiful body like that of the South Indian Chamuṅḍa-Kālī (Pl. XII, A). Only her face is terrifying, though not quite as much as Cāmuṅḍā's. Cāmuṅḍā's mount is a *preta* (spirit), while the other's is a *śava* (corpse) or her spouse Śiva. Cāmuṅḍā is never known to copulate with the *preta*, but Mahāvidyā-Kālī in some images is engaged in sex with her spouse. Kālī invariably has four arms, two of which form

the gestures of munificence and reassurance and the other two hold the sword and the severed head. Cāmuṅḍā on the other hand may have more than four arms and only the severed head is common to both.

Like the Vedic Niṣṭi, Cāmuṅḍā is essentially a goddess of death, and although she is grouped with the Mothers, and is even worshipped for progeny, there is nothing motherly about her appearance³⁷. Her iconographic features are neither gentle nor auspicious, and all her attributes are destructive weapons. In the *Padamālinīvidyā* her *mantra* uses synonyms for the act of destruction more often than it includes words for creation or munificence. Although she is to be invoked by kings for the prosperity of the kingdom and even for progeny, significantly she is not known to be worshipped in the home but Mahāvidyā-Kālī is. As a popular saying goes, from a bride's point of view, one Cāmuṅḍā (in the form of the mother-in-law) in the home is enough. Along with the Mothers, Cāmuṅḍā is worshipped near a cremation ground or in the outskirts of a village. In fact, in the priest's manual (*Purohita-darpaṇa*), commonly used in Bengal today, there is no domestic rite involving Cāmuṅḍā. Cāmuṅḍā is feared rather than loved, whereas Mahāvidyā-Kālī is both feared and loved, as one would one's mother. It is difficult to imagine anyone writing devotional songs in endearing terms about Cāmuṅḍā as was done for Mahāvidyā-Kālī by Ramprasad Sen and other Bengali Śākta poets. Nor can one visualize Cāmuṅḍā as the mother of the nineteenth century Bengali mystic Ramkrishna Paramahansa.

Nevertheless, there are many similarities in their cults, involving sacrifice, etc., which make it easy to confound them. These similarities no doubt led to their identification with Devī, but at the same time, we must not ignore their different origins, iconography, and to some extent, functions. Certainly the iconography of the two goddesses, as well as their mythology, maintain their original distinctions and independence.

Conclusion

Although the worship of Cāmuṅḍā is mentioned in other *purāṇas*, none contains so much material about her concept and cult as does the *Devīp*. Apart from the use of the word *Cāmuṅḍā* as a generic designation for a class of goddesses of dread, the name is given to an important deity who is worshipped in her own right rather than as an emanation of the Devī or as one of the Mother goddesses. Unlike most other *purāṇas* the *Devīp* knows her also as Carcikā, a name that is more popular in Bengal than elsewhere on the subcontinent³⁸. This helps to corroborate R. C. Hazra's suggestion that the text was compiled in the Bengal region.³⁹

The importance of the goddess Cāmuṅḍā in the *Devīp* also indirectly supports a pre-eleventh century date for the text. In the later Śākta *upapurāṇas*, such as the *Kālikā*, the *Devībhāgavata* and the *Bṛhaddharma*, all of which have remained authoritative in Bengal, she does not appear to enjoy as much

pre-eminence as she does in the *Devīp.* Obviously the cult of Cāmuṅḍā was more important when the *Devīp.* was compiled.

The *Devīp.* describes both the Vedic and Tāntric rites of Cāmuṅḍā, and as we have seen, this is also corroborated by the *Skandapurāṇa*. It may be mentioned further that in modern Hinduism too there are two different modes of worship known as Vaidika and Tāntrika. The Vedic worship consists of rather modest and moderate rites involving deportment on the part of the adept that may be described as *sāttvika*, whereas the Tāntric mode involves bloody sacrifices and drinking which may be characterized as *tāmasika*. This latter form of worship is of course universal for the numerous village and protective goddesses and there seems little doubt that Cāmuṅḍā-Kālī is a synthesis of several such popular deities.

Linguistically the word *cāmuṅḍā* may have been adopted from one of the Dravidian languages. However, some of her iconographic features point to the Himalayan region as a possible source. The entire *Padamālīnīvidyā*, her residence in the Himalayas, her emaciated body, omnivorous appetite for flesh and blood as well as the concept of Revatī riding an ass are features she shares with the important Tibetan goddess known as Lha-mo/Remati.

Finally, although they are similar concepts, Cāmuṅḍā-Kālī and Mahāvidyā-Kālī are two different deities who are iconographically distinct and serve different functions. The former is an ancient goddess of dread who has remained a deity to be feared rather than loved, even though she is supplicated for both prosperity and progeny by kings. For the commoner, as one of the Mother Goddesses, she is appeased primarily to protect infants. Mahāvidyā-Kālī is a much younger goddess and she is definitely not the Kālī of the *Devīmāhātmya* or the *Devīp.* or Bhavabhūti, even though there are some conceptual similarities. Her appearance is much less forbidding and her wrathful nature and destructive power notwithstanding, it is her nurturing, maternal aspect that is paramount in the Bengali mind. Even though both are called Kālī, it would be unthinkable to replace an image of Mahāvidyā-Kālī with that of Cāmuṅḍā-Kālī. Nor can the latter be regarded as the beloved mother of the Bengalis or the focus of Śākta devotionism as Kṛṣṇa is to the Vaiṣṇavas.

Notes and References

1. All references to the text are from the critical edition of the *Purāṇa* edited by Dr. Puspendu Kumar Sarman and published by the Lal Bahadur Shastri Kendriya Samskṛta Vidyapitha, New Delhi in 1976.
2. In the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, Niṛṛti is once described as black (*kṛṣṇa hī tattama asidatha kṛṣṇā vai niṛṛtiḥ*, 7.2.7.) and again as terrifying (*ghorā vai niṛṛtiḥ*, 7.2.11). In the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (4.17) Niṛṛti is said to

hold a noose to escape which a prayer is sung.

3. *viveśa rūpiṇī kālī kālameghāvaguṇṭhitā / 172.19.*
4. Swami Jagadiswarananda, *Devī Māhātmyam* (Madras, 1977), pp. 95-96.
5. *yasmāccaṇḍam ca muṇḍam ca gṛhītvā tvamupāgatā / Cāmuṇḍeti tato loke khyātā devi bhaviṣyasi // 7.27.*
6. He is once described as the second Agni (*dvitīyamiva pāvakam / 6.20*) and again as Hutāśana, a name of Agni (*hālāhala hutāśanaḥ / 6.25*).
7. The second line of the relevant *śloka* (6.24) differs considerably in the Devanāgarī and the Bengali editions. The first line *rakṣaṇāya tavāsmākam hutāśanaśamāya ca /* is the same in both. However, in the Devanāgarī edition the second line is as follows :
tasyāḥ prekṣaṇamātreṇa sā ca jvālā samaṇ gatā //. The Bengali edition has : *sā trāya kṣanamantreṇa sā jvālā samaṇ gatā //*.
8. R. Ananthakrishna Sastry, *Lalitā-Sahasranāmam* (Madras, 1951), pp. 78 and 187. Elsewhere (p. 47) she is characterized as one "who was born from the altar of the fire consciousness" (*cidāgnikuṇḍasambhūtā*).
9. Swami Vimalananda, *Mahānārāyaṇopaniṣad* (Madras, 1969), p. 95. See also J. Varenne, *La Mahā Nārāyaṇa Upaniṣad I* (Paris, 1960), pp. 50-51. The verse is as follows :
tāmnivaraṇām tapasā jvalantīm vairocānīm karmaphalceṣu juṣṭās / durgām devīm śaranamaham prapadye sutarasi tarase namaḥ // It is interesting that but for this verse where Durgā is implored, the entire section is dedicated to exalting Agni. Commenting on the verse and following Śāyaṇa's interpretation, Swami Vimalananda writes (p. 96) :
"According to the Vedic tradition a particular sacrificial fire consecrated for the worship of the Divine is called Durgā and by extension the word applies also to the power of creative and evolutionary energy which is associated with fire in many Vedic stanzas pertaining to Agni. It is, therefore, difficult to separate the conception of Durgā and fire conceived as the universal energy in this *sūkta*."
10. *rudro yo'sau kālāgni-viśrutaḥ/ 6.27.*
11. *hatvā rurum mahādaityam brahma-viṣṇu bhayaṅkaram/ tasya prāvṛtya vai carmma mundam vāmakare tathā// gṛhītvā nīrgatā bhūmau sā cāmuṇḍā tataḥ smṛtā/ (Devīp. 37.16-17a)*. This explanation is found in other *purāṇas* as well.
12. *kālī dakṣāpamāncna sarvva śatru nivarhaṇṇī/ kalanā kāla sanikhyā vā*

kālī deveṣu gīyate// 37.14.

13. *caṅḍam vībhatsamityāhurmuṅḍam brahmaśīro matam/ svāmī muṅḍamatañcānyai rdhāraṇī karaṇārtham vā//37.87. Cāmuṅḍā kīrtitā devairmāṭṛṇām pravara tu sā/*
14. *kapālam brahmakam jātam kare dhārayate sadā/ kapālī tena sā proktā pālanādvā kapālīnī//37.15.*
15. For *kuṅḍa* and *piṅḍa*, see F.C. Southworth, "Lexical Evidence for Early Contacts between Indo-Aryan and Dravidian" in *Aryan and Non-Aryan in India*, ed. by M. M. Deshpande and P. E. Hook (Ann Arbor, 1969), pp. 210 and 212. The author also includes *daṅḍa* as a possible loan-word from Dravidian, but it is surprising that *muṅḍa* is omitted. Cf. also *koṅḍa*.
16. T. Burrow and M. B. Emeneau, *A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary* (Oxford, 1961), pp. 158 and 167. The word for death in Tamil is *cakku* and in Telegu *caccu*. *Compu* in Telegu means to kill. One may also compare the word *camai* (p. 154) which means to be consumed or destroyed or *camaru*, to kill. This root *ca* is unknown in Sanskrit.
17. In his extensive study of the epithets of the goddess in the *Devīmāhātmya*, Thomas E. Couburn (*Devīmāhātmya, The Crystallization of The Goddess Tradition*, Delhi, 1984, pp. 134-136) does not attempt to analyze the derivation of the word Cāmuṅḍā but does mention in passing that she may be called simply "the head cruncher."
18. H. Whitehead, *The Village Gods of South India* (Calcutta, 1921), p. 80. It is interesting to note in this connection that the word *canmanam* in both Tamil and Malayalam means to sit cross-legged (Burrow and Emeneau, *op. cit.*, p. 154) and one wonders if there is any connection with the custom of burying the ascetics in a sitting posture.
19. The other names are (1) Bisal Mari (the sun); (2) Goonal Mari; (3) Kel Mari (the earthen pot); (4) Yeerangere Mari; (5) Hiridevathi (the eldest sister); and (7) Uttahnahaliamana. Of course, Cammandamana is number six. It should be quite apparent that neither conceptually nor linguistically (or phonetically) do these names have anything to do with Brahmāṇī, Māheśvarī, et al.
20. M. Monier Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (Oxford, 1979 reprint), p. 822.
21. Burrow and Emeneau, *op. cit.*, p. 309.
22. M. Monier Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 390.
23. M. R. Kale, *Bhavabhūti's Mālatīmādhava*, 3rd ed. (Delhi, 1967), pp. 104-107 and 45-46 and 49.

24. R. Choudhary, *The Vrātyas in Ancient India* (Varanasi, 1964), p. 166.
25. *Ibid.* p. 51. See also S. Kramrisch, *The Presence of Śiva* (Princeton, 1981), pp. 88ff.
26. *Āvāntyakhaṇḍa (Revākhaṇḍam)*. 186-15.
saṁstutā ṛṣibhirdevairyogakṣemārthasiddhaye /
vinatānandajanānastatra tām yoginīm nṛpa /
bhaktiyā prasādayāmāsa stotairvaidikalaukikāih //
27. See P. Pal, "The Mother Goddess According to *Devīpurāṇa*," *Purāṇa*, 30, 1 (1988), pp. 22-59 for a few descriptions given in the text.
28. P. Pal, *The Divine Presence* (Los Angeles, 1978), p. 35; *idem*, *The Sensuous Immortals* (Los Angeles, 1977), pp. 68 and 70.
29. *Devīp.* 13.80-83.
30. *Mahīśāsura evāsau nidrāyām niśi parvate / svapnam pradadr̥ṣe vīro*
dāruṇam ghoradarśanam // 60.88. mahāmāyā bhadrakālī chītvā khadgena
me śīraḥ / papau tasya ca raktāni vyādītāsyātibhīṣanā // 60.89.
31. *tatastu bhagavān viṣṇuḥ sṛṣṭāvān śuṣkarevatīm / yā papau sakalam*
teṣāmandhakānāmasṛk kṣaṇāt // 179.36.
32. For the various forms of Lha-mo and Remati, see R. Nebesky-Wojkowitz, *Oracles and Demons of Tibet* (The Hague, 1956), pp. 22-37.
33. Revatī or Śuṣkarevatī, as a synonym for Cāmuṇḍā, is no older than Cāmuṇḍā herself who generally appears in literature around the sixth century and somewhat earlier in art. However, Lha-mo or Remati could well have been an earlier indigenous goddess in Tibet, before the arrival of Buddhism in that country.
34. See A. Bharati, *The Tāntric Tradition* (New York, 1975), pp. 65FF and 210FF for an extensive discussion of the topics.
35. D. R. Kinsley, *The Sword and the Flute* (Berkeley, 1975), p. 100.
36. The Mahāvidyā-Kālī probably became popular in Bengal during the devastating famines of the 1770s. See P. Pal. *Hindu Religion and Iconology* (Los Angeles, 1981), pp. 57-92 for the concept of Mahāvidyās in general and Kālī in particular.
37. See also *Skandapurāṇa (Āvāntyakhaṇḍa)*, chapter 169 for the myth concerning King Devappana who worships Cāmuṇḍā for a son but gets a daughter.
38. See N. K. Bhattasali, *Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculpture in the Dacca Museum* (Dacca, 1929), p. 209. It should also be noted that Carcikā is encountered in the tāntric Buddhist texts as one of the

female acolytes of Mahākāla (see B. Bhattacharyya, *The Indian Buddhist Iconography*, Calcutta 1958, p. 347).

39. R. C. Hazra, *Studies in the Upapurāṇas*, II (Calcutta, 1963), pp. 79-90.

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RASĀNUBHAVA AND BRAHMĀNUBHAVA

R. B. PATANKAR

When today people talk about the *rasa* theory, they usually do not have in mind either Bharata's *rasa-sūtra* in its original context of *Nāṭyaśāstra*, or the *sūtra* as interpreted in diverse complementary or conflicting ways by critics from Lollaṭa to Jagannātha; they rather take Abhinava's interpretation as the only correct, authentic and universally accepted statement of the theory. Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka and Abhinavagupta are the first interpreters of Bharata to have given the *rasa* theory a distinctly spiritualistic, perhaps a mystical turn which continues to dominate even the modern thinking on the subject.¹ It is doubtful whether the spiritualistic emphasis can be traced back to Bharata. The analogies which Bharata uses to explain the nature of *rasa* are mundane; they are totally devoid of any spiritualistic overtones. In the 6th *Adhyāya* of *Nāṭyaśāstra* immediately after the statement of the *rasa sūtra* Bharata writes : 'What is a good analogy? Here is one : Just as flavour (*rasa*) comes from a combination of many spices, herbs and other substances (*dravya*), so *rasa* (in a drama) comes from the combination (*upagama*) of many *bhāvas*. For example, in the same way that beverages such as *ṣāḍava* (a combination of the six flavours) are created (*nirvartyante*) from the substances such as molasses, spices (*vyāñjana*) and herbs (*oṣadhi*), the permanent emotions attain the status of *rasa* when they are accompanied (*upagata*) by the various *bhāvas*... How is *rasa* savoured? As gourmets (*sumanas*) are able to savour the flavour of food prepared with many spices and attain pleasure, etc., so sensitive spectators (*sumanas*) savour the primary emotions... and attain pleasure, etc.'²

Despite this preference on the part of Bharata for common-sensical analogies, critics of the Abhinavagupta school have emphasized the alleged resemblance between the experiences of *rasa* and *brahma*. The two are said to be twin-brothers. The purpose of a good analogy is to take the reader from the known to the unknown. It helps a reader if he is told that the *rasa* experience is like *ṣāḍava*, for he knows what the latter is. But to tell him that it is like the experience of *brahma* is not to help him at all, for the latter experience is beyond the range of the large majority of the people who visit a theatre. The analogy might perhaps flatter them, but it will certainly not enlighten them. Sometimes it is argued that the comparison of the *rasa* experience with the *brahma* experience is particularly useful, — as perhaps no other comparison is likely to be — if the aim is to bring out that it

is *alaukika* (uncommon, unusual, *sui generis*.) Its peculiarity lies in that it cannot be classified with anything in our everyday experience. *Brahma* experience is also *alaukika*, i.e., not classifiable with our common experience. Therein lies the propriety of the analogy of the *brahma* experience for explaining the nature of the *rasa* experience. But one really fails to understand what a comparison based only on negation can serve. To say that colour A and B are totally unlike colour C does not give any positive knowledge about either A or B.

When people call something *alaukika*, they usually wish to convey that (i) it is completely and/or strikingly different from any other thing, or that (ii) it is strikingly superior to anything else. Śrī Śāṅkara has actually made the former claim about *rasa* experience without either invoking the ultimate principle of reality or claiming remarkable superiority for it. He compares aesthetic perception with *citratūragapratīti*, which is similar to ordinary perception in some respects (- for example, both imply the presence of an object of experience and also that of an experiencer -), but strikingly different from the known varieties of perception. The relevant *pratīti* here is *alaukika* in that it is different from *Samyak*, *Mithyā*, *Samśaya*, and *Sādṛśya pratītis*. Abhinavagupta has no use for Śāṅkara's theory which in his scheme forms only a part of the *Pūrva-pakṣa*. Abhinavagupta appears to be keen on combining the two claims, viz. that *rasa* experience is unique and that it is superior to almost everything else.

It is sometimes suggested that all analogies are not meant to be taken in a literal sense. Suppose, somebody compares a musician's voice to nectar. Although nobody has tasted nectar, the analogy is deeply rooted in people's imagination. People, therefore, take the statement to be a figurative way of saying that the musician's voice is very sweet.

But those who compare the *rasa* and *brahma* experiences do not take the comparison in only a figurative sense; a stronger claim is clearly intended. It has to be taken in that spirit. Let us, therefore, ask : When it is stated that the *rasa* experience is the twin-brother of *brahma* experience, what does it mean? What *can* it mean? Is the statement convincing and acceptable?

Brahma experience has been for centuries a common topic of discussion among Indian philosophers. We shall first turn to Śāṅkara for a philosophical statement about *brahma* experience and later ask whether the *rasa* experience resembles it. In the first *sūtra* of his *bhāṣya* on *Brahma-sūtra*, Śāṅkara refers to *brahmajijñāsā* as the subject of his treatise. But there is a difficulty at the beginning itself : if we know absolutely nothing about *brahma*, how can a desire to know it arise in us? On the other hand, if we already know it, how can it be the goal of our quest? Some critics have shown a way out of this dilemma; they distinguish between general knowledge (*sāmānya*

jñāna) and realization (*sākṣātkāra*) of *brahma*.³ The former creates in us the desire to attain the latter. It is reasonable to suppose that when *rasa* experience is compared to *brahma* experience, it is not the mere possession of the general knowledge of *brahma* that people have in mind. For there is nothing unique or valuationally significant about this type of knowledge. It is the realization of *brahma* that is supposed to be unique and supremely valuable. There is, therefore, a point in comparing *rasa* experience with *brahma* experience (= realization). If we accept the Śāṅkara view of *brahma* realization, it can be seen how difficult it is to defend the comparison. *Brahma* experience is a completely non-relational experience; even the distinctions between the knower and the known, and between 'that' and 'what' are supposed to be non-existent in it. That this experience of total identity is different in kind from our everyday experience is evident. Is not the experience of watching a play also different in kind from our everyday experience? Perhaps it is, but not exactly in the same sense. We shall discuss the relationship between our everyday experience and the experience of enjoying a play in the theatre at a later stage. But one thing is certain; both these experiences are relational in character, while that of *sākṣātkāra* is non-relational.

As we have seen above the term '*brahma* experience' denotes a range of experiences between the two points of (i) a general knowledge of the nature of *brahma* and (ii) *brahma* realization; any point in this range can serve as the standard of comparison for determining the nature of *rasa* experience. If proximity to *sākṣātkāra* is to be maintained, it will be appropriate to take the experience and general mental disposition of the *sādhaka* between flashes of *sākṣātkāra* as the paradigm of the *brahma* experience. But that presents some formidable difficulties. According to Śāṅkara a person who has had a flash of *sākṣātkāra* cannot join the stream of ordinary life. Indeed how can anyone who has transcended his ego even temporarily behave like an ordinary man?⁴ Will such a person who has overcome feelings such as pleasure, pain, fear be interested in watching a play that represents ordinary human life? Will a person who is like the sea which does not transgress its limits even when rivers are continuously pouring immense quantities of water into it be moved by the spectacle of human joy and suffering? Do we really expect a *sthitaprajña* to enjoy a play? If he visits a theatre, do we regard him as the best, the only competent spectator in the audience? Do we expect a person to come out of the theatre with the equanimity of mind that is expected in *sthitaprajña*? After watching plays people have felt entertained, cheerful, sad, moved, disturbed. But has any spectator ever reported that he experienced tranquillity of mind? This is not impossible, but is highly improbable; and such a response to a play is certainly not representative. It is difficult to believe that such a rare spectator would be regarded today as an ideal spectator; one wonders whether such a spectator was, even in ancient times and, outside the theoretical treatises on poetics,

regarded as an ideal spectator.

It may be possible to accept the claim about tranquillity, if it is qualified in the following way : *some* plays or literary works create mental equanimity in *some* readers. Although Rāma is ready to retire from life after doing all that was expected of him as an ideal king, *Karuṇa* and not *śānta* is regarded as the dominant and pervasive *rasa* of *Rāmāyaṇa*. But *Mahābhārata* is certainly a great epic of undisputed literary merit which has *Śānta* as the dominant *rasa*. It should also be remembered that *Mahābhārata* contains a philosophical discussion of *Mokṣa-dharma*. A little more than half of "Śānti-parva" is devoted to it. *Mahābhārata* is naturally a great favourite with the advocates of *Śānta rasa*. *Śānta* has *Śama* as its *sthāyibhāva* and is indisputably *mokṣa*-oriented. *Śānta* is perhaps the only *rasa* which has the highest potential for inducing a state of mind which comes closest to equanimity of mind, characteristic of *brahma* experience.

Giving recognition of *Śānta* as an independent, and perhaps the supremely important *rasa* raises some new problems. Appeal to the scriptural text, viz. *Nāṭyaśāstra* is not of much help on this point. Majority of critics are of the view that the original list of the *rasas* given in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* contained only the following eight : *Śṛṅgāra*, *Hāsya*, *Karuṇa*, *Raudra*, *Vīra*, *Bhayānaka*, *Bībhatsa* and *Adbhuta*. But on the other hand Abhinavagupta, the great, undisputed authority on the subject, not only accepts *Śānta*, but also gives it a privileged position. It is also true that a very small number of the manuscripts of *Nāṭyaśāstra* do contain some material on *śānta*. Dr. V. Raghavan who has discussed the problem in great detail sums up the modern view on the subject as follows : 'For long, the *Rasas* were only eight in number. The text of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata originally spoke only of eight *Rasas*. For a long time, the poets also were speaking only of eight *Rasas*.⁵ Testimony of the poets is significant, because with its help we know the *rasa* system as it existed in the imagination of the people.

Dr. Raghavan is of course not willing to discard the claims of *Śānta*. Actually he has argued very persuasively in its favour. The *Nāṭyaśāstra*, he points out, is the product of a certain cultural milieu. What blossomed in the days of Ānandavardhana and Abhinavagupta must have been present in some form in the days of Bharata. Works like *Mahābhārata*, *Raghuvamśa*, *Śākuntala* contain references to, and sometimes concrete delineation of the 3rd and 4th *āśramas*, and also of the forms of life of the *munis*. Again there was the pervasive influence of Upaniṣadic, Buddhist, and Jain thinkers to contribute substantially to the general spirit of the age. It is in this age and milieu that Bharata lived. Therefore instead of looking for explicit mention of *Śānta* in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, one should ask whether the atmosphere was congenial to the spirit of *Śānta* and *Śama*. If the essence of *Śānta* and *Śama* is present, it is immaterial how they are named.

We shall therefore turn to some of the other objections raised against *Śānta*. *Śānta*, the *sthāyin* of *Śānta*, creates a peculiar problem in the theory of drama and dramaturgy. *Śānta* at its point of culmination can be adequately expressed only by a complete cessation of all bodily activities. But surely such a complete cessation cannot be regarded as a form of acting. If this is true, it follows that *śānta* cannot be presented on the stage. Can such a *rasa* form a legitimate part of a book on drama and dramaturgy? This objection can be met in two ways; (a) Complete cessation of the bodily activity is expected in only the culminating stage of *Śānta*. Even if it is granted that this phase cannot be presented on the stage, it does not follow that the other phases also cannot be presented. (b) The above difficulty arises also in the case of *rati*; some of its phases cannot be shown on the stage. In spite of this difficulty, we do accept *śṛṅgāra* as a *rasa*; why should we object to *Śānta*?

What cannot be presented on the stage can be accommodated in narrative forms of literature. Many narrative passages in plays perform just this function. Narrative forms like Epic and Novel provide ample scope for presenting every variety of action or emotion. That is perhaps the reason why Ānandavardhana and Abhinavagupta turned to *Mahābhārata* for convincing evidence in support of *Śānta*.

It is a common observation that lovers of literature are primarily interested in life as governed by *Dharma*, *Artha*, and *Kāma*, but very rarely by *Mokṣa*. Again they look upon drama as a means of diversion (*krīḍanīyaka*). Such people are not likely to feel interested in a play which brings out the ephemerality of life. This shows that a large number of people are not likely to enjoy a *Śānta rasa* play. If *Śānta rasa* does not have a universal appeal, can it be given the status of *rasa*? In *Dhvanyālokalocana*,⁶ Abhinavagupta points out that different *rasas* appeal to different types of people. But no *rasa* has been denied that title because it does not have a universal appeal. *Śṛṅgāra*, for example, appeals to a large number of people; but it has no appeal for some people who have lost interest in the worldly affairs of life. Ānandavardhana concedes that *Śānta* does not appeal to all people; its appeal is restricted to a small number of them; but these are the best among men; what they prefer cannot be denied the name of *rasa*⁷.

To say that different *rasas* are dominant in different plays and that they appeal to different types of people is to take a reasonable position that many will find acceptable. Bharata himself appears to have taken the relativistic position.⁸ It is Abhinavagupta who takes an uncompromisingly universalist position and that too in the case of *Śānta*. He maintains in *Abhinavabhāratī* that *Śānta* is present directly or indirectly in all *rasas*, that they emerge from *Śānta* and merge into it. According to him all *rasas* result in peace, a state of tranquillity which attends on the withdrawal of the mind from

all its objects and its turning inwards; however, it contains an admixture of other mental traces.⁹ The reading viz. *antarmukhatā lābhat*, which we have accepted here as correct places *Śānta* at the centre of the *rasas*. But it creates new difficulties. While emphasizing the significance of *Śānta*, we are likely to be unfair to the other *rasas*. If *Śānta* is the supreme, all-pervasive, and universal *rasa*, critical judgements like '*Karuṇa* is the dominant *rasa* in *Rāmāyaṇa*', '*Vipralambha Śṛṅgāra* pervades *Meḡhadūta*' will become vacuous. This will indeed be a disaster for literary criticism, for it is concerned with individual peculiarities of literary works even more than with what they have in common with each other. To use identical criteria for judging the merits of *King Lear* and *As You Like It*, on the ground that both of them ultimately result in a state of peace will amount to giving up one's duty as a critic. This is too heavy a price to pay for the sake of an over-ambitious theory of literature which promises *brahma* experience, if one is willing to exchange for it one's soul as a critic for it.

We saw above that the advocates of *Śānta* found it easier to get supporting evidence in an epic like *Mahābhārata* than in a play of an equal literary worth. Moving thus from one literary kind to another is legitimate and perhaps also necessary, if one's aim is to identify and examine the most general features of literature as a whole. But how can such a theory which can be defended only by moving across boundaries which separate different literary kinds be of help, if one wishes to study the common features of only one literary kind, say drama? To solve a difficulty that has arisen in the field of drama by adducing evidence from epic is to avoid a problem and not to solve it.

It is customary to expect that the evidence in support of the *brahmāsvādasahodara* view should come from relevant texts, particularly scriptural texts, and from the experience of competent spectators. We have already seen that Bharata does not appear to lend any support to the above view. Jagannātha, however, has quoted two statements from *Taittirīya Upaniṣad* in which the word '*rasa*' occurs twice : 'रसो वै सः', 'रसं ह्येवायं लब्ध्वाऽऽनन्दी भवति.' These statements ought to be read in their original context from which they have been violently torn by Jagannātha. When restored to their proper context, they read as follows : 'This was before (the creation of the world) not existing (the contrary of all the manifested differences of name and form, which are thought to be the unchangeable *Brahman*). Hence verily was produced that which exists (what is thought to exist, all the differences of name and form). This (unchangeable *Brahman*) created himself; therefore, it is called self-created (or holy). Because it is holy (*Sukṛta*) - (therefore) it is verily (like) taste; - for anyone obtaining taste, becomes delighted. If that bliss (like *Brahman*) were not present in the ether (of the heart) - who then could live, who could breathe? - for it is he (the supreme spirit) that fills

with bliss...'¹⁰.

Masson and Patwardhan¹¹ have unravelled the tangle of confusions that Jagannātha has got himself into, wittingly or unwittingly. "Actually, however, this scriptural statement refers to the *ātman* and not to aesthetic experience. The proper meaning of the statement is : "That (*ātman*) is surely (*vai*) *rasa* (joy or bliss). Having realised the (*ātman* which is) *rasa* (bliss) he becomes happy or blissful." In the first part of the quotation, the *ātman* is equated with *rasa* (i.e., *ānanda* - supreme joy or bliss). In the second part of the quotation, it is said that "having realised that *ātman* which is *rasarūpa* or *ānandarūpa*, he, i.e. the spiritual aspirant (*sādhaka*) becomes supremely happy (*ānandībhavati*)." The two statements cited by Jagannātha are taken from the part called 'Āandavallī,' Anuvāka 7; nowhere in the Anuvāka is there a mention of Drama or Literature or Art. The attempt to establish a connection between the word '*rasa*' used here with the aesthetic context has no basis in the text, only a prior commitment to the *brahmāsvādasahodara* view must have lead Jagannātha to see a connection where there is none.

In the course of the above discussion it was indicated that the experience of competent readers does not lend any support to this view.

If the above view does not have any basis in the scriptural texts or the experience of the competent reader or spectator, why was it put forward by Abhinavagupta and Jagannātha at all? A closer look at the view will perhaps be useful at this stage. Let us note at the outset that nobody has claimed complete identity between the *rasa* and *brahma* experiences. Abhinavagupta has himself distinguished the *rasa* experience from *yogi-pratyakṣa*,¹² the blissful experience of the *yogin* during the state of *samādhi*. The *yogi-pratyakṣa* variety of experience does not have an object and is consequently regarded as dry. *Rasa* experience does not suffer from this deficiency. In an experience of total identity both the object and the subject are transcended. Are the subject and the object present in the *rasa* experience? We saw above that according to Abhinavagupta the *rasa* experience does have an object. The subject is also present, but not in the same way in which it is present in the ordinary experience.¹³ Actually the *rasa* experience is mid-way between the mystic experience of the total identity between the subject and the object and the ordinary experience in which the subject and the object are obtrusively present. For the time being let us keep out of our discussion the mystic experience and have a closer look at the comparison between ordinary experience and the *rasa* experience as it is conceived by the advocates of the *brahmāsvādasahodara* thesis. The process of *sādhāraṇīkaraṇa* is said to bring about a radical break between the *rasa* experience and ordinary experience. As a result of this process the empirical 'I' of the spectator is supposed to be transcended; the particularity of the object of *rasa* experience is also said to be transcended. The young deer that is chased by Duṣyanta in the

First Act of *Śākuntala* does not have any definite position in the matrix of Space and Time of our world; we do not contemplate any particular terrified deer, for it could be any frightened deer, or animal, or any terrified living creature. How is such a de-particularized fictional experience possible at all? What is the logical condition of the possibility of this variety of experience? Analysis of the experience of imagining something in ordinary life might give us the necessary clue to the nature of aesthetic experience as conceived by the Sanskritists. The experience of imagining something is well within the reach of all common men. Suppose we are looking at our table; we see a pen-stand at the left, and the timepiece at the right of the table-lamp. Now we can close our eyes and imagine the same table with the same articles on it. Just as we can actually move the real timepiece from the right to the left, we can imagine that it has been moved to the left. Just as we can remove the actual pen-stand and put in its place an ink-stand, we can imagine the table with the ink-stand on it. We can imagine certain objects as being on the table which are actually not there. We can close our eyes and imagine that table-top exactly as it is in reality; or we can imagine it as altered. But there are certain necessary limits to what we can see or imagine. For example, whatever we see and imagine must be in Space and Time and observe the laws of these two. We can neither see nor imagine anything that does not satisfy the above condition, which can be said to be an *a priori* condition of the possibility of seeing as well as of imagining anything. The actually perceived world is logically prior to the imagined world; if we begin to describe the world as we imagine it, we shall discover that we cannot do it except by treating the actually perceived world as the constant point of reference. Space, Time, Categories like Causation, and concepts like Motives, Reasons form the basic framework in which we lead our ordinary life. We have to make a constant reference to this framework when we talk about an imaginary world. In addition to this *a priori* framework we also have with us knowledge of the real world that we have acquired through our experience. This constitutes the empirical part of the constant point of reference mentioned above. When we build our imaginary world we find that the *a priori* part allows us no freedom of manipulation, but the empirical part gives us any amount of freedom. For example, the rule that every event must have a cause holds good in both the real as well as in the imaginary world. Similarly, when we think about persons we know that it is not enough to use the causal category to explain their actions; we are also required to talk about reasons that they give to explain their actions. We know that properties must accompany substances as their attributes. If we are creating an imaginary world which we want to resemble the real world, we shall see that the right properties go with the right substances; for example, redness will accompany roses, but not lilies in our imaginary world. We are allowed to change this type of organization of elements, if we are creating a phantasy

world. One more important point of difference between the real world and the imaginary world lies in that we claim a positive ontological status for what we experience in the former but not in the latter. There will be a corresponding difference in our cognitive, conative and affective attitudes to the two worlds.

We shall now examine the relations between the real and the imaginary worlds on the one hand and the world of the *yogin* in the state of *samādhi*. The imaginary world is built on the model of the real world. Our perception of the imaginary world is relational in the sense that the relation between the subject and the object, and also that between the 'that' and the 'what' are present in it. That we have to make use of the conceptual device which Wittgenstein calls 'seeing as'¹⁴ when we watch a play on the stage does not make any difference so far as the relationality of the experience is concerned. The *rasa* experience presupposes the ordinary experience in the real world; the mystic experience is based on the denial of the ordinary experience. It is true that Abhinavagupta and his followers have not called the *rasa* and the *brahma* experiences identical, but very closely similar. If closeness signifies transcendence of the relational character of the *rasa* experience, the difference between the *rasa* and the ordinary experiences becomes one of kind; But we have seen that this cannot be true, for the *rasa* experience has the ordinary experience as a constant point of reference. Consequently the analogy of the *brahma* experience loses point, for no analogy can take a person from one class of experience (here, non-relational experience) to a generically different experience (here, an experience which presupposes relationality).

Transcendence of the empirical 'I' is regarded as the distinguishing mark of the *rasa* experience. It is further shown that this feature makes it unique. Ordinary experiences depend on man's relations with other men in the world; and it is maintained that relations between men are egocentric in character. Individual men are conceived as belonging to three groups : (a) those who are friendly (b) those who are hostile (c) those who are neutral. We feel happy if something good happens to people in the first group, unhappy if it happens to those in the second group; we are not moved if it happens to those in the third group. We are told that it is only in the *rasa* experience that the individuality of people is transcended. The process of *sādhāraṇīkaraṇa* enables us to go beyond our ego and share with others their pleasures and pains. Whether this experience is *alaukika* depends upon the correctness or otherwise of the classification given above. Any impartial observer of human nature will immediately see that the classification is based on the erroneous assumption that man is egocentric in all his relations with others. That man possesses both self-regarding as well as other-regarding dispositions is a fact. *Rasa* experience is thus seen to be not *alaukika* in respect of ego-transcendence. The further question of classifying it with *brahma* experience does not therefore

arise.

If one wants to make out a case for the *brahmāsvādasahodara* view, one should restrict oneself to *Śānta rasa*, keeping in mind all the specifications such as the following : *Śama* is its *sthāyibhāva*; knowledge of the soul, total detachment (*vairāgya*), purification of the mind (*citta-śuddhi*) are its *vibhāvas* : it should be represented through the following *anubhāvas*; means of self-control like *yama*, *niyama*, *dhāraṇā*, universal compassion, entering the fourth *āśrama* viz. *saṁnyāsa*¹⁵.... If these characteristics are absolutely necessary for *Śānta* how many literary works will qualify as embodiments of *Śānta* ? Perhaps *Mahābhārata*, *Upaniṣads*, some mediaeval saint poetry - but much of what is recognized as literature — authentic and even great literature — will not qualify. Is *Śānta rasa* so valuable that we should sacrifice most of the valuable literature that we know to be genuine, good and even great ?

Brahma experience is supposed to bring about a complete change in the form of one's life. It will indeed be difficult to show that literary works — even the best among them — bring about so radical a change. If the *rasa* experience does not have any of the essential features of the *brahma* experience, why compare the *rasa* and the *brahma* experiences at all ? The comparison perhaps is not to be taken in the literal sense. It serves the same purpose as calling *Nāṭyaśāstra* a *Veda* does. The purpose is to praise and not to describe.

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A STUDY ON THE ORIGIN OF AGASTYA

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1. Introduction

- 1.1 Traditions about Agastya and his exploits are found in almost all the ancient Indian literary accounts — both Sanskrit and Tamil. While scholars relying on Sanskrit texts mainly have held the view that Agastya was responsible for the spread of Āryan culture into South India, those interested in Tamil studies have extolled his contribution to the development of Tamil language and literature. It could not, however, be satisfactorily explained by either of these groups of scholars as regards the origin and historicity of Agastya, taking into account the references appearing in the *R̥gveda* and subsequent Sanskrit works as also the Tamil literature.
- 1.2 Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri in his excellent article on “Agastya” published in the Dutch Journal *Tijdschrift Voor Ind-Taal-Land en Volkenkunde* (TBG) Vol. LXXVI (1936) says that except for the story of his miraculous birth, the Vedic Agastya is a real historical person, as real as the kings, tribes and rivers mentioned in the *R̥gveda* and that he composes hymns, has a wife and sister and perhaps a son.¹ In the same breath, Prof. Sastri says while dealing with the references to the various *āśramas* and *bhavanas* of Agastya in the *Rāmāyaṇa* : “The multiplicity of Agastya’s *āśramas* and *bhavanas* has been taken to imply either that Agastya is a purely mythical figure or that a clan of Āgastyas must have spread in all the places mentioned, though it is admitted that there is nothing to show when or how the Āgastyas arose. It seems better, however, to suppose that round the one historical Agastya, the author of the Vedic hymns and husband of Lopamudrā, who played an important role in his time in furthering the Aryanisation of India, there naturally gathered, in course of time, a number of stories representing the further stages in the movement started by him.”² In yet another context, Prof. Sastri argues that the Agastya referred to in the inscription of Kāmbhoja might have been a historical personage, a member of the Agastya *gotra*. The learned Professor also quotes the view of Dr. Bosch that the people belonging to Agastya *gotra* must have reached Indo-China and settled there as in the case of Java.³

- 1.3 Prof. O. C. Gangoly echoes similar views as expressed by Prof. Sastri. He says "Agastya presents and stands for a concrete symbol of the adventurous spirit of the early Āryans, who have ever sought fresh fields and pastures new for the colonisation and development of Āryan thought."⁴ At the same time Gangoly provides an explanation that the various achievements attributed to Agastya could not have been accomplished by a "lonely recluse single-handed and unaided," but that Agastya was the progenitor of a large family and founder of Agastya *gotra*.⁵ He further points out on the basis of epigraphical evidence available from Java that some of the descendants of Agastya — a brahmin clan of the Agastya *gotra* — evidently of Śaivite beliefs — had a colony in Java and that they must have come from Southern India.⁶
- 1.4 M. Srinivasa Iyengar feels that though the life of Agastya is clothed in myth, "This much is certain that he was a Brahmin of North India and that he led the first colony of Brahmins which settled in the Tamil Districts."⁷ P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar⁸ and V. Rangacharya⁹ are inclined to accept that there must have been many Āgastyas residing in different places and at different times and that the later legendaries rolled all Āgastyas into one. Prof. V. R. Ramachandra Diskhitar¹⁰ agrees with these two scholars and goes a little further in saying "whether he (Agastya) came from the North or belonged to the South, was a great man of letters and flourished before the time of *Tolkappiyar* and was the first to formulate principles of Grammar for Tamil language and a leading authority at that time." He avers that Agastya was, therefore, undoubtedly and definitely a historical figure.¹¹
- 1.5 Caldwell,¹² another scholar often referred to in Tamil Studies, has his own doubts whether Agastya was at all a historical person and the leader of the Brahmin immigration. According to him, Agastya is to be considered as a mythological embodiment of Brahmin immigration.
- 1.6 Pargiter¹³, who is profusely quoted regarding Puranic accounts, points out that there is nothing to show when or how the Āgastyas arose. Yet in a different context, he says that "Āgastyas arose later and their origin is uncertain, yet tradition connects them with the *Dekhan*."¹⁴
- 1.7 K. N. Srivaraaja Pillai in his work *Agastya in the Tamil land* raises some questions about the historicity of Agastya in the context of the wide range of distribution of traditions connected with Agastya. However, at one place, he says "whatever may be his (Agastya) historicity in the R̥gvedic India of old, i.e., in the Punjab or in North India, his translation to the *Pothiyil* of the South is a myth pure and simple

and cannot be accepted as a fact in the primitive history of the Tamilians.”¹⁵ This author also reaches the conclusion “we have to take Agastya as neither more nor less than the embodiment of the ideal of the Aryan nation in their work of spreading the culture and knowledge to different countries of the South.”¹⁶

- 1.8 On the other hand, there is a group of Tamil chauvinists,¹⁷ who argue that Agastya as associated with and referred to in the Tamil literature must have been a purely Tamil saint and seer, whose fame and greatness had travelled far to the north, to the Aryan lands and evoked an echo in the literature of the Aryans.

2 Nature Of Present Enquiry

- 2.1 With the above introduction, for the limited purpose of this paper, it is proposed to confine our examination whether the name Agastya as mentioned in the Vedic, Epic and Puranic accounts, which is in Sanskrit form, does itself provide any clue from the etymological sense as to the origin of Agastya. This kind of approach to ascertain the etymological significance of the name, assumes particular importance in the context of the opinions expressed by scholars about the mystery in tracing the origin of Agastya.

3 Reference of Agastya in Sanskrit Literature

- 3.1 The earliest reference to the name *Agastya* in the Sanskrit literature appears in the *R̥gveda* I.117.11; I.170.3; I.179.6; I.180.8; I.184.5; VII. 33.10; VII. 5.26 and X 60.6. *Atharva Veda* mentions *Agastya* in II 32.3; V. 23.6; XVIII.3.15. *Atharva Veda* also contains a reference to the form *Agasti* in IV. 29.3. The name ‘*Agasti*’ also appears in the epics and the *Purānas* besides more frequent usage of the name *Agastya* therein. Also the form *Agasti* is used in the *Pravara Adhyāyas* of the *Sūtras*.¹⁸ Further the form ‘*Agasti*’ is used in the inscriptions of South-East Asia as well as in the Javanese texts.¹⁹ According to *Abhidhāna Ratnamālā* (ed. by Th.Aufrecht 1861 and *Vaijayantī* (ed. by G. Oppert 1893), *Agasti* and *Agastya* are synonymous.

4 Early reference in Tamil Literature

- 4.1 *Manimekhālai* contains the reference to ‘*Akattiyan*’ in the *Padigam* lines 10-12 and canto 22, lines 30-36 as meaning *Agastya*. This is the only direct reference, while there are other indirect forms in which the same personage is mentioned in the vast body of Tamil literature.

5 Derivation of the name Agastya as presently known through Sanskrit Accounts

- 5.1 It would be normal to expect that direct explanation should be available

for the derivation of the name *Agasti* or *Agastya* through a study of the existing Sanskrit sources. It is however observed that no such direct explanation is available. The only reference in an indirect manner is found in the passage of *Rāmāyaṇa* III.11.8 which reads as : “*Agastya iti vikhyāto, loke Svenaiva Karmaṇā.*” The commentary on *Rāmāyaṇa* by *Govindarāja* amplifies this passage as follows : *Svena karmaṇā vindhyastambhanarūpeṇa, agastya iti vikhyātaḥ agam̐ stambhayati iti Agastya iti vyutpatteḥ*. The derivation suggested thus is ‘one who fixes the mountain.’ Here *agam̐* stands for mountain and in particular the *Vindhya* mountain. According to the *Uṇādi Sūtras*,²⁰ the name *Agasti* is derived as *aga + as + ti* (*aga* = mountain and *asti* = thrower). In the *Vācaspatya*,²¹ the derivation given is ‘*agam̐ Vindhyācalam styāyati stabhnāti iti agastyaḥ*’ and for *Agasti*, the derivation is *agam̐ Vindhyācalam āsayati iti.*

- 5.2 The above derivation rests on the tradition frequently referred to in the epics²² and *Purāṇas*²³ that *Agastya* subdued the *Vindhya* mountain and arrested its growth. It is generally held that the *Vindhyas* were not known to the people of the *Ṛgvedic* period and therefore the derivation cannot be regarded as acceptable in its application to *Agastya* mentioned in the *Ṛgveda* as quoted above. In fact, Prof. Nilakanta Sastri observes that this derivation is as new as it is curious²⁴ and John Dawson would rather feel that the tradition itself was invented later to account for the name.²⁵ It is also worth quoting the comments of Dr. V. Raghavan on the *Uṇādi Sūtras* that they represent attempts of the school of etymologists or *Nairuktas* and a school of grammarians headed by *Śākaṭāyana* who believed that every word should rather be derived somehow than not.²⁶
- 5.3 In the Sanskrit-English Dictionary of V. S. Apte, the derivation²⁷ of the name of *Agastya* is also given as *agaḥ kumbhaḥ tatra styānaḥ samhataḥ iti*. Here *agaḥ* is explained as ‘*Kumbhaḥ*’ or pot (pitcher) and this derivation is equally based on another well-known tradition narrated in the Vedic and subsequent literature about the birth of *Agastya*. It may be pointed out that this tradition is not exclusively applicable to *Agastya* only, as the story relates the birth of *Vasiṣṭha* also as son of *Mitra* and *Varuṇa* on account of their passion on seeing *Urvaśi* from a *kumbhaḥ*. There does not appear to be any mention that *Vasiṣṭha* was also known as *Agastya* with the derivation *agaḥ kumbhaḥ tatra styānaḥ samhataḥ iti*. It is not proposed to go into the details and interpretation of this story itself but suffice to say that the derivation relating the name *Agastya* to one having been born in a *kumbhaḥ* (*agaḥ*) suffers from the same anachronistic inconsistencies as the earlier one and is hence not satisfactory.

- 5.4 There are also other interpretations offered for the derivation of the name Agastya. Prof. M. Seshagiri Sastri²⁸ says "From 'atasa' is derived 'agas' meaning light and brilliance and it assumes the form 'agastya' by the termination *ya*, the letter 't' being added to 's' for the purpose of strengthening." He proceeds further to observe that Agastya is so called on account of the brightness of the star which represents him in heaven - Star Canopus - or in reference to his own brightness as 'Gautama', 'Kaṇva' and 'Aṅgiras'. Curiously, this author has attempted at deriving a large number of names by associating with brilliance, brightness, light, etc. Another innovative idea comes from Mattadi Venkata Ratnam²⁹ when he connects the name with 'Augustus Caesar' on philological resemblance.

6 Derivation of the name as found in Tamil Studies

- 6.1 Turning to Tamil Sources,³⁰ the word 'Akattiyān' is given the meaning 'indispensable'. There are also other mystical and metaphysical connotations attributed to the word 'Akattiyān'. It is also quoted that *Akattiyān* means a native of Agatti, a small island of the Laccadive group. It may be pointed out that all these attempts are speculative in character and they ignore the existence of reference to *Agastya* or *Agasti* in the Vedic texts as well as in the epics and *Purānas*.

7 More plausible solution to the problem of derivation

- 7.1 Thus, we find that the derivation of the name *Agastya* or *Agasti* is not satisfactorily explained both in Sanskrit and Tamil literary sources on a clear and direct basis. We may hence look for a different approach to offer a more plausible and sound derivation for the name *Agastya* or *Agasti*. A lead for adopting such an approach is provided by the observation of the great scholar Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji. To quote him,³¹ "In all likelihood, it was a clan name and *Rṣi* Agastya — to give the earlier form of it from his name, which has no satisfactory explanation in Sanskrit, may be of Dravidian or mixed Aryan - Dravidian origin." In this background, it is relevant to note the views of Fr. Heras. He says, "Accustomed as we are to associate the Dravidians from very ancient times with Southern India, it is indeed a little difficult to persuade ourselves that they occupied the whole of India at any time of her history. Even Dravidian scholars have never claimed that their ancestors were at any time masters of Northern India."³²

Also significant is the observation of the noted archaeologist Dr. Subba Rao in his work '*The Personality of India*' as under :

"If we are prepared to agree that the pre-Aryan languages, particularly the Dravidian and Austric, influence Sanskrit and also that there was

a cultural synthesis of all the elements, is it wrong to assume that the traditions which are handed over and preserved by the Aryans also contain certain non-Aryan and pre-Aryan elements ? Then there is much less scope for breaking our bones on these various issues.”³³

Dr. Subba Rao also draws attention that at one time, Dravidian had a much greater distribution, since it influenced the Sanskrit language at a very early age and he also quotes T. Burrow in that this influence is not from Dravidian of the South.³⁴

- 7.2 Many scholars agree that a good deal of intermingling had taken place between the Aryans and the non-Aryans from very early times resulting in a fusion between the people, their cultures and traditions and also in the mutual borrowing of vocables or words between the respective languages.³⁵ Of these scholars, the work of T. Burrow is relevant for us. He has discussed in the article ‘Dravidian Studies’ (*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* XII) the presence of Dravidian words in early Sanskrit and has enumerated 315 of such words. Significantly, the list contains the word ‘*Agasti*’ as one of the Dravidian loan words with the original meaning ‘*the tree Agasti Grandiflorum*’ with the Dravidian equivalent being ‘*Akatti*’. Burrow further observes that ‘if the name of the *Rsi* is derived from the name of the tree, as presumably it is, then this is one of the loan words.’ Manfred Mayrhofer also cites the authority of Burrow and quotes that ‘*Agasti*’ has its derivation from the Dravidian ‘*Akatti*’ in his work ‘*A Concise Etymological Dictionary*, Vol. I (1953). We find that in the Sanskrit lexicon *Vaijayantī* of Yādava prakāśa (Bhūmi Canto III, line 512), *Agasti* is referred to as “*Agasti - Sesbania Grandiflorum Tree.*” It is of interest to note that the word ‘*Agasti*’ is mentioned as being equivalent to sage Agastya and also as the name of a tree - called also *Katuru - murunga - Sesbania grandiflorum* in the *Dictionary of Sinhalese Language* (compiled under the direction of Prof. W. Geiger and H. Smith, Vol. I, Part 2, p. 41). There is a reference to ‘*Akatti*’ flower in the old Tamil work ‘*Perumbannatrupadai*’, 4th Book in *Pattupattu* (lines 109-10) as per the commentary of *Naccinarkiniyar*. There is also a mention of ‘*Agastya vaṭa*’ in the *Mahābhārata*³⁶ (I. Ādiparvan 215).

- 7.3 From what has been stated above, it is reasonable to conclude that the word ‘*Agasti*’ is originally a Dravidian word ‘*Akatti*’ which must have been borrowed by Sanskrit and that the word ‘*Akatti*’ meant the tree known as ‘*Sesbania grandiflorum*’ in its original content. The further equation is that the name of the tree was adopted as the name of a person and that this person was originally belonging to the non-Aryan or Dravidian group. It may be recalled that Pāli language

also contains the name 'Akatti' to denote 'Agastya' in Sanskrit and 'Akattiyān' in Tamil, as recorded in the *Critical Pali Dictionary* (Published by Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters. Copenhagen Vol. I). It is also relevant to quote here that Jules Bloch (*BSOAS* V, p. 727) points out that Pāli is not a direct offspring of Sanskrit and that there may be Dravidian influences in Pāli.

- 7.4 Now as for the adoption of name of a tree as that of a person or a clan or a tribe, a number of scholars have pointed out the connection of personal names with trees, plants, animals and even inanimate objects in early times. Pargiter gives a number of illustrations, some of which as '*Aśvattha*, *Plakṣa Nala* and *Muñja* are names of trees and plants.³⁷ *Plakṣa* for example is the name of a person mentioned in *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* (i. 7, 2) and the *Taittirīya Prātisākhya* (i. 5, 9, ii, 2, 6) - this is originally the name of waved leaf fig-tree (*ficus Infectoria*) - a large and beautiful tree with small white fruit.³⁸ J. ph. Vogel observes that the name of the goddess *Cāmpāvalī* in the state of Chamba, itself is derived from that of *Campaka* tree.³⁹ V. I. Subramanian in a very useful and interesting article '*A Study of Personal Names in Cankam Literature*' published in *Indian Linguistics*, Vol. 16 (Nov. 1955) observes that the indigenous names of the Tamils are mostly the names of natural objects like plants, trees, etc. and that the practice of giving the names of natural objects is common in the primitive and ancient societies. He gives a large number of illustrations of such names in Tamil *Atti*, *Alici*, *Uiyan*, *Pittan*, *Pulli*, *Potti*, *Maruthan*, *Ori*, *Errai*, *Killi*, etc. as found in old Tamil literature. It may be recalled that anthropologists have drawn attention to the existence of tribal groups having names of animals and trees. D. N. Majumdar⁴⁰ for example, has mentioned about some of the tribes of the Chota Nagpur plateau having names after a pupil tree (*Malgundi*), a plant called *Kujur*, a bird called *deogam*, a leaf known as *Kamal*, silkworm known as *Lugum*, etc. Thus it may be seen that adoption of names of trees and plants as personal names was a common phenomenon in old societies and the derivation of the name of Agastya from the Dravidian word 'Akatti' representing the tree known by that name can be cited as one such illustration.

8 Conclusion

- 8.1 To summarise the above discussion, it is submitted that the origin of the name Agastya may be more justifiably traced to non-Aryan Dravidian language which was in existence prior to and at the time of the early Vedic period in Northern India both on etymological and historical grounds. The word takes its derivation from the Dravidian 'Akatti' which stands for a tree known as '*Sesbania Grandiflorum*'

and this tree as observed by Botanical experts, grows everywhere throughout the tropics. Adoption of personal names with connection to the names of trees and plants was a common phenomenon noticed among old societies as well as the tribal and primitive societies. When the origin of the name Agastya itself is to be traced to non-Aryan Dravidian source, obviously, the person bearing that name also should be regarded as belonging to the non-Aryan Dravidian group. Thus, Agastya belongs to the non-Aryan Dravidian group. As conceded by a large section of scholars, Agastya referred to in the *R̥gveda* could be accepted as a historical figure originally belonging to the family or clan of Āgastyas. That a good deal of intermingling had taken place between the Aryan and non-Aryan or pre-Aryan families has been discussed by many scholars. The observations of R. D. Banerji are worth quoting in this context. He says — “The Indo-Aryans came to India in very small numbers and they did not make any attempts at preserving the purity of their stock. From the very beginning, they admitted tribes of foreign or mixed origin into their communities and the statements of the present day Brahmanical writers about the racial purity of the Indo-Aryans and the rigidity of their intermarriage regulations are inaccurate.”⁴¹ Another important authority, viz., Grierson points out that “There seems to be no doubt that the Dravidians had already been settled for some time in India when the Aryans entered the country and that the latter had apparently very early adopted the former into their community. The Aryan population of northern India is not therefore a pure race, but contains among others, a strong Dravidian element.”⁴² Agastya family is, therefore, one such Dravidian family adopted and brought into the fold of early Aryan Society. There are various other traditions and references available in the Vedic and later accounts which also lend considerable evidence to the non-Aryan character of the family of Agastya — especially the birth story and the *R̥gvedic* hymns in relation to Lopāmudrā.

- 8.2 It is proposed to append a personal note. The writer had in a personal correspondence with Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji referred for his opinion to the linking up of the name of Agastya to non-Aryan Dravidian. It is a matter of satisfaction that this great scholar in reply writes as under : “There has not been much work in the subject of Dravidian influences on Indo-Aryan, though a lot has been said about Aryan influences on Dravidian. ... I think the derivation of *Agastya* connecting it with the Tamil word ‘*Akatti*’ meaning a particular kind of plant, perhaps will be admissible. But we must be very careful and circumspect...”
- 8.3 It may be agreed from the arguments and evidences discussed above,

that the derivation of the name 'Agastya' connecting it with the Dravidian word 'Akatti' with connection to the tree known by that name - (Sesbania grandiflorum) thereby also implying the non-Aryan character of the family of Āgastyas, may be found more convincing and acceptable.

Notes and References

1. Refer also his article 'Agastya or the rise and spread of Hindu culture', *Journal of the Benares Hindu University*, Vol. I. No. 1, Also his book *A History of South India* (1955), pp. 66-67.
2. Agastya TBG (1936), pp. 485-86.
3. Agastya *Ibid.* pp. 506-07.
4. *The Cult of Agastya : And the Origin of Indian Colonial Art*, Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society (QJMS), Vol. XVII No. 3, p. 170.
5. *QJMS* XVII, p. 173.
6. *QJMS* XVII, p. 179.
7. *Tamil Studies* (1914), p. 237 ff.
8. *History of Tamils* (1929), pp. 55-56, 95, 207, also his article *Triveni* I, pp. 131-133.
9. *Pre-Musalman India* Vol. II, pt. I, pp. 124-5.
10. *Pre-Historic South India* (1951), p. 211.
11. *Ibid.* pp. 214-15.
12. *A Comparative Grammar of Dravidian or South Indian Family of Languages* (1913), pp. 114-15.
13. *Ancient Indian Historical Traditions* (1922), p. 240.
14. *Ibid.* p. 304.
15. *Agastya in the Tamil Land*, pp. 60-61.
16. *Ibid.* p. 63.
17. S. S. Bharati, *Agattiyam and Tamil Literature*, *Journal of the Annamalai University* IV (Jan. 1935), pp. 1-14; Sivalinganar - *Agattiyarkal* (in Tamil); A Chitambaranar - *Agattiyar Varalaru* (in Tamil); K. Subramania Pillai : *Tolkappiyam, Ezhuthathikaram, Naccinarkiniyam* (in Tamil); K. Govindarajan - *Tamil Encyclopaedia*, pp. 8-9.
18. Refer also the Early History of the Gotras, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1946) by John Brough - Also another work of John Brough

- *The Early Brahmanical System of Gotra and Pravara* which contains a translation of *Gotra - Pravara - Mañjarī* of *Puruṣottama Paṇḍita*.

S. V. Karandikar mentions that *Agasti* is a surname among the Deshastha Brahmins, *Hindu Exogamy* (1928), pp. 36-37.

19. See Dr. Peorbat Jaraka, *Agastya in den Archipel* and Dr. J. Gonda, *Sanskrit in Indonesia* (1950).
20. IV 1.79 of Monier Williams' *Sanskrit-English Dictionary - The Ūṇādis* form the most interesting of the four supplements attached to *Pāṇini's* work - *Śabda Kalpadruma* (Vol. I, p. 7) also gives a similar derivation. It also gives another meaning as that of a Tree.
21. Pt. 1 compiled by *Tārānātha Tarka Vāchaspati* (1873) - Also see *Nāmalingānuśāsana*, *Amarakosha* of Amarasirṅha with the commentary of Bhanuji Diskshit edited with notes by Pandit Sivadatta of Jeypore (1915), I Khanda, Digvarga Stanza 21; also commentary of Kshīrasvāmin edited by K. G. Oak, Poona (1913), p. 17.
22. *Mahābhārata* III, 103, *Rāmāyaṇa* III. II. 82-86.
23. *Matsya Purāṇa*, ch. 61.51, *Vāmana Purāṇa*, ch. 18, 21-37, *Skanda Purāṇa* ch. I 5 etc.
24. *Agastya Ibid.* p. 481.
25. *A Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology and Religion, Geography, History and Literature*, p. 5.
26. *Uṇādikośa* of Mahādeva Vedānta ed. with glossarial index by Prof. Dr. V. Raghavan, University of Madras (1956).
27. Revised edition by P. K. Gode and C. G. Karve (1957).
28. *Notes on Aryan and Dravidian Philology*, Vol. II, Madras, pp. 165-66.
29. *Rama, the Greatest Pharaoh of Egypt* (1947), pp. 64 and pp. 178-92.
30. Jagvira Pandyan, *Akattiyar Muniwar* (in Tamil), pp. 13-14, Dr. T. R. Annamalai Pillai - *Tamil India*.
31. *Bhavan's Journal*, August 11, 1968 (Annual No.), pp. 85-86.
32. *Light on the Mohenjo Daro Riddle*, *New Review*, (July, 1936).
33. *Personality of India*, p. 171.
34. *Ibid.* p. 170 Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar in his lectures on *Ancient History* (Carmichael Lectures) 1919 has stated that no reasonable doubt can be entertained as to the Dravidian speech once being spoken in North India (p. 28).

35. Refer Prof. S. K. Chatterji - *Indo-Aryan and Hindi*; Dr. S. K. De. : *The Beginnings of Indian Civilisation, Prajñā I*, parts I - II, pp. 23-31; R. D. Banerji - *Pre-Historic Ancient and Hindu India*, p. 24; Sri A. Grierson : *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol I; A. Aiyappan : *Bulletin of the Madras Govt. Museum*, Vol. VI No. I.; T. Burrow : *Dravidian Studies in Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, Vol. IX, X, XI, & XII; T. Burrow - *Sanskrit and the Pre-Aryan Tribes and Languages in Bulletin of the Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture*, Feb. 1958; Alfred Master : *Indo-Aryan and Dravidian BSOAS XI, XII*; Jules Bloch : *Some Problems of Indo-Aryan Philology, BSOAS V*.
36. *The Encyclopaedia of India and of Eastern and Southern Asia* published by Edward Balfour (1885). It gives the following description of the tree Agasti or *Agasti grandiflorum* :

Agasti grandiflorum is a small delicate tree from 20' to 30' high of only a few years' duration. The legumes grow to 12" to 18" long, and the tender leaves and young legumes are much used in food (modern times). The tree is employed for treating the betel plant. It admits the Sun's rays and the wind better than any other of its height, being thin of branches and leaves particularly after it is more than a year old and it is of a very thick growth. The wood is only fit for its fuel. It has large showy flowers. An infusion of leaves is given in the Malabar Coast in case of Catarrh.

Hooker notes in the *Flora of British India II* (1879) that *Agasti grandiflorum* is one of the species of the sesbania group spread everywhere throughout the Tropics.

R. N. Chopra in his work *Indigenous Drugs of India* (1958) mentions that the juice of leaves or flowers of this tree is used as a remedy for nasal catarrh and headache. He also mentions that this plant was experimented upon for curing snake bite.

Mrs. Sinclair Steveson notes in her work *The Rites of the Twice-Born* (1920) that among the offerings in the funeral ceremonies, flowers of *Agasti grandiflorum* are laid on the rice balls along with the Tulasi leaves and sesamum flowers.

In the *Suśruta Saṁhitā*, Agasthiya is given the meaning *Agasti grandiflorum* - *agastyah 'agasthiya' iti loke* (234b). In the list of the principal vegetable products of Puri Dt. (Orissa), the name "*Agasthi*" is mentioned as referring to '*Agasti grandiflorum*' tree - Refer W. W. Hunter, *ORISSA*, Vol. II (Appendix VI), p. 180. In the list of common 'devaks' with botanical and other equivalents published by R. E. Enthoven, mention is made of 'Agasti' as the corresponding to 'Sesbania grandiflora'. In Molesworth's

dictionary, 'Devak' is defined as a term for the deity or deities worshipped at marriage, thread investitures, etc. - Refer *Indian Antiquary* LXI, p. 106 and *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay* XIII, pp. 1-14.

37. *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p. 133.
38. Refer *Vedic Index*, Vol. II, pp. 54-56 (Macdonell & Keith).
39. *Antiquities of Chamba State, Archaeological Survey of India*, New Series XXXVI, part I (1911), p. 10.
40. *Totemism and Origin of Clans*, Journal of the American Oriental Society Vol. 50, pp. 221-32; *Races and Cultures of India*, Ch.VII.
41. *Prehistoric Ancient and Hindu India*, p. 24.
42. *Linguistic Survey of India* IV (1906), p. 278.

Also refer Vol. I, Part I, Ch. VII; Also cf. J. F. Hewitt : *Notes on the Early History of Northern India*, *JRAS New Series* XX, pp. 321-63.

Hutton : *Caste in India*, p. 132; D. H. Gordon : *The Prehistoric Background of Indian Culture*, p. 129.

MODERN DVĀRAKĀ AND ITS ANTIQUITY

IIARIPRIYA RANGARAJAN

Gujarat is very rich in *tīrthakṣetras*. The *Purāṇas* enumerate the *Māhātmyas* of the *tīrthakṣetras* and the numerous shrines located on the banks of the *puṇya tīrthas* (rivers). A large number of them are dedicated to Śiva except those in Dvārakākṣetra. The *Māhātmya* of Dvārakākṣetra well applies to the modern area which is situated around Dvārakā in Okhamandal in Saurāstra, where Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva is said to have passed his mature life entirely. It is surrounded by several shrines as described in the *Māhātmya*. The most outstanding Vaiṣṇava/Śrī-Vaiṣṇava temple in Gujarat is the Dvārakādhīsa temple at Dvārakā which is regarded to be one of the four *dhamans* in India.

The *Skanda Purāṇa* devotes a special sub-section to the *Māhātmya* of *Dvārakākṣetra*. It is entitled "*Dvārakākṣetra Māhātmya*" and forms the last and fourth sub-section of *Prabhāsakhaṇḍa* which is the seventh section of the *Skanda Purāṇa*. It consists of 44 *adhyaḥayas*. The *Māhātmya* of *Dvārakākṣetra* is narrated by sage Śaunaka to Sūta Paurāṇika. This section narrates the religious / mythological origins of some *tīrthas*, while it simply mentions the name and situation of some other *tīrthas*.

The antiquity of modern Dvārakā goes back to the days when the proto-historic Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva migrated from Mathurā and settled in Kuśasthalī later known as Dvārakā. Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva belonged to the Vṛṣṇi family of the Yādava dynasty. It was during the period of Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa that the whole tribe of Yādavas migrated from their capital Mathurā to Dvārakā. It was because the Yādavas of Mathurā could not bear the frequent attacks of Jarāsandha supplemented by the attacks of Kālayavana. Jarāsandha was the powerful king of Magadha who in order to avenge the death of his son-in-law Kaṁsa invaded the territory of the Yādavas eighteen times.¹ The other enemy was Kālayavana who according to the story had followed Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva and his companions as far as Saurashtra. There in a mountain cave he was burnt by fire from the eye of the sleeping sage Muchakunda whom he had roused, mistaking him his enemy Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva.² Consequently the Yādavas left Mathurā and after passing through Sindhu country settled at Dvārakā³.

The earlier name of Dvārakā was Kuśasthalī. It was the capital of Anarthadeśa ruled by Reva, the son of Anartha, on whose name the place

came to be known as Anarthadeśa. Reva's son was Raivata. According to the *Harivamśa* when Raivata went to Brahmaloaka, his land was occupied by Puṇyajana *asuras* and they completely destroyed Kuśasthalī. When the Yādavas came to Gujarat they fought with Puṇyajana *asuras* and on the remnants of Kuśasthalī, Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva renovated the ruined fort and reinhabited the new city called Dvārakā or Dvāravalī. Raivata Kukudmin, the then surviving member of the Anartha dynasty gave his daughter in marriage to Balarāma, the elder brother of Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva⁴.

Even in Dvārakā the Yādavas were not at peace. It was attacked by King Pauṇḍra of Karuśadeśa who told the other kings that Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva was a pretendant; he was a cowherd boy who had falsely adopted the name 'Vāsudeva', the Supreme God. Pauṇḍra holding the emblems of Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva, viz. *Śankha*, *Cakra*, *Gadā* and *Padma* and posing himself to be Puruṣottama under the name of Vāsudeva attacked Dvārakā suddenly in the middle of the night when Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva was away in Kailāsa to have *darśana* of Śiva. Then Nārada went to Badrikāśrama and informed Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva about the attack. Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva returned to Dvārakā on his vehicle Garuḍa and fought with Pauṇḍra. He cut off the head of Pauṇḍra with Sudarśana Cakra and saved the city.⁵

In the thirty-sixth year after the Bhārata war the unfortunate feuds among the families brought Yādava supremacy in Dvārakā to a disastrous end. On the day of the eclipse in obedience to a proclamation issued by Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva, the Yādavas and the families went from Dvārakā to Prabhāsa to enjoy themselves. The Yādava chiefs intoxicated with wine began to fight among themselves. The Yādava heroes fought against each other and killed each other. Only a few (Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva, Balarāma and Daruka) survived. While Balarāma fled to the forest to die, Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva was seriously hit by a hunter named Jara with an arrow near a tank located between Verāval and Prabhās Pāṭaṇ (Somanātha). This tank derives its name Bhālka or Bhūlu or Bhaloḍa, i.e., shaft of an arrow⁶. Then Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva called for Arjuna to take away the surviving Yādavas, especially aged women and children from Dvārakā. Arjuna performed the funeral rites for Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva and afterwards he started for Indraprastha in upper India with the surviving members of the Yādava families. As soon as they left, the deserted Dvārakā was submerged into sea⁷. The Jaina tradition, however, attributes the destruction of Dvārakā to the fire, caused by the curse of Dvaipāyana.⁸

Several places on the coast of Saurashtra claim to represent original Dvārakā inhabited by the Yādavas including Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva. However, the accounts given in the *Skanda Purāṇa* refer to Dvārakā now situated in the Okhamandal Taluka, Jamnagar District.

According to the *Mahābhārata* and the *Harivamśa*, the city of Dvārakā

was situated in the vicinity of sea and of Mount Raivataka. In the *Sabhāparvan* of the *Mahābhārata* it is stated that when Mathurā was frequently invaded by King Jarāsandha of Magadha, Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva advised the Yādavas to leave Mathurā and migrate to a safer place. He chose the old deserted site of Kuśasthalī in Saurashtra, repaired its old fort and reinhabited it under the new name Dvāravatī or Dvārakā⁹. It also says that the city of Dvārakā was situated in the vicinity of Mount Raivataka¹⁰. But *Sauptikaparvan*¹¹ and *Mausalaparvan*¹² in the *Māhābhārata* clearly indicate that the city also lay in the vicinity of the sea. The *Ādiparvan* leaves an impression that Dvārakā was not far from Prabhāsa and that Mount Raivataka lay between them. The hill was situated to the east of Dvārakā¹³.

The *Harivaṁśa* says that due to the fear of Kālayavana and Jarāsandha, the Yādavas had to migrate to Kuśasthalī which was not far from Mount Raivataka and was in the vicinity of the sea.¹⁴ It was surrounded by water and nobody could enter there¹⁵. Dvārakā was a water fort¹⁶. It also states that the city extended for 8 yojanas in width and 12 yojanas in length¹⁷. This is corroborated by the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*¹⁸ and the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*¹⁹. The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*²⁰ and the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*²¹ add that the sea overflowed the city of Dvārakā excepting the abode of Vāsudeva or Bhagavān.

The Dvārakā Māhātmya of the *Skanda Purāṇa* states that the city of Dvārakā lies in the vicinity of the confluence of the Gomatī river with the sea and that the land reclaimed from the sea for founding the city measures 12 yojanas²². It says that Dvārakā is an excellent place of pilgrimage covering an area of five Krośas²³. On locating the identified *tīrthas* in this Kṣetra we find that Śankhoddhāra Bet lies about 30 kms. north-north east and Piṅḍāra lies 25 kms. east of Dvārakā. It is not possible to trace the southern limits of the *tīrthakṣetra*. The *Skanda Purāṇa* introduces the *tīrthakṣetra* as covering an area of five krośas that is about 10 miles or 16 kms. presumably each way. But the area covered by the three landmarks mentioned above, namely Dvārakā, Śankhoddhāra and Piṅḍāra is about 25 kms., east-west, at least 30 kms. north-south. In other words the area indicated by the location and identification of three outstanding landmarks covers 1-1/2 times more than that mentioned in the *Purāṇa*²⁴.

The early Jaina works refer to the new city of Dvāravatī and distinguish between Mount Raivataka (where Nemikumāra took *dīkṣā* and attained *Kevala jñāna*) and Mount Ujjayanta (i.e., Girnar where Neminātha attained *siddhi*)²⁵. However, the Jaina tradition deviates from the Brāhmanical tradition in stating that the city was destroyed by fire on account of the curse of Dvaipāyana²⁶.

Thus the early tradition lays an emphasis on the vicinity of Mount Raivataka in relation to Dvārakā, while the later tradition emphasises the vicinity of the sea. In later times Mt. Raivataka is identified with Mount Girnar. On

the basis of this identification, D. K. Shastri has suggested that the original Dvārakā is represented by modern Jūnāgaḍh which lies in the vicinity of Mount Girnar²⁷. But the original Dvārakā cannot be located at or near modern Jūnāgaḍh as that is very far from the sea.

Modern Dvārakā in the north-west part of Saurashtra is generally regarded to represent ancient Dvārakā. It is situated in the vicinity of the sea but there is no hill nearby. The so-called Gomatī also is not a long regular river. Three factors have given rise to a great controversy about the location and identification of Dvārakā of the time of Yādavas. Moreover, on the coast of Saurashtra there are some other places which also claim to represent the original Dvārakā (Mūla Dvārakā). They are as follows²⁸ :

1. *Mūla Dvārakā* (Amreli District) : It is near Koḍinār. The site lies on the seacoast. As remarked by Hirananda Shastri the name of the place is significant, implying that it represents the original Dvārakā and also it is different from later Dvārakā. Small-scale excavations conducted by the Archaeological Department of erstwhile Baroda State has revealed the remains of a tiny dilapidated shrine on a mound flanked by some older foundations in its vicinity. It is supposed to represent the solitary shrine saved when the sea submerged the city of Dvārakā²⁹.

2. *Barake* mentioned by Ptolemy near the Koylo hill on the coast between Porbandar and Miyani is located by Lassen as near Śrīnagar which is 12 kms. north-west of Porbandar³⁰.

3. *Visāvāḍā* : At Visāvāḍā village 17 kms. north-west of Śrīnagar (Porbandar Taluka, Jūnāgaḍh District) there is a site which also bears the name of 'Mūla Dvārakā' and has a temple dedicated to Raṇachodjī³¹. It would have a better claim to represent ancient Dvārakā in this area.

4. *Mūla Mādhavapura* which is actually old Mādhavapura is located near modern Mādhavapura in the south-western corner of Porbandar Taluka (Jūnāgaḍh dt.). It also claims to represent ancient Dvārakā. The temple of Mūla Mādhavapura has great sanctity and the site is especially associated with the wedding of Kṛṣṇa-Rukminī. The place lies 58 kms. north-west of Porbandar.

The local traditions about the claims of Visāvāḍā and Mūla Mādhavapura are hardly corroborated by other sources.

The most noteworthy factor pertaining to this problem is that the original Dvārakā lay just in the vicinity of Mt. Raivataka, which was obviously different from Mt. Girnar, and at the same time the city was neither far from the sea nor from Prabhāsa. On the other hand, the sites mentioned above are not situated in the vicinity of Mt. Raivataka nor does the river Gomatī join the sea in the vicinity of any of these sites.³²

Even assuming that the Epic and Purāṇic traditions be accepted as historical, though the historic city of Kṛṣṇa is not yet well-established by any concrete contemporary evidence, it must be noticed that none of the above-mentioned places claiming to represent ancient Dvārakā can satisfy all the three major factors mentioned in the early traditions. One of them lies in the vicinity of a hill, but is very far from the sea. The other sites are situated on the seacoast but none of them lies in the vicinity of a hill. If the early tradition be accurate and authentic, it seems that the original Dvārakā is entirely submerged by the sea along with the original Mt. Raivataka and that its original site is lost into oblivion. However, on the basis of later traditional accounts given in the *Purāṇas*, it also appears that new places named Dvārakā subsequently came into existence and the local temples of Viṣṇu at those places claimed to represent the Dvārakādhīśa temple.

By this time the significance of the vicinity of Mt. Raivataka was entirely overlooked and sole emphasis was laid on the vicinity of the sea. In the absence of Mt. Raivataka situated in the vicinity of later Dvārakās, the name of the hill was transferred to Mt. Urjayat (Ujjayanta) which is represented by modern Mt. Girnar. It also seems that the original Mt. Raivataka also got submerged into the sea along with the city of original Dvārakā. Such an assumption may apparently appear to be improbable, but as suggested by K. K. Shastri, Raivataka seems to be a hillock rather than a mountain. Such geographical and geological upheavals are not uncommon on the seacoast of Saurashtra³³. In this context H. G. Shastri cites a similar type of an example from the *Purāṇas* about the destruction of the Kṛtasmāra hill which stood in the mouth of the river Sarasvatī near Prabhāsa and which burst off on account of the submarine fire³⁴.

Among the later Dvārakās that came into existence during the historic period, *Dvārakā* in Okhamandal has been the most prospective and most popular of all.

Recently archaeological excavations at Dvārakā have yielded some interesting results. The small-scale excavations conducted by the Deccan College, P & R Institute, Pune, and the Department of Archaeology, Gujarat State, in about 1965 in a plot in the vicinity of the great temple revealed the existence of four periods of human settlement reaching back to the first-second centuries B. C. In period III were found fragments of a temple including an *āmalaka*. This period is dated about 7th-8th centuries A. D. It indicates the existence of some temple at the site in those times.³⁵ Its choice as one of the four *pīṭhas* selected by Śankara (8th century A.D.) on the four borders of the country too corroborates its antiquity as an eminent place of pilgrimage.

Recent marine archaeological excavations conducted by S. R. Rao near the seacoast at Dvārakā have yielded remnants of some construction and

foundations. They supply concrete evidence to establish that some earlier site of human habitation was submerged in the vicinity of modern Dvārakā. So far they have done nine expeditions. In the ninth expedition they could achieve success to some extent. They have stated on the basis of the evidence that "Ancient Dvārakā was a major port city built on both banks of the river Gomatī up to its confluence with the sea." They had discovered four protective walls, still partially intact, two on either bank of the now submerged and for all practical purposes dead river. They have in fact traced the channel of the Gomatī upto 1.75 kms. in the sea and it must have been an impressive river once upon a time 200 and 600 metres wide, cutting through rock. This indicates a mass of strongly flowing water and heavy rainfall in the now desert country of Kutch. The protective walls had well-guarded gateways and were flanked by circular bastions. Outer fortification walls were built in the surf zone extending 1.5 kms. seaward from the present shore-line. Buildings were constructed of long sand stone blocks on dry boulder formation land on natural rock, a form of reclamation which the *Mahābhārata* talks about, (the protection walls, gateways and fortifications are also referred to in the Epic). They have discovered more than 50 anchors, some triangular, other prismatic or oval, and their weight ranges from 60 to 250 kgs. indicating that big ships called at Dvārakā³⁶. However, they cannot be adduced as evidence for the existence of the original Dvārakā or its grand temple unless and until we come across any concrete evidence for the name of the early settlement or the type of the temple, if any.

Notes and References

1. *Harivaṁśa*, *Viṣṇuparva*, adh. 8-0-82.
2. *Ibid.*, adh. 85.
3. *Ibid.* adh. 84, 22 and adh. 86.
4. H. G. Shastri, *Gujarātno Prācīna Itihāsa*, p. 34.
5. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, Part V, adh. 34, sl. 1-246.
6. James Burgess, *List of the Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency*, p. 182.
7. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, Part V, adh. 38, sl. 9.
8. H. G. Shastri, 'Prācīna Jaina Sāhitya nā Dvārakā ane Thyāna Yādava, *Dvārakā Sarva Saṅgraha*, pp. 225f.
9. *Mahābhārata*, *Sabhāparvan*, adh. 13, sl. 65.
10. *Ibid.* adh. 13, sl. 49-52.

11. *Sauptikaparvan*, adh. 12, sl. 11 & 12.
12. *Mausalaparvan*, adh. 8, sl. 40.
13. *Mahābhārata, Ādīparvan*, adh. 210, sl. 8 & 15.
14. *Harivaṁśa*, adh. 25, sl. 12-16.
15. *Ibid.* adh. 84, sl. 26-30.
16. *Ibid.* adh. 85, sl. 5.
17. *Ibid.* adh. 93, sl. 27.
18. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, V, adh. 23, sl. 40.
19. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, Sk. X, adh. 72, sl. 31; adh. 74, sl. 37 and adh. 77, sl. 4.
20. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, V, adh. 38, sl. 9.
21. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, Sk. XI, adh. 31, sl. 23.
22. *Skanda Purāṇa*, Dvārakā Māhātmya, adh. 2, sl. 25.
23. *Skanda Purāṇa*, Dvārakā Māhātmya, adh. 4, sl. 52.
24. Map of Okhamandal Taluka - Map 1.
25. H. G. Shastri, *op. cit.*, p. 226.
26. *Ibid.* p. 228.
27. D. K. Shastri, *Aitihāsika Samśodhana*, p. 376.
28. See Map of Saurashtra - Map II.
29. Suman P. Jadeja : *A Critical Study of the Epic and Puranic Traditions of the Yādavas and their genealogies* (unpublished thesis), Ahmedabad, 1965, p. 375, Fn. 2.
30. Mc Grindle's *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, p. 188.
31. K. F. Sompura, *Structural Temples of Gujarat*, p. 530.
32. K. K. Shastri, 'Prācīna Bhougolika Ullekho, Itihāsa nī Pūrva Bhūmikā', *GRSI*, Vol. I, p. 288.
33. H. G. Shastri, 'The problems of the identification of the Raivataka Hill near Dvārakā', *Bulletin of the Chunilal Gandhi Vidya Bhavan*, No. 10, pp. 48-64.
34. *Ibid.* p. 55.
35. Z. A. Ansari and M. S. Mate : *Excavations at Dwarka*, p. 29, Poona 1966.

36. Copied from the *Sunday Observer*, January 1991. The interview is of Dr. S. R. Rao in the *Sunday Observer*, dated January 21, 1991. It is given on the page no. 9 by Tara Patel.

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DEVĀPI ĀRṢIṢEṆA

TIĀNESWAR SARMAH

The Ṛgvedic tradition knows a number of seers of the Vedic hymns, who were born in some royal families which descended either from Soma (Luna) or from Sūrya or Vivasvat (the sun). Among them Devāpi was one, who composed or saw a very fine hymn that finds place among the hymns of the tenth *Maṇḍala* of the *Ṛgveda*, a collection of hymns of later age. He is said to have been born to Pratīpa in the Lunar line, but he is often called Ārṣiṣeṇa, 'son of Ṛṣiṣeṇa'. The Vedic and Epico-Purāṇic sources have preserved for us some informations that help us reconstruct the biography of Devāpi. As none of the scholars of the day are found to have paid adequate attention to him, we have undertaken the problem to deal with it as hereunder.

Devāpi Ārṣiṣeṇa, 'the son of Ṛṣiṣeṇa' is said to be the seer of the Ṛgvedic hymn 10, 98¹. His name (i.e., Devāpi) is actually mentioned six times² in that hymn and the patronymic surname Ārṣiṣeṇa, 'the son of Ṛṣiṣeṇa' is also mentioned thrice³ showing a syntactical relation with Devāpi. It will be pertinent to look into those passages here (in free rendering) :

'Repair, O Bṛhaspati, on my behalf whether you are Mitra or Varuṇa or Pūṣan, or whether you are associated with groups of the Ādityas or the Vasus or the Maruts; compel Parjanya to pour rain for Śantanu.'⁴

'Let the divine speedy envoy come to us sent by you, Devāpi, Come to me turning towards me; I shall put brilliant speech into your mouth.'⁵

'O Bṛhaspati, please put in my mouth a brilliant spontaneous speech which is free from any defect, by which we two may obtain rain from heaven for Śantanu; let the sweet drops enter the earth.'⁶

'May the sweet drops enter into us, O Indra ! grant us thousand chariot loads (of wealth). O Devāpi, sit down on the seat of Hotṛ; perform sacrificial act in due time and worship gods with oblation.'⁷

'Devāpi, the son of Ṛṣiṣeṇa, the seer, knowing the agreeable mind of the gods and assuming the office of Hotṛ, released heavenly rain waters from the upper (ocean) to the lower ocean (on earth).'⁸

'In that (lit. this) upper ocean (of heaven) the waters stood confined by the gods; those waters being released by Devāpi, the son of Ṛṣiṣeṇa

were sent down to the plains.⁹

'When Devāpi was chosen as the Hotṛ for (by) Śāntanu, being compassionate and when solicited Bṛhaspati was pleased; (so, he) bestowed the speech that was desirous of rain and was heard by the gods.'¹⁰

'O Agni, whom the mortal Devāpi, the son of Ṛṣiṣeṇa has enkindled after lighting, that you, with the gods who are rejoicing should send that Parjanya who is capable of raining.'¹¹

From a reading of these relevant passages, one can easily infer that one Devāpi was a son or a descendant of Ṛṣiṣeṇa, and that Devāpi did perform a sacrifice in honour of the gods, Bṛhaspati, Indra and others imploring them to rain in favour of Śāntanu, whose kingdom might have been affected by drought and famine. It is also clearly known from the reading of verses that Devāpi sought the sweet speech from Bṛhaspati who is elsewhere called 'lord of speech' (Vācaspati)¹², so that efficient priest may please the gods to cause rain for Śāntanu. Thus Devāpi, the son of Ṛṣiṣeṇa, appears to be the chaplain or *Ṛtvik* in relation with Śāntanu at this stage.

Yāska while commenting upon a particular passage of the aforesaid hymn¹³ has stated that there was a close brotherly relationship between Devāpi Ārṣiṣeṇa and Śāntanu besides a relation that of the priest and patron as found earlier. We quote Yāska's view¹⁴ in toto as follows :

"Devāpi and Śāntanu, two sons of Ṛṣiṣeṇa, were two (uterine ?) brothers, who belong to the clan of the Kurus. Śāntanu, the younger of the two, caused himself to be installed as the king, while Devāpi retired (to forest) to practise austerities. From that time gods did not rain for long twelve years in the kingdom of Śāntanu. The Brāhmaṇas told him : 'You have committed an act of unrighteousness. For, you have caused yourself to be installed as king having put aside (the claim of) your elder brother; therefore the god does not rain in your kingdom.' Then he, i.e., Śāntanu sought to invest Devāpi with sovereignty. To him said Devāpi "Let me be your priest and sacrifice for you". This is his hymn expressing a desire for rain."¹⁵

These words of Yāska are quoted by Venkaṭa Mādhava¹⁶ and Sāyaṇācārya¹⁷ while introducing the hymn RV 10, 98 in their commentaries, which emphasises their agreement with view expressed by Yāska.

Following the lead of Yāska, Śāunaka tries to present a background of the hymn RV 10, 98 in his BD¹⁸ adding a little bit of additional information about Devāpi and Śāntanu. Śāunaka's statement runs thus :

"Devāpi, son of Ṛṣiṣeṇa and Śāntanu of the race of Kuru were two brothers, i.e., princes among the Kurus. When their father departed to heaven the subjects offered

him (Devāpi) the sovereignty. Reflecting for a while, he replied to his subjects, "I am not worthy of the sovereignty. Let Śantanu be your ruler." Assenting to this suggestion his subjects anointed Śantanu as king. Thereafter Devāpi retired to the forest. Thereupon Parjanya, the rain-god, did not rain for twelve years in his kingdom. Therefore, Śantanu came with subjects to Devāpi and propitiated him with regard to that dereliction of duty. Then Śantanu in company with his subjects offered him the sovereignty. Then Devāpi replied to Śantanu who stood humbly with folded hands "I am not worthy of the sovereignty; my energy has been impaired by skin-disease. However, I will myself officiate, O King, as your priest in a sacrifice for rain. Then Śantanu appointed him to be his chaplain and to act as priest. Therefore he (Devāpi) duly performed the rites productive of rain."¹⁹

This being the background of the hymn (10, 98), given by Yāska, and Śaunaka, it becomes now clear how Devāpi officiated as the priest for Śantanu, who was his younger brother. In BD's account the role of Brāhmaṇas (stated in Nir) has been transferred to the subjects. Devāpi is said to have abdicated the throne in favour of his younger brother, as he himself was suffering from skin-disease.

Now we may turn to the information available in the Epico-Purāṇic sources. The MBh²⁰ and some of the *Purāṇas*, particularly the Vis²¹, Bh²², Mī²³ provide us with certain pieces of information. However meagre these may be, we are in a position to reconstruct the life-history of Devāpi on the basis of these information.

The MBh preserves three versions of genealogical information in regard to the race of the Kurus. We shall try to avail of all three to give a complete picture of the topic. Now MBh 1, 90, 45-47²⁴ states that in the race of Kurus there was a king named Bhīmasena. He married Kaikeyī, a Kekaya princess and in her was born Paryāśravas, who was also called Pratīpa. Pratīpa married Sunandā, a Śaibya princess; she gave birth to three sons : Devāpi, Śantanu and Bāhlika. Devāpi entered forest when he was still a boy, Śantanu became the king; from him the race continued.

MBh 5, 147, 15-27 graphically describes the incident leading to the anointing of Śantanu as king, when Devāpi had to give up claim of the sovereignty at the insistence of the citizens, as he was struck by skin-disease.

King Pratīpa was very well-known in the three worlds; he was conversant with all types of duties and he ruled his kingdom in accordance with the rules of the *śāstras*. To him were born three sons : among them Devāpi

was the eldest, Bāhlika, the middlemost and Śantanu the youngest. Brilliant Devāpi was very much virtuous, truthful, devoted to the service of his father, honoured by virtuous people, liberal, true to his words, benevolent and kind to all creatures, obedient to the elders — fathers and Brāhmaṇas, dear to the citizens and subjects irrespective of their age, i.e., the young and the old.²⁵ He was loved by his two younger brothers Bāhlika and Śantanu, and in turn, he too maintained affectionate brotherly relation with them.²⁶

In the course of time, the old king made elaborate auspicious arrangement by collecting all types of auspicious things with a view to consecrating Devāpi as the king²⁷. At this time the Brāhmaṇas and the elders accompanied by citizens and subjects approached the king and prevented him from anointing Devāpi and they said to him, 'O king, there is no doubt that Devāpi is very generous, knower of virtues, true to his words and also favourite of the people at large; but as he is afflicted with leprosy, he cannot claim to be heir-apparent to inherit the kingship, O king, gods never congratulate him who is deficient by some limb of his body.'²⁸

Being thus prevented from anointing his favourite son Devāpi by the great citizens of his kingdom, the king became very much distressed and began to lament shedding tears profusely. The king being afflicted with deep grief for his son died a sudden death. Having seen his father's death (for his sake) Devāpi resorted to forest. Bāhlika also went to his affluent maternal uncle's house leaving behind the kingdom and the parents. At the death of his father, being permitted by Bāhlika, famous Śantanu assumed the kingship.²⁹

The MBh 9, 38, 31-32³⁰ states that Ārṣṭiṣeṇa, a descendant of Kuru (Kauravya) attained Brāhmaṇhood and seerhood by resorting to great austerities and practising strict observances, Devāpi, Sindhudvīpa and Viśvāmitra - these royal sages attained Brāhmaṇhood through penance at the place of pilgrimage known as Pṛthūdaka.

MBh 9, 39, 1-9³¹ describes as to how Ārṣṭiṣeṇa attained Brāhmaṇhood by dint of severe penance. It is said that in the Satyayuga (?) Ārṣṭiṣeṇa, the best of the twice-born was always engrossed in the study of the *Vedas* in the *gurukula*. But he was unable to reach the end of the Vedic study. As such he was too much worried. Therefore, he went to that place (known as Pṛthūdaka) where he practised severe penance. By dint of that severe penance he could acquire the knowledge of the Veda and emerged as a learned seer, a knower of the Vedic lores and attained his desired goal. Therefore, he bestowed three boons upon that place of pilgrimage, Pṛthūdaka : (1) A person who takes bath in that pool will attain merit of an *Aśvamedha* sacrifice; (2) One will be free from fear of snakes there; and (3) A visitor of the place will gain results within a short period of time.

The MBh 3, 155, 88-89 and 156, 1-31 describes the Pāṇḍavas meeting

the aged sage Ārṣiṣeṇa in his Āśrama situated at the foothills of the Gandhamādana mountains, while they were wandering in the forest. His Āśrama was in the thick of the forest surrounded by big and lofty trees bearing fruits and flowers³². The Pāṇḍavas led by Yudhiṣṭhira paid respectful homage to the seer who was emaciated due to the severe penance he resorted to. Dhaumya, the priest of the Pāṇḍavas, also paid him his deep and sincere respects³³. Ārṣiṣeṇa came to know the identity of the Pāṇḍavas through the power he attained by dint of severe austerities and he commanded all of them to take seat³⁴ and exchanged pleasantries. He enquired of Yudhiṣṭhira as to how he was conducting his affairs in the exile³⁵. He asked them not to proceed further as the journey through the Gandhamādana was not safe.³⁶ He asked them also to live for some time in his Āśrama and the Pāṇḍavas gladly consented to his command. They lived there for several months.³⁷

Among the *Purāṇas*, the *Vis P.* bears the legend of Devāpi and agrees with the Epic description with a slight variation. The *Vis* (4, 20, 4) states the king Pratīpa had three sons : Devāpi, Śāntanu and Bāhlika. Devāpi entered the forest in his boyhood.³⁸ Therefore, Śāntanu became lord of the Earth. About Śāntanu it is said that whomsoever he touched with his two hands, be he an aged person, was restored to youth. Even by his mere touch all the creatures attained peace and therefore, the connotation of his name Śāntanu was true to its denotation.³⁹ But during his rule there was no rain in his kingdom for twelve years.⁴⁰ That is why Śāntanu, seeing the impending danger of total annihilation of his kingdom (people of his kingdom) said to the Brāhmaṇas; "O Brāhmaṇas, why is there no rain in the kingdom ? What fault have I committed ?" Thereupon the Brāhmaṇas replied to him, "O king, this earth belongs to your elder brother, and you are enjoying the same. Thus you are a usurper (*parivettā*). This demerit has caused drought." At this, Śāntanu asked the Brāhmaṇas, "Now, what should I do now ?" The Brāhmaṇas replied to him : "So long as your elder brother Devāpi does not swerve from the tradition of Vedic path, this kingdom belongs to him. Therefore, it should be given back to him. It is not necessary for you."

Thus being told by the Brāhmaṇas, Aśmasārīn, the minister of Śāntanu, (stealthily) commissioned a number of persons who could speak contrary to the Vedic principle and sent them to Devāpi, who was living in the forest.⁴¹ Those persons of anti-Vedic views, were successful in corrupting the simple and plain mind of Devāpi instilling anti-Vedic logic and made him to swerve from the Vedic way that favoured the case of Śāntanu⁴².

On the other hand, hearing the words of the Brāhmaṇas, Śāntanu was greatly overwhelmed with grief and sorrow. Taking the Brāhmaṇas at the head of his itinerary party, went to the forest to give back the kingdom to his elder brother. Having arrived at the Āśrama, they approached Devāpi; and the Brāhmaṇas spoke unto him the words supported by logical arguments

based on the Vedic principles and they said to him; “The kingdom should be ruled over by the eldest prince.” In turn, Devāpi refused to accept the offer and he adduced arguments which went contrary to the Vedic principles. Thereupon the Brāhmaṇas, addressed Śāntanu, “O king, come now; enough of entreaties. The blemish of the drought is now removed. He is now a fallen man, who has pronounced the words which have defiled the words uttered by the seers that so long continued since time immemorial. When the elder has fallen from right path, the younger cannot be accused of usurpation.” Thus being told by the Brāhmaṇas Śāntanu returned to his capital and ruled over the kingdom. When Devāpi had fallen from the path of righteousness due to his pronouncement of words which went contrary to the Vedic principle, then Parjanya caused abundant rainfall to sustain crops in abundance.”⁴³

The Bh 9, 22, 12-17 has given the account very briefly, yet corroborating the Vis P.’s account. It adds to that only that Devāpi resorted to severe practice of Yoga at a village called Kalāpa.⁴⁴

Mt 50, 38-41 also states that prince Devāpi was prevented by the people from assuming the kingship as he was afflicted with leprosy. Then he became a sage.⁴⁵

The *Purāṇa* also referred to Ārṣṭiṣeṇa several times⁴⁶ and his name is read among the *gotras* and *ārṣeyapravaras* of the Bṛghu-gaṇa⁴⁷. He is mentioned in the BD⁴⁸ and Va⁴⁹ *Purāṇas* also.

Thus, we have seen above that there are several accounts regarding Devāpi Ārṣṭiṣeṇa scattered in the Vedic and (Post-Vedic) Epico-Purāṇic literature. In the Ṛgvedic passages the person is referred to as Devāpi Ārṣṭiṣeṇa and Śāntanu is mentioned as his patron. But Yāska, Śaunaka, Veṅkaṭa Mādhava and Sāyaṇa assert that Devāpi and Śāntanu were two brothers and they descended from Kuru.

The MBh and the *Purāṇas* are in agreement to hold that Devāpi, (Bāhlika), and Śāntanu were sons of Pratiṅpa in the Kuru line of the Lunar race. They also hold that Devāpi was prevented from assuming the kingship, as he was suffering from skin disease or leprosy. Therefore, he went into self-exile and Śāntanu became the king. The Vis and Bh however differ from the Epic, Mt and BD and show their ignorance of Devāpi’s illness and bodily deficiency and thus accused Śāntanu of usurpation of the elder’s kingdom. Thus, the MBh, and all the *Purāṇas* do not speak of Devāpi’s holding an office of priesthood for Śāntanu. Barring the Epic (MBh) all other sources say in agreement that assumption of the kingship by Śāntanu was followed by a twelve-years-long-drought. Thus, as a remedy to drought, it is natural to hold a sacrifice. The Vedic texts are in agreement to hold that such a sacrifice was definitely held and it was presided over by none other than by Devāpi

Ārṣṭiṣeṇa.

There is no doubt in regard to penance and austerities resorted to by Devāpi. All the Epico-Purāṇic sources pronounce it uniformly. They also mention Ārṣṭiṣeṇa as a seer, a *mantrakṛt* and a *gotrakāra*.

All the Vedic texts (RV, Nir, BD, Sarvā) hold that Devāpi himself was called Ārṣṭiṣeṇa, 'son of Rṣṭiṣeṇa' or 'descendant of Rṣṭiṣeṇa'. Yāska says that Devāpi Ārṣṭiṣeṇa and Śantanu were brothers and they descended from Kuru (Nir 2, 10). So also Śaunaka asserts that Devāpi Ārṣṭiṣeṇa and Śantanu, 'descendant of Kuru' were two princes among the Kurus (BD 7, 155) (Mark the wording of Śaunaka). Although the Epic and the *Purāṇas* give separate statements in regard to Devāpi and Ārṣṭiṣeṇa, while in a solitary passage of the MBh (9, 38, 31)^{49a}. Ārṣṭiṣeṇa is called *Kauravya*, 'descendant of Kuru'. In the next stanza (V. 32) Devāpi is said to have attained Brāhmanhood through severe penance. This lends support to the Vedic evidences, which assert that Devāpi was a Kuru prince who later became a *rājarsi*. However, the genealogies of the Lunar race (i.e., of the Kurus) given in the MBh and *Purāṇas* say that Devāpi was son of Pratiṭāpa, and they do not mention 'Rṣṭiṣeṇa' anywhere. Now the question arises, 'why then Devāpi is called by the patronymic Ārṣṭiṣeṇa' ? But Ārṣṭiṣeṇa is mentioned in the lists of *gotras* and *pravaraṅsis* of the Bhṛgugaṇa.⁵⁰

The names of *gotras* and *Pravaras* are secondary derivatives, derived from the originators' names (e.g. Bhṛgu / Bhārgava; Bharadvāja / Bhāradvāja; Vasiṣṭha / Vāsiṣṭha etc.). Thus *gotra* or *pravara* name Ārṣṭiṣeṇa definitely resulted from Rṣṭiṣeṇa. He was probably a sage and descendant of Bhṛgu. Devāpi might have been admitted by him in his fold. The young prince was a teenager when he went into self-exile and he is said to have studied *Vedas* for some time before resorting to severe penance to attain Brāhmanhood. Thus, as he was admitted by Rṣṭiṣeṇa, a Bhṛgu sage, Devāpi was called an Ārṣṭiṣeṇa (by adoption). This makes us remember the cases of Śunaḥṣeṇa and Śunohotra. Both of them were Āṅgīrasa, and later became Vaiśvāmītra and Bhārgava respectively by way of adoption. Thus, Devāpi Kauravya also became known as Devāpi Ārṣṭiṣeṇa. He was found very affectionate to the Pāṇḍavas. Probably he came to know that they were descendants of his beloved brother Śantanu.⁵¹

It now appears that Devāpi Ārṣṭiṣeṇa was none other than the elder brother of Śantanu Kauravya. And thus it appears to us that the hymn (RV 10, 98) was also composed during the rule of Śantanu. Dvaipāyana, Veda Vyāsa, son of Parāśara, is traditionally known to have systematically compiled and arranged the hymns of the four *Vedas* during the rule of Vicitravīrya or Pāṇḍu if not later. It is said that the great war of *Kurukṣetra* was fought 37 years prior to the death of Śrīkṛṣṇa Yādava, that marked the starting

point of the Kali-age and era at about 3102 B.C. At least four or five generations prior to the war Devāpi might have seen the hymn (RV 10, 98). Thus, its probable date is $3102 + 37 + (30 \times 5) = 3289$ B.C. Such an historical method may probably be pursued to determine the hitherto unsettled question of the age the Vedic hymns. We believe, this process is safe and logical also to solve the problems of the date of the Vedic hymns.

Notes and References

1. Sarvā : 2, 10, 98 : बृहस्पते प्रतीति द्वादशार्ष्टिपेणो देवापिर्वृष्टिकामो देवान्स्तुष्टाव ।

2. Vv. 2, 4-8.

3. Vv. 5, 6, 8.

4. RV 10, 98, 1 :

बृहस्पते प्रति मे देवतामिहि मित्रो वा यद्वरुणो वासि पूषा ।
आदित्यैर्वा यद्वसुभिर्भरुत्वान्त्स पर्जन्यं शंतनवे वृषाय ॥

5. RV 10, 98, 2 :

आ देवो दूतो अजिरश्चिक्त्वान्त्वष्टेवापे अग्निं मामगच्छत् ।
प्रतीचीनः प्रति मामा ववृत्स्य दधामि ते द्युमतीं वाचमासन् ॥

6. RV 10, 98, 3 :

अस्मे धेहि द्युमतीं वाचमासन् बृहस्पते अनमीवामिपिराम् ।
यया वृष्टिं शंतनवे वनाय दिवो द्रप्सो मधुर्मा आ विवेश ॥

7. RV 10, 98, 4 :

आ नो द्रप्सा मधुमन्तो विशन्त्विन्द्र देहाधिरथं सहस्रम् ।
नि पीद होत्रमृत्था यजस्व देवान् देवापे हविषा सपर्य ॥

8. RV 10, 98, 5 :

आर्ष्टिपेणो होत्रमृषिर्निपीदन् देवापिर्देवसुमतिं चिक्त्वान् ।
स उत्तरस्मादधरं समुद्रमपो दिव्या असृजद्वर्ष्या अग्निं ॥

9. RV 10, 98, 6 :

अस्मिन्त्समुद्रे अघ्युत्तरस्मिन्नापो देवेभिर्निवृता अतिष्ठन् ।
ता अद्रवन्नार्ष्टिपेणेन सृष्टा देवापिना प्रेषिता मृक्षिणीषु ॥

10. RV 10, 98, 7 :

यष्टेवापिः शंतनवे पुरोहितो होत्राय वृतः कृपयन्नदीषेत् ।
देवश्रुतं वृष्टिवर्निं रराणो बृहस्पतिर्वाचमरमा अयच्छत् ॥

11. RV 10, 98, 8 :

यं त्वा देवापिः शुशुचानो अग्र आर्षिषेणो मनुष्यः समीधे ।
विक्षेभिर्देवैरनुमद्यमानः प्र पर्जन्यमीरया वृष्टिमन्तम् ॥

12. In the RV 10, 71, 1, where knowledge (ज्ञान) forms the deity, Bṛhaspati is said to have given names to many things. He is prayed in the AVŚ 1, 1 as the 'lord of speech.' In the *Bṛhd. Upaniṣad* (1, 3, 20, 21) derivative meaning of the terms Bṛhaspati and Brahmanaspati is given as follows :

वाग् वै बृहती तस्या एष पतिस्तस्मादु बृहस्पतिः ।
वाग् वै ब्रह्म तस्या एष पतिस्तस्मादु ब्रह्मणस्पतिः ॥

For a discussion of the topic, vide :

Bhāṣāvijñān Kī Bhāratīya Paramparā aur Pāṇini, by Ramdev Tripathi,
Patna, 1977, pp. 24 ff.

13. RV 10, 98, 5.

14. Nir 2, 10 :

देवापिश्चार्षिषेणः शंतनुश्च कौरव्यो भ्रातरौ बभूवतुः ।
स शंतनुः कनीयानभिषेचयांचक्रे । देवापिस्तपः प्रतिषेदे । ततः शंतनो राज्ये द्वादश वर्षाणि
देवो न वर्ष । तमूचुर्ब्राह्मणाः । अधर्मस्त्वया चरितः । ज्येष्ठं भ्रातरमन्तरित्याभिषेचितम् ।
तस्मात्ते देवो नव वर्षतीति स शंतनुर्देवापिं शिशिक्ष राज्येन । तमुवाच देवापिः । पुरोहितस्ते
ऽसानि । याजयामि च त्वेति । तस्यैतद् वर्षकामसूक्तम् । तस्यैषा भवति ॥

15. We followed Sarup. L. (Nighanṭu and Nirukta, Delhi, 1960, p. 28) while giving English rendering of the above passage.

16. RVVRI, VII, p. 3723.

17. RVCSS, IV, p. 324.

18. BD 7, 155-157; 8, 1-6.

19. Read :

आर्षिषेणस्तु देवापिः कौरव्यश्चैव शंतनुः ।
भ्रातरौ कुरुषु त्वेतौ राजपुत्रौ बभूवतुः ॥

ज्येष्ठस्तयोस्तु देवापिः कनीयांश्चैव शंतनुः ।
त्वद्दोषी राजपुत्रस्तु ऋषिषेणसुतोऽभवत् ॥

राज्येन छन्दयामासुः प्रजाः स्वर्गं गते गुरौ ।
स मुहूर्तामिव ध्यात्वा प्रजास्ताः प्रत्यभाषत ॥

न राज्यमहमर्हामि नृपतिर्वोऽस्तु शंतनुः ।
तथेत्यत्वाभ्यसिञ्चंस्ताः प्रजा राज्याय शंतनुम् ॥

ततोऽभिषिक्ते कौरव्ये वनं देवापिराविशत् ।

न ववर्पाथ पर्जन्यो राज्ये द्वादश वै समाः ॥

ततोऽभ्यगच्छेद्देवापि प्रजाभिः सह शंतनुः ।
प्रसादयामास चैनं तस्मिन् धर्मव्यतिक्रमे ॥

शिशिक्ष चैनं राज्येन प्रजाभिः सहितस्तदा ।
तमुवाचाथ देवापिः प्रह्वं तु प्राञ्जलिस्थितम् ॥

न राज्यमहमर्हामि त्वग्दोषोपहतेन्द्रियः ।
याजयिष्यामि ते राजन् वृष्टिकामेज्यया स्वयम् ॥

ततस्तं तु पुरोऽधत्त आर्तिज्याय स शंतनुः ।
स चास्य चक्रे कर्माणि वार्षिकाणि यथाविधिः ॥

20. MBh 1, 89, 45-47; 1, 90, 52-54; 5, 147, 17-28.

21. Vis 4, 20, 4-9.

22. Bh 9, 22, 12-17.

23. Mt. 50, 39-41.

24. Read :

भीमसेनः खलु कैकेयीमुपयेमे सुकुमारीं नाम । तस्यामस्य जज्ञे पर्यश्रवाः । यमाहुः प्रतीपं नाम । प्रतीपः खलु शैब्यामुपयेमे सुनन्दां नाम । तस्यां पुत्रानुत्पादयामास देवापि शंतनुं बाह्लीकं चेति । देवापिः खलु बाल एवारण्यं प्रविवेश । शंतनुस्तु महीपालोऽभवत् । अत्रानुवंशो भवति ।

cf : MBh 1, 89, 52-54 :

प्रतीपस्य त्रयः पुत्राः जज्ञिरे भरतर्षम ।
देवापिः शंतनुश्चैव बाह्लीकश्च महारथः ॥

देवापिस्तु प्रवव्राज तेषां धर्मपरीप्सया ।
शंतनुश्च महीं लेभे बाह्लीकश्च महारथः ॥ (?)

25. Read : MBh 5, 147, 17-18 :

देवापिस्तु महातेजास्त्वग्दोषी राजसत्तमः ।
धार्मिकः सत्यवादी च पितुःशुश्रूषणे रतः ॥

पौरजानपदानां च संमतः साधुसतकृतः ।
सर्वेषां बालवृद्धानां देवापिर्हृदयंगमः ॥

26. Read : MBh 5, 147, 20 :

बाह्लीकस्य प्रियो भ्राता शंतनोश्च महात्मनः ।
सौभ्रात्रं च परं तेषां सहितानां महात्मनाम् ॥

27. Read : MBh 5, 147. 21 :

अथ कालस्य पर्याये वृद्धो नृपतिसत्तमः ।
संभारानभिपेकार्थं कारयामास शारन्नतः ।

मंगलानि च सर्वाणि कारयामास चाभिभूः ॥

28. Read : MBh 5, 147, 22, 24-25 :

तं ब्राह्मणाश्च वृद्धाश्च पौरजानपदैः सह ।
सर्वे निवारयामासुर्देवापेरभिषेचनम् ॥

* * *

एवं वदान्यो धर्मज्ञः सत्यसंधश्च सोऽभवत् ।
प्रियः प्रजानामपि संस्त्वग्दोषेण प्रदूषितः ॥

हीनाङ्गं पृथिवीपाल नाभिनन्दन्ति देवताः ।
इति कृत्वा नृपश्रेष्ठं प्रत्यपेधन् द्विजर्षभाः ॥

29. Read MBh 5, 147, 23; 26-28 :

स तच्छ्रुत्वा तु नृपतिरभिषेकनिवारणम् ।
अश्रुकण्ठोऽभवद्वाजा पर्यशोचत चात्मजम् ॥

* * * *

ततः प्रव्यथितात्मारसौ पुत्रशोकसमन्वितः ।
ममार तं मृतं वृष्ट्वा देवापिः संश्रितो वनम् ॥

बाह्लीको मातुलकुले त्यक्त्वा राज्यं व्यवस्थितम् ।
पितृमातृन् परिज्यज्य प्राप्तवान् पुरमृद्धिमत् ॥

बाह्लीकेन त्वनुज्ञातः शंतनुर्लोकविश्रुतः ।
पितर्युपस्ते राजन् राजा राज्यमकारयत् ॥

30. Read : यत्रार्ष्टिषेणः कौरव्यः ब्रह्मत्वं संश्रितव्रतः ।
तपसा महता राजन् प्राप्तवान्पिसत्तमः ॥

सिन्धुद्वीपश्च राजर्षिर्देवापिश्च महातपाः ।
ब्राह्मण्यं लब्धवान् यत्र विश्वामित्रो महामुनिः ॥

31. Read : MBh 9, 39, 3-10.

पुरा कृतयुगे राजन्नार्ष्टिषेणो द्विजोत्तमः ।
वसन् गुरुकुले नित्यं नित्यमध्ययने रतः ॥

तस्य राजन् गुरुकुले वसतो नित्यमेव ह ।
समाप्तिं नागमद्विद्या नापि वेदा विशां पते ॥

स निर्विण्णस्तातो राजंस्तापस्तेपे महातपाः ।
ततो वै तपसा तेन प्राप्य वेदाननुत्तमान् ॥

स विद्वान् वेदयुक्तश्च सिद्धश्चाप्युपिसत्तमः ।
तत्र तीर्थे वरान् प्रादात् त्रीनेव सुमहातपाः ॥

अस्मिंस्तीर्थे महानद्या अद्यप्रभृति मानवः ।
आधुतो वाजिभेघस्य फलं प्राप्नोति पुष्कलम् ॥

एवमुक्त्वा महातेजा जगाम त्रिदिवं मुनिः ।

एवं सिद्धः स भगवानृषिः प्रतापवान् ॥

32. Read : 3, 155, 88-89 :

उपेतमथ माल्यैश्च फलवद्भिश्च पादपैः ।
आर्षिषेणस्य राजर्षेराश्रमं ददृशुस्तदा ॥

33. Read MBh 3, 156, 1-3.

34. Read MBh 3, 156, 4 :

अन्वजानात् स धर्मज्ञो मुनिर्दिव्येन चक्षुषा ।
पाण्डोः पुत्रान् कुरुश्रेष्ठानास्यतामिति चाब्रवीत् ॥

35. MBh 3, 156, 5-14.

36. MBh 3, 156, 15-20.

37. MBh 3, 157, 11 :

आर्षिषेणाश्रमे तेषां वसतां वै महात्मनाम् ।
अगच्छन् बहवो मासाः पश्यतां महदद्भुतम् ॥

38. Read Vis 4, 20, 4 :

ऋज्ञाद्भीमसेनः, ततश्च दिलीपः, दिलीपात् प्रतीपः, तस्यापि देवापि-शान्तनु-बाह्लीकसंज्ञात्रयः
पुत्रा बभूवुः । देवापिर्बाल्य एवारण्यं विवेश ।
Note the variation of the spelling of the name of Śantanu, i.e., Śāntanu.

39. Read : Vis 4, 20, 5 :

शान्तनुस्वनीपतिरभवत् । अयं च तस्य श्लोकः पृथिव्यां गीयते ।
यं यं कराभ्यां स्पृशति जीर्णं यौवनमेति सः ।
शान्तिमाप्नोति येनाग्रां कर्मणा तेन शान्तनुः ॥

cf. Mb. 50, 43, Bh 9, 22, 14.

40. Read : Vis 4, 20, 6 :

तस्य शान्तनो राष्ट्रे द्वादशवर्षाणि देवो न वर्षति ।

41. Read : Vis 4, 20, 7 :

ततश्चाशेषराष्ट्रविनाशमवेक्ष्यासौ राजा ब्राह्मणानपृच्छत्-भोः ! कस्मादस्मिन् राष्ट्रे देवो न वर्षति,
को ममापराध इति । ते तमूचुः — अग्रजस्य तेऽर्ह्यमवनिस्त्वया भुज्यते, परिवेत्ता त्वम्
इत्युक्तः । स पुनस्तानपृच्छत् - किं मया विधेयमिति । ते तमूचुः - यावद् देवापिर्न
पतनादिभिर्दोषैरभिभूयते तावत् तस्यार्हं राज्यं, तदलमेतेन, तस्मै दीयताम् इत्युक्तं तस्य
मन्त्रिप्रवरेणाशमसारिणा तत्रारण्ये तपस्विने वेदवादविरोधवक्त्रः प्रयोजिताः ॥

42. Read : Vis 4, 20, 8 :

तैरप्यत्यृजुमतेर्महीपतिपुत्रस्य बुद्धिर्वेदविरोधमार्गानुसारिण्यक्रियते ॥

43. Read : Vis 4, 20, 9 :

राजा च शान्तनुर्द्विजवचनोत्पन्नपरिवेदनशोकस्तान् ब्राह्मणानग्रणीकृत्य अग्रजराज्यप्रदानायारण्यं जगाम । तदाश्रममुपगताश्च तमवनीपतिपुत्रं देवापिभुपतस्थुः । ते ब्राह्मणा वेदवादानुबद्धानि वचांसि राज्यमग्रजेन कर्त्तव्यमिति अर्थवन्ति तमूचुः । असावपि वेदवादविरोधियुक्तिदूषितमनेकप्रकारं तानाह । ततस्ते ब्राह्मणाः शान्तनुमूचुः, आगच्छ भो राजन् । अलमत्रातिनिबन्धेन, प्रशान्त एवासावनावृष्टिदोषः, पतितोऽयम् अनादिकालमहितवेदवचनदूषणोच्चारणात् । पतिते चाग्रजे नैव परिवेद्यं भवति, इत्युक्तः शान्तनुः स्वपुस्मागत्य राजमकरोत् । वेदवादविरोधिवचनोच्चारणदूषिते च ज्येष्ठऽस्मिन् भ्रातरि देवापावखिलशस्यनिष्पत्तये ववर्ष भगवान् पर्जन्यः।

44. Read Bh 9, 22, 17 :

देवापि योगमास्थाय कलापग्राममाश्रितः ।
cf : Bh 12, 2, 37 :

देवापिः शंतनोर्भ्रातामरुश्रेक्षाकुवंशजः ।
कलापग्राम आसाते महायोगबलान्वितौ ॥

45. Read the relevant verses only :

देवापिस्तु ह्यपध्यातः प्रजागिरभवनमुनिः ।
* * * *

किलासीद्राजपुत्रस्तु कुष्ठी तं नाभ्यपूजयन् ॥

Mt 50, 39, 41.

46. Mt 145, 99 :

उर्वोऽथ जमदग्निश्च वेदः सारस्वतस्तथा ।
आर्ष्टिपेणश्रव्यावनश्च पीतहव्य (पीतहव्य ?) सवेधसः ॥

47. Read : Mt 195, 34 :

आर्ष्टिपेणो गादिगिश्च कार्दमायनिरेव च ।
आश्वयनिस्तथारूपिः पञ्चार्पेयाः कीर्तिताः ॥

also : Mt 195, 35 :

भृगुश्च च्यवनश्चैव आप्नवानस्तथैव च ।
आर्ष्टिपेणस्तथारूपिः प्रवसाः पञ्चकीर्तिताः ॥

48. BD. 2, 32, 104-6; 3, 67, 6.

49. Va 92, 5; 91, 116.

49a. Read the passage in the Fn. 30 above.

50. BSS p. 5; APSS p. 1; Lang. SS p. 4; ASVSSP 10, 8; Mt 195, 34; 35.

51. Read the passage quoted above in Fn. no. 34.

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NEW LIGHT ON THE CAULUKYA KING JAYASĪMHA II

II. G. SHASTRI

The Caulukya Period is regarded to be a golden period in the history of Gujarat. It marks the dominant rule of two Caulukya dynasties which reigned from Anahilwad Patan in North Gujarat. The first dynasty founded by Mūlarāja I reigned from 942 to 1244 A.D., while the second dynasty, which hailed from Vaghel, held power from 1244 to 1304 A.D. The genealogies of the Caulukya kings include two Mūlarājas, two Bhīmadevas and two Kaṇḍadevas. King Jayasīmha, popularly known as Siddharāja, is the most celebrated king of the Caulukya lineage. Recently we happened to learn that there also flourished King Jayasīmha II, who claimed to be Abhinava Siddharāja (i.e., New Siddharāja).

King Bhīmadeva II, according to *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi*, reigned for 63 years from V. S. 1235 to V. S. 1298.¹ But his reign seems to have been interrupted by that of Jayasīmha II for several years.

Bhīmadeva II is known to have issued grants of land from V. S. 1256 (1200 A.D.) to V. S. 1263 (1207 A.D.)². The land granted in V. S. 1256 was situated in Daṇḍāhī Pathaka and that in V. S. 1263 was situated in Gambhūtā Pathaka. The grants introduce the king as endowed not only with the usual imperial titles *Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Parameśvara*, but also with the additional distinct title of *Abhinava-Siddharāja*. He is not known to have issued any grant of land after V. S. 1263 till V. S. 1283 (1226 A.D.).

During this interregnum King Jayasīmha II issued a grant of land situated in Vāulau (Valauya) Pathaka in V. S. 1274 (1218 A.D.)³ and another grant of land situated in Varddhi Pathaka and Gambhūtā Pathaka in V. S. 1280 (1223 A.D.)⁴. As the *pathakas* mentioned in these grants issued by king Bhīmadeva II and Jayasīmha II lay in Sārasvata Maṇḍala, the home-province of the Caulukya dynasty, it is evident that Jayasīmha II usurped the throne of Bhīmadeva II between V. S. 1263 (1207 A.D.) and V. S. 1274 (1218 A. D.). The upper limit of the reign of the usurper falls between November 12, 1209 A. D., the date of the Royal Asiatic Society Plates⁵ of the reign of Bhīmadeva II and February 24, 1211 A.D., as the Piplianagar grant⁶ issued by the Paramāra King Arjunavarman of Malwa on that date refers to his victory over Jayasīmha. Thus the event may be dated about 1210 A.D. The

lower limit of the reign of Jayasīmha II lies between V.S. 1280 (Kadi Plates of Jayantasīmha⁷) and V. S. 1283 (Kadi Plates of Bhīmadeva II⁸). Roughly it may be put in V. S. 1281 (1225 A.D.) or V. S. 1282 (1226 A.D.). Accordingly Jayasīmha II seems to have reigned in North Gujarat for about 15 or 16 years (*circa* 1210 to 1225 or 1226 A.D.).

Now let us review the career of King Jayasīmha II. According to the Dhar Praśasti, King Arjunavarman of Malwa vanquished Jayasīmha of Gujarat in the valley of the Parva Hill (Pavagadh) and captured his daughter Jayaśrī.⁹ It indicates that the sway of King Jayasīmha II presumably extended as far as the Pavagadh Hill in East Gujarat. It is not known whether the Paramāra king of Malwa retained his sway over East Gujarat after this invasion.

Bhutiya Vasana Plate of King Jayasīmha II¹⁰, dated V. S. 1274, records a grant of land issued by King Jayasīmha II. It enumerates the genealogy of the Caulukya kings, Mūlarāja I to Bhīmadeva II, all endowed with the three usual imperial titles. Here Bhīmadeva II is also introduced as Bāla-Nārāyaṇa-avatāra (an Incarnation of Young Nārāyaṇa). All these kings are here introduced as meditating on the feet of their respective predecessors. King Jayasīmha II is, however, introduced as simply 'thereafter', excluding obeisance to his predecessor. The grant gives no hint about his relationship (if any) with Bhīmadeva II. The royal donor is endowed with not only the usual imperial titles *Mahārajādhirāja*, *Parameśvara* and *Paramabhāṭṭāraka* but also with the additional title *Abhinava-Siddharāja*. In his eulogy King Jayasīmha II is then introduced as a Great Boar that uplifted the entire land submerged into the water of the ocean of adverse times, the sole rain blossoming the seed of the Gurjara land consumed by the forest-conflagration of misfortune, the terrible wind blowing off the lamp of red lead of the wife of the lord of Garjana (Gazna) whose rise was invincible, and wielding a halo of heat for the calamity from all sides. Thus, King Jayasīmha II is said to have uplifted the Gurjara kingdom which fell a prey to calamity. He is also credited with his successful encounter against the king of Gazna. As the second plate of the grant is missing, nothing is known about the recipient of the grant. The particulars about the land given in the grant, too, are lost in the missing plate. However, from the particulars about the officers addressed it is learnt that the land lay in Vāulau Pathaka. Vāulau is obviously Valauya represented by modern Balva in Patan Taluka of Mehsana District. The grant was issued in the month of Āśvina (September-October) of V. S. 1274 (1218 A.D.), the particulars about the lunar day being missing in the second Plate.

King Jayasīmha II issued another grant¹¹ of land in V. S. 1280. The genealogy given in the grant is almost similar to that given in the earlier grant, with the attribute *Umāpati - Varalabdha-prasāda* added before the name of each king. References to King Bhīmadeva II and King Jayasīmha II are linked by 'thereafter' and 'in place.' King Jayasīmha is here introduced as

Jayantasimha, while the royal donor signs as Jayasimhaddeva in his autograph given at the end. In both the grants issued by Jayasimha II, the epithet *Abhinava-Siddharāja* is transferred to Jayasimha II, retaining the epithet *Bāla-Nārāyaṇa-avatāra* for Bhīmadeva II. The royal donor is introduced as *Umāpati-Varalabdha-prasāda*, indicating that like his predecessors he also professed to be a devotee of Śiva. In his eulogy he is said to have acquired the *rājya-lakṣmī* by her self-choice, been Sun-god with his very wonderful *pratāpa*, been illuminated by the expansion of the *kalpa-vallī* in the form of the Cauluka family, uplifted the kingdom which was submerged into the ocean of calamity, and revived the potentiality of the Gurjara kingdom. The king is here introduced as staying in the capital of Aṇahilapura and endowed with the titles *Ekāṅga-Vīra* and *Abhinava-Siddharāja*. The grant was made on Tuesday, the 3rd lunar day of the bright half of *Pauṣa* in V. S. 1280, corresponding to 26th December, 1223 A. D., on the sacred occasion of *Uttarāyaṇa*. The edict records the grant of the village *Sāmpāvādā* in Vardhi-Pathaka and two pieces of land pertaining to Ḍoḍiya-pātaka from the village of Śeṣadevatā in Gambhūtā Pathaka. The grant was issued to the temples of Ānaleśvaradeva and Salakhaṇadeva, built in Salakhaṇapura by Lūṇa-pasāka, the successor of the Caulukya Rāṇaka Ānā. Lūṇa-pasāka is Lavaṇa-Prasāda, son of Rāṇaka Arṇorāja of the Vaghela branch of the Caulukya family. Thus, this grant gives an additional title of *Ekāṅga-Vīra* for King Jayasimha II, introduces the king with his capital at Aṇahilapura (i.e., Anahilwad Patan) and having sway over Varddhi Pathaka and Gambhūtā Pattaka, both of which lay in *Sārasvata Maṇḍala*, the home-province of the Caulukya kings.

From these two epigraphic records it becomes clear that Jayasimha II usurped the throne of Bhīmadeva II, assumed the three usual imperial titles and, like Bhīmadeva II, claimed to be *Abhinava-Siddharāja*. He belonged to the Caulukya family. He had no direct relationship with Bhīmadeva II, but seems to be a scion of the Caulukya dynasty. Young Bhīmadeva was a weak sovereign; and his ministers and feudatories asserted their independence and tried to distribute his kingdom¹². The Caulukya dynasty was losing its power and prestige in Gujarat and the adjoining territories. It was under these circumstances that Jayasimha usurped the throne of Anahilwad Patan, assumed the reigns of government and undertook to uplift the royal glory of the Caulukya dynasty and the kingdom of Gujarat. In the present state of our knowledge it is not known how he planned and accomplished this achievement. He proved to be a virile hero, deserving to be favoured by royal power and prosperity. The title of *Abhinava-Siddharāja* now got transferred to Jayasimha II, who won the usual imperial titles. In course of time he also got renowned as *Ekāṅga-Vīra*. Like his predecessors Jayasimha II was a devotee of God Śiva and issued grants of land. The known edicts of the king record grants of land situated in the different *pathakas* of *Sārasvata Maṇḍala*, the home-province of the Caulukya kings. One of the grants was

issued to the temples built by Rāṇaka Lavanaprasāda in memory of his parents. Though he is introduced as Jayantasimha in his edict dated V.S. 1280, his official name seems to be *Jayasimha* which is given not only in his eulogy in the earlier grant but also in the autograph in the later record. The king must, therefore, be styled Jayasimha II, with a view to distinguish him from Jayasimha Siddharāja.

The epigraphic records of the Paramāra kings of Malwa and the Sanskrit play *Pārijāta-mañjarī* indicate that King Jayasimha II of Gujarat was vanquished by King Arjunavarman of Malwa in the valley of Pavagadh hill. King Jayasimha I had vanquished Paramāra King Yaśovarman and annexed Malwa into the Caulukya kingdom. King Vindhavarman tried to recover Malwa but did not succeed. Like Vindhavarman, his son Subhavarman, too, invaded Gujarat, but it was Arjunavarman, son and successor of Subhavarman who vanquished the Caulukya king in his invasion of Gujarat. He is said to have vanquished Jayasimha II in the valley of Pavagadh hill. But the mythological presentation of his daughter Jayaśrī or Vijayaśrī, who is said to have risen from the *Pārijāta-mañjarī* which fell on the chest of victorious Arjunavarman implies that the character of Jayaśrī was rather imaginary than historical. The annals of Malwa made unflinching references to the victorious exploit of Arjunavarman. It seems that King Jayasimha II endeavoured to encounter the invasion of Arjunavarman by marching up to Pavagadh hill in East Gujarat but met with a defeat in the encounter. This event gave pride to the king of Malwa and brought a blemish in the glory of the king of Gujarat. The hostile king seems to have recovered his lost territories in Malwa but not extended his power over any territory in East Gujarat. The event seems to have taken place shortly after Jayasimha II usurped the throne of Anahilwad Patan, say in about 1210 A.D. However, the new king consolidated his power swiftly, recovered the lost glory of the Caulukya dynasty and distinguished himself as *Abhinava-Siddharāja* and *Ekāṅga-Vīra* after a decade or so. But he was not fortunate to retain his glorious power for more than a decade and a half. The grants issued by King Bhūmadeva II from V.S. 1283 (1226 A.D.) to V. S. 1296 (1239 A. D.) clearly indicate that Bhūmadeva II succeeded in recovering his lost realm shortly after V. S. 1280 (1223 A.D.). The heroic King Jayasimha II who had usurped his power and reigned for 15 or 16 years vanished totally from the annals of the Caulukya dynasty. Like his rise, his fall also has left no data of its account.

Notes and References

1. *Vicāraśreṇī* dates the beginning of his reign in V. S. 1234 (1178 A.D.). It seems to be more probable.
2. Acharya G. V. (Ed.), *Historical Inscriptions of Gujarat*, Part 2, Nos. 158

- and 160.
3. *Sāmīpya*, Vol. I, pp. 63 ff.
 4. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VI, pp. 196 ff (Acharya G. V. *op. cit.* No. 165).
 5. Acharya G. V. *op. cit.* no. 162.
 6. *JASB*, Vol. V. pp. 377 ff.
 7. Vide f. n. 4 above.
 8. Acharya G. V., *op. cit.* No. 166.
 9. Majumdar A. K., *Chaulukyās of Gujarat*, p. 148. The Dhar Praśasti is in fact Act I-II of a Sanskrit nāṭikā entitled *Pārijāta-māñjarī* or *Vijayaśrī* by Madana, and incised on a stone-slab now preserved in Kamal Maula Mosque representing old Bhoja-śāla. It was published in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VIII, pp. 101 ff.
 10. Vide f. n. 3 above. The second plate is missing.
 11. Vide f.n. 4 above.
 12. Someśvara, *Kīrti-kaumudī*, Sarga II, Verse 61.

RĀMĀYAṆA PANELS IN EARLY CĀLUKYAN ART

B. V. SHETTI

The story of Rāma has attracted not only the poets and dramatists but also the artists for a long time. The scenes from Rāmāyaṇa are depicted in art form since ancient times. The popularity of these art forms have also appeared in stone sculptures and other forms in our neighbouring countries. Though in the beginning there were a few isolated examples, the sequence of events from the epic have come into existence from the Gupta period onwards.

Let us briefly review the origin and development of depiction of Rāma story in Indian art prior to the early Cālukyan period. A terracotta of Śuṅga period (2nd cent. B. C.) from Kausambi, U. P. depicts a grotesque male carrying a female in distress. This has been identified as Rāvaṇa abducting Sītā. Representations of R̥ṣyaśrīṅga appear in the Śuṅga period panels from Bharhut and also in the Kushāṇa sculptures. Some scholars have interpreted two panels from Nagarjunakonda as representing scenes from *Daśaratha Jātaka* showing Rāma and Sītā going to forest in ascetic garb and Bharata meeting Rāma at Citrakūṭa. A panel from Pauniar near Nagpur of the Vākāṭaka period depicts Vālī-Sugrīva fight. The terracottas from Gupta temples at Sahet-Mahet, Bhitargaon and Apsad as well as stone sculptures from temples at Deogarh and Nachna Kuthara depict numerous scenes from the Rāmāyaṇa.¹

In the early Cālukyan art the earliest representations from the Rāmāyaṇa are seen at Maṅgaleśa's Badami Cave III dated A. D. 578. The story on the adjoining back wall shows Hanumān and Aśokavana in the first part, Garuḍārūḍha Viṣṇu in the middle part and Rāma fighting with *rākṣasas* on the back of Hanumān in the end part.² On the south and west side base of the Upper Śivālaya (c.600 A. D.) at Badami there are panels of (i) Rāma, Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa in a forest (ii) Śūrpaṅakhā *mukhabhaṅga* (iii) Destruction of Khara and Dūshaṇa (iv) Rāvaṇa and Mārīca (v) Abduction of Sītā (vi) Mārīca's death (vii) Hanumān destroying the *rākṣasas* in Aśokavana (viii) Waking of Kumbhakarṇa (ix) Rāma and Rāvaṇa in battle (x) Kumbhakarṇa's fight and death. Of these panels the scene of waking of Kumbhakarṇa is of special interest as it is very rare. This representation in more elaborate form is also seen at the Śiva temple of 9th cent. A. D. at Prambanan, Indonesia.³

At Mahākūṭeśvara temple (c. 600 A. D.) at Mahākuṭa on the north side

wall has battle scenes, whereas the south and west sides show panels of abduction of Sītā and sorrow of Sītā.

At Durga temple (7th cent. A. D.) at Aihole on the north side of *adhiṣṭhāna* is the scene showing Guha taking Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā in a boat. South side of the *adhiṣṭhāna* shows Rāvaṇa with Mandodarī sleeping and Hanumān in Laṅkā with women.⁴

An inscription of the Pāpanātha temple (c. 720-735 A. D.) at Pattadakal mentions an architect named Revaḍi Ovaḷḷa, grandson of Silemudda, who describes himself as a member of the *jāti* of the Sarvasiddhi *ācāryas*. He calls himself as the maker of the southern side of the temple where Rāmāyāna scenes are depicted. There appear scenes of (i) Daśaratha and Vasiṣṭha (ii) Viśvāmitra takes with him Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa (iii) Rāma kills Tāṭakā (iv) Daśaratha offers oblation to Agni (*Putrakāmeṣṭi Yajña*) (v) Daśaratha offers *pāyasa* to Kauśalyā (vi) Birth of Rāma (vii) Viśvāmitra leading Rāma, and Lakṣmaṇa to Sītā's *svayamvara* (viii) Rāma, Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa going to forest (ix) Lakṣmaṇa cuts off the nose of Śūrpaṅakhā. The inscription here bears the sculptor's name 'Baladeva' (x) Rāma fights with Khara and Dūṣaṇa and other demons (xi) Śūrpaṅakhā complains to Rāvaṇa (xii) Rāvaṇa confers with counsellors (xiii) Sītā, Rāma and the golden deer Mārīca (xiv) Rāvaṇa abducting Sītā (xv) Rāvaṇa kills Jaṭāyu (xvi) Vālī-Sugrīva fight and Rāma's confusion (xvii) Killing of Vālī (xviii) Construction of bridge.⁵

The inscriptions on the panels identified the characters and the events depicted here. This made even the common man to understand the story. The names like Suppanāgi (Śūrpaṅakhā), Lakkaṇa (Lakṣmaṇa) in label inscriptions indicate that the artists were of Karnataka region.

The scenes on the eastern wall include (i) Army of the *Vānaras* (ii) Monkeys attack Indrajit and Kumbhakarṇa (iii) Vibhīṣaṇa, Lakṣmaṇa, Rāma and Hanumān (iv) *Vānara* army attacks Rāvaṇa (v) Coronation of Rāma and Vibhīṣaṇa.⁶

The Lokeśvara temple at Pattadakal, now known as Virūpākṣa is the largest of all early Cālukyan temples. An inscription on the eastern gateway explains that the temple was built by Lokamahādevī, the chief queen of Vikramāditya II to celebrate his three conquests of Kanchipuram, capital of the Pallavas. The temple was built following the third conquest in c. 740 A. D. The Rāmāyāna scenes on the *maṇḍapa* pillars include (i) Lakṣmaṇa cuts off nose (*mukhabhaṅga*) of Śūrpaṅakhā (ii) She complains to Rāvaṇa (iii) Rāvaṇa and Mārīca (iv) Abduction of Sītā (v) Rāvaṇa-Jaṭāyu's fight⁷ (vi) Śūrpaṅakhā drowning in a river (vii) Monkey army in battle (ix) Sītā's trial by fire. The most impressive depiction is the fight between Rāvaṇa and Jaṭāyu on the outer wall which is repeated later at the Kailāsa temple at Ellora.⁸

The Trailokeśvara temple at Pattadakal, now known as Mallikārjuna, was built by the junior queen Trailokyamahādevī of Vikramāditya II around c. 740 A. D. Here the Rāmāyaṇa scenes depicted on the *maṇḍapa* pillars include (i) Śūrpaṅakhā complains to Rāvaṇa (ii) Rāma kills Mārīca⁹ (iii) Rāvaṇa abducts Sītā (iv) Search of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa for Sītā (v) Rāma's grief (vi) Rāvaṇa and Jaṭāyu.

The Viśvabrahma temple (c. 690-695 A.D.) at Alampur in Andhra Pradesh has Rāmāyaṇa scenes on *maṇḍapa* pillars depicting (i) Abduction of Sītā (ii) Rāvaṇa and Jaṭāyu.¹⁰

These examples clearly indicate how much popularity Rāmākathā had in ancient times. Though the scenes are not elaborate, they effectively narrate the events.

Notes and References

1. P. Banerjee, *Rama in India Literature, Art & Thought*, Delhi, pp. 23-26.
2. K. V. Sounderajan, *Cave Temples of the Deccan*, New Delhi, 1981, p. 72.
3. B. V. Shetti, 'Waking of Kumbhakarṇa - Sculptural Depiction', in *Archaeology and Art* (Krishna Deva Felicitation Volume), edited by Chitta Ranjan Prasad Sinha and others, Delhi, 1990, pp. 305-306.
4. A. M. Annigeri, *Aihole : Sanskriti Mattu Kale* (in Kannada), Dharwad, 1974, pp. 36-37.
5. A. M. Annigeri, *A Guide to the Pattadakal Temples*, Dharwad, 1961, pp. 45-46.
6. *Ibid.* p. 46.
7. *Ibid.* p. 17.
8. S. Rajasekhara, *Early Chalukya Art at Aihole*, New Delhi, 1985, p. 183.
9. A. M. Annigeri, *A Guide to the Pattadakal Temples*, Dharwad, 1964, p. 28.
10. B. Rajendra Prasad, *Temple Sculpture of Andhradesh*, Hyderabad, 1978, p. 25.

MINOR INSCRIPTIONS OF KHAJURAHO

A. K. SINGH

Khajurāho possesses one of the most magnificent assemblage of amazing temples¹. The art and architecture evince phenomenal growth due to several factors including patronage as well as traditional skill of artisans. However, they could not receive due attention of the scholars as yet. The lack of foundational record virtually makes the matter complicated. While large inscriptions have mostly been studied in detail, no systematic study seems to have been pursued for documenting and analysing no less important evidence encountered in the minor inscriptions and graffiti at the temples, or in the quarry, or at working sites, or engraved on the various architectural members lying loose at site or in the contiguous area. In this regard an attempt has been made by the author. He noticed a number of minor inscriptions executed on the pedestal of the images, border of the panels, door-jamb, pillars and stone slabs which mainly contain information about the artisan, religious person, label and *gaṇa* (working group or guild).

In general, minor inscriptions comprise of personal names either individually or along with parents' names, designations, *gaṇas*. Personal names engraved at the time of construction are mostly of artisans and provide interesting and useful idea about the life patterns and craftsmanship of the artisan and mason as well as their specialization in building certain components of the temple. Beside these, labels help at identifying the depiction, iconographic features and so forth. As for personal names, they are in full or abbreviated form, such as Dēja for Dējvarānila, Jasa for Jasadēva,² Kukē for Kukēga, and so on. Sometimes only the first letter is engraved like Śrī Ja, Ma and Mi. In some instances one name is styled variously such as Dēvaṇada, Dēvāṇada; Mahāvīra, Śrī Mahāvīra, Mahavīraśrī, Śrī Mahaṇada, Śrī Mahāṇada, Śrī Mahāṇadaga, etc. From numerical point, the earlier group of temples — namely Varāha (c. A. D. 900-925), Lakṣmaṇa and Viśvanātha—bear more inscriptions than the temples belonging to subsequent period. Some mason-marks are also noticed which may be of those who were devoid of alphabet. A detailed analysis and study of these inscriptions is underway, basic information about the artists' and masons' names from Khajurāho and some tentative inferences drawn on the basis of the available information and preliminary analysis of the data are being presented here.

Patrons : The relevant epigraphs indicate a vigorous socio-religious movement

of temple-building, and their patrons and donors represented a cross-section of society from elite to laymen. The patronage was undoubtedly an important factor in the art of masonry. The architect built a temple on behalf of the patron. It is the royal encouragement of the Candellas which produced many anonymous artists who brought architectural splendour and sculptural grace at its zenith at Khajurāho. The foundational record of Lakṣmaṇa temple states that the temple construction was patronised by king Yaśovarmā². The patron of Viśvanātha temple was king Dhaṅga. Beside kings, wealthier and religious nobles also came forward with gifts and donations for the construction of images and temples, or the maintenance of religious edifices. Most of this type of construction was made by the *śreṣṭhins* of Grahapati family. Inscription of Kōkalla (A.D. 1002) records the erection of two temples : one of Vaidyanātha by Kōkalla and other (unspecified) by the first member of said Grahapati family. Dedū, Pāhilla, Sālhē, Pāṇidhara and others of Grahapati family also contributed to some extent in constructions of Jaina temples. The members of other families are also known to have constructed the images or edifices. The image of Śāntinātha was caused to be made by one Candra and his brother, and that of Hanumān by Gōllāka. A Jaina image was caused to be sculptured by *Śreṣṭhin* Vivī and *sēṭhānī* Padmāvātī. Similarly, a *maṇḍapa* was constructed by Sāḍha.

Ācāryas : The names of some *ācāryas* are mentioned on the pedestal of Jaina images or door-jambes of the Jaina temples, such as Mahārājaguru Śrī Vāsavacandra, Kumudacandra (the disciple of the *ācārya* Śrī Dēvacandra), Kumāranandī (the disciple of Kīrttimuni who himself was the disciple of Rājanandī Muni and who in his turn was the disciple of Rāmacandra) and Sarvanandī *ācārya* (the disciple of Ravicandra *ācārya* who was the disciple of Dullabhananda *ācārya*). An inscription in Jardine Museum (No. 1951) refers to a student of Candradeva Bhaṭapa. A Sadāśiva image inscription mentions Bhaṭārka Śrī Urdhaśiva and an *ācārja* (*ācārya*) (Arch. Mus. No. 1098).³ It is probable that some of these *ācāryas*, styled as *sthāpaka* in the *śilpaśāstras*⁴, were the *ācāryas* in the art and craft of architectural or sculptural works. Presumably, they used to help in the planning and designing of the temples.

Sūtradhāra : The name of *sūtradhāra* Chicchā, the chief architect,⁵ occurs in the Viśvanātha (Pramathānātha) temple inscription of A. D. 999,⁶ who is credited with its construction. In this inscription he is described as *vijñānin*, *viśvakarttā*, *sūtradhāra* and *dharmādhāra*⁷ showing dexterity in work attained by him. Chicchā of this inscription may be identical with Chichā of the Vyāla statue inscription on the Lakṣmaṇa temple (c. A. D. 930-950). It denotes the possibility of sculptor's role played by him in the erection of Lakṣmaṇa temple, who acquired operative experience and maturity of about a quarter century when appointed as master-architect in the time of Dhaṅga. The gradual evolution in art skill of an individual is recorded in the inscriptions of the

Candella king Paramardideva, where one Pālhaṇa is mentioned as *pitalahāra* in A. D. 1166,⁸ *vijñānin* in A. D. 1173⁹, and *vidagadahi viśvakarmā* (a master of the art and craft) in A. D. 1176.¹⁰ The *śilpaśāstras*¹¹ also insist upon the high intellectual and moral qualities necessary for the chief architect due to his responsibilities : expected to plan and design an edifice and also execute it at every stage. The working hands are recorded in a Candella epigraph :

“*Bhaktyā bhāvasya nūnam śilpisa (śa) ricesu kṛta samāvesaḥ
Svayameva Viśvakarmā toraṇaracanānimām cakre*”¹²

Sculptors and Masons : Several names and mason's marks are engraved on the pedestal of the images, border of the panels, door-jambs, pillars and stone slabs. It may be contemplated that those pieces of work were executed by the persons whose names they bear.¹³ Sometimes, names are inscribed only on the surface such as in the Pārśvanātha temple the name of Jayasīha, Jasyapāla, Pīthana, Gōna, Tisakēsa and many others. It seems that these were not only the scrapers of the related piece but also played an important role in the making of sculptures and construction of temples, which unfortunately are not specified. The artisans were assisted by a number of labourers as depicted on some panels.

The names of some sculptors are known from Khajurāho inscriptions. An image noticed by A. Cunningham in A.D. 1883-84¹⁴ in the temple of Lakṣmīnātha (now in the Jardine Museum, No. 1232) which contains a four line inscription, records that the statue of Garura (Garuḍa) was set up by the *rūpakāra* Vēna, the son of Vali Aṭamantai. Another name of *rūpaka (rūpakāra)* Raviku is inscribed on the statue of Naṭarāja, now in Archaeological Museum (No. 549), Khajurāho. This Raviku may be identical with Śrī Ravi who sculptured a *rathikā* of Lakṣmaṇa temple. Similarly a statue of Viranātha was sculptured by a *rūpakāra* Kumarasiha while two Ādinātha images of year 1215 (A. D. 1158) refer to the name of *rūpakāra* Rāmadeva. Another instance of *rūpakāra* is mentioned in the inscription of Yaśōvarmā where he is described as an engraver of the eulogy, however, the engraving work of the inscription entrusted to a *rūpakāra* indicates that possibly some images were also carved by him.¹⁵

Apart from the clear references to *rūpakāra* it may be also contemplated that those pieces of work were executed by the person/s whose name/s they bear. The names of Asuthaga, Bhādaṇḍā, Chichā, Dada, Dhadauga, Jajēga, Kalāga, Śrī Kōḷē, Udhāśī and Vavēruśrī Nēlāga, Nunaga, Pahasāga, Paratu, Śrī Ravi, Ritujaśrī and others are carved on many sculptures of Lakṣmaṇa temple. Of these, the name of Śrī Ravi who sculptured a *rathikā*, fixed in the northern outer *garbhagrha* wall of Lakṣmaṇa temple, may be mentioned in particular because he may be identified with *rūpaka* Raviku, the sculptor of the Naṭarāja image. Likewise, many god and goddess sculptures of the

Viśvanātha temple bear the names of Dēdarā, Śrī Dēsāga, Śrī Gahuvarā and Jasarāga, Śrī Jasa and Śrī Vāku, Śrī Jasāhara, Śrī Jasyadīna, Śrī Mahāṇadaga, Śrī Pahasā, Śrī Relhiga, Śrī Siddhāica, Śrī Udhēṇā, Śrī Vāghī and others, while those of *apsarases*, *vyāla* etc. possess the names of Śrī Dēsala, Śrī Gaṇī, Śrī Jasadēva, Śrī Jamēga, Śrī Javoga, Śrī Mahāṇada, Śrī Manadhavā, Śrī Śahaṇāga, Śrī Vacharā, Śrī Vagā and others. Plausibly, they were responsible for the execution of many sculptures and panels of the Viśvanātha temple. Sculptors of Kandariyā Mahādeva temple were Aja, Dēja and Yavaja; of Vāmana temple Vācaṭa; and of Dulādeva temple Viku.

The artist's work continued to the carving of letters. Viśvanātha temple inscription was engraved at first by Siṅga, who was a virtuous man and well-versed in lettering. Similarly, Lakṣmaṇa temple inscription refers to a *rūpakāra* who engraved the eulogy, whose name is illegible. It is believed that the engraver used to cut on the lines drawn by the scribe. In this regard the names *karāṇika* Jaddha (son of Jayaguṇa), *kāyastha* Yasapāla and Jayapāla are met with in the inscriptions of Yaśōvarmā and Dhaṅga. The calligraphy of Khajurāho inscriptions shows the excellence of engraver and the scribe. The letters of Viśvanātha temple inscription are compared as "having the shape of red lotus, *Kumudākārāṇi*". They were skilled in writing and carving the Kuṭila as well as Nāgarī alphabets.

Minor inscriptions throw welcome light on the life pattern and craftsmanship of the artisans and masons who created the embellished structures. Images were caused to be made by the incorporate group of several persons. Some of them were labourers, who brought stones from mountain and enormously helped the artisans. Artists' work was also of varying nature, consisting of scrapping, smoothening, sketching, cutting and shaping. Some sort of work-division as well as corporate work was present as evident from different names on separate sculptures and joint names on single sculpture. For example, a statue of Lakṣmaṇa temple mentions two names - Dadvaga and Jajēga, while a Pārvatī *rathikā* shows three names, Śrī Koṭē, Uddhāṣī and Vavēruśrī. It denotes that a corporate work was undertaken on the same image. Likewise, in Viśvanātha temple some artisans worked jointly to create one statue; the name of Śrī Jasa with Śrī Vāku may be seen on the *rathikā* of western *pradakṣiṇā* wall and Śrī Gahuvarā with Jasarāga on a *rathikā* of southern *pradakṣiṇā* wall. Apart from this, two *gavākṣa* pillars of Lakṣmaṇa temple bear the name of Mulāga and Savadēvaga while their platforms mentioning the names of Jadaga and Vipiga may suggest some sort of work-division. The names of Śrī Dapila, Śrī Jamēga, Javidaga, Śrī Manadhavā, Nanāiga, Śrī Tihara, Śrī Vacharāja and others are frequently inscribed on the border of the panels, possibly suggesting their specialization in the panel-making. Artisans like Jakharṅga, Lohaṭa, Savāga, etc. were expert in making panels as well as statues. There are some instances where the same mason is referred to

in more than one images. For example, the name of Jakhaga finds mention on the statues of *apsaras* and Brahmā; and Pahasāga on *apsaras* and on a *rathikā*. This suggests that the same craftsman expertised in varied types of sculptural work. But a sculptor started his career by scrapping and smoothening the stone slab at some stages. It is further evident from inscriptions that a *sūtradhāra* or a *rūpakāra* who constructed the temple also performed the engraving and other work in the beginning of his career. This sort of graduation has been noted in the career of Chicchā. Training made him expert in more than one type of job. One *sūtradhāra*, Chitaku, is referred to in Ratanpur stone inscription of Kalacuri ruler Vahar (A. D. 1495). He is said to be well-versed in five sciences and could work on wood, stone, gold, etc. with ease.¹⁶

Some female names like Gaṇī, Sajñiyavā, Vāghī, Vāghīśrīvā, mentioned in the minor inscriptions suggest that sometimes whole of the family of the artist, including ladies and children, was engaged in temple construction. This is evident also from the epigraphical records from other places. Bijholi rock inscription of Cāhamana king Sōmesvara (A. D. 1169) record *sūtradhāra* Harisimha, his son Pālhaṇa and grandson Āhaḍa who are credited to have constructed the temple of Pārśvanātha, while Nāniga's son Govinda and Pālhaṇa's son Dēlhaṇa were the engravers.¹⁷ It confirms the hereditary nature of profession in which a person used to learn chipping and chiselling since the childhood. Some sculptures of Khajurāho are identified as classes for the sketching where young sculptors were learning.¹⁸ A few sculptures depict stone workers working on the stone and the master sculptor (*rūpakāra*) preparing the preliminary sketches or *hastalēkhas*.¹⁹ The artists were initiated by their ancestors in the art of building activities and some of them became masters of their professions at the time of their prime. In their own turn, they handed over their skills to the coming generations. The process continued for generations till their patrons were able to give work for their skilled hands. Plausibly, there was little distinction between sculptor and architect and one could attain highest proficiency in the work if he was talented. By acquiring experiences, they worked for a long time. For example, the abbreviated form of the name Pahasāga who made an *apsaras* figure of Lakṣmaṇa temple is engraved on a *rathikā* of Viśvanātha temple also. The name of Savadeva is inscribed in Lakṣmaṇa and Viśvanātha temples. One Vacharāja is mentioned on two panels of Lakṣmaṇa temple, and in abbreviated form in Viśvanātha temple. The same name again occurs on a panel of Kandariyā Mahādeva temple. Such instances are numerous (see list) which denote that the artisans continued to work until their inability to work or death.

The Gaṇa : Inscriptions reveal the artist as an individual as well as the part and parcel of the "group" or "class" to which he belongs. Personal names like Nanāiga, Nārāga, Navāga, Nētāga, Nunāga and others show a

GAṆA NAMES IN LAKṢMAṆA TEMPLE

- 1 यरवल्गल यीयीरुतए
- 2 रु३ अ३ षतशम
- 3 सि१
- 4 सवशमशम १
- 5 रु३ अ१९ सि१ शम १
- 6 अ२३ म त श म
- 7 रु१ अ११ अ कु श शम
- 8 रु२ अ१८ स व र र श म
- 9 रु१ ॥ म त श म
- 10 रु३ सर

GAṆA NAMES IN LAKṢMAṆA TEMPLE

- 11 रु २ अ१ स्रकवरश
- 12 अ२३ रु०० तशिल
- 13 रु१ ॥१ ठवलशिल
- 14 स्रशिल
- 15 रु३ ॥३ स्रशिल
- 16 टे कलश
- 17 रु २ स्रवरशिल
- 18 अ२३ ठवलशिल
- 19 रु ३ स्रल स्रवरशिल

family or group relation among the artisans of the Khajurāho. It is also probable that the names suffixed with the letter *ga* and *gaṇa* indicate that the *gaṇas* were known after the name of their chiefs. Besides, the obvious references to *gaṇas* are also present. Paravaṇā *gaṇa* which belonged to Vipīna is seen on a pillar in the western *gavākṣa* of the Lakṣmaṇa temple. The north-western shrine of the Lakṣmaṇa temple bears many inscriptions relating to the *gaṇas*, as in the western part of the shrine there are inscriptions: Ha 3 A 3 Mata *gaṇa*, Sidha, Sadha *gaṇa* 7, Ha 3 A 15 sidha *gaṇa* 7, and A 23 Mata *gaṇa*. In eastern side inscriptions are Ha 1 A 11 Anurā *gaṇa*, Ha 2 A 18 Savarara *gaṇa*; northern portion bears the inscription Ha 1 Mata *gaṇa*, Ha 3 Sara, Ha 2 A 1 Sanavaraga, A 23 Bhaita *gaṇa*, Ha 1 Ṭhavaṇa *gaṇa*, Sara *gaṇa*, Ha 3 II (? A) 3 Sara *gaṇa*, Tēmaṇaga, while Ha 2 Savara *gaṇa*, A 23 Ṭhavaṇa, Ha 3 A 9 Savara *gaṇa* are engraved in the western part of the shrine (Figs. 1-2). Of these, the name of Ṭhavaṇa *gaṇa* is found mention twice and of Mata *gaṇa* thrice. The slight variations in the spelling of some *gaṇa* names may be due to the engraver's error and not because of the different *gaṇas*, like Savargaṇa, Savararaṇa, Saragaṇa, Sanavaraga; similarly, Sadhagaṇa and Sidhagaṇa. Thus, it can be contemplated that the north-western shrine of Lakṣmaṇa temple mentions seven *gaṇa* names, they are Anurā *gaṇa*, Bhaita *gaṇa*, Mata *gaṇa*, Savara *gaṇa*, Sidha *gaṇa*, Tēmaṇa *gaṇa* and Ṭhavaṇa *gaṇa*. The meanings of 'Ha' and 'A' are not clear; may be they are the abbreviated forms of some special group denoting their hierarchy. The numerical figures under these categories may be the number of persons under particular group who were busy in art activity, while that at the end of Sidha *gaṇa* and / or Sadha *gaṇa* is related to the number of *gaṇa*. Since the references to *śilpa-gaṇa* are not known in respective numbers, informations of the Lakṣmaṇa temple may add something new.

Labels etc. : Sometimes minor inscriptions are used as labels to recognise the scene or sculpture. Such type of label inscriptions are known even in earlier period from Bharhut where labels help in identification of the Jātakas and other scenes. As for Khajurāho temple labels, they are of different varieties (see List). The label on a musician panel is *bhāḍaja* and another on a singer panel is *tānaija*. On a panel of worship scene (now in Jardine Museum No. 1885) the people are shown gathered for worship and the label is *janatā*. On a panel of elephant the label is *gajāni* while on the panel of riders lable is *savārā*. The profession like *Mahāvata* (driver of elephant) is also referred to on an elephant-man panel. A label inscription of *Maṭhasa* is carved on the Dulādeva temple which is called Kunwara *Maṭha*. A lady's sculpture in the southern *gavākṣa* of Lakṣmaṇa temple is important from the viewpoint that the lady holds a letter in her hand with an inscription reading *havihijānuhi* (i.e., reading the invitation ?). The names of the tanks: Nanōrātāla and Sevaṃsāgara are executed on the pedestals of Sadāśiva and Viṣṇu images now preserved in the Archaeological and Jardine Museums. The name Ṣaju

finds mention frequently on the pedestal of the sculptures, may be it is the abbreviated form of Khajuravāhaka or Khajurāho and used as a centre mark. Khajurāho was a famous art centre during the time of Candella rulers.

Thus information is now available which can help not only to reveal the names and achievements of individual artists, but also contradicts the misleading comments like, "It is but surprising that the artisans who worked at them have not even left their names"²⁰. More studies on the point may help in eroding the myth more conclusively.

Notes and References

* The paper was partially presented at a Seminar on 'Art of Khajurāho', 1987.

1. At Khajurāho twenty-five temples stand in varying stages of preservation, which were originally eighty-five in number, according to the *Parmal Raso*, Book II, verses 28 and 54, ed. S. S. Das, Kasi Nagari Pracarini Sabha.
2. F.Kielhorn, "Stone Inscription of Yasovarman of the year 1011," *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, pp. 122-135.
3. A.K.Singh, "Fresh Reading of four small Khajurāhō inscriptions," *Prācya Pratibhā*, Vol. XIII, p. 104.
4. *Śilparatna*, I, pp. 29-42, cf., S.Kramrisch, *The Hindu Temple*, Vol. I (Calcutta, 1946), p.9 :

"First a *sthapati* is to be selected one well-versed in the *śilpa-śāstras*; similarly a *sthāpaka* also, knowing the *śilpa-śāstras* and possessing all the qualifications of an *ācārya*, being selected by the patrons, should perform the architectural rites (Vāstu-karma)."

5. On account of epigraphical evidence M.K.Dhavalikar, "*Sūtradhāra*," *ABORI*, LII (1971), pp. 215-220; R.N.Misra, *Ancient Arts and Art-activity* (Simla, 1975) and others contemplated that the *sthapati* of *śilpaśāstras* lost his position in later period due to specialisation of jobs in respective branches while the *sūtradhāra* came to be appointed as their chief to co-ordinate the work.
6. Most of the scholars, on the basis of Kielhorn's reading of Viśvanātha temple inscription, have accepted the date of Viśvanātha temple construction in Vikrama year 1059. But Cunningham's reading the date as V. S. 1056 should be correct.
7. F.Kielhorn, "Stone Inscription of Dhaṅgadeva of the year 1059, Renewed by Jayavarmadeva in the year 1173", *Epigraphia Indica*, I, p. 146, Verse 60.

8. W.Cartellieri, "Semra Plates of Paramardideva, (Vikrama-) samvat 1223" ` *Epigraphia Indica*, IV p. 170, line 124.
9. R.B. Hiralal, "Mahoba Plates of Paramardideva, (Vikrama-) samvat 1230," *Ibid.* XVI p. 14, line 23.
10. Arthur Venis, "Pachar Plate of Paramardideva, (Vikrama-) samvat 1233, *Ibid.* X, p. 49, line 22.
11. Prasanna Kumar Acharya, *Indian Architecture according to Mānasāraśilpaśāstra* (Allahabad, 1927) pp. 35 & 137-138; and *A Dictionary of Hindu Architecture* (Allahabad, 1927), p. 726; P.A. Mankad (ed.) *Aparājitapṛcchā* of Bhuvanadēva, Gaekwad Oriental Series, No. CXV, 2, Verses 1-31. Stella Kramrisch, *The Hindu Temple*, Vol. I Calcutta, 1946, p.8.
12. *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 145-146, verse 51.
13. A. Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey of India Report*, Vol. XXI, p. 60: "I take the single names which are found on many of the stones to be those of the masons who prepared them."
14. *Ibid.*, p. 65.
15. Sometimes *rūpakāra* had a very special place. Ratanpur stone inscription of Prithvīdeva (V.S.) year 1207 (CII, IV, p. 488, lines 22-23) refers to a *rūpakāra* Dēvagaṇa and mentions that he was the foremost amongst sculptors and his eminence was recognised to the extent that the *sūtradhāra* Sampula served under him when they made a temple of Bilvapāṇi Mahādēva.
16. *CII*, IV, p. 556.
17. *EI*, XXVI, p. 111,28.
18. C.Sivaramamurti, *Indian Sculpture* (New Delhi, 1967) p. 1.
19. Vidya Prakash, *Khajuraho* (Bombay, 1967) p. 108.
20. Jagdish Kinjalk, "Socio-religious background of the construction of Khajuraho temples," a paper presented at the seminar on 'Art of Khajuraho' in 1987, p. 1.

List of Inscriptions

VARĀHA TEMPLE :

(A) *Personal names* : Bhagra (northern inner wall), Bhaiśīśa (eastern inner

wall), Bhalāga (Varāha's pedestal and surface), Bhurāśrī (northern inner wall), Gabhulāga (northern inner wall), Śrī Ja (Varāha's pedestal), Jasāvīga (outer wall), Jasavā (surface), Jusāga (outer wall), Kusāhiva (eastern inner wall), Mavāruḡa (western inner wall), Rahasu (surface, entrance), Sabhaiśrī (twice, inner and outer wall), Śahā (eastern inner wall), Sāhniit (outer wall), Sajñīyavā (southern inner wall), Śasiḡaga (pedesta, Varāha), Savaiśrī (western inner wall), Sēvuga (outer wall), Sighāgabhi (southern inner wall), Suharsa (outer wall), Valadvaśa (outer wall), Vañiyaga (outer wall), Vyāhrlāśa (outer wall).

(B) *Label etc.* : Sanpṛkabhāga (west-northern inner wall).

LAKṢMAṆA TEMPLE :

(A) *Personal names* : Asuthaga (Vāmana, northern inner wall), Avāyēvaja (southern inner wall), Bhabhalaga (western outer wall), Bhādaunā (goddess, southern pradakṣiṇā wall), Bhānarīṇa (southern *gavākṣa*), Bhānuja (elephant, northern *jagati*), Bhulāja (a lady between musicians, southern *jagati*), Chichā (Vyāla, south wall and twice on western wall of north-western shrine), Chivarupa (southern *antarāla pradakṣiṇā* wall), Deda (*Apsaras*, southern *pradakṣiṇā* wall), Dadvaga and Jajēga (Balarāma or Nāga, western *pradakṣiṇā* wall), Śrī Dapila (elephant, *maṇḡapa* outer wall), Dararaja (horse, eastern *jagati*), Dēharaja (elephant, northern *jagati*), Deva (southern wall north-western shrine), Dēvajadu (hand of a man, southern *jagati*), Dikasada (northern *jagati*), Dhaduga (Kicaka, southern inner wall), Dhājaga (Kicaka, northern *gavākṣa*), Dhigavā (southern *jagati*), Gahētāśrī (western outer wall), Gaṇē (southern outer wall), Gavaja (infantry, southern *jagati*), Ghaghaga (twice on the pillar, southern *gavākṣa* and on the wall of northern *pradakṣiṇā*), Haṇātī (musician, western outer wall), Hari (horse rider, northern *jagati*, and on the western outer wall), Hikamaga (southern *jagati*), Jada (eastern wall of north-western shrine), Jadōga (western *gavākṣa*), Jahariharga (elephant, northern *jagati*), Śrī Jaja (southern *jagati*), Jajē (southern *pradakṣiṇā* wall), Jajēga (goddess, northern *garbhagrha* wall), Jakhaga (*Apsaras*, west-northern outer wall), Jakhagaṇa (*Apsaras*, south wall), Jakharīga (Varuṇa, west-northern wall and on musician panel, western *garbhagrha* outer wall), Jakhana (Brahmā, south-western *garbhagrha* wall), Jakhaśrī (northern outer *garbhagrha* wall), Jakhagaṇa (god sculpture, south east corner), Javidaga (Varāha lady *mīthuna* sketch, southern *jagati*), Kakaga (pillar, southern *pradakṣiṇā*), Kalāga (*Apsaras*, western *gavākṣa*), Kalāsakṣa (*Apsaras*, south wall of southern shrine), Kanaja (horse rider, southern *jagati*), Kānaśrī (eastern pillar, northern *gavākṣa*), Kasapa (*Apsaras*, northern *garbhagrha* wall), Kaṡaga (Gajalakṣmī, northern inner wall), Śrī Kōḡē, Udhaśī, Vavēruśrī (Pārvalī's *rathikā*, southern inner wall), Koṡēga (surface, northern *pradakṣiṇā*), Kukē (twice, *mīthuna*, southern

jagati), Kukēga (southern *jagati*), Kulāga (elephant, northern *jagati*), Kuṇḍiya (on several stones), Kusada (northern wall, *garbhagṛha*), Latunaga (western *garbhagṛha* wall), Latuṇaga (western *garbhagṛha* wall), Śrī Lēga (southern inner wall), Lōhadavaśrī (*Apsaras*, eastern *gavākṣa*), Lōhaṭa (Varāha, southern *garbhagṛha* wall and musician, western *garbhagṛha* wall), Śrī Māgyī (surface, *maṇḍapa*), Mahavīra (musician), Śrī Mahavīra (on several stones), Mahavīraśrī (on several stones), Malaga (pillar, western *gavākṣa*), Nagaśa (southern inner wall), Nagaśrī (southern inner wall), Naṇaga (southern *pradakṣiṇāpatha*), Nanāiga (musician, northern wall), Nānaśrī (northern inner wall), Nāraga (southern inner wall), Navāga (southern inner wall), Nētāga (Vyāla, southern *garbhagṛha* wall), Nēṭhē (Kalyāṇasundara, northern *antarāla* wall), Nihataśrī (northern *garbhagṛha* wall), Śrī Niluga (Agni, southern outer wall), Śrī Nthuṇa (southern *pradakṣiṇā* wall), Nunaga (Pārvatī, western wall of southern shrine), Pahasāga (*Apsaras*, northern *garbhagṛha* wall), Paratu (Lakṣmī, southern outer *garbhagṛha* wall), Phēdā (west-northern outer *garbhagṛha* wall), Phēdā (southern outer *garbhagṛha* wall), puyaiga (pillar, northern *gavākṣa*), Raṇaśrī (southern *pradakṣiṇā* wall), Śrī Ravi (*rathikā*, northern outer *garbhagṛha* wall), Ritujaśrī (Lady, southern *gavākṣa*), Sādaga (twice, northern *garbhagṛha* wall), Śrī Śādhi (southern outer *garbhagṛha* wall), Sāhilēḥ (north-western pillar of *mahāmaṇḍapa*), Samaiga (near the entrance), Sāmēga (elephant rider), Savadēva (southern outer *garbhagṛha* wall), Savadēvaga (western pillar, southern *gavākṣa* and on southern outer *garbhagṛha* wall), Savāga (Agni, and musician, southern *garbhagṛha* outer wall), Savagadhā (elephant, northern outer wall), Savāja (infantry, southern *jagati*), Savidaga (Varāha lady *mithunasketch*), Sēruḍa (on several stones of the outer wall, north-western shrine), Śrī Sidvāruva (Andhakāsuravadha, southern wall), Sirigataja (fighting elephant, northern *jagati*), Śrī Śuja (elephant rider, southern *jagati*), Sulājaya (southern *jagati*), Śrī Tihara (musician, southern outer *garbhagṛha* wall), Umavagaṁ (Mātrkā, southern *pradakṣiṇā* wall), Vacharāja (twice, infantry and pounding, southern *jagati*), Vādaitā (southern inner wall), Śrī Vādaitī (northern outer *garbhagṛha* wall), Śrī Vadyagabha (western *garbhagṛha* wall), Vājaga (northern inner wall), Vakarāja (southern *jagati*), Vākaśrī (southern *pradakṣiṇā* wall), Valā (southern *pradakṣiṇā* wall), Vamvadēva (eastern pillar, northern *gavākṣa*), Vanhaja (Riders, western *jagati*), Vapaṇaga (Mahiṣamardinī, northern wall), Varāka (eastern inner wall), Varapaṇa (Kicaka, northern *gavākṣa*), Varapaśrī (Śiva, southern inner wall), Vasudēvaja (northern and southern *jagati*), Vēruja (Riders, northern *jagati*), Vipiga (southern *gavākṣa*), Yavaja (southern *jagati*).

- (B) *Names with some details* : Paravaṇagaṇa Vipīna Laja (pillar, western *gavākṣa*).

- (C) *Gaṇa* : Ha 3 A3 Mata *gaṇa*, Sidha, Sadha *gaṇa*7, Ha 3 A15 Sidha *gaṇa* 7, A 23 Mata *gaṇa* (all on southern wall, north-western shrine); Ha1 A11 Anurā *gaṇa* Ha 2 A 18 Savarara *gaṇa* (eastern wall, north-western shrine), Ha 1 Mata *gaṇa*, Ha 3 Sara, Ha 2 A1 Sanavaraga, A 23 Bhaita *gaṇa* Ha 1 (?A), Ṭhavaṇa *gaṇa*, Sara *gaṇa* Ha 3 II (?A) 3 Sara-*gaṇa*, Ṭemaṇaga (northern wall, north-western shrine); Ha 2 Savara *gaṇa*, A 23, Ṭhavaṇa *gaṇa* Ha 3 A 9, Savara *gaṇa* (western wall, north-western shrine) (Fig. 1-2).
- (D) *Labels* etc. : Bhāḍaja (musician, southern *jagati*), Chinutpaga (skull-bearing goddess, *antarāla*), Dhigaja (elephant, northern *jagati*), Gajāmi (elephant, southern outer wall), Havihijānuhi (letter in the hand of *Apsaras*, southern *gavākṣa*), Lakhalaḡa (mirror looking *Apsaras*, southern *garbhagr̥ha* wall), Magaṭa Saṭaja (*mithuna*, southern *garbhagr̥ha* wall) Mahāvata (elephant-man, northern outer wall), Sāsaja (horse and infantry, southern *jagati*), Savārā (Riders, eastern *jagati*) Savarāja (twice, horse-man *mithuna*, southern *jagati* and horse rider, western *jagati*), Siddhārāja (beard man with umbrella, northern *jagati*), Vākataḡ (education scene, eastern wall of south-east shrine), tānaija (musician, southern *jagati*), Vānrā (monkey, southern *jagati*), Vibhalaga (goddess, northern outer *garbhagr̥ha* wall), Visarupaja (lady standing in front of a *muni*, southern *jagati*), Śrī Gaja (elephant rider, southern *jagati*).

PĀRŚVANĀTHA TEMPLE :

- (a) *Personal names* : Dedugu (surface, *maṇḍapa*), Nagāñida (Mahāvira, southern *pradakṣiṇā* wall), Tisakēsa (surface, *maṇḍapa*).
- (b) *Names with some details* : Śrī Bhāṭaputra Śrī Dēvasarmma Ciraṇ Jayatuḡ (door-jamb), Bhāṭaputra Śrī Gōlūṇa (door-jamb), Śrī Bhāṭaputra Śrī Māhulaḡ (door-jamb), Bhāṭa putra Śra (Śrī) Pīthana (surface, *maṇḍapa*), Śra (Śrī) Gōnakhitamḡ (surface, *maṇḍapa*), Orṇ Gupunidhāna Śrī Jasyapālēna likhitamḡ (surface, *maṇḍapa*), Mahārājaputra Śra (Śrī) Jayasimḡhakhitaḡ (door-sill), Rājputra Śra (Śrī) Jayasimḡha (surface, *maṇḍapa*).

GHANṬAI TEMPLE :

Personal name : Nēmicandraḡ (on a stone).

VIŚVANĀTHA TEMPLE :

Personal names : Śrī Bhāṭaga (northern *pradakṣiṇa* wall), Śrī Cāmihirā (couple, northern *pradakṣiṇā* wall and on western outer wall), Dēdarā (Aṣṭabhūjī goddess, western *pradakṣiṇā* wall), Śrī Dējvarānila (northern *pradakṣiṇā* wall), Śrī Dēpāhija (eastern inner wall), Śrī Dēsala (elephant, northern wall and on several stones), Śrī Dēsalaḡa (god, southern *pradakṣiṇā* wall and on western

outer wall), Śrī Dēvadina (*Apsaras*, southern *pradakṣiṇā* wall), Śrī Dēvaṇada (on several stones), Śrī Dēvaṇada (on several stones) Śrī Dēvaṇada (on several stones), Śrī Dēvaṇadēva (Gaṇeśa, southern outer wall), Śrī Divāṇadaga (four places), Śrī Gahuvarā and Jasarāga (either side of *rathikā*, southern *pradakṣiṇā* wall), Śrī Gaṇī (*Apsaras*, southern *pradakṣiṇā* wall), Śrī Garuṇa (Umāmāhēśvara, southern outer wall), Śrī Gatama (*Āpsaras*), Śrī Gatēmyā (western *adhiṣṭhāna*, *garbhagṛha*), Śrī Jagadēva (*Apsaras* and on a stone, southern *pradakṣiṇā* wall), Jagrahāsa (northern inner wall, *garbhagṛha*), Śrī Jamēga (elephant-camel fighting, northern outer wall), Śrī Jasa and Śrī Vāku (either side of a *rathikā*, western *pradakṣiṇā* wall), Śrī Jasadēva (southern pillar, *garbhagṛha* and on the western wall of northern shrine), Śrī Jasāhara (Śiva, southern *pradakṣiṇā* wall), Śrī Jasauga (southern *garbhagṛha* wall), Śrī Jasmīna (eastern *garbhagṛha* wall), Śrī Jasyadīṇa (*rathikā*, northern wall), Śrī Javōga (elephant and infantry, southern outer wall), Śrī Lakāsu (musician and dancer, south, balcony of *mahāmaṇḍapa*), Śrī Mā (Umāmāhēśvara, southern outer wall), Śrī Madana (surface, *maṇḍapa* southern *pradakṣiṇāpatha*), Śrī Madraśrī (northern wall, *ardhamāṇḍapa*), Śrī Maha (western *garbhagṛha* wall), Śrī Mahaṇada (northern *garbhagṛha pradakṣiṇā*), Śrī Mahāṇada (*Apsaras*, western *garbhagṛha* wall), Śrī Mahāṇadaga (Brahmā, western *pradakṣiṇā* wall and on the northern outer wall), Śrī Maka (on several stones), Śrī Makharī (southern *pradakṣiṇā* wall), Śrī Manadhavā (*mithuna*, western *garbhagṛha* wall), Śrī Nānaka (western *garbhagṛha pradakṣiṇā* wall), Śrī Nibhakara (northern *pradakṣiṇā* wall), Śrī Nita (western *pradakṣiṇā* wall), Śrī Nuja (Brahmāṇī, northern *mahāmaṇḍapa* wall), Śrī Pādhu (northern *pradakṣiṇā* wall), Śrī Pahasā (*rathikā*, western *pradakṣiṇā* wall), Śrī Paṭṭaga (western *pradakṣiṇā* wall), Śrī Rāgamana (western *garbhagṛha* wall), Śrī Rāghu (southern outer wall), Śrī Ranē (eastern pillar, southern *gavākṣa*), Śrī Raṇē (northern *pradakṣiṇā* wall), Śrī Rāva (southern *pradakṣiṇā* wall), Śrī Rēlhiga (*Cāmuṇḍā*, southern outer wall), Śrī Rṣi (Brahmā, southern *pradakṣiṇā* wall), Śrī Rṣi and Śrī Samada (god, western *pradakṣiṇā* wall), Śrī Śahaṇāga (Vyāla, western *pradakṣiṇā* wall), Śrī Sakabhaṭa (surface, southern antarāla), Śrī Saṅkara (northern *pradakṣiṇā* wall), Saṅkaraśrī (western pillar, southern *gavākṣa*), Śrī Savadaga (inner and outer wall), Savadēva (*garbhagṛha* and southern outer wall), Śrī Śavagaṇa (platform of western pillar, southern *gavākṣa*), Śrī Sēdava (northern pillar, *garbhagṛha*), Sēkaga (fighting elephant, northern outer wall), Śrī Siddhāica (*rathikā*, southern wall), Śrī Tiśaśavā (southern outer wall), Śrī Udhēṇā (Pārvatī, southern *garbhagṛha* wall), Śrī Udrai (fragmentary statue, western *pradakṣiṇā* wall), Śrī Vacharā (a panel, north-western *garbhagṛha* wall), Śrī Vagā (Vyāla, northern *pradakṣiṇā* wall), Śrī Vāghī (*rathikā*, northern wall and on the northern *garbhagṛha pradakṣiṇā* wall), Vāghīśrīvā (northern *garbhagṛha* wall), Śrī Vakarāja (southern *pradakṣiṇā* wall), Śrī Valaśrī (eastern wall, *mahāmaṇḍapa*), Śrī Vasu (southern *garbhagṛha pradakṣiṇā* wall), Śrī Vasudeva (*garbhagṛha pradakṣiṇā* wall), Śrī Vata (eastern *garbhagṛha* wall), Śrī Vralā (southern *pradakṣiṇā*).

DEVĪ JAGADAMBĪ TEMPLE :

Personal name : Śrī Mihirata (on a stone).

CITRAGUPTA TEMPLE :

Personal names : Śrī Riṣu (southern wall), Subhavā and Nahīṇā (northern pillar, *mahāmaṇḍapa* door), Umā (southern pillar, *mahāmaṇḍapa*).

ĀDINĀTHA TEMPLE :

Name with some details - Rupakāra Rāmadeva (twice, Ādinātha statue of A. D. 1158).

KANDARIYĀ MAHĀDEVA TEMPLE :

(A) *Personal names* : Aja (Kicaka, southern *gavākṣa*), Dāsāṇa (under a beam), Dēja (pillar between Kalyāṇasundara and Umāmāhēśvara, south-eastern inner wall), Ghṛḍhā (a panel, southern *garbhagr̥ha* wall), Haribhā (Kubera-Ṛdhidevī), Jasara (northern *adhīsthān*), Mi (southern *pradakṣiṇā*, *antarāla*), Pata (north-western pillar, western *gavākṣa*), Rōḍhā (infantry), Vacharā (a panel, north-western *garbhagr̥ha* wall), Vadaru (south-western pillar, *gavākṣa*), Vaḥka (northern wall, *antarāla*), Vaḥkī (southern *garbhagr̥ha pradakṣiṇā* wall), Viṣa (north-western pillar, southern *gavākṣa*), Yajama (pillar of a *rathikā*, southern *pradakṣiṇā* wall).

(B) *Labels etc.* : Dēvabhāra (*Apsaras*, northern *gavākṣa*).

VĀMANA TEMPLE :

Personal names : Sighaja (outer wall, *maṇḍapa*), Vācaṭa (right pillar of a *rathikā*, *maṇḍapa*), Vajaṭhaka (on a pillar, *mahāmaṇḍapa*).

DULĀDEVA TEMPLE :

(A) *Personal names* : Dēhlaṇa (on two pillars and several stones), Tilha (southern face, *maṇḍapa*), Vāsālā (on several stones), Vāsallā (on several stones), Viku (*rathikā*, *mahāmaṇḍapa*).

(B) *Labels etc.* - Maṭhasa (southern outer wall).

MUSEUMS :**ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM :**

(A) *Personal names*: Śarṇṭāḍi (Ādinātha, Acc. No. 1667, 1682), Kiku (*Mithuna* Acc. No. 351).

(B) *Names with some details* : Rūpaka Raviku (Naṭarāja, Acc. No. 549).

(C) *Labels etc.* - Nanōrātāla (Kārttikēya, Acc. No. 1098), Şajuḥ (Vişṇu, Acc. No. 126; Umāmahēśvara, 504; Manōvōgā, 940; Kārttikēya, 1099).

JARDINE MUSEUM :

(A) *Personal names* : Devatilhaṇa (*Apsaras*, Acc. No. 1294), Ghṛḍā (Brahmā-Brahmāṇī, 318), Rahasuga (pedestal of a statue, 2672), Vadukṣā (Garuḍa, 282).

(B) *Names with some details* - *Rūpakāra* Kumārasīha (Vīranātha, 457), Śrī Vaikuṅṭhē garuraḥ Valiaṭamarṁtaisuta *rūpakāra* Vēna Pratiṣṭhitaḥ (Garuḍa, 1232).

(C) *Labels etc.*- Dulādēva (Yugala, 313), Siṁghalāja (Bhainsāsuri, 2320), Janatā (worship scene, 1885), Māhēsevarī (Māhēśvarī, 728), Şajuḥ (Umāmāhēśvara, 494), Sēvaṁsāgara, 35, 39, 124).

In a collection, north-west of Pārśvanātha Temple :

Samgrāma Sīha, Sālhaṇa, Māddhava Sīha, Nāgendra (on a stone slab).

THE KĀLAÑJARA VAIKUṆṬHAPAṬṬA AND ITS HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE

S. K. SULLEREY

The custom of installing sacred *paṭṭas* in stone, dedicated to the Brahmanical gods or holy places, gained a good deal of popularity in the Candella-Kalacuri area during the early medieval period. A number of stone *paṭṭas* have been recently discovered, and though published earlier the *paṭṭa* characteristic of some of them were not identified. We know with certainty at least ten sculptures of the *paṭṭa* type. Many more, we are sure, are lying scattered in various archaeological sites, still undetected and unidentified.¹

An inscribed panel on stone depicting Vaikuṇṭha as a central figure was discovered long back by Maisey at Kālañjara.² It is of unusual historical significance and therefore, I would like to discuss it in some details.

I drew attention to this important panel in my book entitled *Ajaigarh Aur Kālañjara Kī Deva Pratimāyain*.³ I feel inclined to identify the slab as *Vaikunṭhapaṭṭa*. The sculptural style of slabs has a distinctive and independent entity which has not been identified as yet. Both in terms of style and diction of modelling, and the purpose for which they were designed, slabs are different from images fashioned independently and installed in sanctum or alternatively placed or carved on temple walls and niches. The custom of installing the *paṭṭas* was fairly prevalent in early medieval India, and luckily I could discover a few such *paṭṭas* at Kālañjara.⁴

The panel is fixed in the right side wall of the second gateway descending to the Nīlakaṇṭha temple at Kālañjara. The *Vaikunṭhapaṭṭa* of Kālañjara is square in shape measuring 120 cm on each sides (Pl. XIII). On the top of the *paṭṭa* originally fourteen *mahā-liṅgas* were carved, but now the sixth and the ninth *liṅga* from left had indistinct depiction of a *mukhaliṅga* in its front part, which is now half broken. On the thirteenth *liṅga* a peculiar scene of the man combating a lion with its mouth open and upraised tail has been depicted. The panel has been horizontally divided in four bands. The first band contains nine four-armed skeletal female figures seated in *lalitāsana* with a long staff-like object looking like a spear, *śūla*, in her hands. These female figures may be identified with a cluster of Cāmuṇḍās or Navadurgās. The second band on left shows a row of Pañca-Gaṇeśa, all four-handed with sweet bowls (*modaka pātras*) in their left normal hands.

The Gaṇeśa figures are further followed by a group of three standing figures, having four hands, with normal two hands in the *namaskāra mudrā* and the other two rest on intervening pedestals. Perhaps these standing figures represent Indra, Varuṇa and Kubera. Next comes a four-handed Mātṛkā seated in *sukhāsana* with a child in her left lap. Another four-handed figure of Sarasvatī, similarly seated and playing on Vinā⁵ held diagonally, is depicted next. This band in right extreme has a seated two-handed female figure. The third band has in all twelve standing figures out of which first seven can be identified with Ādityas and five figures of Viṣṇu. The last figure to extreme right is of a Siddha Puruṣa and it agrees with Siddha Puruṣa with Yogapaṭṭa already noticed in *Tirpūrī Tīrthapaṭṭa*.⁶ The fourth band has again a line of twelve Viṣṇu figures. The total number of Viṣṇu icons in two bands thus comes to seventeen.

The main central figure, largest in composition, is equally very important. It is a four-handed figure standing in *tribhaṅga* pose bedecked with ornaments and a *vanamālā* reaching below the knee. All the four hands are broken now, but they remained suspended below. The Vaikuṇṭha is being flanked by a female on right and a male on left both much smaller in height. It seems that the deity was multiheaded, but two of the faces are badly damaged. The third one, perhaps the one to right is still partly extant, it is of a lion. This image thus may be identified to be that of Vaikuṇṭha. On the bottom of the central figure a mutilated label inscription is supporting the above identification. It reads “(Śrī) Vaikuṇṭhasya Paṭṭaḥ Kāritaḥ,” a *paṭṭa* dedicated to Vaikuṇṭha has been caused to be prepared. It is difficult to date precisely the short inscription on the basis of a few letters; it however appears that it may belong to the 10th-11th century A.D.

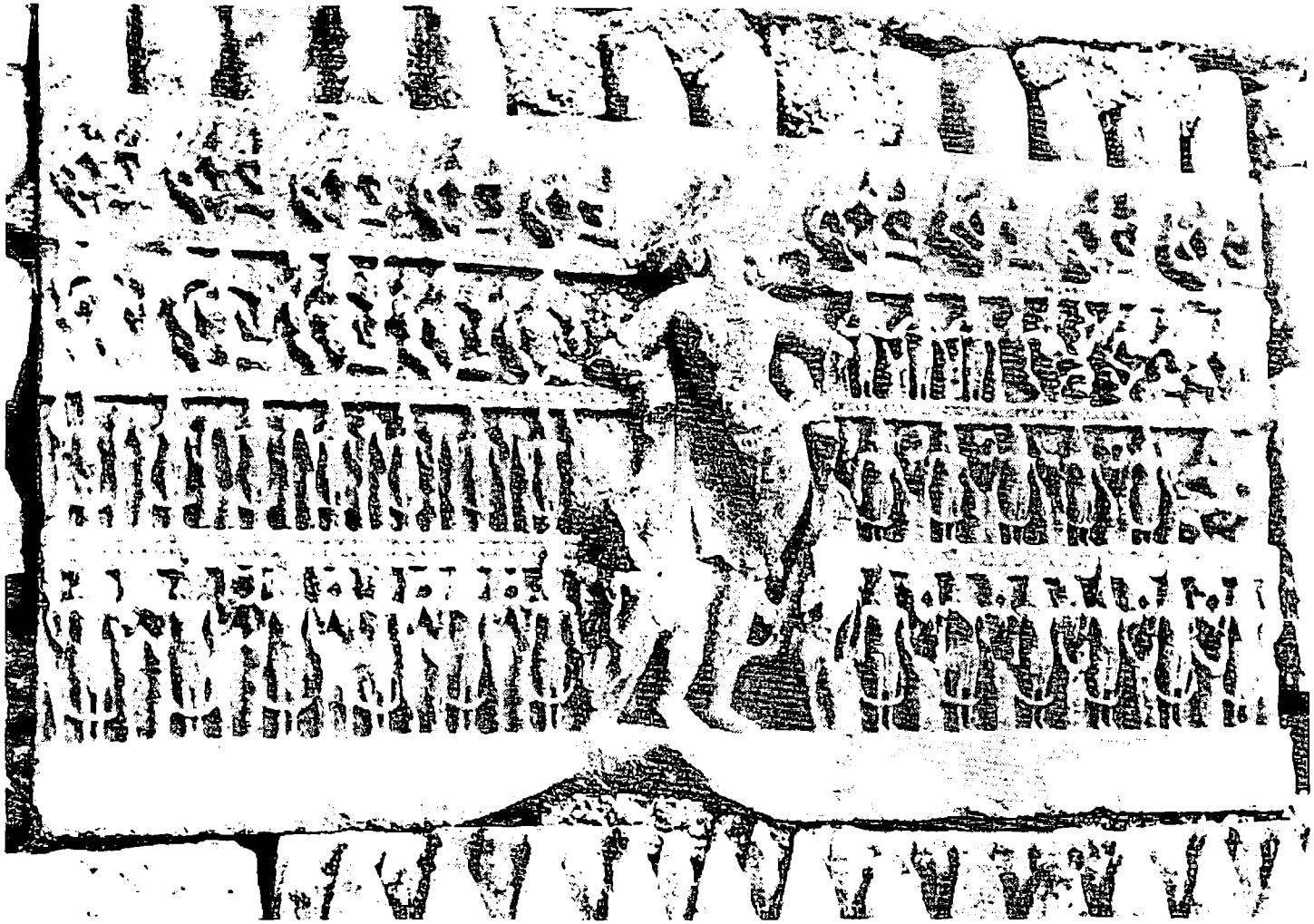
The study of the above *Vaikuṇṭhapaṭṭa* is very significant for reasons more than one. In the first place we can associate the depiction of *Vaikuṇṭhapaṭṭa* of Kālañjara with the conquest of Kālañjara by the Candella king Yaśovarman.⁷ The Khajurāho inscription of V. S. 1011 states — “He easily conquered Kālañjara mountain, the dwelling place of Śiva (Nīlakaṇṭha) which is so high that it impedes the progress of the sun at mid-day”.⁸ The conquest of Kālañjara was an important achievement for Yaśovarman, which enhanced the prestige and power of the family, and the Candellas came to be recognised as a political power. Nanyurā copper plate of Dhauṅga mentions his father and grandfather who belonged to the *Bhāgavatas-Trailokya-Cūdāmaṅḍh Candrātreyā-munermahīyāsī kule*.⁸ The Khajurāho inscription of V. S. 1011 records the construction of a temple of Viṣṇu—Vaikuṇṭha by king Yaśovarman. It also gives an interesting history of the image of Vaikuṇṭha that was installed in it. Yaśovarman himself had received it from Hayapati Devapāla, son of Herambapāla.¹⁰ Thus I am attributing from above facts that the *Vaikuṇṭhapaṭṭa* of Kālañjara was carved during the reign of Yaśovarman. This *Paṭṭa* thus

bears the testimony of the Pāñcarātra influence at Kālañjara during the time of Yaśovarman. It is thus evident that Viṣṇu worship continued at Kālañjara, though the predominant religion was Śaivism.

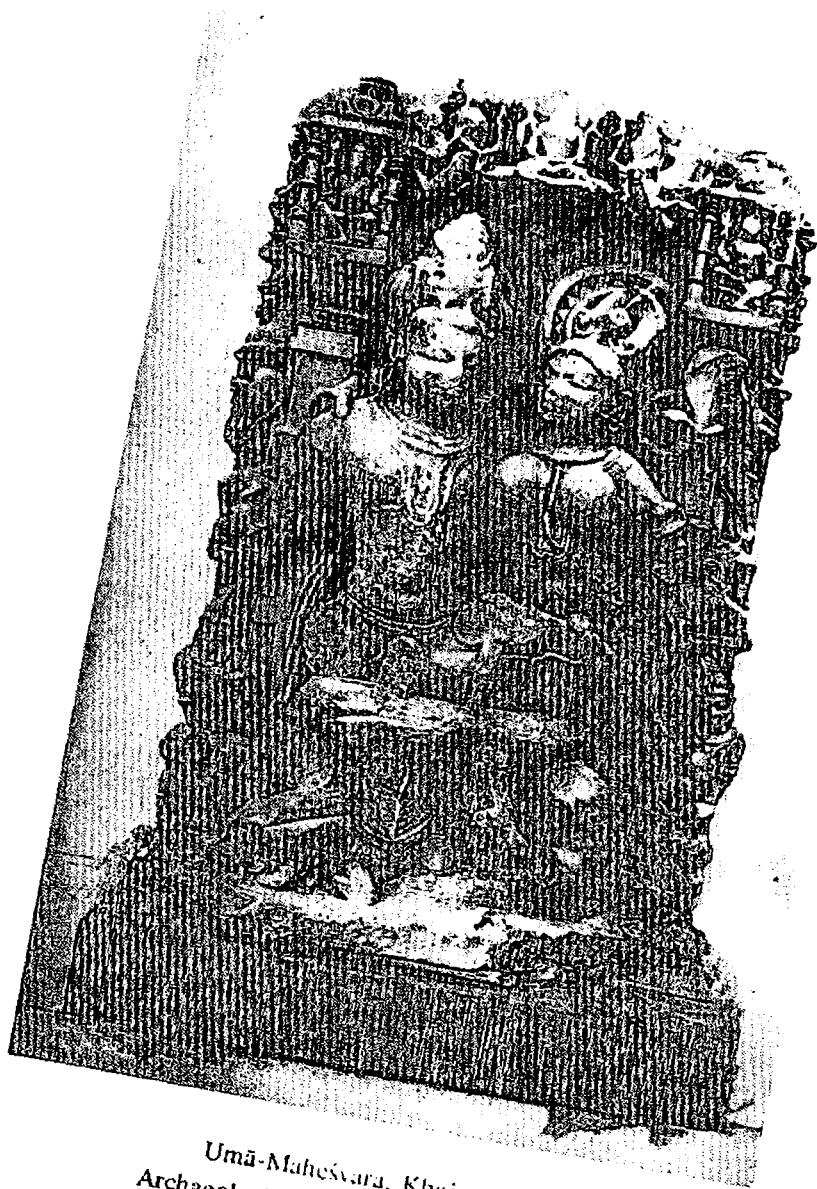
Śaivism was already a popular religion at Kālañjara long before the advent of Yaśovarman. Kālañjara, which became one of the major strongholds of the Candellas, was popularly known for many centuries as an abode of Nilakaṇṭha Śiva. According to Wilson it is mentioned in the Vedas as one of the Tapasyāsthānas.¹¹ The antiquity and sanctity of Kālañjara is also testified by the Epics¹² and Puraṇas.¹³ It will be of interest here to refer to a few terracotta seals of the Gupta period which have been excavated at Bhūtā, and contain the representations of some Śaiva emblems.¹⁴ These seals bear the different appellations of Śiva such as Kāleśvara, Kālañjarabhaṭṭāraka, Bhadreśvara, Mahīśvara and Nandī¹⁵. The seal bears a *Śivaliṅga* with an umbrella on one side and a trident on the other. The *liṅga* is placed on a hill in the form of a well-arranged pile of round balls, below which is a waved line probably standing for a river. The legend in Northern Gupta character is Kālañjara Bhaṭṭārakasya, i.e., of the lord of Kālañjara.¹⁶ This seal was evidently issued from a Śaiva shrine on the Kālañjara hill. Another seal bears also a *Śivaliṅga* of an extremely realistic nature placed on a pedestal with the representation of a hill on one side and trident-axe on the other having a legend *k(a) la (n) jara* in north-eastern Gupta characters¹⁷. The seal no. 17 is of unique iconographic interest. It bears a two-armed male figure seated in *lalitāsana* pose on a *pādapīṭha* with uncertain objects in his hands. There appears to be foliage (?) or flames overhead and shoulders; the legend in northern characters of 4th or 5th century A. D. is *Bhadreśvara*¹⁸. Marshall says this is the name of the *Śivaliṅga* of Kalpagrāma (not identified upto date) according to the *Vāmana Purāṇa* (Ch. 46)¹⁹. The male figure may, therefore, be Śiva in the Bhadreśvara aspect.²⁰ On the basis of Kālañjara inscription of Udayana, I am inclined to identify the seal of Bhadreśvara with the Lord installed in the brick temple of Lord Bhadreśvara referred to in the inscription.²¹ The seal bearing the legend Bhadreśvara is also found in the excavation along with the seals connected with Kālañjara.²² Another inscription from Kālañjara refers the *Umā Maheśvara-Paṭṭa* which was installed by Dedduka, the son of Śri Sinduka of the Nemika lineage, migrated from Mangalānka in the Gurjjarātra Mandala, who performed the *Utsarga* ceremony for the pavilion (*maṇḍapikā*) dedicated to the Goddess, and his wife Lakṣmī.²³ Palcographically the epigraph may be dated to the 8th century A. D.²⁴ The epigraph testifies the custom of installing the *paṭṭa* at Kālañjara previous to this *Vaikunṭhapāṭṭa*.

Notes and References

1. V. S. Pathak & S. K. Sullerey, - *Tripurī Tīrtha Paṭṭa. A Sculptural Mythic Representation of Tripurī, Art of the Kalachuris*, p. 49.



Vaikuṅṭha-paṭṭa at Kālañjara



Umā-Maheśvara, Khajuraho
Archaeological Museum, Acc. No. 464

2. F. C. Maisey - *Antiquities at Kalanjar*, p. 19.
3. Sushil Kumar Sullerey, - *Ajaigarh Aur Kālañjara Kī Deva Pratimāyain*, Ramanand Vidya Bhavan, New Delhi, 1987.
4. During my recent visit I explored three more *paṭṭas* at Kālañjara.
5. Depiction of Sarasvatī is a particular feature which figures in Kālañjara *Paṭṭas*.
6. V. S. Pathak & S. K. Sullerey, - *Tripurī Tīrtha Paṭṭa, A Sculptural Mythic Representation of Tripuri, Art of the Kalachuris*, p. 51.
7. *E. I.*, Vol. I, pp. 128, 133.
8. *Ibid.* Vol. I, p. 128.
9. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVI, pp. 202-204.
10. *E. I.*, Vol. I, pp. 129, 134.
11. Cunningham, A. S. R., Vol. XXI, p. 91.
12. *Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa*, 7, 2, 29. *Mahābhārata Āraṇyaka Parva*, 3, 83, 53-54, 3, 85, 13-15, *Anuśāsana Parva*, 13, 26, 33.
13. *Vāyu Purāṇa*, 77, 93, 23, 204; *Liṅga Purāṇa*, 36.26; *Padma Purāṇa*, 132, 62, 63, 196, 13-14, 237, 6-7; *Brahma Purāṇa*, 2, 246.1; *Skanda Purāṇa*, 4.6.25; *Garuḍa Purāṇa*, 81.18.19; *Agni Purāṇa*, 109, 23; *Matsya Purāṇa*, 23, 109; *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, 5.8.30, *Harivaṃśa Purāṇa*, 121-24-27; *Kūrma Purāṇa*, 36.35.38; *Vāmana Purāṇa*, 90.27; *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*, 3.13.100.
14. J. N. Banerjea, *Development of Hindu Iconography*, p. 182.
15. *A. S. I. A. R.* 1911-12, pp. 47, pl.XVIII, No. 14.
16. J. N. Banerjea, *Development of Hindu Iconography*, p. 182.
17. *Ibid.*
18. *Ibid.*
19. *Ibid.*
20. *Ibid.*, p. 184.
21. *E. I.*, Vol. IV.
22. *A. S. I. A. R.* 1911-12 pp. 47, 49, Pl. XVIII, No. 14.
23. *E. I.*, Vol. V, p. 210 Fn. I, V. S. Pathak & S. K. Sullerey, *Tripurī Tīrtha Paṭṭa, A Sculptural Mythic Representation of Tripuri, Art of the Kalachuris*, p. 51. fn. 1.
24. *Ibid.*

UMĀ-MAHEŚVARA SCULPTURES FROM KHAJURAHO

K. M. SURESH

Khajuraho (Lat. 24° - 51' N and Long. 79° - 56' E), one of the capitals of the Candellas, who ruled Central India in the early medieval times from *circa* 9th to 12th centuries A. D., is situated in the Chhatarpur District of Madhya Pradesh. The track around Khajuraho was known during ancient times as Vatsa, in the medieval times as Jejākabhukti, and as Bundelkhand from 14th century onwards. This place made significant contributions to the development of art and architecture, as is well-known.

Umā-Maheśvara sculptures come under category of *sukhāsana mūrti* of Śiva and Pārvatī and it is a composite form which prevailed throughout India from the early medieval period due to deep devotion and attachment to the particular deities by the followers of various sects. The worship of Umā-Maheśvara is known from the days of Epic period¹. The Āgamas² and the iconographic texts³ referred to this type of sculpture by the name of Umā-Ālīngana, Umāsahita-Candraśekhara, Somaskanda, etc.

The *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*⁴ states that the image of Śiva and Pārvatī as Umā-Maheśvara should be seated in *sukhāsana* posture on a high pedestal or seat, embracing each other. Maheśvara should have a *jaṭāmukuta* on his head with *candra*, the crescent moon stuck to it, he should have two arms, in the right one of which there should be a *nilotpala* and the left one should be thrown on the left shoulder of Umā embracing her. Umā is seated on the left lap of Śiva-Maheśvara. She should have her right hand thrown in embrace of Śiva and should keep in her left hand a *darpaṇa*, mirror. The *Rūpamaṇḍana*⁵ states : "Maheśvara should have four arms and that in one of the right hands, there should be a *triśūla* and in the other a *mātuliṅga* fruit while the upper left hand holds a *nāga* and the other arm should be thrown on the shoulder of Umā, embracing her. The colour of Maheśvara should be red like coral. There should be in this group Nandī, Gaṇeśa, Kārttikeya and a lean emaciated figure of dancing ṛṣi Bhṛṅgī, all these arranged in an artistic composition."

The *Matsya Purāṇa*⁶ says : "the upper and lower right hands of Maheśvara should hold a *sūla* and a lotus while the upper left hand holds a *nāga* and lower one should touch the breast of the goddess Umā, who is seated on his left lap. The right hand of Umā should be placed on the right shoulder

of her Lord and the left hand either carries a lotus or a *darpaṇa* (mirror)."

Umā-Maheśvara are generally depicted seated in *sukhāsana* with *ālīngana mudrā* on a high pedestal, Umā with her right hand placed on the right shoulder of her Lord and seated on the left thigh. Maheśa has four arms and is elaborately dressed and ornamented. His right leg rests on the body of Nandī. The upper hand holds *triśūla* and *nāga* while the lower right hand holds *nilotpala* or *mātuliṅga*, and the lower left hand is thrown on the left shoulder of Umā, embracing her. The right hand of Umā passes round his neck while the left hand holds a *darpaṇa*. Her mount, the lion, is represented on the pedestal, on whose back her right leg rests, or sometimes it rests on a lotus flower. The most prominent characteristic of this form is the presence of *candra*, the crescent moon, tucked to the *jaṭāmukuta* of Śiva.

T.A. Gopinatha Rao⁷ has illustrated a few sculptures of Umā-Maheśvara from Ellora in Maharashtra, and from Bagali, Aihole and Haveri from Karnataka in South India.

The earliest reference of this type in North India, is a gold plaque in a private collection of P.K.Jalam from Patna,⁸ depicting two figures side by side, identified as Hara and Pārvatī datable to the Mauryan period, However, the genuineness of this metal plaque is doubted by scholars⁹. A fine specimen of Umā-Maheśvara sculpture of the Gupta period¹⁰ has been discovered from Kosam which bears an inscription of Kumāragupta I on the pedestal. The coins of 7th century A.D., issued by *Paramabhāṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Śrī Mahārāja* Harṣadeva,¹¹ depict on the reverse Śiva with Pārvatī seated on Nandī. Śiva is four-armed and holds a *triśūla* and other attributes and Pārvatī is seated on the left side. Apart from those mentioned above, a large number of sculptures of Umā-Maheśvara have been discovered from various places of Bihar¹², Benaras¹³, Mathura¹⁴, etc., which attests to the popularity of this form of images in North India.

Few sculptures of Umā-Maheśvara of the Candella period from Khajuraho are described and illustrated below :-

(a) A sculpture depicting Umā-Maheśvara (Pl. XIV) exhibited in the Archaeological Museum, Khajuraho (Acc. No. : 0464). Maheśvara is shown seated in *lalītāsana* on a pedestal. His upper left hand holds a *nāga* and the lower left hand embraces Umā, while the right hands are broken. He wears a *jaṭāmukuta*, *nāgakuṇḍalas*, *hāra*, *yajñopavīta*, waist girdle and loose anklets. He has *kaustubhamāṇi* on the chest. His right foot rests on the lotus, but the legs are broken.

Umā is seated on the left lap of Maheśvara. Her right hand is thrown on the right shoulder of Maheśvara embracing him. She has a typical head-dress

of *dhammilla* type and wears *kuṇḍalas*, necklace, *hāra*, *keyūras* and waist girdle. Her left foot is resting on the body of her lion mount. The mounts of Umā-Maheśvara, the Nandī and the lion, are depicted below the pedestal; both their heads are broken. The deity is attended on either side by a devotee seated with folded hands held in *añjali mudrā*, along with *dvārapālakas*.

Seated four-armed Brahmā and Śiva are depicted in niches on the top right and left. On the top centre of the *prabhāvalī* is depicted a seated four-armed Viṣṇu in the form of Sūrya-Nārāyaṇa, flanked by Vidyādharas holding garlands in their hands.

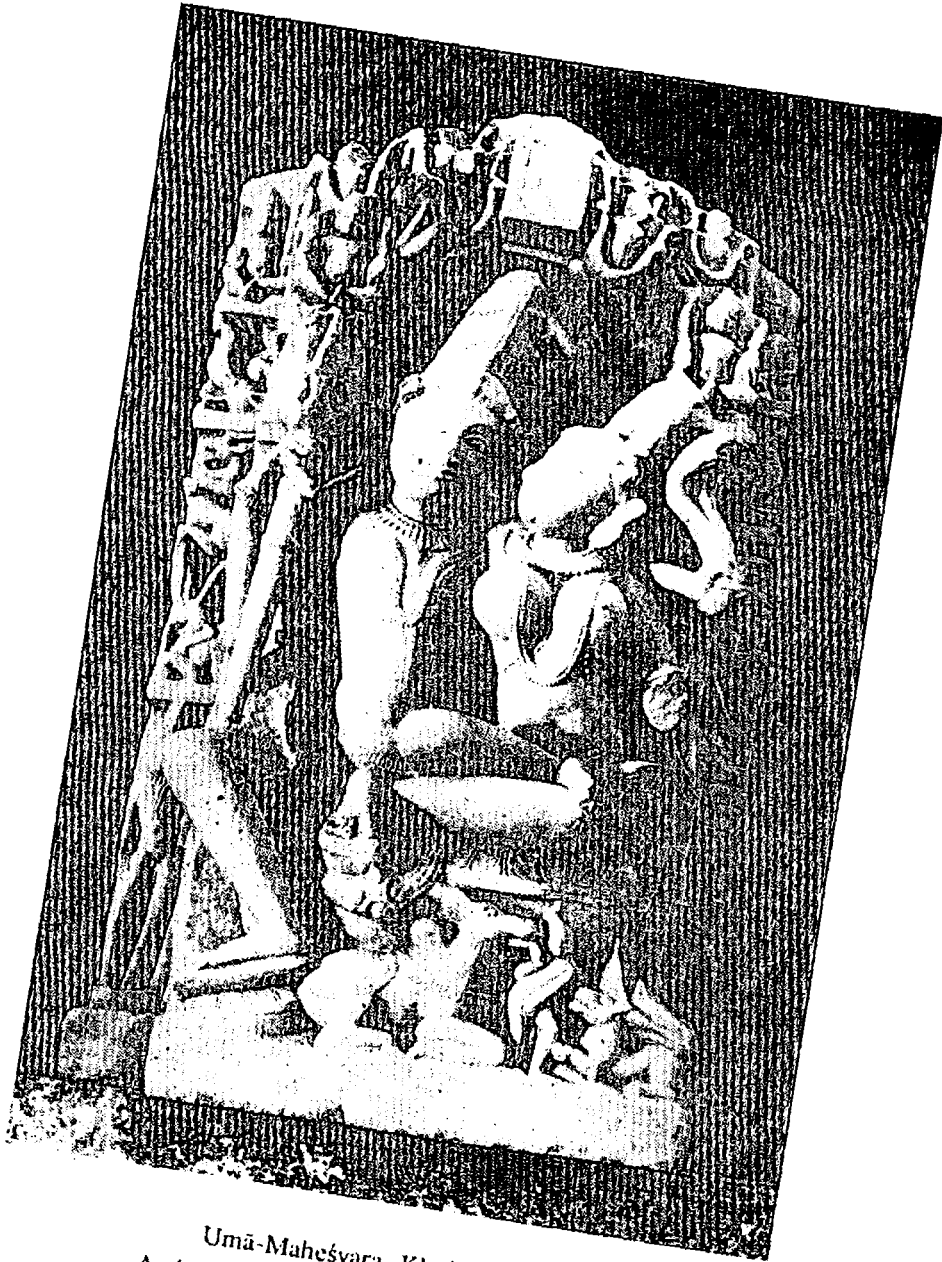
(b) Another beautiful sculpture depicting Umā-Maheśvara (Pl. XV), is exhibited in the Archaeological Museum, Khajuraho, (Acc. No : 0514). Maheśvara is shown as seated in *lalitāsana* on a pedestal. He has four arms, the lower right hand is broken, the upper right hand holds a *triśūla*, while the upper left hand holds a three-hooded *nāga* and the lower left hand embraces Umā. He wears a *jaṭāmukuta*, *kuṇḍalas*, torque, *hāra*, *yajñopavīta*, lower garment tied to waist girdle with loops and tassels, scarf-like long *mālā*, *keyūras* and loose anklets. He has a *kaustubhamāṇi* on the chest.

Umā is shown seated on the left lap of Maheśvara. She has two arms; the right hand is thrown on the right shoulder of Maheśvara embracing him, and the left hand is broken. She has a typical hairdress of *dhammilla* type. She wears *kuṇḍalas*, torque, *hāra*, *keyūras*, waist girdle, etc.

Nandī and lion, the mounts, are depicted below the pedestal and a dancing *gana* is shown in between these two animals. On either side is depicted a male attendant with one of his hands held in *kaṭihasta*. Seated four-armed male deities are shown on the top near the halo. On the top centre of the *prabhāvalī*, are depicted *pañca-liṅgas* flanked by Vidyādharas holding garlands in their hands.

(c) A beautiful sculpture depicting Umā-Maheśvara (Pl. XVI, A) displayed in the Open Air Jardine Museum, Khajuraho (Acc. No. 351). Maheśvara is shown seated in *lalitāsana* on a pedestal. He has four arms; the lower right holds *mātuliṅga*, the upper right hand probably held a *triśūla*, which is broken, while the upper left hand holds a *nāga* and the lower left hand embraces Umā. He wears *jaṭāmukuta* with ornamental bands, *patrakuṇḍalas*, necklace, *hāra*, *keyūras*, waist girdle, *yajñopavīta*, anklets and loose anklets. He has *kaustubhamāṇi* on the chest and a *śiraścakra* at the back of his head.

Umā is shown seated on the left lap of Maheśvara. She has two arms; the right hand is thrown on the right shoulder of Śiva-Maheśvara embracing him, and her left hand holds a *darpaṇa*. She has a typical head-dress of *dhammilla* type and wears *kuṇḍalas*, necklace, *hāra*, waist girdle, *sārī*, *keyūras*,



Umā-Maheśvara, Khajuraho
Archaeological Museum, Acc. No. 524



A. Umā Maheśvara, Khajuraho, Open-Air Jardine
Museum Acc. No. 0351



B. Umā Maheśvara, Khajuraho Open-Air Jardine
Museum, Acc No. 0461

anklets and waistlet. Her face is little raised and looks towards Maheśvara. Her left foot rests on her mount lion.

Nandī and Simha, the mounts, are depicted below the seat, and a *gaṇa* is also depicted in between these two animals. Gaṇeśa, Kārttikeya and Saiva *dvārapālakas* are depicted on either side. On the left side of the nimbus is depicted a seated four-armed Viṣṇu. A female devotee, probably a donor, is depicted on the front face of the pedestal, with a two-letter inscription reading “Śarju”.

(d) Another lovely sculpture depicting Umā-Maheśvara (Pl. XVI, B) displayed in the open Air Jardine Museum, Khajuraho (Acc. No. 0461). Maheśvara is shown seated in *lalitāsana* on a pedestal. He has four arms, the lower right hand holds *mātuliṅga* fruit, the upper right hand holds *triśūla* while the upper left hand holds a *nāga* and the lower left hand embraces Umā, who is seated on his left lap. He wears a *jaṭāmukuta* with beaded head-gear band, *nāgakunḍalas*, *hāra*, torque, necklace, *yajñopavīta*, armlets, wristlets, waist girdle with loose tassels and loops and long *vanamālā* in the scarf. His left leg is folded and right foot is resting on the pedestal.

Umā, seated on the left lap of Maheśvara, has two arms. The right hand is thrown on the right shoulder of Maheśvara and embraces her Lord and the left hand holds a *darpaṇa*. She wears a typical pointed *kirītamukuta* seen in the Dulādeva temple, and also big ear-rings, *hāra*, torque, armlets, wristlets, waist girdle, *sārī* and anklets. Her left foot is placed on her lion mount.

The mounts, Nandī and Simha, are depicted on the pedestal and a dancing *gaṇa* is also depicted in between these two animals. A devotee stands with his hands in *añjali mudrā*. Two letters engraved on the front face of the pedestal read “Sarju”.

Apart from the images described above, more than 50 images of Umā-Maheśvara are displayed in the Open Air Jardine Museum, Khajuraho.

A few sculptures of Umā-Maheśvara from the temples of Khajuraho are described below :-

(i) Umā-Maheśvara sculpture kept in a outer niche, facing east of *mahāmaṇḍapa* of Viśvanātha temple.

A sculpture depicting Umā-Maheśvara seated in *lalitāsana* posture on a pedestal with their respective mounts. Maheśvara has four arms, holds *triśūla* and *nāga* in the upper hands, while the lower left hand embraces Umā and the lower right hand is broken. He has a *jaṭāmukuta* and wears the usual ornaments on the body.

Umā is seated on the left lap of Maheśvara. Her right hand embraces

her Lord and the left hand holds a *darpaṇa*. She has a typical head-dress of *dhammilla* type.

The divine couple is attended by Śaiva *dvārapālakas* on either side, the right one holds a *khaṭvāṅga* and the left one holds a *triśūla*. The halo is flanked by seated Brahmā and Viṣṇu.

(ii) Umā-Maheśvara sculpture kept in the upper niche facing west in the inner ambulatory of Viśvanātha temple.

A sculpture depicting Umā-Maheśvara, seated in *lalitāsana* posture on a pedestal with their respective mounts, below the pedestal along with a dancing *gaṇa* in between these two animals. Maheśvara has four arms, carries a *mātuliṅga*, *triśūla*, *nāga*, and the lower left hand embraces Umā. Umā is seated on the left lap of Maheśvara with her right hand embracing her Lord and the left hand holding a *darpaṇa*. They are attended by female attendants on either side at the bottom of the slab, and a flying Vidyādhara couple carrying garland on either side of the nimbus at the top.

(iii) Umā-Maheśvara sculpture kept in a inner niche of the *mahāmaṇḍapa* of Kandariyā Mahādeva temple.

A sculpture depicting Umā-Maheśvara seated in *lalitāsana*. The right hands of Śiva are broken while the upper left hand holds a *nāga* and the lower left hand embraces Umā. Umā is seated on the left lap of Maheśvara with her right hand embracing her Lord, her left hand is broken. The lion mount of Umā is depicted below the left foot of Umā and a devotee is seated with hands held in *añjali mudrā*. The bull is depicted below the seat of Maheśvara. A seated four-armed Brahmā is depicted on the left side of the halo, and the right side is empty.

(iv) Umā-Maheśvara sculpture kept in the interior niche of the *maṇḍapa* of Kandariyā Mahādeva temple.

A sculpture depicting Umā-Maheśvara, seated in *lalitāsana* with their respective mounts lion and bull. He has four arms; the right hands are broken, while the upper left hand holds a *nāga* and the lower left hand embraces Umā. Umā is seated on the left lap of Maheśvara with her right hand embracing her Lord and the left hand holding a *darpaṇa*. They are attended by Gaṇeśa, Karttikeya and Śaiva *dvārapālakas* on either side.

(v) Umā-Maheśvara sculpture kept in a upper outer niche of Sūrya / Citragupta temple.

A sculpture depicting Umā-Maheśvara seated in *lalitāsana* on a pedestal. He holds *mātuliṅga*, *nāga* and embraces Umā and the fourth hand is broken. Umā is seated on the left lap of Maheśvara with her right hand embracing her Lord and the left hand holding a *darpaṇa*. Her hair is tied up in a

knot at the back and wears *kuṇḍalas* and other usual ornaments and dress on her body. The deities are attended by a male attendant on the right side who holds a *khaṭvāṅga* and a female attendant on the left side holds a *cauri*. On the right and the left sides of the nimbus are depicted seated Gaṇeśa and Kārttikeya respectively.

(vi) Umā-Maheśvara sculpture kept in a inner niche of the sanctum of Vāmana temple.

A sculpture depicting Umā-Maheśvara, seated in *lalitāsana* on a pedestal with their respective mounts Nandī and Simha below the pedestal. The head and three hands of Maheśvara are broken, the lower left hand embraces his consort. He wears *kuṇḍalas*, *hāra*, and *yajñopavīta*. Umā seated on his left lap has her right foot resting on the body of the lion. Her right hand embraces her Lord and the left hand is broken. They are attended by Śaiva *dvārapālakas* on either side. Gaṇeśa and Kārttikeya are represented on the right and left side of the nimbus.

(vii) Umā-Maheśvara sculpture kept in the upper outer niche, facing west, of Viṣṇu / Javari temple.

The sculpture depicts Umā-Maheśvara, seated in *lalitāsana* on a pedestal. The lower left hand of Maheśvara embraces Umā, other hands are broken. Umā, seated on the left lap of Maheśvara, embraces her Lord with her right hand and holds a mirror in the left hand. They are attended by seated Gaṇeśa on the right side and seated Kārttikeya on the left side. Brahmā and Viṣṇu sit on the right and the left sides of the nimbus respectively.

(viii) Umā-Maheśvara sculpture kept in the central niche of the *mahāmaṇḍapa*, facing north, of Javari temple.

The sculpture depicts Umā-Maheśvara seated in *lalitāsana* on a pedestal with their respective mounts. He holds *mātuliṅga*, *triśūla*, *nāga* and with his lower left hand embraces Umā, who is seated on the left lap. Umā's right hand embraces her Lord and the left hand holds a mirror. She wears *kuṇḍalas* and other usual ornaments and dress.

Notes and References

1. *Mahābhārata*, Adhyaya 39, p. 443 & *Anuśāsana Parva*, Chap. 14.
2. *Śāradātīlaka Tantra*, Chap. 18 & *Prapañcasāra Tantra*, 26-27.
3. Gopinatha Rao, T. A., *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, part 2, App. B. (E H I).
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 132-133.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 133.
6. *Matsya Purāna*, Chap. 260, verses, 12-19.
7. *E H I*, Vol. II, part 1, pp. 134-135, Pls. XXII, XXIV, XXVI - Fig. 1 and XXVII.
8. *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, II, p. 1, pl. 1.
9. Banerjca, J. N., *Development of Hindu Iconography.*, p. 76. (DHI).
10. *Ibid.*, pp. 67-68.
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12. Gupa, P. L. *Catalogue of the Patna Museum.*
13. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, XI, part 2, pp. 584 ff.
14. Mitra, *Hand Book of the Curzon Museum of Archaeology.*

ARCHAEOLOGY AND LANGUAGE AT THE ROOTS OF ANCIENT INDIA ★

ROMILA THAPAR

Orientalists of the nineteenth century maintained that there was absence of historical writing in early India. Therefore, the history of India had to be discovered and reconstructed by contemporary scholars. In recent years this view has been questioned. But it was axiomatic at the time when Orientalist scholarship was reconstructing the foundations of Indian civilisation. Whereas the rediscovery of sources, particularly as texts and inscriptions, was impressive and meticulous, the interpretations of these, however, carried the imprint of the preconceptions of European ideologies. In questioning this reconstruction, the evidence from archaeology and language, as available to us now — a century or two later — has also to be reviewed. This inevitably brings us to what is commonly called, “the Aryan problem.”

In speaking of this subject this evening, I do not intend to provide an answer to the problem. My intention is rather to put before you its complexities and draw attention to what I regard as the most salient features of the history of that time.¹ This becomes a necessary statement from historians, given that the problem has now been politicised and a large variety of people, some quite unfamiliar with the methodologies of either history, archaeology or linguistics, believe that they can happily pronounce upon it and be taken seriously.²

The most influential theory of historical origins in the interpretation of ancient Indian history during the nineteenth century was the theory of Aryan race. It postulated an invasion by a racial group identified as “the Aryans” and speaking an Indo-European language which took the form of Indo-Aryan in India. The argument drew on comparative philology and the affinities between various languages such as Sanskrit, Avestan, Greek, Latin, Celtic and others, these affinities pointing to a common ancestral language, Proto-Indo-European. Parallels in the mythology and social institutions of these languages were introduced as supportive arguments.³ Proof of an invasion was seen in references

★ This is a slightly expanded version of the text of the Shrimati Nabadurga Banerji Endowment Lecture delivered at the Asiatic Society of Bombay on 7 April 1993. I would like to thank Shereen Ratnagar for comments on an earlier draft.

in the *Ṛg Veda* to hostilities against the *dāsas* by the conquering *āryas*, the authors of the text. The *Ṛg Veda* was viewed in the nineteenth century as the earliest historical source in India, a view which has had to be radically altered now by the uncovering of extensive archaeological evidence. The upper castes, and particularly the *brāhmaṇas*, were claimed as lineal descendants of the Aryans. The lower castes and those outside caste were regarded as the indigenous non-Aryans and frequently labelled as "the Dravidians." Terms such as "Aryan" and "Dravidian," technically used only for languages were extended to refer to races and peoples. Caste as a social system was traced back to the notion of racial segregation and differences of skin colour. The word for caste in Vedic texts, *varṇa*, meaning colour was taken literally as distinguishing the upper castes from the dark-skinned lower castes.

I would like to consider this theory from the four perspectives which provide a context to the problem : first, the evolving of the theory in Europe; second, the evidence from the earliest literary compositions — the Vedic corpus; third, archaeological data, earlier than the texts and with a more reliable chronology; and finally, the implications of a discussion of this problem for the history of the period.

By way of a preamble, it is worth considering why this particular historical problem has become so politically charged. In the reconstruction of national histories the question of identity becomes an important concern. Identities are created and claim to be based on historical evidence, but in fact, more frequently have their genesis in and serve contemporary needs.⁴ Thus the identity of "the Aryan" was created in nineteenth century Europe to service a series of European nationalisms. It was extended to Indian history and coincided with the search for Indian identities in the creation of an Indian nation-state.

The wide acceptance of the theory in India was because it suited a variety of interests. It appealed to British imperial historians of India because it provided an ancient parallel for what they claimed in the British conquest and colonisation of India, namely, the introduction of a new and superior civilisation and that too, coming from the west. Indian nationalist historians, unable to contest the theory with the historical evidence then available, appropriated it for nationalist historical writing. It provided an identity for the origins and cultural roots of the upper castes. The racial superiority of these castes was supported in the notion that they were the descendants of the original Aryans. The emergence of the earliest Indian middle class in the nineteenth century was from these castes and some saw themselves as having identical origins as the British rulers. Thus, Keshab Chunder Sen stated that, "In the advent of the English nation in India, we see a reunion of parted cousins, the descendants of two different families of the ancient Aryan race."⁵ This view of common origins had earlier been expressed by Max Müller.⁶

There was yet another group which endorsed this theory but contested its reading. This is evident in the writings of Jotiba Phule and others supporting non-Brahman movements, and still to be found in DMK writings. They saw "the Aryans" as foreigners who subjugated and dislocated the indigenous inhabitants of northern India, the *ādivāsīs*. The upper castes were therefore viewed as of alien origin, the inheritors of the land being the lower castes, and what were called untouchables and tribals. The theory of Aryan race was seen, and correctly, as an attempt to consolidate power and hierarchy through insisting on inequality in relation to supposed origins.

The question of origins and the affirmation of a common descent becomes ideologically sensitive in the process of nation-building. National identity becomes more rooted if it can be said to be indigenous. Thus, whereas Indian nationalist historians accepted the theory of the foreign origin of "the Aryans", there were other Indian ideologues, writing in the 1920s and later, who rejected it, although they accepted the notion of an Aryan race and an Aryan people. The latter demarcated themselves from the mainstream of nationalism, saw themselves as Hindu nationalists and supporters of the concept of *Hindutva*. They insisted on the indigenous origin of "the Aryans" and, therefore, rejected the theory of an invasion. This rejection was not based on a study of historical data but on the requirements of political ideology. They maintained that the Hindus (by which caste Hindus were meant) were the indigenous Hindu Aryans, were the true inheritors of the land, constituted a Hindu nation and have consistently fought back the foreigners.⁷

The foreigners were listed as the Muslims, the Christians and the Communists. The term "nation", which refers to a particular historical condition associated with a particular kind of state, was however used indiscriminately for any period of the past by both Europeans and Indians. The phrase "Hindu nation" occurs in the writings of William Jones and James Mill in the early nineteenth century. It was elaborated upon a century later in the political debates in India from the 1920s when Indian history was being projected in terms of two nations — Hindu and Muslim.

The Aryan problem, therefore, early on, became deeply entangled in Indian politics and remains so entangled. For historians of India, its complexity lies both in the nature of the earliest evidence as well as the demands of contemporary political ideologies. The attempt at a simplistic solution by making a bold statement that "the Aryans" were indigenous to India and including such a statement in textbooks on history, merely underlines the political abuse of history. It is, therefore, even more necessary to try and understand the complexity of the problem.

Let me begin with the evolution of the theory in Europe. This is more clearly demonstrated in its influence on the interpretations of history in Germany

and France. The decline of the Roman Empire from the fifth century A.D. was attributed in large part to the frequent attacks of the German and other tribes of northern Europe, regarded as barbarians by the Romans. With the rise of feudal kingdoms in northern Europe after the decline of Rome, this negative identity became embarrassing. The German people and the German language began to be projected as altogether different from the peoples and languages of southern Europe with their close links to Latin and Roman origins. A consciousness of pan-Germanism took root and it was argued that it was the invincible Germans who overthrew the Roman empire. Tacitus, a Roman historian of the first century A. D. who had written about the purity of blood of the German tribes, was frequently quoted and this purity contrasted with the decadence of Rome attributed to miscegenation.⁹ Bifurcation was emphasised again in the sixteenth century when the German preacher, Martin Luther, broke from the Catholic Church, based in the Vatican at Rome, and established the dissenting Protestant Church within Christianity. The projected separateness of north European language and race was supplemented by a search for a new mythology which was found in the ancient sages of northern Europe.¹⁰ The Germans were said to constitute the original race — the *urvolk* and the roots of the German language were the original language — the *ursprache*, for it was argued that elsewhere in Europe both language and race had been contaminated.

The historical reconstruction of identity in France followed similar lines, but was somewhat obscured by the evident influence of Rome. The French were said to consist of two races — the Franks who were regarded as Germanic and superior, and the Gauls, who were said to be of common stock and conquered by the Franks. That the Franks were a conquering race was important to them since the feudal aristocracy of France claimed Frankish origins.

In historical terms this was a long period for the gestation of an idea in which the Roman cultural contribution was sought to be marginalised and centrality given to the tribes of northern Europe. The transformation of these tribes to feudal status and the creation of new states required new identities and encouraged such ideas. This was further shaped by the demands of the emerging nation-states in the nineteenth century. References were now beginning to be made to an Indo-European ancestry based on similarities of language and to the invention of an Aryan race which was said to speak these languages.

There was at this time a substantial interest in the notion of race, encouraged by both biology and colonialism. Biology sought to provide evidence of genetic and hereditary differences and these were viewed through the perspective of social Darwinism. This was also the high period of imperialism. The colonial experience provided the rationale for arguing that some races were superior to others, hence their success as colonisers. Racial hierarchies were linked to a faith in progress which was characteristic of the nineteenth century.

Colonisation was seen as the spreading of a superior civilisation.

This in turn led to a debate on monogenesis and polygenesis — was there a single ancestral origin of all peoples or was there a multiplicity of origins? Thus the French philosopher, Voltaire, insisted that, "... bearded whites, fuzzy negroes, the long-maned yellow races and the beardless men, are not descended from the same man."¹¹

More importantly from our point of view there was a turning towards Asia in the search for origins. Asia had come into focus with the propagation of the idea of an Oriental Renaissance : that the rediscovery of the ancient texts of Asia and particularly India would lead to another renaissance comparable to that which earlier had followed the discovery of ancient Greek texts.¹² The importance of the horse to what were called "Aryan cultures" led to the suggestion that a possible homeland could be located in central Asia.¹³ The search finally settled on an association with India. This was the contribution of German Romanticism which came to dominate German literature, and turned its attention to the study of primitive origins and the purity of peoples embodied in myth, saga and legend.¹⁴ For the poets and philosophers of this movement such as Herder and Goethe, India was the land of nature and its language, the natural language of mankind, a sentiment truly romantic considering that they had little direct familiarity with either. This sentiment coincided with William Jones' statement that there was an affinity between Sanskrit and Greek, a statement which was developed more fully by the German grammarian, Franz Bopp in the early nineteenth century. Excitement at this discovery led Friedrich Schlegel to declare that, "Everything, absolutely everything, is of Indian origin."¹⁵ Franz Bopp used the phrase Indo-European for the common language from which Sanskrit, Greek and other languages had descended. The term "Aryan" was taken from the narrative of the ancient Greek historian, Herodotus, writing about the ancient Iranians.

But more significantly, this activity also resulted in the argument that those who spoke similar languages came from the same racial stock. The theory of Aryan race had come into being. Built into the myth of the Aryan race were notions of the dominance and the superiority of the Aryan. The idea was taken up enthusiastically in Europe. Max Müller, for instance, depicted an idyllic society of Hindu Aryans, living in village communities, indulging in a halcyon haze of philosophic speculation.¹⁶

The Comte de Gobineau in his now infamous essay on the inequality of the human races, argued that there were two races indigenous to Europe — the Aryan which constituted the aristocracy and the non-Aryan which provided the peasant stock.¹⁷ Into this had intruded the third, the Semitic race represented by the Jewish population in Europe. Given the Christian suspicion of the Jew in Europe, this advanced the theory that the Jews were alien and inferior

and marrying a Jew was an act of polluting the purity of the Aryan race. The white race held the monopoly of beauty, intelligence and strength and was also blessed with the two main elements of all civilisations : a religion and a history.¹⁸ Gobineau's nightmare was that the bastardization of the Aryans in Europe had already begun.

Not surprisingly, the latter half of the nineteenth century witnessed a series of anti-Semitic actions where the Jews were singled out as the enemies of European society. In 1872, Max Müller tried to clarify the relationship between language and race by insisting that the two were distinct and separate and stated that, "Aryan and Semitic languages exist but it is unscientific, unless one realises the degree of licence which one is employing, to speak of an Aryan race, Aryan blood or Aryan skulls."¹⁹ But the damage had been done and what was technically a matter relating to the history of language had become current as proof of a people and a race.

Gradually, the imperial colouring smudged the romantic picture of India. The argument ran that since the colonised peoples of Asia were, by the fact of their being colonised, inferior racially to the European colonisers, it was hardly likely that the Aryan race would have been descended from them. There was consequently a turning away from Asian origins to the preferred north European origins. Homelands were sought for "the Aryans" in various parts of Europe. An Indian contribution to this discussion brought them from as far away as the North Pole.²⁰ The measuring of the cephalic index and the cataloguing of physical attributes as statistics and mechanisms for gauging the identity and quality of the race became common. The Nordic blonde was now the proto-type Aryan in popular perception. But by the middle of this century the discourse among scholars had rejected the equation of language with race. The term "Aryan" therefore reverted to what it was originally intended to be, the label for a particular language. The notion of an Aryan race as developed in the political ideology of Nazi Germany was found to be completely untenable. More recently, some European scholars have argued that the very notion of Aryanism is a mythology of nineteenth century Europe, even as applied to Europe.²¹

So much for the evolution of Aryanism in Europe. The link with India has its own perspective and is tied into the study of the Vedic corpus of texts. Until the 1920s when the Indus civilisation was discovered, it was believed that the Vedic compositions were the foundation of Indian history and civilisation. The importance attached to the Vedic texts above all others in the reconstruction of history, was encouraged by Max Müller, for whom these texts had no parallel in human history.²² According to him India was originally inhabited by a stratum of Turanians, about whose identity he was rather vague. Then came the Aryans who spoke Sanskrit and dislodged the earlier inhabitants through conquest. References to the *āryas* and *dāsas*

in the *Rg Veda* seemed to fall propitiously into place in a theory which counter-posed Aryans with non-Aryans. But there are difficulties with such a simple interpretation of these texts and these difficulties increase with further research.

The first problem is that of the chronology of the texts. The earliest historically dateable evidence for an Indo-European language comes not from India but from Anatolia. Hittite documents of the seventeenth century B.C. refer to Indo-European names and these carry the most archaic surviving usage of the language.²³ In the fourteenth century B.C. a Mitanni text from northern Syria refers to the training of horses and uses an Indo-European vocabulary.²⁴ This is also a period when the Kassites with Indo-European names enter Babylon.²⁵ But these interventions lasted barely two or three centuries. These were all linguistic intrusions since Turkey, Syria and Mesopotamia were, and continued to be, associated with non-Indo-European languages. In Iran, the closest links to the old Indo-Aryan of the *Rg Veda* are found in the Old Iranian of the *Gāthās* of the *Avesta*. The geographical background to these appears to be north-eastern Iran but the date is uncertain, possibly the late second millennium B. C. There is, therefore, no historically dateable evidence prior to about 1600 B. C. for Indo-European languages being used in the area between Turkey and India. There is evidence, however, for a considerable movement of peoples in this area. Where the Indian evidence shows links with west Asia, the west Asian context has perforce to be included. In the absence of well-defined state boundaries there was considerable fluidity of peoples, languages and practices.

The Vedic corpus is divided into earliest compilation, the *Rg Veda* (barring the last *maṇḍala*), and the later Vedic compilations, the *Atharva*, *Sāma*, and *Yajur Vedas*. The dating of these is difficult in the absence of historically attested evidence. But given the linguistic closeness of the language of the *Rg Veda* to that used in the Hittite and Mitanni documents, and that the language of the Hittite documents is more archaic, the earliest feasible date for the *Rg Veda* could be 1500 B. C. or possibly somewhat later. The corpus of the later Vedic texts is generally dated to the first millennium B. C. between the eighth and fifth centuries.

Difficulties in dating the Vedic texts also arise because being ritual texts they can be anachronistic. Composed by *brāhmaṇa* priests, focussing on the efficacy of rituals, they do not reflect the concerns of a wide audience. Their perspective on the society of the time is, therefore, narrow. They were not composed in the language used routinely, but in the more esoteric language of ritual. Hence the need for explanatory and etymological commentaries.²⁶ Furthermore, they were oral compositions and, therefore, open to change. They were meticulously memorised after they had been edited and fixed.²⁷ But the question still remains as to when this was done and the degree

of linguistic change which they underwent before the tradition was fixed. The use of astronomy in dating the *R̥g Veda* is regarded as unreliable, since the references to planetary positions could have been incorporated from an earlier tradition. They need not necessarily relate to the time of the composition of the text.²⁸

The geographical background to the Vedic corpus tells its own story. The *R̥g Veda* is essentially based on the *sapta sindhu* region, stretching from the Sarasvati to the Kabul rivers. (In today's political geography it would be the area of the Afghanistan border and northern Pakistan.) It is unclear whether this covered the entire region or was limited to the area of the confluence of the river systems.²⁹ References in the *R̥g Veda* to the two grassy banks of the Sarasvati, would date to a period just prior to about 1000 B. C. after which there were hydrological changes in the region and the Sarasvati dried and disappeared.³⁰ There is virtually no familiarity with the region to the south-west, namely, Sind and Baluchistan, or with the heartland of the Ganga valley. Association with the Ganga valley and central India comes in the later Vedic literature, as for example, in the much-quoted story of Videgha Māthava waiting for Agni to clear the land across the Sadānīra river before he settles in what is now north Bihar.³¹ In the later literature the language of the north is described as the most prestigious.

Let us look now at the evidence of the language as distinct from the texts. The argument for a Proto-Indo-European, or an ancestral Indo-European, was based on comparative philology. To this has now been added the more rigorous discipline of linguistics. Phonetic resemblances are not sufficient. There has to be a closely related linguistic structure before languages can be regarded as cognates. This involves an examination of phonology, morphology and syntax and lexical items. On this basis an Indo-Iranian group has been postulated as derived from Proto-Indo-European. Indo-Iranian has been divided into Old Iranian — the language of the *Avesta*, and Indo-Aryan or Old Indo-Aryan, the language of the Vedic corpus. The split between the two has a variety of causes. One may be that these two languages adopted features from the pre-existing languages of the region where they had spread and that these existing languages were diverse and not of the Indo-European group. It is, therefore, all the more important to emphasise that the term "Aryan" as used in English refers only to a language and should more correctly be, "Indo-Aryan speakers."

The languages which were spoken in northern India at that time, other than Indo-Aryan, include Proto-Dravidian, Austro-Asiatic, probably Tibeto-Burman, as well as a suggested Proto-Dravidian link with Elamite from southern Iran.³² Linguistic analyses of Vedic Sanskrit assert the prevalence of non-Aryan elements in the language.³³ The theory of a linguistic convergence between Old Indo-Aryan and non-Aryan languages, especially Dravidian, being

reflected in the Vedic corpus is no longer under debate. What is controversial is the point in time when this convergence took place. Such a convergence presupposes bilingualism.³⁴ Both syntax and vocabulary from non-Aryan sources increase noticeably in a linguistic comparison of the *R̥g Veda* with the later Vedic literature.³⁵ At the most obvious level there is an incorporation of words, as for example those relating to agricultural activities, such as *lāṅgala*, *ulūkhala*, *kuddāla*, *khala* and so on.³⁶ The word *lāṅgala* for a plough is non-Aryan and it is also known from archaeological evidence that plough agriculture goes back to the pre-Harappan period.³⁷ The incorporation of retroflexive consonants is another feature attributed to an association with Proto-Dravidian.³⁸ Other grammatical borrowings from non-Aryan are also evident. A recent detailed study of dialects based on the Vedic corpus, shows grammatical changes in Vedic Sanskrit as it spread from north-western India to eastern and central India.³⁹ The Aryan speakers themselves refer to those who cannot speak the language correctly as *mleccha* or being *mṛdhra vācaḥ*, with obstructed speech. There are references also to regional differences in speech.⁴⁰ Indo-Aryan was, therefore, one language among others, undergoing modification and change, but eventually retaining a position of dominance in northern India.⁴¹ Thus the evidence of the texts and changes in their language suggest : that the literature of Old Indo-Aryan at its earliest shows connections with Old Iranian, which connections fade out; that the geographical direction of the spread of the language was from the Kabul valley and north-western India to the Ganga valley and eastern India; that the language incorporates elements of non-Aryan, spoken at that time in northern India.

Until recently, the Aryan problem was argued solely on the basis of linguistic evidence. Now however, there is evidence of a distinctly different nature from archaeology. This is significant to the reconstruction of history in this early period. It calls for a revision of earlier views on the beginnings of Indian civilisation. A brief review of the archaeological picture in northern India would, therefore, be appropriate.

A succession of cultures has surfaced from pre-Harappan times with elements of continuity to the Harappan. Apart from the well-known Sothi culture in Rajasthan, the Kot-Diji in the Indus and the Kulli in Baluchistan, a series of excavations near the Bolan pass in Baluchistan have taken the story in this area, back to 6000 B. C.⁴² These latter sites show contact between Baluchistan, eastern Iran and the Oxus region. These contacts appear to have been in the nature of small scale, itinerant exchange, perhaps carried out within pastoral circuits. But the evidence for contacts does not appear to cross the Indus into India. In Harappan times, from the mid-third to the early second millennium B. C. there is considerable maritime contact between the Indus civilisation and Mesopotamia. However, the languages of Mesopotamia were not of the Indo-European group. Possibly, the Harappans may have

known Indo-European speakers but in a different direction. The Harappans provided lapis lazuli to the Mesopotamians and the source for lapis was largely in Badakshan in the Pamirs near which the Harappan settlement of Shortugai was located.⁴³ This being the upper Oxus region it may have had Indo-European speakers at that time, requiring some bilingualism, should the Harappans have been non-Indo-European speakers. Limited exchange and interaction with the Iranian plateau has also been suggested from excavated evidence.⁴⁴

It is difficult to equate the Harappan civilisation with descriptions in the Vedic corpus, for not only is it chronologically earlier, but each represents diverse cultures. This is particularly striking, in that, geographically there is an area of overlap in southern Punjab which would have provided connections had there been any. Society as described in the Vedic corpus is pastoral and agricultural, whereas urban centres were focal to extensive trade in Harappan life. There are no references in the Vedic literature to huge granaries or large-scale storage systems controlled by a state-like authority as is evident from excavations. There is little mention of craft production in the texts yet this was an established feature of Harappan cities. Seals, characteristically used by the Harappans, are absent in the texts. The Vedic corpus has no knowledge of writing. The Harappans had a script which awaits decipherment. Attempts to read it as proto-Dravidian have, on the whole, been more systematic than those reading it as Indo-Aryan. However, the language of the Harappans still remains an open question. The society of the Vedic texts is familiar with iron technology, initially used for weapons and subsequently for a variety of implements. This is different from the metal technology of copper and bronze among the Harappans. The *rājā* in the Vedic texts was equipped with a chariot with spoked wheels and the horse. The first two are entirely absent and the third virtually so, at Harappan sites. The absence of the horse is striking since it plays a central role both in function and ritual in the *Vedas*. Terracotta female figurines, frequently found at sites in Sind and inscribed copper amulets are again not mentioned.

The *Vedas* being ritual texts, would surely have reflected features associated with ritual from the Harappan cities had they been of the same culture. It is sometimes said that the ritual of royal unction in the Vedic corpus makes it contemporary with the Harappan culture, assuming that what is called the Great Bath had a ritual function. This structure at Mohenjo-daro has been linked with royal or priestly ritual. That the royal unction was part of the *rājasūya* sacrifice, yet there was no mention of any structure similar to the Great Bath seems strange, if the two cultures were identical. Mention of a tank for unction relating to office occurs at a much later period at Vaiśālī and that too associated with the Licchavis who were outside the Vedic pale.⁴⁵ A distinction has also to be made between similarities in basic

aspects of the two cultures and incidental resemblances. Some Harappan traits could have continued into later periods since there are a few sites with over-lapping levels of late Harappan and post-Harappan cultures. Two such continuities have been suggested, one relating to the use of bricks for the Vedic altar and the other to the Harappan unicorn seal which has been interpreted as representing the obtaining of *soma* in the Vedic sacrifice.⁴⁶

The post-Harappan scene from about 1500 B. C. onwards indicates a variety of distinctive archaeological cultures. In the Swat valley in Pakistan, the Gandhara Grave Culture introduces new forms of pottery and burials and indicates close contacts with Iran and central Asia. Possibly small, migrant groups were coming from these areas and merging with the local population. However, evidence for the Gandhara Grave culture stops in that region and does not spread across the Punjab and into the western Ganga plain.

In Haryana and the western Ganga plain, the Ochre Colour Pottery goes back to 1500 B.C. There are also some elements of Chalcolithic Cultures using Black-and-Red pottery. Later, in about 800 B. C. there evolved the Painted Grey Ware Cultures. The geographical focus of the latter is the Doab, although the pottery is widely distributed across northern Rajasthan, Punjab, Haryana and western Uttar Pradesh. The middle Ganga plain and eastern India had settlements using Black-and-Red wares, and early Northern Black Polished ware. The latter had its provenance in the middle Ganga valley. These settlements of the Ganga valley led to the augmenting of agriculture and early forms of trade. The evolution of urbanism and state systems is more generally linked to the fifth century B. C. Other Chalcolithic cultures, distinctive not only in their artefacts relating to material life but also in the predominance of fertility cults were active in western and central India. Attempts at co-relating some of these cultures either with Puranic lineages or with the later Vedic texts or with the mapping of Vedic dialects have not proved conclusive.⁴⁷ With the discovery of each new archaeological culture there was a rush to identify it with "the Aryans" including even the Megalithic cultures of the peninsula. But for obvious reasons none of these identifications are acceptable.

If the earlier cultures of the Bolan do not cross the Indus eastwards, neither are these post-Harappan cultures located in northern India, found westwards beyond the Indus. In any case the boundaries of archaeological cultures do not necessarily coincide with the boundaries of languages. It is interesting that in Anatolia and Syria where, as we saw, there was a brief intervention of languages akin to Old Iranian/Old Indo-Aryan, the archaeological cultures associated with these languages have nothing in common with the archaeological cultures of northern India.

It is now generally agreed that the decline of Harappan urbanism was

due to environmental changes of various kinds, to political pressures and to a possible break in trading activities, and not to any invasion. Nor does the archaeological evidence register the likelihood of a massive migration from Iran into north-western India on such a scale as to overwhelm the existing cultures. There is linguistic evidence however for the movement of the Indo-Aryan language from the north-west into the sub-continent. The likely picture is that there were small groups of Indo-Iranian-speaking migrants from Iran who, over a period of centuries, settled and mingled with various populations and cultures in the north-west. Hence the closeness between the *Rg Veda* and the *Avestā*. Gradually over the centuries, the language which evolved, Old Indo-Aryan, spread from there to the Indo-Gangetic watershed and from thence into the Ganga valley. The identity of both the carriers and the recipients of the language, and the degree of their intermixing and interaction, remains controversial. Changes in language can be better understood when the nature of societies in northern India at that time is known. For this the evidence from archaeology is crucial providing data for the very different questions which are now being posed by historians, archaeologists and those working on the linguistic evidence of the texts.

Archaeology and language cannot be equated but the separate evidence from each can provide information on some essential questions. Archaeology can assist in the enquiry into migrations. This would involve an assessment of why there was a need to move and of the numbers of people moving. Migration would also imply that the expending of wealth on the journey should not be economically counter-productive.⁴⁸ The study of changes in languages would indicate the adoption and modification of the languages of those migrating and of the area to which they migrate. Pastoral societies are said to be characterised by an ability to absorb disparate ethno-linguistic groups. Membership from local groups in the form of clientship may have been encouraged since it would offer social mobility to local populations.⁴⁹

There is another neglected area of enquiry, namely, the perceptions of the past recorded in post-Vedic texts, as for example in the *Purāṇas*. This was neglected because it was stated that the past was of little interest to Indians of ancient times. It was argued that such texts were so kneaded with myth as to be virtually without value for purposes of history. They were taken as sources only for the study of religion and mythology and were regarded as second order knowledge as compared to the high standing of the *Vedas*. Yet there are sections of the early *Purāṇas* which purport to describe the past, although not in the form of a narrative. The *vaiṣṇānucarita* section of these *Purāṇas* claim to be historical accounts in the form of lengthy and sequential genealogies going back to what would be the time of the Vedic corpus or even earlier and coming upto the Gupta dynasty.⁵⁰ Identities are in the form of lineages and descent groups in the earlier sections

and caste comes into greater prominence in the last section which covers the period of dynasties. There is no mention of Aryans or non-Aryans even though some of the names included in the descent groups are identical with those mentioned in the *Vedas*. The Purus, for instance, are one of the two major lineages. The attempt at providing an identity and continuity is through the genealogical emphasis on birth into *kṣatriya* clans and whether or not these were actually *kṣatriya* clans, they are mutated into *kṣatriyas* by virtue of being included in the descent group.⁵¹

I would like now to turn to the final perspective, namely what is the historian to make of all this diverse, complex and sometimes even conflicting or ambiguous evidence. The fundamental question is how a language, Indo-Aryan, came to be adopted, adapted and modified over a long period of time and across a large geographical space. This question raises a series of others relating to the nature of society as it evolved from pre-Harappan times to the first millennium B. C. In attempting to answer these, both archaeological and literary data have to be collated. Furthermore, the arbitrary use of terms such as "Aryan" and "Dravidian" have to be corrected by a more precise usage.

If invasion is discarded then the mechanisms of migrations and occasional contacts come into sharper focus. The migrations appear to have been of pastoral cattle-herders who are prominent in the *Avestā* and the *R̥g Veda*.⁵² The domestication of the *bos indicus* breed of cattle, the presence of which is indicated in the excavated material, links the Indus valley and Iran. Migrations may have been occasioned by the search for pastures and the archaeological evidence suggests that north-western India may well have been familiar to herders in Iran. If exchange and incipient trade was also included, as it often is among pastoral groups, then the circulation of items may have encouraged a larger circuit of travel. The demography of such groups would be crucial and on this we have still to find the information. Assimilation is often facilitated if there are smaller numbers on each side. Where the migration included farming communities there the pattern would have to do with new agricultural land and the diffusion of crops.

The pace of migration and the degree of interaction with local communities would also depend on the ecology of the area. Monsoon forests in the Ganga valley may well have been formidable and, therefore, encouraged an osmosis between migrant pastoralists and existing farmers, the latter living in what seem to be from the archaeological evidence, small village settlements in the forests. Pastoralism generally has a symbiotic relationship with farmers,⁵³ and should they be speaking different languages, bilingualism becomes imperative. Hence the significance of non-Aryan words having to do with agriculture, being inducted into Vedic Sanskrit.

The archaeological picture indicates a number of technological changes in the first millennium B. C. The introduction of the horse and of iron technology are more evident. Both were a substantial improvement in efficiency over the earlier ox-drawn cart and copper-bronze weaponry and implements. Two other innovations may be suggested : the binary system of measurement used in Harappan times may have been replaced by the decimal, more familiar to the Vedic literature; the use of the solar calendar in addition to the lunar calendar would have been a functional advance in the now increasing agricultural activities. Did these technological changes provide a lever, giving an edge to the speakers of Indo-Aryan who controlled the innovations ? The possible coinciding of technological changes with linguistic changes as registered in the geographical diffusion of Vedic dialects, could be investigated. But technological change should not be measured mechanically. Ritual objects, for instance, sometimes go back to primitive forms. Discoid wheels and hand-made pottery are accessories to Vedic sacrificial ritual, in spite of the widespread use of the technologically more advanced spoked wheel as well as wheel-thrown pottery at that time. Here the intention is to deliberately evoke the archaic.⁵⁴ Possibly the claims based on the power of sacrificial ritual was yet another lever. The redefinitions in culture, social organisation and economy, which result from technological innovations or are introduced through new technologies, would have been a slow process. They also suggest far more complex and varied dimensions of historical change, than the simplistic, mono-causal resort to either conquest or purely indigenous origins as the explanation.

A variant on the earlier theory is to enquire into the initial meaning of the term *ārya* in the texts. The *ārya* was defined less as a racial category, and more as a linguistic and social category. He was a person of status in a patriarchal society, and a speaker of correct Sanskrit. Given the emphasis on language, those who could not speak it correctly were relegated to the low position of the *mleccha*.⁵⁵ There seems to have been a gradually growing difference between the speech of the elite — *brāhmaṇa* priests and *ksatriya rājās* and the rest using sub-standard forms or other languages. This becomes even more clear from the fifth century B. C. when Prākritis, which earlier would have been regarded as the speech of the *mleccha*, are used by non-Vedic teachers to reach wide audience. The connotation of *ārya* now changes and refers to persons deserving of respect, even if they were speaking Prākrit. Membership of this social category was not restricted to a hereditary group. Modifications of the earlier Indo-Aryan were in part due to the natural evolution of a language over time and in part to larger numbers of people of dissimilar linguistic or social backgrounds, using varieties of Indo-Aryan and other languages.

Hostility between the *āryas* and the *dāsas* is often mentioned in the

Rgveda, but not all hostilities were between these two. Cattle-raiding and skirmishing rather than battles are a normal part of cattle-herding societies. Often the hostilities described in the *Rg Veda* are between various clans. Some *dāsa* chiefs controlled walled settlements and treasures.⁵⁶ Vedic *brāhmaṇas* held the *dāsas* in contempt in some passages of the text. This did not stop them from performing sacrificial rituals for *dāsa* chiefs, and expressing their gratitude for the generous gifts which they received in return.⁵⁷ Some among the more respected *brāhmaṇas* are said to be the sons of *dāsīs*, *dāsyāḥ-putrāḥ*⁵⁸. The parentage of Veda Vyāsa would, on the basis of *dharmaśāstra* norms, hardly support a claim to high status, in spite of his association with the *Vedas* and the *Mahābhārata*.⁵⁹ The Purus, of undoubtedly high status and ancestral to the Pāṇḍavas and Kauravas, are by Vedic reckoning, described as descended from an *asura rākṣasa* and speaking a *mṛdhra vācaḥ*.⁶⁰ Whereas in one place Indra seems to have been hostile to them, in another Indra helps the Puru chief Trāsadyu.⁶¹ The qualifier *mṛdhra vācaḥ* is also used for the Paṇis, cattle-lifters, traders and enemies of the *āryas*, and for the Dasyus.⁶²

Reaching back into a pre-Vedic past also becomes essential to recognising the proto-types of religious articulation in India. The incorporation of local rituals into the Vedic corpus needs further exploration. It has been plausibly argued that Brahmanism takes the form it does because of the ritual and belief of the *āryas* but also because of the adoption of indigenous pre-Aryan priests into the *brāhmaṇa* caste, and that the nomenclature of *brāhmaṇa* is unique to the society of India as described in the Vedic texts since it does not occur in the parallel Avestan texts.⁶³ The statement by Professor Dandekar is most apposite, when he says, "In the long and continual history of Hinduism, the age of the Veda must be said to have occurred more or less as an interlude."⁶⁴

Arguments concerning the origins and early forms of caste society become pertinent. That caste was not a racial segregation is evident for, if marriage had been strictly bounded by caste and *gotra* rules, the racial heterogeneity of the *brāhmaṇas* and their endogamous regional divisions, not mentioned in the early texts, would be difficult to explain.⁶⁵ The classificatory system of *varṇa* has to be juxtaposed with the genesis and unfolding of other social classifications, tied perhaps more closely to kinship, occupation, environment, ritual status and cultural self-perceptions, the features which in later periods are associated with *jāti*. The range of kinship systems mentioned in the texts could provide insights into social organisation. The incorporation of various groups into the evolving of a systematic social structure would have taken a few centuries but the process involved mechanisms of inter-relationships and assimilation. Diversities and cultural pluralities are apparent from early periods. These were shuffled into hierarchies. The maintaining of the idea

and practice of hierarchy through social mechanisms and manipulations are the problems which need to be understood.

To explain these merely by imposing the alien on the indigenous, is far too artless by way of historical explanation. It is equally simplistic to turn the argument around and claim that the alien is in fact indigenous. This is also a retreat from what might, for present-day political purposes, be the unpalatable revelations of historical analysis. To posit identities requires a clarity in comprehending the notion of indigenous and alien in earlier centuries, and their interaction. These notions were neither permanent nor unchanging nor transparent. Whatever the political imperatives may be for insisting on identifying and locating "the Aryans", for the historian it would be more meaningful to move away from this obsession and attempt a reconstruction of the roots of Indian society from the evidence of archaeology and language. This would introduce a more sensitive perception of the realities of the past.

Notes and References

1. I have in earlier papers discussed this subject. "The Study of Society in Ancient India" in *Ancient Indian Social History : Some Interpretations*, New Delhi, 1978, 211 ff; "The Archaeological Background to the Agnicayana Ritual," in F. Staal (ed.) *Agni*, Vol. II, Berkeley 1983, 1-40.
2. The latest entrants into the field are Indian scientists from the USA, who in the guise of using scientific methods and computers are now holding forth on the Aryan problem. They are neither willing to acknowledge that they know little or nothing about archaeology, history or linguistics, nor are they willing to work with such specialists. They are in effect, inventing more mythologies. Furthermore, some even make the fatuous claim that because they are NRIs and/or scientists, they are not prejudiced in any way !
3. As for example, G. Dumézil, *Mitra-Varuna*, New York, 1988 (trans.) J. Puhvel (ed.), *Myth and Law among the Indo-Europeans*, Berkeley, 1970.
4. H. Kohn, *The Ideas of Nationalism*, New York, 1951. B. Andersen, *Imagined Communities*, Vaso, 1983.
5. K. C. Sen, *Keshab Chunder Sen's Lectures in India*, 323. Calcutta, 1892.
6. "What is the Veda ?" in *Chips from a German Workshop*, 1, 1868.
7. M. S. Golwalkar, *We or Our Nationhood Defined*, Bombay, 1938, states, "In Hindustan exists, and must exist, the ancient Hindu nation and naught else but the Hindu nation... the foreign races in Hindustan must either

adopt the Hindu culture and language, must learn to respect and hold in reverence the Hindu religion... or they may stay in the country wholly subordinated to the Hindu nation, claiming nothing... not even citizen's rights. To keep up the purity of the race and its culture, Germany shocked the world by purging the country of the Semitic race, the Jews. Race pride at its highest has been manifested here... a good lesson for us in Hindustan to learn and profit by." See also, V. D. Savarkar, *Hindutva, Who is Hindu ?* Bombay, 1969.

8. L. Poliakov, *The Aryan Myth*, New York, 1974, 71 ff.
9. *Germania*, 2 and 4.
10. These incidentally were popularised later through the operas of Richard Wagner.
11. Poliakov, *op. cit.*, 175. Quotation from *Traite de metaphysique*, Paris, 1734.
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13. J. Mallory, "A Short History of the Indo-European Problem" *Journal of Indo-European Studies*, 1973, 1, 21-65.
14. W. Halbfass, *India and Europe*, Albany, 1988.
15. Quoted in Poliakov, *op. cit.*, 191.
16. M. Müller, *India, What can it teach us ?*, London, 1883, 101.
17. J. A. De Gobineau, *Essai sur l'inegalite des races humaines*, Paris, 1853-55, 1-4.
18. Poliakov, *op. cit.*, 234 ff.
19. Poliakov, *op. cit.*, 214. *Über die Resultate der Sprachwissenschaft*, University of Strassburg, 1872.
20. B. G. Tilak, *The Arctic Home in the Vedas*, Poona, 1903.
21. E. Leach, "Aryan invasions over four millennia," in E. Ohnuki - Tierney (ed.), *Culture through Time*, Stanford 1990, 127 ff. M. Bernal, *Black Athena*, Vol. I, London, 1987.
22. M. Müller, "Caste," *Chips from a German Workshop*.
23. J. P. Mallory, *In search of the Indo-Europeans*, London, 1989 24ff.
J. Mellaart, "Anatolia and the Indo-Europeans," *Journal of Indo-European Studies*, 1981, 9, 135-149.
24. Mallory, *op. cit.* 37 ff. R. Ghirshman, *L' Iran et la migration des*

Indo-Aryans et des Iranicns, Leiden, 1977.

25. Mallory, *op. cit.*, 38 ff.
26. The *Saṁhitās* or metrical sections differ from the *Brāhmaṇas* which contain the explanations for the rituals and some etymologies. This clearly was a later addition when such explanations became necessary. A more detailed etymology is the *Nirukta* of Yāska. Pānini in the fifth century B. C. distinguishes the language of the sacred texts from the spoken language. 3.1.35; 4.2.66; 3.2.108.
27. Opinions differ considerably on the question of whether the editing of the Vedic *saṁhitā* and the working out of various mnemonic devices for its memorisation, occurred before the adoption of a script or subsequent to this. See for example, J. Bronkhorst, "Some Observations on the Padapāṭha of the *R̥g Veda*," *Indo-Iranian Journal* 1982,24,181-9.
28. J. Gonda, *Vedic Literature*, Wiesbaden 1975, 21.
29. There has been a controversy as to whether "Sarasvatī" refers to the river of the Punjab or to "Harahvatī" in Afghanistan, since in Vedic Sanskrit the Old Iranian *ha* was changed to *sa*. The argument has also been made that the *R̥g Veda* shows closer links with central Asia and Afghanistan, A. Parpola, "The coming of the Aryans to Iran and India and the Cultural and Ethnic Identity of the Dāsas," *Studia Orientalia*, Vol. 64, Helsinki, 1988.
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***HSÜAN-TSANG'S MISSION A.D. 629-630 AND ITS EFFECTS ON CHINESE BUDDHISM**

K. G. VASANTAMADHAVA

I Introduction

This paper seeks to trace Hsüan-Tsang's Mission to India and its effects on Chinese Buddhism. As a background to study of the subject, a few striking features of Buddhism in China are narrated.

Buddhism entered China gradually, first, through Central Asia and later by way of Malaya Archipelago.¹ In the course of years Sino-Indian Buddhist activities commenced in China. Their activities enriched Buddhism there. The Sino-Buddhist missionaries conducted perilous journey to India through Central Asia. Their accounts of heroic and perilous travel are useful to know the condition of Buddhism in and outside the border of China and its contact with China and India. Besides, the Chinese missionaries brought from India a new model of art which influenced the Buddhist institutions in China. Among the Sino-Buddhist evangelists, Hsüan-Tsang's sojourn to India requires attention as it has effects on Buddhism in his country. This is analysed here mainly on the basis of his travelogue, written by Hwui Li, one of the disciples of Hsüan-Tsang.

II Evolution of Buddhism A. D. 67-600.

The introduction of Buddhism in China is shrouded in mystery.² But it was actively propagated there in the first century A. D. by the Buddhist scholars namely Kaśyapa-Mātāṅga and Dharma-Lakṣaṇa (Chinese Jie Mo Teng and Zu FA Len respectively). They, at the invitation of Ming-Ti (the Chinese Emperor) of the Han dynasty, arrived at the imperial court with the *Sūtra* in forty-two sections. It was deposited in a temple outside the capital of Loy-Yang. The monastery here known as "White Horse" was the first ever built in China. This monastery became the chief centre of the Buddhist mission there.

Since then Buddhism had chequered career in China, but flourished in "Quiet way."³ Despite its impressive gains there in the second century, the Buddhists were isolated in small communities; Buddhism was practised by foreign settlements till the beginning of the fourth century A. D.⁴

Between the middle of the third and the beginning of the fourth centuries,

translations of the Buddhist scriptures progressed at Loy-Yang. Among the translators Chu Fa Lu (230-308) and Dharmarakṣa (216-316) are worthy of note. The former, native of Tun huang, translated between the years A. D. 266 and 308, one hundred and fifty works in three hundred volumes including *Sad-dharma-Puṇḍarīka Sūtra*, *Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra* and *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa Sūtra*. He is reputed to have known the languages of thirty-six countries. Buddhist transmission to China is said to be really Fa-Lu's achievement.⁵

The latter (Dharmarakṣa 216-316), a monk of Indo-Sythian family, was educated in Kashmir and had command over both Sanskrit and Chinese. He translated two hundred works. Chinese sources consider him one of the best translators of Buddhist texts. It was Dharmarakṣa and his Chinese disciples who succeeded in establishing Buddhism on firm ground by the beginning of the fourth century.⁶

It is curious to note that at the same time, by the end of the third century, the Chinese Buddhists had established contact with South India as evidenced by the Nāgārjuna-Koṇḍa inscription (Guntur, Andhra Pradesh), dated 14th regnal year of Ikṣvāku king corresponding to 286 A. D. The epigraph records the building of a *Cāitya-Gṛha* within the *Cauladharmagiri Vihāra* on the Śrīparvata hill. The *Cāitya-Gṛha* was meant for the teachers of Ceylon. Further it states that the *theravādins* from Tāmraparṇidvīpa (Ceylon) greatly influenced the *Saṅghas* at Ārīparvata and converted the faith of those who belonged to Kāshmīra-Gāndhāra, Chīna-Chilata.⁷ The visit of Chinese monks and nuns as revealed in the above record, took the sea route to reach Nāgārjuna-Koṇḍa.

In the beginning of the fourth century, Buddhism "suddenly began to attract"⁸ large number of devotees from the upper levels of Chinese society. It was in that century, Shih Chi Lu, the powerful monarch of China, gave permission to the population to enter monasteries. In 381 Fu Chien, the monarch, became Buddhist. He was evidently in close touch with the western regions and probably through them with India.⁹

Between the end of the fourth and beginning of fifth centuries Buddhism was popularised through the efforts of Tao-an (314-385) and Kumārajīva (350-409). One of the learned and venerated monks of his days, Tao-an denounced the prevailing Buddhist - Taoist syncretism, pointing out that Buddhism must be approached in its own terms and not those of Taoism. Assigning much of the confusion to the haphazard methods of translation, Tao-an laid down guidelines for future translators stressing the importance of philologically accurate translations. Tao-an, after hearing reports of the reputed linguistic skills of a Central Asian monk, named Kumārajīva,¹⁰ persuaded the ruler of North China to invite the monk to settle in Chang-an in order

to work on new translations under imperial sponsorship.¹¹ Kumārajīva made an enormous contribution to the popularization of Buddhism through the high quality of translations. As scholar on the Vedas, the occult sciences and astronomy, the *Hīnayāna* and *Mahāyāna Sūtras*, Kumārajīva's translations paved the way for the rise of the Chinese school of *Mādhyamika*. (*Sun-Lun* three, *treatises* school.)¹² Thus he enabled his contemporaries to acquire a firm grasp of basic Buddhist ideas by lecturing on his translations before large assemblies of Chinese monks, often numbering in thousands, who then produced definitive commentaries.¹³

The systematised treatises (*Śāstras*) of the *Yōgācāra* school began to be introduced into China from the fifth century onwards. By the end of the fifth century Buddhism had swept across China. Successive rulers vied with one another to demonstrate their support for Buddhism by constructing new temples, donating estates for their upkeep, authorising mass ordinations of monks and nuns and sponsoring literary activities such as the translation of scripture, the production of commentaries and the compilation of historic works, biographies of eminent monks and nuns and catalogues of the Canon. Such lavish patronage had provoked resentment among the followers of both Taoism and Confucianism.¹⁴

In the meanwhile the spread of Buddhism in China evoked in the neophyte a tremendous interest about India and devout Chinese Buddhists were eager not only to visit holy places but also to obtain scriptures in India which could be taken back to China for translation. The age of the Chinese Buddhist evangelists to India started in the third century and became intensive in the fifth century as known from a sculpture from Sungham in Honan province.¹⁵ Similarly, the Indian priests also visited China through overland route. They constructed temples and chapels, founded new schools of Buddhist philosophies and translated the scriptures.¹⁶

In the sixth century an important school arose in China and it sought to integrate the various schools and *Sūtras* of Buddhism. The effect of this was to demonstrate that these teachings had evolved from the "simple" truths of *Hīnayāna* to the "more advanced" insights of *Mahāyāna*. At the same time, the school of Amitābha pictism, known as Pure Land Buddhism, was also making progress in China.¹⁷ Thus on the eve of sojourn of Hsüan-Tsang, several sects of Buddhism were in vogue in his land. This led to a great expansion in number of the Buddhist monasteries (nominally controlled by the Government)¹⁸ and temples. However, the logic of the Buddhist schools prevailing in China was "superficial and their language weak and they did not speak of highest perfection", observed our pilgrim.¹⁹

III *Hsüan-Tsang before his mission to India*

Born in 602²⁰ in Chin-Liu Kai feng, Honan province, Hsüan-Tsang received classical Confucian education in his youth. But under the influence of his elder brother, Hsüan-Tsang took interest in Buddhist scriptures and soon converted to that faith. The study of his early life as recorded by Hwui Li and Barthemy Saint Hilaire, reveals that Hsüan studied *Sūtra of Nirvāṇa*, the *Śāstras* of Great Vehicle (*Mahāyāna*), *Sai Tsin*, explanation of Shi-lun (*Mahāyana Samparigraha Śāstra*) and *Abhidharma Śāstra* (Pitām) and *Kiōyen* (*Kātyāyana*) in different Buddhist learnings and under different teachers namely *Kiōyen* and Master Chin.²¹ These instructions induced him to become a monk and at the age of twenty Hsüan received full monastic order.²² As a monk he imparted *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* (*Shi-ta-Shing*)²³ and *Abhidharma Śāstra* to the students of Buddhism and won their admiration.²⁴ Besides teaching, he studied *Vinaya* according to the rule of five and seven sections.²⁵ It is said that Hsüan-Tsang and his brother had thoroughly mastered the teaching of different schools.²⁶ But he was ignorant of *Hīnayāna* which he came to know while he was in India.²⁷ Then he turned his attention to the *Śāstras* and *Sūtras* and having investigated these, Hsüan-Tsang was soon troubled by numerous discrepancies and contradictions in them.²⁸ Not finding any solution from his Chinese masters he resolved to go to India to renew scriptural knowledge there.²⁹

IV *Hsüan-Tsang's Journey towards India*

In 629 Hsüan set out for India across central Asia, alone, without official permission. He underwent untold hardship by crossing mountains and rivers and sometimes he barely escaped with his life. The dauntless pilgrim travelled by northern route after passing lake Issik, Kul, Tashkand, Samarqand, Balkh, arrived in the kingdom of Gandhāra about the beginning of October 630. His journey across central Asia was interrupted in Turfan in present day Sinkiang province. Here the king of that region was so much impressed by our pilgrim and his learning that he wanted to keep Hsüan-Tsang there in his court as his spiritual preceptor. But the pilgrim threatened hunger strike which weakened the king's will to detain him. The king proved to be the pilgrim's greatest benefactor, for he provided Hsüan-Tsang with letter of introduction to various ruling princes along the way for facilitating his travel to the very gates of India.³⁰ On his way he saw many Buddhist relics, successfully argued with the Buddhist monk in the monastery at Kiuchi and stayed in a monastery at Kapiśā, a few miles north of Kabul. On 10th April, 631, Hsüan-Tsang reached Taxila, the most prosperous and flourishing town in the border of India.³¹

V *Hsüan-Tsang's stay in India and its impact*

Hsüan-Tsang refers to the country he visited as Tienchu. It is situated west of the Onion mount or Tsung ling, having five divisions and its land is low humid and hot in summer.³² In India, Hsüan-Tsang visited all sacred sites connected with the life of Buddha and he journeyed along the east and west coast of the Subcontinent. He was honoured and respected by king Harṣa of Thāneśvara. The pilgrim praised the valour of Pulakeśī II, the Cālukya king of Bādāmi and visited the court of Narasimha Varma, the Pallava king of Kañcī.

Hsüan-Tsang's association with the Buddhist monks and their educational institutions in different parts of India influenced his attitude towards his faith. In Kashmir he was wonder-struck by observing wonderful height of four Buddhist *stūpas*. He stayed there by studying *Śāstras* and *Sūtras* from a priest of high moral character.³³ The priest, before noon, explained *Kośa Śāstra* and afternoon *Nyāya-anusāra Śāstra*, and after the first watch of the night *Hetuvidyā Śāstra* to Hsüan-Tsang. The last was a new subject to him. It is said "the Master of the Law (Hsüan-Tsang) following the words of his teacher, grasped thoroughly the entire subject, he penetrated all obscure passages and their sacred mysteries completely."³⁴

In his first visit to Nālandā in 637-638 Hsüan-Tsang requested Śīlabhadra, the chief priest of the monastery, to explain *Yōga Śāstra* in the presence of many thousand auditors. Ācārya Śīlabhadra requested the pilgrim to remain there and to listen to the explanation of the *Sūtra* for fifteen months. After the lecture he entrusted a Brāhmin to impart *Śāstra*. While in the convent (Nālandā) Hsüan-Tsang heard the explanation of *Yōga Śāstra* three times; the *Nyāya-anusāra* once, *Hin-hiang tui fā ming* once, the *Hetuvidyā Śāstra* and *Śabda-vidyā* and the *Tsah liang Śāstra* twice, the *Prānyamūla sāstra-īka*, and the *Sata-Śāstra* thrice. The *Kośa Vibhaśa*, and the *Śatpadabhidharma Śāstras*, he had studied in different parts of Kashmir, studied once again to clear his doubts. Then he devoted himself to the study of Brahmānical books and *Vyākaraṇa* (grammar) on Indian letters. Most of the subjects he studied were unknown to him before his arrival to India. The pilgrim also studied with special eagerness the *Vijñaptimātra* theory of Dharmapāla.

Hsüan-Tsang investigated thoroughly the language (words and phrases) and by talking with these men on the subject of the "Pure" writings he advanced excellently in his knowledge. Thus he examined completely all the collections of Buddhist books and studied the Brahmānical literature.³⁵

Hsüan-Tsang came to Arevasi (Amaravati) on July 639 and met two scholars, Subhūti and Sūrya, known for the explanation of the *Tripitāka* according to *Mahāsāṅghika* school. On account of studying these doctrines,

the pilgrim stayed here for several months (six months) and received instructions on the *Mūlābhīdharmā* and other *Śāstras* in accordance with *Mahāsāṅghika* school from them. At the same time he taught various *Śāstras* of the Great Vehicle to the priests.³⁶ While he was in Kanchipuram, Hsüan-Tsang intended to get an explanation of the *Tripitaka* on the basis of *Sthavira* school (distinctly opposed to the *Mahāsāṅghika* sect) and *Yōga Śāstra* from the priest of Ceylon. But he was not successful.³⁷ He mistook the Buddhist sect prevalent in Ceylon as *Mahāyāna*.

The most important point Hsüan-Tsang noticed in India with reference to Buddhism was the existence of *Hīnayāna* Buddhism which earlier he was not aware of. He could not understand its doctrine at first, as he was utterly ignorant of this sect.³⁸ It was explained to him by one of the Brāhmin slaves.³⁹

In Pu fa to Lo (near Multan) Hsüan Tsang met a learned priest. He stayed there for two years (sic two months)³⁹ and studied the *Mūlābhīdharmā Śāstra*, *Saddharma samparigraha Śāstra*, *Prasikṣā-satyā Śāstra* as received in the Sāmmatiya school.⁴⁰ With an intention to clear his doubt, Hsüan - Tsang revisited Nālandā and made thorough study of *Yōga Śāstra* under Śīlabhadra. Besides, he had completely mastered the four *Vedas*, works on astronomy and geography, on medicinal art, magic and arithmetic from beginning to end. He had studied all of them both within and without. Then he went to Jayasena who was residing on hill Yastivana (near Nālandā). The Master of the Law remained with him and acquired knowledge on the difficulties of the *Vidyā-mātra-Siddhi Śāstra* the *I - i - Li Lun*, the *Shing - wu - wai - Lun* etc. and cleared doubts in the passages of the *Yoga* and the *Hetuvidyā Śāstras*.⁴¹

Impact of Indian Studies on Hsüan-Tsang

Hsüan Tsang's stay and study of the learning in India⁴² had impact on his future career in China. This is expressed in his own words. "Since my arrival here, you, Sir (Śīlabhadra), have condescended on my account, to explain (or recite) the *Yōgācāra-bhūmi-Śāstra* and to investigate doubtful passages. I have visited and adored the sacred vestiges of our religion, and heard the profound exposition of different schools. My mind has been overjoyed and my visit here has been of the utmost profit."⁴³ Hsüan-Tsang's thorough knowledge of Sanskrit and Buddhist scripture and literature which he had studied in India enabled him to set new standards of⁴⁴ accuracy in translation in Chinese language.

Hsüan-Tsang returned by the southern route, crossing the Pamirs, and passing Kashgar, Yarkand, Khotan, and Lapnor. Early in 645 he reached his native land bringing with him a large collection of manuscripts (657) and relics (150).⁴⁵ Hsüan-Tsang spent the remainder of his life in working

up the results of his expedition with the aid of staff of scholars, and died in 664 at the age of sixty-two.⁴⁶

VI Effects of Hsüan Tsang's Journey on Buddhism

Effects of Hsüan-Tsang's journey are seen on Chinese Buddhism in the translation of the Buddhist scriptures, in its philosophy, in his sermons and teachings and in transmissions of the Buddhists religious traditions from India to the Far East. Further his travelogues provide invaluable sources of information about Buddhism in and outside the border of China.

Hsüan-Tsang spent the rest of his life in translating Sanskrit and Pali into Chinese in collaboration with his disciples. By 654 his translations included *Yōgācāra Bhūmi Śāstra* and the *Abhidharma Kośa Śāstra* and the *Abhidharma* - the *Nyāyānusāra Śāstra* were in progress of translation.⁴⁷ Within five years i. e., 659, he completed the authoritative Chinese translation of Vasubandhu's teachings, *Vidyāmātra Siddhi*. Before his death (A. D. 664) Hsüan-Tsang had translated 75 texts (according to his biographer 74), but these included several lengthy ones. The Buddhist literature in China was increased by about one quarter through his efforts. With the advent of Hsüan-Tsang's translations and his school the reputation and importance of Paramārtha eventually became eclipsed.⁴⁸ He also retranslated in detail the already available work, *Sukhāvati* - *Vyūha* which was translated in brief by Kumārajīva (402).⁴⁹ Thus Hsüan-Tsang's translated and other scholarly works made China a reservoir of Buddhist thought.

The development of a new Buddhist philosophy in China by Hsüan-Tsang was the result of his contact with the Buddhist scholars of India. This took place while he was in India. His new philosophy, *Fa-hsiang*, is based on *Vijñaptimātra-Siddhi* of Dharmapāla (c. mid sixth century), a major *Yogācāra* thinker. The *Yogācāra* school became famous because of his effort. Hsüan-Tsang, in his *Ch'eng Wei Shih Lun* ("Dissertation on conscious only") selected, summarized and systematized the ideas of ten great philosophers of India. Although his philosophy achieved some degree of eminence and declined after the 9th century, its character, its detailed analysis of the mind and its doctrine that external objects do not exist, apart from mind, have exerted a continuing influence on Chinese thought. It is on these ideas that such modern philosophers as Hsiung Shih-li (1885-1968) and Tang Chun-i base their own philosophies.⁵⁰

Hsüan-Tsang's pilgrimage influenced his discourse and it also influenced considerably the structure of the Buddhist institutions in China. On his return journey the pilgrim halted in Khotan where he explained the priests there the principles of the *Yoga*, the *Abhidharma*, the *Kośa* and the *Mahāyāna Samparigraha Sūtras*. His discourse won the admiration of the king, clergy

and lay-people who in thousands embraced his faith. It is interesting to note that the subjects he taught to the people of Khotan were the outcome of his learning in India. After his return to China, Hsüan-Tsang, despite his manifold activities, devoted four hours to the explanation of the sacred books. About a hundred disciples daily attended his lectures. He discoursed largely on the various systems of schools and distinguished masters of the West. On account of this, the princes and ministers who came to listen to his discourses, frequently expressed their admiration and respect for his eminent talent.⁵¹

Hsüan-Tsang had talented disciples and among them the most celebrated were Kuci-Chi, Hwui Li and Yen Thsong. Kuci-Chi collaborated with his teacher in expounding *Vidyāmātra Siddhi*. Hwui Li wrote five chapters of a biography of his master, afterwards it was expanded and completed by another disciple of Hsüan-Tsang, Yen Thsong.⁵²

It is interesting to note that Hsüan-Tsang's scholarship attracted a Japanese scholar, Dosho who came to China in 653 and studied *Vijñaptimātra Siddhi* under Hsüan-Tsang.⁵³ After his study Dosho introduced Hsüan-Tsang's philosophy to Japan. Thus Buddhist religious tradition was transmitted from India to China and thence to Japan. In this context, Hsüan-Tsang played an important role.

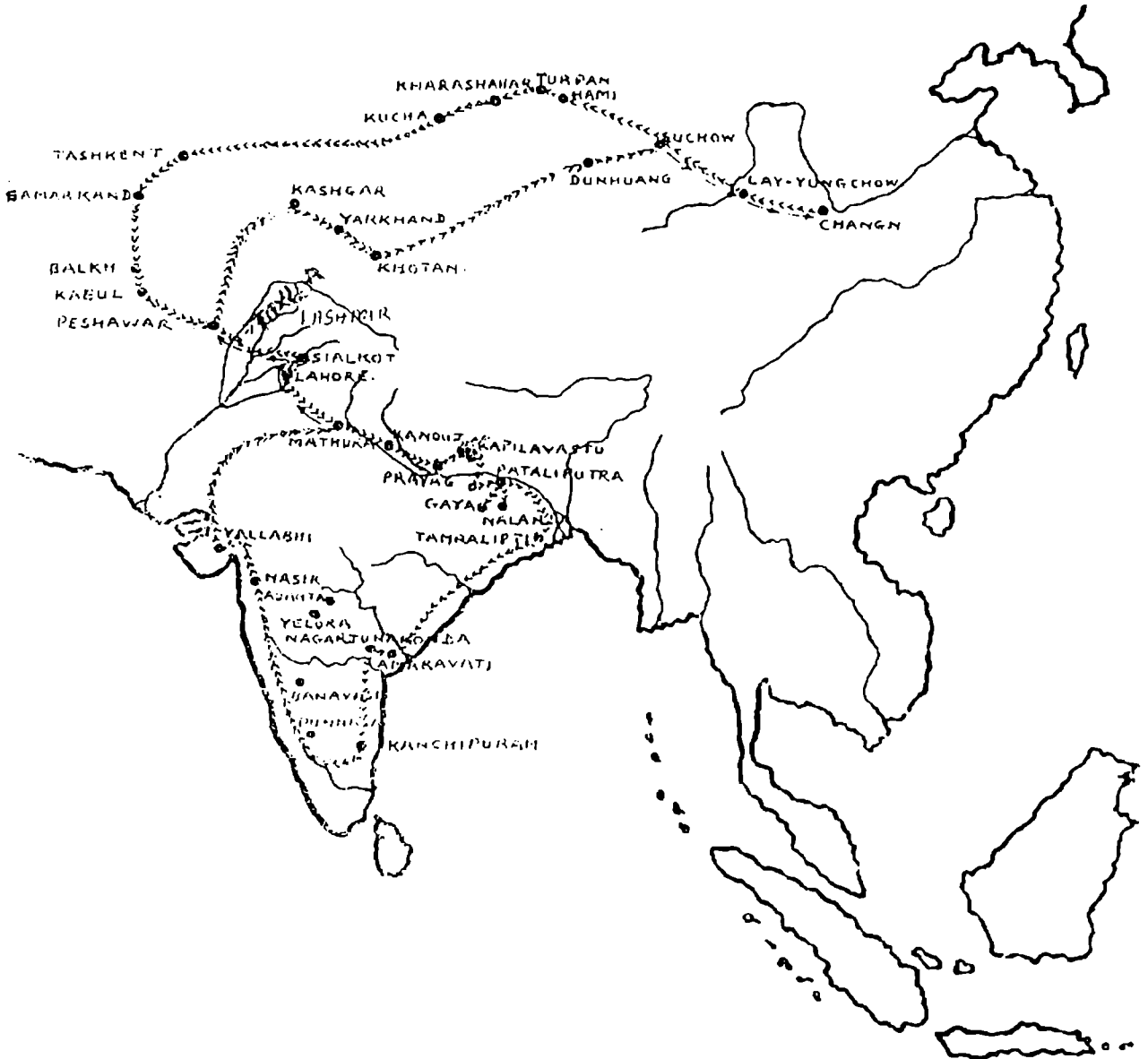
As noticed earlier, Chinese Buddhist structures were considerably influenced by Hsüan-Tsang's pilgrimage. For example, he caused the construction of pagoda at the southern gate of the Hong-fuh temple for the preservation of his sacred books and relics. It was built after the model of the Indian *stūpas*.⁵⁴

It is also interesting to note that Tai-Tsung, the Chinese emperor, became more interested in Buddhism through Hsüan-Tsang's influence. The emperor had great admiration for the pilgrim. He wrote a preface to the translated texts of Hsüan-Tsang and distributed them far and wide in the empire and the country. At the express command of the emperor, Hsüan-Tsang wrote the *Si-Yu-Ki*.⁵⁵

Hsüan-Tsang's travelogue provides useful information about the prevalence of Buddhism on the borderland of China. For instance, he gives information about Buddhism and its characteristics in Khotan, Kashgar, Osh, Yarkhand, Balkh, Kuchi. He noticed Small Vehicle in Kashgar, Osh, Kiu-chi and Balkh and Great Vehicle in Yarkhand, Khotan and Kapiśā.⁵⁶

Lastly, Hsüan-Tsang's mission roused intense curiosity among the Chinese Buddhist evangelists who toured into India during the seventh and eighth centuries. Biographies of sixty monks including that of I-Tsing have been preserved in Chinese text. Prominent among them were Hiuen-Chiu, Tao-hi,

ROUTES OF HSÜAN-TSANG A. D. 629-645



I-hwui, Hiuen-ta, I-tsing.⁵⁷ Similarly, several Indian Buddhist monks went to China at the royal invitation. For instance, Prabhākaramitra, a famous scholar from Nālandā visited China from the country of western Turks at the request of the Chinese emperor. Bodhiruci hailing from Karnataka (India), reached China in 693 at the request of a Chinese envoy whom he met in the court of the Calukya ruler, Vinayāditya (681-696) in Bādāmi. He (Bodhiruci) translated fifty-three volumes of scriptures including the famous *Mahāyāna* text *Ratnakūṭa*. Vajra Bodhi, a native of the Pallava Kingdom, reached China in 720 and popularised *Tantrayāna*.⁵⁸

VII Conclusions

Despite his travelogue contains fantastic ideas of a strange land, its effects on Chinese Buddhism are substantial. Hsüan-Tsang's mission to India enriched Buddhism in his country in various directions.

Notes and References

★ The proper spelling of Hsüan-Tsang's name has been the subject of considerable discussion and the variation in practice has been and still is very great. Hiouen-Tsang (Julian and Wade), Hiuen-Tsiang (Beal), Hiuen-Tsang (V. Smith), Hsuan-Chwang (Eliot), Yuan-Chwang (Rhys Davids). See detail Smith V. A., *The Early History of India*. From 600 B.C. to the Muhammedan Conquest, Fourth Ed. Revised by S. M. Edwardes, (Oxford 1967), p. 25. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* of Great Britain and Ireland (cited this as JRAS) 1892, p. 387. Among these spelling Hsüan-Tsang seems to be correct.

1. *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Macropaedia Chicago 1979, cited this as *N.E.B.* Vol. 3, p. 408. The same work states that Buddhism entered China later by way of the Malaya Archipelago (around the 6th-7th centuries A. D.). But it is not so. This took place by the middle of the third century. See Infra Note No. 7.
2. The Chinese Chronicles mention a golden statue of Buddha being brought to China in 121 B. C. According to one of the traditions Aśoka built some of the *Stūpas* in China and his missionary, Sheh-Li-Fang was acquainted with the Buddhist texts during the reign of Shi-Huang-Ti (B.C. 221-208). According to one of the non-contemporary Chinese legends Indian embassies reached China about 50 B.C. For detail see I. K. Sharma, "Some Buddhist monuments of China and cultural contacts between South India, Ceylon and China." *Mañjūśha* (Recent Archaeology and Research in India) Bangalore 1985, pp. 70, 72. Buddha Prakash "Social Aspects of the Spread of Buddhism in China." *India's Contributions to World Thought and Culture* (cited this as *I.C.W.T.C.*) Vivekananda Rock Memorial Committee, Madras 1970, p. 333.

3. Charles Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, (London) 1971, iii p. 6.
4. Brain Hook (Ed.), *Cambridge Encyclopaedia of China* (Cambridge University Press 1982, cited as C.E.C). p. 320.
5. Shigeo Kamata, "Cultural Exchange between India, China and Japan" *I.C.W.T.C.*, p. 316 f.
6. Sarkar, "Buddhist Contact of China", *Ibid.* p. 328.
7. *Epigraphia Indica* XX p. 7 & 22, *Mañjūsha* p. 71.
8. *C.E.C.* p. 320.
9. Charles Eliot, op. cit. pp. 250-1.
10. His father came from India and Kumārajīva went as a youth to study in Kipin (Kashmir) and then returned to Kuci. After his return to Kuci, he was converted to *Mahāyāna*. Eliot, *Ibid.* p. 203.
11. *C.E.C.* p. 320.
12. *N.E.B.* p. 408.
13. *C.E.C.* p. 320-21. He is said to have translated into Chinese 35 of the main *Mahāyāna Sūtra*, Saletore, R. N., *Encyclopaedia of Indian Culture* Vol. 2. New Delhi 1982, pp. 793-94.
14. *Ibid.* pp. 320-1, Leroy Davidson, *Indian Influence in China*; A. L. Bassham, *A Cultural History of India*, Oxford, 1975, p. 456.
15. The prominent Chinese Buddhists who visited India were Houei-Jouei (c. 355-309), Fa-Hien (402-410), Teche-Mong (left India in 424), Fa-Yong (420), Song-Yun (518-522) etc. These travellers visited India before Hsüan-Tsang mission. Detail see Hilaire *Hioun-Tshang* (Tr. Laura Ensor, Calcutta 1952) pp. 3-5. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *South India and South East Asia*, Studies in their History and Culture, (Geeta, Mysore 1978), pp. 261-267.
16. The first Buddhist temple at Nanjing was built by Kang-Sing-Hu of Indian parentage. Mao-Kao-Ku-Chapel at Dunhuang (Gansu Province) was the earliest to be constructed by an Indian *Bhikṣu*, see plate No. iii, *Mañjūsha*, p. 74. The prominent Indian Buddhists who worked for the propagation of Buddhism in China were Bodhi Dharma and Paramārtha. The former came to Canton in 470 A. D. and founded Ch'an (Dhyana) school of Buddhism there. He hailed from South India. Bodhi Dharma started tea drinking as an aid to meditation. The latter (Paramārtha 499-569) is generally considered to have been the founder of *Yogācāra* school in China mainly because of his own numerous translations of this philosophy

and especially because of the personal and written commentaries attached to his translations. See P. Thomas, "From India to China with a monk's bowl." The *Sunday Standard* (Bangalore) November 26, 1972, Magazine section. Tadeuszskorupski's review of the book 'Philosophy of Mind' in the sixth century China; Paramārtha's Evolution of consciousness by Dian Y. Paul, *JRAS* No. 1, 1988, p. 243. See Saletore B. A., *India's Diplomatic Relations with East* (Popular, Bombay 1960).

17. *N.E.B.* p. 408.
18. *C.E.C.* p. 322.
19. Shaman-Hwui-Li, *The Life of Hiuen-Tsiang* (tr. Samuel Beal). With an Introduction containing an account of the works of I-tsing cited this Life (Munshiram Manoharlal, Delhi 1973) p. 39.
20. *N.E.B.* Vol. 8, p. 1126. *C.E.C.* p. 188. The year of the birth of Hsüan-Tsang is a controversy. According to Hilaire it is 603, see *op.cit.*, p. 8; according to Saletore *op. cit.* p. 544 and the editor of *New Encyclopaedia Britannica* Vol. 3 p. 439 it is 593. According to Smith V., *Oxford History of India* Ed. by Percival Spear, Fourth edition, Oxford, Delhi, 1981, p. 182, it is 600.
21. *N.E.B.* Vol. 8, p. 1126. *Life*, pp. 4-6, *Hiouen-Tshang in India* p. 9.
22. Hilarie, *Ibid.* p. 9. *Life*, p. 7.
23. *Life*, p. 7.
24. Hilarie, p. 9.
25. *Life*, p. 7.
26. *Ibid.* p. 6.
27. While he was in India Hsüan-Tsang's observation on *Hīnayāna* is worthy of note. He regarded this as heretical "I know nothing," See *Life* p. 164.
28. *Ibid.* pp. 8-10.
29. *N.E.B.* Vol. 8, p. 1126. *C.E.C.* 188, *Life* p. 10.
30. *Ibid.* *Life*, pp. 25-31.
31. One such scholar Hsüan-Tsang successfully argued with in the monastery at Kuci was Mokṣa Gupta. See *Life*, pp.39-40.

Chronology of Hsüan-Tsang's visits to different parts of India are based on S. R. Goyal's work *Harṣa and Buddhism*, Meerut 1986, Ap.

- No. 2, pp. 150-155. Here stress is given to Hsüan-Tsang's contact with Buddhist scholars and educational centres which he visited. But his observations on social, religious conditions of India and his impressions on Harṣa and other rulers have been eschewed as these are beyond the purview of the work. About these see Eliot, *op. cit.* ii p. 100-103. *JRAS* 1891, p. 418, *Ibid.* 1892, p. 387. At the same time, we do not accept that Harṣa was converted to *Mahāyāna* faith through the influence of Hsüan-Tsang. See Detail Goyal S. R. *op. cit.*, pp. 101, 117, 119.
32. Kalidas Nag, *Greater India*, Calcutta, 1960, p. 85.
 33. According to Hui-Li, Hsüan-Tsang halted in Kashmir first and last, for two years. *Life* pp. 71-72. Whereas he stayed for two years. Goyal S. R. *op. cit.*, pp. 150, 155.
 34. *Life*, pp. 68-70.
 35. *Ibid.* pp. 120-121, *I.C.W.T.C.* p. 321.
 36. *Ibid.* 137.
 37. *Ibid.* 139.
 38. *Ibid.* p. 164, Goyal S. R. *op. cit.* 21.
 39. Goyal, *Ibid.* p. 152.
 40. *Life*, 152, 153.
 41. *Ibid.* 153, 154.
 42. The principal halts of his stay in studying the Buddhist scriptures are in Kashmir for two years, at Chinapat for fourteen months (Jan. 634) and at Nalanda for two years which amount to about five years. See Goyal, *op. cit.* p. 155. Besides these periods of stay, Hsüan-Tsang spent six months at Amaravati and two months at Parvata for studying scriptures.
 43. *Life*, p. 169.
 44. *C.E.C.*, p. 188.
 45. L. Cranmen Byang, Preface, *Life*, p. xiv.
 46. Smith V. A., *Oxford History of India*, p. 182.
 47. Hsüan-Tsang's letter dated 2nd Month 654 A.D. to Jñānaprabhā, quoted by Goyal S. R. *op. cit.* pp. 60, 64.
 48. *JRAS* 1988, p. 243.

49. Eliot, *op. cit.* p. 313. His criticism of earlier translators with whom Hsüan-Tsang differed in philosophical belief also caused controversy. His retranslations of already available texts did not supplant the existing versions in popularity. See *C.E.C.*, p. 188.
50. *Ibid.* p. 323. *N.E.B.* Vol. 3, p. 439.
51. *Life*, p. 210-216.
52. Saletore, R. N. *op. cit.* 545, *Life*, pp. xix.
53. *N.E.B.*, 8, p. 1127, *C.E.C.*, p. 188.
54. *Life*, p. 216.
55. *C.E.C.*, p. 188, Hsüan-Tsang's letter to Jñānaprabhā, Goyal S.R. *op. cit.* 61, 65. *Life*, 215.
56. *Life*, pp. 192, 212. Eliot, *op. cit.* iii pp. 193, 202, 204, 207.
57. *Ibid.* pp. xxvii-xli.
58. *I.C.W.T.C.* pp. 331: Saletore B.A., *Karnataka Trans-Oceanic Contacts* (Dharwad 1956) pp. 69-70. Narashimha Murthy, A. V., *Sanskritika Brihadbharata* (Mysore 1971) p. 193-4.

This essay has been prepared under the direction of Dr. A. Sundara, Professor of Ancient Indian History, Karnataka University, Dharwad.

REVIEWS

RĀJAŚEKHARĀCĪ - KĀVYAMĪMĀNSĀ (Marathi), KAMAL ABHYANKAR,
published by Śrī Vidyā Prakāśana, 250, Shanivar Peth, Pune - 30, 1992,
pp. 283, Rs. 90/-

The present work is based on Mrs. Kamal Abhyankar's Ph. D. Thesis. It aims at introducing Rājeśekhara's work on Sanskrit Poetics and pointing out his significant contribution to critical thought.

Historians of Sanskrit Literature and Sanskrit Poetics underrate *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* as a practical handbook for poets or as falling outside the province of general poetics. Although it does not deal with the exposition of *guṇas*, *doṣas*, *alaṅkāras*, *rasas*, *bhāvas*, *dhvani*, etc., it does deal with some of the topics that have been touched on by the early writers on poetics like Bhāmaha, Vāmana and Ānandavardhana. Rājeśekhara deserves all praise for setting forth his views in great detail and with profuse illustrations on topics like plagiarism, poetic conventions, poetic truth, defence of poetry, the concept of *pāka* and its various types. Further, he preserves the views of some early writers on Poetics which are otherwise not known at all. It is therefore very commendable that Mrs. Abhyankar has presented in this work a truly critical study of *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* and ably shown how far Rājeśekhara is indebted to his predecessors and what his real and original contribution is.

The work is divided into the following eight chapters, the titles of which give a good idea of the contents.

1. Rājeśekhara : His personal life, works and the critical thought of his predecessors.
2. *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* : A detailed introduction.
3. The causes of poetry, the nature and types of poets.
4. Ancient poet's way of life.
5. Equipment of the poet.
6. The process of poetic creation and the mode of reciting poetry.
7. Discussion about the nature of poetry.
8. Connoisseur of poetry and practical criticism and, the conclusion (*Upasamhāra*) : evaluation of Rājeśekhara as a literary critic.

At the end are added appendixes (i) giving names of authors occurring

in Dalal's edition of *Kāvyaṁmānsā* (ii) *Śāstrīya subhāṣitas* occurring in *Kāvyaṁmānsā* (iii) List of Reference Works (iv) List of Abbreviations and (v) Index of Names of Works and Authors.

In Marathi there was hardly any work dealing with Rājaśekhara's *Kāvyaṁmānsā*. Naturally, Mrs. Abhyankar's critical study of *Kāvyaṁmānsā* deserves to be warmly welcomed by lovers of Marathi who do not have adequate knowledge of Sanskrit but are keen to get acquainted with Rājaśekhara's critical thought.

Mrs. Abhyankar has ably and faithfully — and also critically — presented Rājaśekhara's critical thought in Marathi. She does not blindly accept what Rājaśekhara or his modern Sanskrit commentators or Hindi translators say but, when occasion demands, she politely and cautiously registers her dissent from them and puts forward her own interpretation. When dealing with a theoretical text in Sanskrit it is but natural that the writer has to use willy-nilly many Sanskrit terms in the language of expression or exposition — here Marathi. When one goes through this work one faces rather a highly Sanskritised Marathi. This detracts to some extent from her otherwise creditable performance.

On p. 5 she states that *Karpūramañjarī* is the one and only one example of the type of drama called *Sattaka*. It is the earliest available and standard *Sattaka*, no doubt. But quite a few *Sattakas* have been composed by later writers. Two of these, *Caṁdalechā* of Rudradāsa and *Śṛīgāramañjarī* of Viśveśvara are already published.

The list of reference works makes no mention of articles which critically deal with some of the topics treated of in *Kāvyaṁmānsā*. For instance, the present reviewer's three articles on Plagiarism, Poetic Conventions and Intonation (Kāku) which were first published in Oriental Research Journals (1954, 1960 and 1966) and which later (1983) have been included in *Studies In Sanskrit Sāhitya Śāstra*, published by B. L. Institute of Indology, Patan (Gujarat) find no mention in the said Appendix.

The Appendix dealing with *Śāstrīya subhāṣitas* occurring in *Kāvyaṁmānsā* collects over sixty of them. They are very striking. It would have been but proper if for the benefit of Marathi readers their translation in Marathi were given below each one of them.

Notwithstanding a few deficiencies Mrs. Abhyankar deserves every praise for her valiant effort to present Rājaśekhara's critical thought embodied in his *Kāvyaṁmānsā* in Marathi and for enriching critical thought in Marathi by her valuable contribution.

KANHERI INSCRIPTIONS, SHOBHANA GOKHALE, Deccan College Post Graduate and Research Institute, Pune, 1991, pp.x +168, Plates 17, Figures 70, Rs.300/-

This monograph is a valuable contribution to the study of epigraphical records of the rock-cut caves of Kanheri, situated in the suburbs of Bombay. Shobhana Gokhale, well-known epigraphist and archaeologist, has spent days together on this site reading inscriptions in inaccessible corners, and has discovered new inscriptional material as well as read the previously unread inscriptions. She has brought under one cover 58 inscriptions and 26 epitaphs (along with English translation) of this important Buddhist establishment which flourished on the Western Indian trade route between the 1st and 9th centuries A.D.

Equally important is her analysis of the context of inscriptions for a cultural history of Kanheri. The epitaphs found in the valley in front of the *Nirvāṇa Vāthi* (Burial Gallery) throw significant light on the Buddhist monastic institution of Kanheri. From the epigraphical material Shobhana Gokhale states that between the fifth and the ninth centuries A.D. Kanheri was an important educational centre with a teacher's tradition, the first of its type in Western India. Inscriptions record names of teachers and pupils along with their scholastic merits. The Sthaviravādī monks were highly honoured in this period, while earlier inscriptions record the three Hīnayāna sects: Aparaseliya, Andhaka and Bhadravāṇīya. It is noteworthy that the 9th century inscriptions under the rule of the Śilāhāras record donations for rooms for meditation and purchase of books. In Śilāhāra period, Kanheri was highly reputed and called *Mahārāja Mahāvihāra*.

Analysing inscriptions, the author has furnished material on the Buddhist *saṅgha*, on the hierarchy of the monks, their categories such as *upāsaka*, *pavajita*, *sāmanera bhikṣu*, *bhadanta*, and *ācārya thera bhadanta*, on the *bhikṣuṇī saṅgha*, on women donors and socio-economic conditions in general. It is interesting to know that there are no foreign donors mentioned in the Kanheri inscriptions. Curiously, guilds are also not mentioned though numerous professions are referred to. The inscriptions record three different mercantile professions of Sethi, Negama and Vāṇija.

Kanheri with its long span of Buddhist activity, resulting in the cutting of 104 caves, witnessed different phases of Buddhism — Hīnayāna, Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna, and the consequent changes in the pantheon and iconography. There is a unique image of eleven-headed Avalokiteśvara in Cave No.41, datable to the 6th century A.D. The author suggests that the eleven-headed Avalokiteśvara could have some association with the worship of Daśabali Buddha

at Kanheri. Daśabali Buddha was worshipped in Andhra, Devni Mori (Gujarat) and Punjab, and the religious ideology could have travelled to Kanheri along with the trade-route. She also draws our attention to the Sino-Indian contacts in the period, as this type of eleven-headed Avalokiteśvara (called Kuan-yin) was popular in China during the seventh-eighth centuries.

Shobhana Gokhale has identified a figure of Dīpa Tārā in Cave 3. This unusual figure, as also the wooden Tārā found from the site, on which Dr.H.D. Sankalia had contributed an article in our Journal (Vols. 56-59 combined, 1986), suggests Eastern Indian (Nalanda) influence in the art and culture of Kanheri. This is further supported by the epigraphical evidence of A.D. 854 of a worshipper from the Gauḍa region who made a permanent endowment for the construction of a meditation room and for raiment of monks residing at Kanheri.

The author has examined palaeographical features and provided detailed charts. Appendices noting architectural terms, place names and professions will be of interest to scholars.

This is a very useful study and we wish that many such studies based on solid inscriptional material are made in order to give a clear view of socio-economic and religious conditions of ancient India. There are some printing errors which should be avoided in the second edition.

Devangana Desai

MENTALISTIC TURN, (A Critical Evaluation of Chomsky), KALYAN SEN GUPTA, published by K. P. Bagchi and Company in collaboration with Jadavpur University, Calcutta, pages 126, Rs. 100/-.

This little book has five chapters on different topics concerning the theory of language proposed by Noam Chomsky. Chomsky's theory has gone through various phases of development since 1957 when it was first proposed. However, basic issues have remained the same. It is these basic issues which Chomsky raised through his erudite and insightful scholarship spanning over almost forty years by now and which have generated tremendous interest among psychologists, philosophers, sociologists, mathematicians and others as well. The very fact that Chomsky's theory has been able to trigger debate from so many diverse disciplinary points of view speaks volumes about Chomsky's thinking, particularly its comprehensiveness, its penetrating and germane nature relevant to the basic issues integrating so many disciplines at one and the same time. Author of this book is a philosopher who naturally is concerned about the philosophical issues raised by Chomsky's theory.

The basic issues discussed are Transformational generative grammar within the orbit of mentalism (Chapter 1), Competence and creativity (Chapter 2), a plea for innateness (Chapter 3), the quest for meaning (Chapter 4), and language and mind (Chapter 5). Every issue has been discussed in two parts. First part invariably deals with the position taken by Chomsky on the issue concerned and the second with the position taken by Chomsky's critics, at times the author throwing in his own argument with this or that critic. For a linguist like the present reviewer who happened to be among the first batch of students working for their Ph.D. degrees in the United States in early 1960s coming over to the side of Chomsky there appears nothing new in the book as such. Critique of Chomsky has almost become cliché ridden now. However, the utility of the little book cannot be denied, especially for Indian scholars, particularly philosophers, who either do not have easy access to the voluminous literature supporting and purportedly refuting Chomsky or have no time to go through the above large scale literature. For such scholars, the book can be a good aid to get introduced to the controversies and debate Chomsky's theory has been able to generate.

Chapter I discusses how Chomsky veered toward mentalism. The central fact is the creative aspect of language which reflects the ability of the speaker to produce and understand sentences not encountered before. Chomsky postulates the notion of competence, speaker's tacit knowledge about his language, which underlies creativity. Chomsky does not believe that earlier behaviouristic attempts led by Bloomfield and Quine based on analogy and inductive generalization can explain this creativity in language. Mechanical discovery procedures developed under the aegis of structuralism were demolished by Chomsky as non-starters in his *Syntactic Structures*, since they only segment and categorize the elements of language as is apparent from procedures for phonemicization, morphologization and Immediate Constituent analysis. Chomsky alternately proposed a phrase structure grammar (PSG) which does not only segment and categorize the primal structure 'sentence' (S) but also labels these categories as well. PSG postulates some fundamental types of S. structures called kernels and also non-kernels. Chomsky proposes a Transformational component which consists of a set of transformational rules which convert these kernels into larger and more complex sentence structures.

Transformational rules can delete, add, and permute elements under specified conditions in an unambiguous manner which PSG cannot. This apparatus generates sentences which means that it predicts, specifies or approves sentences which are well-formed and grammatical. The apparatus also captures the creative aspect of language in the sense that it is concerned not with an actual set of sentences but with the possible set of sentences. This is exactly the sense in which this theoretical framework is known as *transformational generative*.

In Chomsky's *Aspects of the theory of Syntax* (1965), input to the transformational component is called *deep structure* which contains all syntactic

and semantic information necessary (1) for generating infinite number of sentences from the base strings generated by the base component and (2) also for interpreting the base strings semantically. Note that in *Syntactic Structures* Semantics was totally left out although its place in linguistic description was acknowledged. Transformational rules now apply to deep structure and yield surface structure as output. It was argued that surface structures may be similar but may have entirely different deep structures syntactically and divergent interpretation semantically as exemplified by such sentence pairs as 'John is eager to please' and 'John is easy to please'. Thus much of intuitive judgements about grammaticality and ungrammaticality on the part of the native speakers are founded in the deep structure. Rules of phonological component apply to the surface structure and realize or interpret the strings phonetically. In this sense, both the semantic and phonological components are interpretative and the base component is the real generative or creative component. All the components are mentally represented reflecting native speaker's competence in the language. It is this mental notion of deep structure and the associated set of rules which have given mentalistic turn to Chomsky's theory.

In Chapter II, the author discusses the notion of competence further, contrasting it with the notion of performance. Competence is the mentally represented system of rules and principles neutral between the speaker and the hearer. Performance is the use of this system in verbal interaction in actual socio-cultural environment. Transformational generative grammar captures this competence by generating well-formed sentences with associated structural descriptions. Chomsky's motivation for proposing competence-performance distinction becomes apparent in the context of the earlier structural linguistics which was 'data -corpus' oriented and hence performance-oriented. Since no data can be said to be complete, gaps are bound to be there. To that extent linguistic description would remain incomplete. Besides, actual speech is characterized by false starts, slips and errors in terms of violation of rules. Hence Chomsky's postulation of the mentally represented competence to account for well-formed set of possible sentences, i.e., the creative aspect of language. Chomsky postulates an ideal speaker-hearer in a completely homogeneous speech community unaffected by grammatically irrelevant conditions such as memory limitations, distractions, shifts of attention and interest, and errors (random or characteristic) in applying his knowledge of the language in actual performance. Above idealization is the fundamental condition for the abstract mentalistic notion of competence.

The author levels his criticism against this ability called competence under idealized conditions on the ground that it does not account for production of sentences appropriate to the situation which every native speaker can do. Chomsky has been under attack on this count since sixties by Hymes and Searle, among others.

The author is at pains to distinguish between Chomsky's use of the term competence synonymous with the creative aspect of language on the one

hand and the creative aspect of language use on the other. However, he himself clears his own confusion that the latter is not performance but competence itself. And then again he picks on Chomsky's creative aspect of language use on the appropriate occasion accusing Chomsky for shifting his position towards performance as we can see in the author's own words : 'What we see in the foregoing is the accent on appropriate occasion which puts the creative aspect of linguistic use unmistakably on the side of performance' (p.48), at the same time branding Chomsky with philosophical inconsistency and poses a question 'how can competence or generative grammar fathom the mystery of the creative aspect of language use, the coherence and the appropriateness of ordinary speech ?' He feels that competence and creativity are at loggerheads. He feels that this problem is there on account of Chomsky's mentalistic bias. The author fails to see that Chomsky's emphasis is still on creative ability of language use and not on language use *per se*. To this reviewer this is gross misinterpretation of Chomsky who has been very consistent in stressing the goal of linguistic theory to discover this creative ability underlying language use in different contexts.

Second issue on which the author criticizes Chomsky is intuition being coterminous with deep structure and asks whether one common underlying structure for active and passive sentences necessarily proves the existence of inner represented deep structure. The author again commits the mistake of equating intuition with speaker's knowledge about the language and levels the criticism that the linguist is imposing his own knowledge on the native speaker. Intuition for Chomsky has never been the sole criterion for determining underlying representation. Intuitions are basically hints for the kind of underlying structure that linguist deductively hypothesizes accounting for the observable data. Ultimately what matters is the hypothesized structure rather than the intuition. It is this undue weightage to the intuition that has misled the author into misunderstanding Chomsky's view that every native speaker possesses tacit, unconscious knowledge of the grammar of the language. By this Chomsky means that the native speaker cannot explicitly formulate the rules of the grammar. The author insists that the native speaker can be brought to recognize this unconscious knowledge without further retrospective evidence under an eliciting condition. Perhaps yes, if the native speaker is a linguist too, but not for the common lay speaker. How this invalidates Chomsky's notion of tacit knowledge on the part of the native speaker is really incomprehensible.

No wonder the author has a bewildered face when confronted with Chomsky's rules. He is bewildered because he has taken Chomsky's rules as the tacit knowledge than a hypothesis about this knowledge. Tacit knowledge is the truth, the constant, hypothesis is a view of this knowledge. The view can change. Chomsky's theory of language has gone through at least four versions by now if not more, each trying to approximate itself to the tacit knowledge. The author can have his own version of this tacit knowledge if one earlier version bewilders him. Only the goal remains constant. Hypotheses to attain that goal may vary. Another point of worn out criticism is that Chomsky neglects the aspect of use of language in social context. In fact,

Chomsky is very much aware of it when he makes a distinction between competence which underlies performance including the use of language in actual context, social context being only one such context. Halliday, Searls and Hymes, the critics of Chomsky quoted by the author on this point have missed this point. To do justice with performance or communicative use of language in all its variations understanding of competence is a must in Chomsky's view. Chomsky is very much aware of the responsibility of the linguist to do justice with both competence and performance.

First part of Chapter 3, 'A plea for innateness' (pp. 58-60) presents Chomsky's argument that language faculty is inborn amongst humans and is part of growth / maturation process like any part or ability of human body such as heart or visual system. A cogent treatment is given to L.Jonathan Cohen's proposal of 'eliminative induction' as a possible alternative to Chomsky's innateness theory of language learning and the rejection by Chomsky of Cohen's proposal. The oft-repeated criticism of Chomsky's innateness as tautological is also rebutted by showing that hypotheses flowing from innateness theory are as well falsifiable as those proposed under any other theory. The author then proceeds to criticise Chomsky's innatism on the grounds of (i) individual differences in language ability consequent upon environmental differences and (2) acquisition of language with meaning consequent upon interaction in actual social situations—social approval being necessary for stabilization of linguistic use/meaning. Finally, the author states that there is no reason why language learning should be glued to one's innate mental equipment and calls Chomsky's account as half-baked. To support his criticism he cites many other scholars. An alternative to innateness hypothesis based on linguistic universals is the 'common origin' hypothesis for all languages (p.75). Several other hypotheses alternative to innateness have been mentioned such as linguistic universals emanating from the nature of learning and communicative function of language. The author himself then states that 'the above quibbles against innatism are awful howlers, who knows ?' Then the author turns to Chomsky's poverty of stimulus argument supporting innateness hypothesis and calls it flawed since the ensuing notion of competence does not make room for actual language use in real life settings. Then, further, the author attacks the presupposition on Chomsky's part that learning a natural language is exactly the same as learning a formal language and learning a formal language is learning a meta-language. He claims that this is not the case with natural language since different speakers have different set of grammatical rules, perhaps infinite in number, sharing only a sub-set with other speakers. The reviewer feels that if all these things are assumed to be correct, there would be chaos all over in linguistics and no science of language would be possible. In fact, this was the scene before Chomsky's advent. The notion of competence acquired through innate capacity explained all the isolated and chaotic information available then and was neatly interwoven by Chomsky into a plausible theory. Some scholars, including the author, have an anathema to such mentalistic, abstract and formal approach. Opposition to Chomsky emanates from such prejudice rather than plausibility of the

critics' position. The very fact of ongoing communication in the face of tremendous linguistic variation points out to a deeper structure which underlies such variation. Such deeper structure has to be abstract and formal if it has to project infinite linguistic variety on the basis of finite linguistic structure. Further, the capacity of human child to acquire such capacity of forming and understanding infinite number of sentences on the basis of limited and accidental exposure to language unmistakably points out to innate linguistic endowment specific to human species. This position of Chomsky is a hypothesis and if rated on the scale of plausibility compared to various other theories the author discusses, it comes out very high on the ranking and leaves others way below.

In Chapter IV, the author discusses how Chomsky has dealt with realizing meaning out of sentences in terms of 'the Aspects of the Theory of Syntax' (1965). The notion of deep structure to which transformational rules apply to yield surface structure is crucial in this respect. To understand sentences, a dictionary giving componential meaning of lexical items and projection rules amalgamating meaning of lexical items by applying them to deep structure taking into consideration selectional restrictions and sub-categorization are necessary. This gives a formal treatment to meaning. The author again does not like the idea of analysing lexical items on the basis of semantic markers which are conceived of as a universal finite set applicable to all languages and frowns at the innatist explanation of human semantic capacity and quotes Johan Lyons in his support. The reviewer should like to remind the author that this was the beginning of semantics of a universal kind. What Katz, Fodor and Chomsky are doing at this stage is articulating a framework on the basis of limited but clear-cut examples. It was for other scholars to work out the details of the set of semantic markers. The author does not even want to try himself. He dooms others also to failure even if they try. With this kind of biased and defeatist attitude, no science can even begin, let alone develop. Semantics of individual language is culture-bound but semantics of L, the universal language, the common endowment of human species, is not culture-bound but universal. Male-female is one such universal feature. This has led the author also to conclude that concepts precede words. No such claim has ever been made by Chomsky and his associates. The theory is not located in a temporal space but in logical space. The author remarks (p. 93) that Chomsky no longer upholds innatist account of meaning. I do not understand how surface structure constraining the deeper form with the resultant trace theory would lead Chomsky to abandon deep structure or innatist hypothesis. In fact, trace theory infers in the surface structure what is there in the deep structure but was deleted from the surface structure as a result of some transformation. The author appears to be making a mistake of isolating innatist semantics from the innatist linguistic theory. In fact, the whole theory is one integrated whole. Separating them would naturally lead to unwarranted conclusions as has happened in the case of the author. The author's attempt to arrive at hidden mental processes by inductive extrapolation again shows his own preoccupation and prejudice. Chomsky has time and

again shown that he believed in deductive inquiry and in fact in Chomsky's view much of the advancement of human knowledge has been possible because of deductive inquiry. The author discusses Searle's intrinsic intentionality which is imposed by mind on linguistic entities like sounds and marks. This leads the author to raise the question whether thought precedes language and answers it negatively. The reviewer has answered this question affirmatively in the context of translation and bilingualism (Translation : Convention and Innovation—Further remarks, December 1989, National Seminar on 'Art and Science of Translation' at Osmania University). In this paper, the reviewer has taken a Wittgensteinian approach and reached a conclusion exactly opposite to what the author has said. The author invokes Wittgenstein to oppose Searle's mentalism. The reviewer reaches mentalism through Wittgensteinian approach by justifying that thought structure precedes language. When Wittgenstein talks about rules of use, one can see mentalism in this as well. A Rule is a mental formulation.

However, a linguistic theoretician is not interested *per se* in 'Language and thought : which comes first' controversy and would treat language as a phonetic-semantic correlation following Chomsky.

In the 5th and the last Chapter, 'Language and Mind', the author emphasizes language as a communicative mechanism, hence social in nature as against Chomsky's view of language as a communication-neutral mechanism. Chomsky asserts that the communicative view has not yielded any substantive proposals. Chomsky's view, therefore, has on the one hand led to language as being neutral between speaker and hearer and, on the other, to postulating mental competence and innateness. The communicative view has led to focussing on variation in language use since the variables, speaker, hearer and the exterior context of each, have been introduced in the study of language. His illustration of 5 sentences of the use of the verb 'cut' demonstrates the consequence of such variation.

Chomsky would have none of this variation to begin with and would like to analyse the word 'cut' as having a constant underlying meaning in all 5 sentences. The author's insistence to force upon Chomsky his conception of language is a futile exercise. He cites Labov's work on American Black English dialects which are called by standard speakers as ungrammatical. However, I do not think that Chomsky has ever called American Black English as ungrammatical. What Chomsky would say that all English speakers have a competence and the dialects—Black, White, British, America, are derived from it systematically. I think, Labov creates a straw-man, then exerts to shoot it down and the author falls for the feat Labov has performed. The author again hits out at the role of intuition in Chomsky's theory and quotes Labov in support claiming intuitions are dialect-bound and scholars disagree on data. Author's eagerness in abandoning Chomskyan paradigm as a solution is understandable, since he is interested in language performance in social

context, not competence in which Chomsky is interested. He also attacks Husserl's mentalism which postulates a transcendental ego which gives meaning to the world. In this formulation language using consciousness is separated from sociality and culture. The author argues that consistency of use of language requires something transcendental to consciousness : a community of speakers. It may be argued otherwise and said that consistency of use of language in a community is a myth, it is variation within permissible limits which are set by the norms internalized by the language using consciousness. His pointing out to Husserl's problems with intersubjectivity and existence of others in the context of transcendental ego leads the author to again affirm the dimensions of sociality and culture. However, the present reviewer feels that in the formulation of transcendental ego, Husserl is aware of ambiguities and inconsistencies of ordinary speech and it is precisely to introduce unambiguity and consistency in the social and cultural context of communication that Husserl has postulated transcendental ego, very much akin to Chomsky's competence. The author then claims that transcendence really is a cultural phenomenon with intersubjectivity and that he is not an abstract individual but an individual in the society. Having studied anthropology formally for a number of years, the reviewer wants to point out that the author as an individual as a physical object has no value apart from one the abstract cultural system places on him. It is this symbolic value of an individual which matters to the cultural pattern. In fact, the reviewer has consistently felt that anthropology would benefit a great deal by adopting the competence approach of Chomsky. Some scholars have done some work in this direction. The reviewer also wishes to point out that the modular approach recently developed by Chomsky conceives of various types of capacities encapsulated in separate modules and that the interface between these modules needs to be investigated. In this sense language faculty consists of a cluster of modules as opposed to the cultural ones. As a result of interaction between the two, speech variations come about. Chomsky aims to investigate the nature of language faculty as a common endowment of the human race. The author on the contrary is preoccupied with the speech variation resulting out of interacting modules. Recently Chomsky has remarked that language faculty is not a mystical mental entity and considers it physically as real as human being. A publication 'Challenging Chomsky' (1989, by R.Botha, Basil Blackwell) gives a critical review of such recent developments. .

To conclude, the reviewer feels that the author confuses language with speech and sets store by sociality and culture and has no faith in mentalism. He appears to be a materialist. He is entitled to have his views. However, there is no escape from mentalism in Chomskyan sense whether doing linguistics or anthropology since the crux of the problem is discovering the systemic symbolic capacity of human beings in the face of infinite behavioural variation. To the credit of Chomsky, it must be pointed out that an all-encompassing

coherent approach that Chomsky has been able to present motivating scholars in different and diverse fields to pursue his line of approach has not been matched by any other scholar so often critical of him. As Chomsky has said often, if somebody differs, let him come up with a modified competing theory. Gauntlet has been thrown. Let those who disagree pick it up.

Vasant S. Khokle

CETOVINODANAKĀVYAM OF DĀJĪ JYOTIRVID, edited by P. H. JOSHI and S. Y. WAKANKAR, published by Oriental Institute, M. S. University of Baroda, Vadodara, First Edition 1991, pages 108, Rs. 30/-.

It is well-known that the concept of *Dharma* in ancient *Dharma-śāstra* was a very comprehensive one emphasising the *Sādhāraṇa Dharma*. Although Vedic *Samhitās* and *Brāhmaṇas* do not allude to *tīrthayātrā*, *Viṣṇu Dharma-Sūtra* (2.16) as well as later *Dharma śāstra* works and *Purāṇas* refer to *Tīrthānusaṛaṇa* alongwith *guruśuśruṣā*, *ahimsā*, *kṣamā*, *satya*, etc. as part and parcel of *Sādhāraṇa Dharma* and expected every person to acquire religious merit by visiting different places of religious importance. This tendency gradually grew amongst devotees as well as sects, ultimately giving rise to a new form of literature in Sanskrit centering round the *tīrthas* and their *māhātmyas*.

The present *Cetovinodanakāvya* is a typical example belonging to the above-mentioned category. This *kāvya* was composed by Dājī, a scion of Joshirao family of Karavira in Kolhapur district who travelled from his place to Kāśī for performing *pīṭkāryas* (verse 809, p. 83) visiting places of pilgrimage such as Kāśī, Gayā, Prayāga, Citrakūṭa, etc. describing the gods and goddesses situated at those different places alongwith stories and characteristics mentioned in mythology. Such a work can hardly evince a certain continuous and cohesive character.

Joshirao is a modernised form of Jośirāya, a title that members of this illustrious family got on account of their proficiency in Astrology from Chatrapati Shivaji. Later Tarabai, the wife of Rajaram who established her kingdom at Kolhapur in 1707 A. D. patronized the then known member of (possibly Dasharatha, the son of the Mūla Puruṣa) this family. It is clear from the colophon that the author completed this *kāvya* in Śaka 1745 i. e., 1823 A. D. Dājī was a typical product of ancient India endowed with a versatile genius. Major D. C. Graham's book entitled 'Statistical Report on the Principality of Kolhapur' (1854 A. D.) supplies a list of 104 names of works in Sanskrit and Prakrit composed by seven learned men of Kolhapur. This document includes the name of the author of *Cetovinodanakāvya*. As this work is primarily devoted to the description of the places of pilgrimage, the piecemeal character

of the composition, as indicated earlier does not allow the author's poetic faculty to blossom. Nevertheless, his acquaintance with not only *Jyotiṣa* but also with *Vyākaraṇa*, *Āyurveda*, *Purāṇa-Kathā* is evident from this text. Verses like '*śaśakamaśakagaṇḍakāḥ vṛkāḥ*' obtaining liberation by dying in Kāśī and hence *kinuta manuḥjāḥ tripurārīrājadhānyām* (verse 653, p. 65) - speak of author's religious fervour. Reference to earlier authorities on chess in the words जुबुभट्टवाजिपन्तौ etc. in verse 249 (although nothing is known about them) as well as allusions to *dyūta* and playing cards speak of the pastime of *yātrikas* on their way sanctioned by *Dharma-sāstra*. *Cetovinodanaśeṣa* added by the author after completing the text contains the author's review of his journey in the manner of *śinhāvalokana* which is important for a general survey of the route followed by the author in his journey. The present book also contains *Ārtikya* of Gaṅgā and Daṇḍaka of Mahālakṣmī, the *Kṣetradevatā* of Kolhapur, composed in prose, another specialised feature. *Āratī* of Nṛsimha, the *ārādhya devatā* of the Joshirao family fittingly concludes the work eulogising him for his चण्ड अट्टहास at whose feet the author remains clinging.

This book is a reprint from the Journal of the Oriental Institute of Baroda (Vol. 36, Nos. 1-4, Vol. 39, Nos. 1-2). About text editing of this interesting book by Sarvashri P. H. Joshi and S. Y. Wakankar and its consequent inclusion in the famous M. S. University Oriental Series bearing No. 16 has certainly enhanced its value by making it available to all lovers of Sanskrit. स्थलनामादीनां सूचिः running over six pages as well as the excellent introduction presenting all information about the manuscripts of the work as well as that of the author deserve a special mention. The editors alongwith the Oriental Institute of Baroda deserve the compliments of all admirers of Indology and lovers of Sanskrit.

M. D. Paradkar

STUDIES IN EARLY JAINISM (Selected Research Articles)

JAGDISHCHANDRA JAIN, publ. by Mrs. Nirmal Singal for Navrang, Booksellers and publishers, RB-7, Inderpuri, New Delhi - 110 012, 1992, pp. 241, Rs. 280/-

The book under review is a collection of Dr. J. C. Jain's twenty-five research articles published from time to time in Indian and Foreign Oriental Journals. Of these, Seven articles deal with one aspect or another of *Vasudevahindī*, a Jain version of the lost *Bṛhatkathā* of Guṇāḍhya; five, with Prakrit Jain Narrative Literature; four, with Jainism including Religion, Mythology and Worship; three, with Ancient Indian Culture; and one article each deals with 'Trade and Commerce in Ancient India,' 'The School of Sarvāstivāda from Jain Sources,' 'Prakrit in the Background of Hindi', 'The Science of

Prognostication : Nimittaśāstra', 'Memorable Pilgrimage by Hieun Tsang - A Chinese Traveller' and finally, 'The Scope of Research in Jain Studies.'

The above analysis would show that the title does not quite fit the contents of the book. The title raises the expectation that the book mainly deals with Early Jainism in respect of theology, ethics, logic and philosophy (and seeds of the later principal schisms and sects) as compared with its canonical and post - canonical forms. There are only four articles which, properly speaking, treat of Early Jainism :

1. Early Jainism 2. Two Great Religions of Magadha 3. The Role of Dharaṇendra in Jain Mythology and 4. Jain Worship : A Critical View. A majority of the articles included in this book deal with Jain Narrative Literature.

Dr. Jain is a renowned scholar of Prakrit and Jainism. He has been a Research Professor in the Department of Indology, University of Kiel and a Professor of Hindi in Peking. He is a reputed author. Numerous works on a variety of subjects are to his credit. The work under review is a valuable contribution to Jain Studies, especially to a critical and comparative study of Prakrit tales in the context of their original source and migrations to other countries of the world. The research articles are free from sectarian bias and attest to his objective attitude and high regard for truth in conducting research. His articles are very informative and of absorbing interest to inquisitive readers and scholars — especially to such readers who are keen on universal story literature as well as Jain religion and culture.

It is regrettable that the book has unfortunately numerous spelling mistakes and inaccuracies. A few of them are noted below :

p. 4, line 11	'After' for 'altar'.
p. 4, para. 2, line 7 (from below)	'Lightening' for 'lightning'.
p. 7, para. 2, last line	'Identical' for 'identical'.
p. 21, para. 2 (last lines)	'which can (be) only the BK'.
p. 27, para. 4, line 6	'harsh' (hard)... 'stange' (strange).
p. 24, f. n., line 1.1	'peper' for 'paper'.
p. 81, para. 3, line 6	'behive' for 'beehive.'
p. 81, line 8	'woridly' for 'worldly.'
p. 83, para. 4, line 4 (from below)	'thew' for 'threw.'
p. 84, line 1	'multilated' for 'mutilated.'
p. 93, para 3, line 15,	'persuade' for 'persuade'.
line 19	'underground' for 'underground.'
p. 125, line 13.	'... truth is many sides.'
	for ... 'many-sided.'
p. 146, para 2. line 6 (from below)	'(The Science of) deviation' for 'devination.'

p. 148, line 4 (from below)	'indiscrimate' for 'indiscriminate.'
p. 155, para. 3, line 1	'has very <u>title</u> to do with' for ... 'little.'
p. 173, line 2 (from below)	'waving of fly-whisks' for 'waiving...'
p. 177, para. 1, line 9 (from below)	'five-pillered' for '-pillared'.
p. 184, last para. line 3	'memoralised' for 'memorialized.'
p. 195, sub-heading	'unforgettful' for 'unforgetful'.
p. 198, last but one para. line 4	'Scared Books' for 'Sacred Books.'
p. 200, line 5	'a <u>renowened</u> scholar' for 'renowned...'

Occasionally carelessness is noticed in citing printed Sanskrit names or quotations. For example on p. 182 we read : 'henceforth he should call himself Satyakāma Jābāla (her mother's name was Jābāla).' This sentence given in round brackets is simply meaningless. Satyakāma's father's name is not known. His mother's name is Jabālā. Satyakāma therefore calls himself, on his mother's advice, as Satyakāma Jābāla. The name Jābāla is metronymic and means 'born from Jabālā', 'Jabālā's son'. On p. 123 the author says : "In support of their view, Cārvākas have quoted a passage from the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*". And on p. 127 under notes he cites the passage :

इदं महद्भूतमनन्तपारं... सयुत्थाय... न प्रेन्य संज्ञास्तीत्यपरे ब्रवीमीत्तिहोवाच याज्ञवल्क्यः (2.4.12).

Now, the citation is not from *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* but *Bṛhadāranyaka Upaniṣad*. Further the quotation is wrongly given. We should read the passage correctly as follows :

इदं महद्भूतमनन्तमपारं... समुत्थाय... न प्रेत्य संज्ञास्तीत्यरे ब्रवीमीति...

In spite of such spelling/printing mistakes and inaccuracies, Dr. Jain's work is a welcome addition to studies on Jainism and Universal story literature.

V. M. Kulkarni

HISTORICAL TRUTHS & UNTRUTHS EXPOSED by JEEVAN KULKARNI,
published by Itihāsa Patrikā Prakāśana, Thane - 400 602. First Edition
1991, pages 75, Rs. 25/-.

This small book of 75 pages contains 12 articles that tell altogether a different story of our history and historians. Our caste system is often criticised for being responsible for the tragedy of Harijans. The article herein 'False Notions of Atrocities committed on Harijans' quotes the words of the zealous Jesuit Missionary, Abbe Dubios from his book that runs counter to this accepted notion. He is persuaded to believe that "It is simply and solely due to the distribution of the people into four castes that India did not lapse in the state of barbarism" (p. 30). The author has also taken care to quote Dr. Ambedkar from the book 'Who were the Śūdras ?' wherein on preface page V, pp. 216 & 219 is the assertion that initially Śūdras when their empires

were established severely persecuted the Brahmins. The article "Ceremonious Return to Hinduism" successfully controverts the remarks of Shri Nirad Chaudhari in his article published in *Sunday Times of India* dated 10.1.1982. The author of this book frankly admits that there was a certain orthodox section of Hindu population that opposed *Śuddhi* ceremonies, but adds that it was more due to the mortal fear of Muslim rule for want of religious sanction. The article entitled 'Hindu Woman through the eyes of An Englishman' brings out revealing truths about women in India in the unbiased commentary of Major H. Bevan in his enthralling autobiography entitled 'Thirty years in India' that was published in London in 1829. The article 'Satī, whether Shame or Pride' contains important laudatory observations made by an officer of one of the highest rank in British India. Those who condemn Hinduism through and through, will certainly be shocked to know of the beautiful picture of indigenous educational institutes of the Hindus portrayed by 'An officer of Colonel Baillie's Detachment' referred to on pages 55 and 56 of this useful book. In one of the articles on 'Women in Bharata' the author gives us to know that even prior to 1848, there were female schools existing and talks of a school in Agra where six widows and five young girls were instructed by a Munshee and he has quoted from 'Modern Traveller of India', Vol. IV, p. 43. James Duncan, London 1828 (page 61). In fact all the 12 articles included in this book finely offer an example of Mallinātha's dictum '*nāmūlam likhyate kiñcit.*' The article on Missionaries Vs. British Officials, very interesting and instructive, will prove to be an eye-opener to those who fall a victim to their propaganda. It is in the fitness of things that this book comes to a close with the glorification of Tulsi Pooja by a British Surgeon which gives the readers an opportunity to read the letter written to London Times by Sir George Birdwood, professor of Anatomy, Grant Medical College, Bombay far back in 1903 (exact date being 2.5.1903) wherein species of 'rāntulasī' or 'white tulsi' are said to be efficacious in removing mosquito, making Tulsi, the Mosquito Plant.

The value of this book is considerably enhanced by the excellent thought-provoking introduction written by Dr. Bedekar, the President of Itihāsa Patrikā Prakāśana. This introduction will convince impartial reader about the false notion about our culture created by our foreign rulers as well as their Indian admirers who many times slavishly followed them. Discerning students of Indian Culture will offer a hearty welcome to this book and congratulate the author as well as the publisher for providing the valuable information not easily available to them.

M. D. Paradkar

MEANING, TRUTH AND PREDICATION - A Reconstruction of Nyāya Semantics, SUKHARANJAN SAIHA, published jointly by Jadavpur University and K. P. Bagchi & Company, Calcutta in the year 1991, pages 304, Rs. 180/-.

Professor Saha is Professor of Indian Philosophy at the Centre of Advanced Study at the Department of Philosophy, Jadavpur University. The book is published in the Second Series of Jadavpur Studies in Philosophy (JSP).

In this book an attempt is made to reconstruct Nyāya Semantics by analysing the concepts of meaning, truth and predication.

The author maintains that there is close relation between meaning and truth on the one hand and truth and predication on the other. In the light of this he interprets Nyāya theory of meaning.

While giving a new interpretation to Nyāya theory of meaning, he has tried to remain close to the basic thoughts of past masters of Nyāya school. He has also tried to interpret it in the light of other Indian School like Grammarian and Mīmāṃsā school as well as Western analytical tradition.

The book consists of ten chapters. The first chapter 'Thought and language' and the second chapter 'A reconstruction' accept the point of view of Bhartṛhari and other grammarians that thought is necessarily wedded to language. But at the same time, in these chapters the author has rejected the grammarians' view of language and the theory of sub-vocal speech.

According to the author, language is to be understood only as spoken language and its meaningful units, viz. words. Words are the letter sounds in an ordered sequence. Words are basic elements and are events in time and do not have any existence apart from speech. According to the author, therefore, sub-vocal speech is a flow of images of words and speaker's speech also involves floating of words in imagination. When thinking is not actually connected with audible speech, but seems to be related to some inner dialogue, what is really involved are images of words.

The author has shown that all the necessary conditions for knowing from words of old Nyāya School, also hold good for the speaker to make an audible speech. For establishing it, the author has restated the necessary conditions for 'Śabdabodha', both from the side of hearer and also from the side of speaker.

Chapter 3 'Gaṅgeśa on Sentence Meaning' deals with Gaṅgeśa's thought on sentence meaning and on the elements of word meaning. While giving new interpretation of Nyāya theory of meaning, the author has treated Gaṅgeśa's idea as fundamental that relational understanding emerging from the sequence of words in the speech is a contribution to both the knowledge of meaning of words as well as to the sequence in which words are registered in hearer's

mind. The author has stated Nyāya position that there is no sign or word to show the relation. But all the conditions of well-formedness show the relation and account for its figuring in the hearer's understanding. The author adds further saying that the condition of well-formedness must also be satisfied by the speaker's sentence, for unless it is well-formed, the occasion for the hearer's noticing it and thus coming to have an understanding of the relation will not arise at all. Hence when a speaker arranges words in a sentence for audible speech or for inner dialogue, involving images of words at the sub-vocal level he will have to observe the rules of well-formedness for manipulating the words for proper placement in the sentence.

Gaṅgeśa presupposes the theory of deviant meaning (*lakṣaṇā*) in addition to the theory of literal meaning (*śakti*). *Lakṣaṇā* is usually presupposed in Nyāya for giving an analysis of the meanings of metaphors, conjugational verbal inflections, compound words and self-referring expressions. But in the chapters 'Transfer of Meaning', 'Gaṅgeśa and Transfer of Meanings' and 'Self-referring expressions' the author tries to state that even without *lakṣaṇā* meaning of metaphors and conjugational verbal inflections etc. can be given.

So in the reconstruction, the author tries to establish that speech is to be understood always at its face value i.e., literal meaning or *śakti*. It is the literal meaning which leads to the knowledge of truth only if the sentence is true. The knowledge of falsity of a sentence in deliberate speech may in appropriate circumstances lead to the understanding of something which the sentence does not mean and this clearly is a departure from the theory of deviant meaning.

Chapter 'Truth' deals with the hearer's understanding, which is closely connected with truth. The author has considered a theory of truth of Gaṅgeśa (*Pramātva*). According to him *pramāṇa* is a truth-conducive evidence. He also deals with Vātsyāyana's deliberations about *prāmāṇya* and suggests a reconstruction out of these two theories. He also tries to bring out importance of Gaṅgeśa's definition of truth in the following words :

"Gaṅgeśa's definition of truth as *tadvati tatprakārakatva* is not absolutely new in our philosophical literature. In his *Adhyāsabhāṣya* Śaṅkara defines a false belief as '*atasmin tadbuddhiḥ*.'" Śaṅkara must have in mind Vātsyāyana's characterisation of *pramiti* as '*tasminstaditi pratyayaḥ*'. But what deserves to be noted is that Gaṅgeśa was able to develop a sophisticated logical theory involving the concepts of *viśeṣya*, *prakāra* and *saṁsarga*. He was also successful in developing a theory of inference including an analysis of *vyāpti* and *pakṣadharmatā*. All these suggest that he was equipped with a theory of proposition and its division on the basis of its structural differences including quantifiers. His theory of different kinds of *abhāva* such as *ubhayaḥbhāva*, *viśiṣṭābhāva* and *anyatarābhāva* unmistakably suggests that he was also able

to develop a logic of unstructured propositions. If we view his definition of truth against the background of all these theories, we can say that he was aware of the presuppositions and implications of his definition of truth and this gives a new dimension to his definition. And we should not forget that he was able to disentangle the problem of definition of truth from what should be regarded as a theory of knowledge or justification and... Gaṅgeśa was consciously able to develop a theory of truth, which if suitably interpreted can be given a sophisticated look that we witness in some of the contemporary theories in the other tradition."

In the chapter 'Nyāya Theory of Predication,' having analysed, and explained the terms *Viśiṣṭajñāna*, *prakāra* and *viśeṣaṇa* the author deals with Gaṅgeśa's definition of *viśeṣaṇa* and *upalakṣaṇa*. According to him Gaṅgeśa has consciously offered his analysis of propositional beliefs in terms of concepts of *viśeṣya* and *prakāratā*. The author maintains that Gaṅgeśa's definitions of *viśeṣaṇa* and *upalakṣaṇa*, may be considered as representing a theory of proposition other than varieties of *prakāra*, and *viśiṣṭa-buddhi*, according to the author, corresponds to singular propositions.

In the last chapter 'Meaning, Truth and Predication' he reconstructs the relation between meaning, truth and predication. For the author, reconstruction and reinterpretation of Nyāya theory of meaning is a result of satisfaction of the urge of adaptation and creativity. Even though the author aims at reconstruction, he does recognise the importance and significance of preserving purity of the tradition. He very clearly accepts that without the efforts of Indologists, who presented the tradition with its pristine purity, reconstruction would not have been possible. But reconstruction is also needed for him, without which no further progress is possible. That is why he tries to reconstruct where it is reasonable i. e., some way suggested by Nyāya theory of meaning itself.

The subject of the book 'Nyāya Semantics' is dealt with, by the past masters of Nyāya tradition in highly technical way. To make it accessible to readers, itself is a difficult task. The author aims at new interpretation, which further adds to the difficulty. The author himself is very much aware of this difficulty and thinks that things could have been expressed in easier terms, without making reference to intricate arguments used by the past masters, in substantiating their points. But then to justify his reconstruction, he could not dispense with these intricate arguments. Though the book is written in technical jargon, it is a book which makes an attempt to reconstruct Nyāya theory of meaning in the light of tradition of *Vjākaraṇa*, *Mīmāṃsā* as well as analytical tradition.

The list of Sanskrit terminology along with its English equivalents at the end of the book would have helped the readers to understand the subject

with traditional jargon e. g. words like sub-vocal speech or conjugational inflections, non-imperativists etc. are used without mentioning the original Sanskrit terms.

On the one hand the author rightly claims that reconstruction is needed to satisfy the urge of creativity and adaptation as well as for further progress. This is how, in India, traditional philosophy can be studied. But on the other hand, while reconstructing, the author tries to maintain rather apologetically that he has not deviated from Nyāya position. As the author himself has stated that Gaṅgeśa, the founder philosopher of Navya Nyāya has also done reconstruction, the author also is justified in doing so. If he maintains that it is a reconstruction, then he need not apologetically admit that it is not a deviation, because without deviation, reconstruction is not possible.

Shubhada Joshi

PRAKRIT VERSES IN SANSKRIT WORKS ON POETICS, Volume I - Text (With Appendices and Index), Volume II - Translation (With Introduction, Glossary and Notes), by V. M. KULKARNI, published by B. L. Institute of Indology, Delhi, 1988, 1990; 24 × 18 cm. Vol. I, pp. 12 + 602 + 40 + 130; Vol. II, pp. 13 + 47 + 702. Price not mentioned.

Here we have the mature product of several years' stupendous scholarly labour and patient exemplary diligence in the area of Classical Prakrit Studies. After Weber's *Saptaśatakam des Hāla* (1881) and Handiqui's *Pravarasena's Setubandha* (1976) it will be rather difficult to name a few comparable contributions to Prakrit textual and literary scholarship.

In the first volume Kulkarni has given the corrected or restored text, along with the Sanskrit Chāyā, of some three thousand Prakrit verses which occur as illustrative citations in twenty well-known Sanskrit works on Poetics and their commentaries. These are as follows : (1) Rudrata's *Kāvya-lamkāra* and Namisādhu's *Ṭippaṇa*, (2) *Dhvanyāloka and Locana*, (3) *Vakroktijīvitā*, (4) *Daśarūpaka and Avaloka*, (5) *Vyaktiviveka*, (6) *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* (7) *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa*, (8) *Kāvya-prakāśa*, (6) *Alamkāra-sarvasva* and Jayaratha's *Vimarśinī*, (10) *Sāhityamīmāṃsā*, (11) *Vāgbhaṭālamkāra*, (12) Hemacandra's *Kāvya-nuśāsana* (13) *Kalpalatāviveka*, (14) *Alamkāramahodadhī*, (15) *Vāgbhaṭa's Kāvya-nuśāsana* (16) *Sāhityadarpaṇa* (17) *Rasārṇavasudhākara*, (18) *Alamkāra-ratnākara*, (19) *Rasagaṅgādhara*, (20) *Alamkāra-kaustubha*.

The citations, as far as could be identified by Kulkarni, have been taken by the authors from famous Prakrit works like Hāla's *Saptaśataka*, Sarvasena's *Harivijaya*, *Setubandha*, *Gāṇḍavaha*, *Mahamahavijaya*, *Lilāvāikahā*,

· *Viṣamabāṇalīlā*, *Karpūramañjarī* and from a few well-known Sanskrit dramas. But a very large number of citations remains untraced as the source texts are lost to us. Now due to increasing decline in the knowledge of Prakrit language in later centuries, the text of the citations has suffered a lot in transmission. Numerous corruptions, careless omissions, arbitrary interpolations, violent alterations have marred the text of the Prakrit verses to such an extent that at times we are faced with meaningless jumble of letters. The task of restoring these highly corrupt texts so as to have at least a semblance of meaningful verbal and metrical structure involves heroic scholarly efforts while the achieved result is likely to be uncertain or doubtful. Kulkarni has spared no pains in accepting and accomplishing as far as possible this daunting task. And his untiring efforts can be said to have been richly rewarded in that he has rescued a considerable mass of excellent Prakrit lyrical poetry that remained so far obscure or incomprehensible.

The second volume of the work contains the translation of all the verses, notes and introduction. The translation is careful and perceptive. It strives, moreover, successfully to catch the literary merits of the original lyrics, and hence it will be found quite enjoyable even by the non-specialist lovers of poetry. Critical notes discuss competently and meticulously various points and specific issues relating to the restorations and interpretations. Kulkarni's extensive knowledge of Sanskrit Poetics has been brought to bear on the discussion of various passages and thus they form a significant contribution to Prakrit textual exegesis. In his introduction Kulkarni has pointed out the fact that Sanskrit and Prakrit poetry were accorded equal status by poets and poetics in the Classical Indian tradition. He has shown with apt illustrations that the praises showered on Prakrit poetry by the poets and *rasikas* as having high literary excellence were not just *cāṭuvāda* and *arthavāda*.

The lion's share of Prakrit citations goes to the two encyclopaedic works of Bhoja viz., the *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* (1654 citations) and the *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharāṇa* (383 citations.)

In a way we can look upon the present work by Kulkarni as an extensive and representative anthology of choicest Prakrit lyrics from a vast abundance produced during a span of some fifteen centuries. Thus it illuminates for us an important area of unbelievably and inexhaustibly rich Indian Classical poetry.

An invaluable by-product of Kulkarni's researches in this subject is the partial rescue from oblivion of a lost *kāvya-ratna*, viz., Sarvasena's *Harivijaya*, which is the earliest known *Mahākāvya* in Mahārāṣṭrī. Bhoja has quoted it extensively in his *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* and in view of its importance Kulkarni has separately brought it out in the form of a monograph.

This wealth of citations is important from another point of view also. They make available numerous variants for the passages from the known

Prakrit works. This is helpful in numerous cases in improving their text. So also the Apabhramśa citations in both the *Alamkāra* works of Bhoja serve the purposes of providing us with a glimpse of the Apabhramśa poetry of the eighth to the tenth century with its metrical variety as also some hints about the likely sources of the Apabhramśa illustrative citations in the Apabhramśa section of Hemacandra's *Siddhahema-Śabdānuśāsana*.

A considerable number of the cited Prakrit verses still defy efforts of textual restoration and ascertaining their meaning. With patient efforts and the guidance available from already restored verse texts, we may hope to succeed in a number of these tough cases. An attempt to deal with some of the tough cases will be made in a separate paper.

Even though the vigorous tradition of Classical Prakrit scholarship has regrettably suffered a serious decline in recent years, we can be optimistic that a work like the present one which maintains in its depth and breadth high standards of Indological research may yet inspire and activate some researchers of younger generation to take interest in Prakrit Studies.

H. C. Bhayani

A STUDY OF MAHIMABHATTA'S VYAKTIVIVEKA, C. RAJENDRAN, Professor of Sanskrit, University of Calicut (Keral), published by the author himself, Calicut 1991, pp. 214, price not mentioned.

Mahimabhatta's *Vyaktiviveka* is one of the masterpieces of the *Alamkāra* literature. Mahimabhatta wrote this work with a view to controverting Ānandavardhana's position as set forth in his famous *Dhvanyāloka* that there is a new power or function of words, called *vyañjanā* (besides *abhidhā* and *lakṣaṇā*) and that the suggested sense is conveyed by it, and demonstrating that all kinds of suggested sense can be conveyed or understood through the process of inference (*anumāna*).

Although a masterpiece it remained for long rather neglected. The credit of presenting Mahimabhatta's profound thought in Hindi, the widely understood modern Indian language, goes to Professor Rewa Prasad Dwivedi who brought out his excellent edition of Mahimabhatta's *Vyaktiviveka* with Ruyyaka's commentary, *Vyaktivivekavyākhyāna* along with his own faithful and lucid translation and critical notes in Hindi called *Vimarsā* (Kashi Sanskrit Series 121, Varanasi - 1, 1964). But there was no work in English — neither in the form of its translation nor of a treatise — presenting Mahimabhatta's contribution to knowledge in the field of Grammar and Linguistics, Poetics and Aesthetics.

The work under review is perhaps the first ever treatise in English presenting

an analytical, interpretative and critical study of Mahimabhaṭṭa's *Vyaktiviveka*. It explains in lucid language Mahimabhaṭṭa's theories regarding Poetry, Aesthetics and Linguistics in their historical setting with particular reference to the literary critics who preceded and succeeded him. It also examines the impact and influence of Mahimabhaṭṭa's theory of inference (*anumāna*) on later Sanskrit critics (including the two Keral writers, Mukhabhuṣaṇakāra and Kuṭṭikṛṣṇa Mārār).

This study is divided into eight chapters. Chapter I, called Introduction, mainly deals with Sanskrit Poetics in the pre-*dhvani* period, Ānandavardhana's theory of *dhvani* in its broad outline and the post-*dhvani* development. The author briefly describes Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka's criticism of *dhvani* theory and its refutation by Abhinavagupta in his *Locana* and *Abhinavabhāratī* commentaries. He then briefly describes Kuntaka's theory of *Vakrokti*, which according to Mahimabhaṭṭa is nothing but *dhvani* in disguise. He concludes the chapter with a brief statement about *Vyaktiviveka* which stands foremost among the works criticising the *dhvani* theory.

Chapter II deals with the author (1st half of the eleventh century A. D.). He was an erudite scholar proficient in *Kāvya*—literature, poetics, dramaturgy, grammar and philosophical systems (*darśanas*). He was greatly influenced by Śaivism and Buddhism no doubt, but there is no definite evidence to identify him as a follower of any specific creed or school of thought. His work shows that he was eclectic and not exclusive in opinion. Besides *Vyaktiviveka* he wrote another work called *Tattvoktikośa*. He calls this work a *Śāstra* and informs us that he has given an exposition of the *Pratibhā-tattva* in it. We do not know what other topics were treated in this work, since it is not extant. Because of its originality and independent ideas, his *Vyaktiviveka* deserves to be ranked with *Dhvanyāloka*, *Vakroktijīvita* and *Rasagaṅgādharā*.

It has two commentaries in Sanskrit : Ruyyaka's *Vyakti-Viveka-Vyākhyāna* and *Madhusūdanī-Vivṛti*, a modern Sanskrit commentary by Madhusūdana Śāstrī. The excellent edition of Professor Rewa Prasad Dwivedī with translation and notes in Hindi has been already mentioned above. There is yet another commentary in Hindi called *Vaikhari* by Dr. Brahmaṇand Tripathī, published in 1979. It however covers only the first *Vimarśa* (chapter) of the text.

Chapter III presents an analytical survey. Dr. Rajendran first describes the structure of *Vyaktiviveka*. It is written in prose intermingled with verse. There are 141 *Samgraha-Ślokas* and five *Samgraha-āryās* which summarise the discussion that precedes them. In addition to these, there are some verses called *antara-ślokas* and *antara-āryās* which add to the discussion. Furthermore, there are several *Kārikās* dealing with topics of poetics which are probably the compositions of Mahimabhaṭṭa himself. He then discusses the authenticity of the text by referring to some textual problems. He then describes divisions

of chapters (*Vimarśas*) and their subject matter. The work is divided into three *Vimarśas*. They are entitled 1. *dhvani-lakṣaṇākṣepa* (the defects in the definition of *dhvani*) 2. *Śabdānaucitya-vicāra* (discussion about the improprieties pertaining to *śabda*) and 3. *dhvaner anumānāntarbhāvapradaśana* (demonstration of the inclusion of *dhvani* under *anumāna*). The titles are significant and very well agree with the main contents of the three *Vimarśas* respectively.

Vimarśa I quotes the definition of *dhvani* and points out ten defects in it. Mahimabhaṭṭa then discusses the various aspects of language like word and sentence. He holds that word (*Śabda*) has only one power, *abhidhā* and rejects the so-called powers of a word, *guṇavṛtti*, *lakṣaṇā* and *vyañjakatva* (*vyañjanā*). The purpose of these powers is best served by *anumāna* (inference). The meanings got at through these so-called powers we, in fact, get through the process of *anumāna*. Mahimabhaṭṭa also rejects Kuntaka's theory of *vakrokti* and argues how like *dhvani* it has to be included in *anumāna*. In *Vimarśa* II Mahimabhaṭṭa considers the conception of *anaucitya* (impropriety). It is of two kinds : 1. relating to meaning (*artha*) and 2. relating to sound (*Śabda*). He leaves out of consideration the *anaucitya* pertaining to *artha* as it has been elaborately dealt with by Ānandavardhana and others. He treats of five types of *anaucitya* pertaining to *Śabda* : (i) *Vidheyāvimarśa* (ii) *Prakramabheda* (iii) *Kramabheda* (iv) *Paunaruktya* and (v) *Vācyāvacana*. This *Vimarśa* is mainly concerned with explanation and illustration of these five *doṣas* (faults) amidst various digressions. In *Vimarśa* III Mahimabhaṭṭa takes about forty examples of *dhvani* cited in *Dhvānyāloka* and demonstrates how they are just cases of *anumāna*. As regards *rasas* he observes that their apprehension also falls under *anumāna* : the apprehension of *vibhāvas*, *anubhāvas* and *vyabhicāribhāvas* is really the means (*sādhana*) of the apprehension of *rasa*, *bhāva* etc. (the *sādhya*). He concludes his treatment of the topic with the sentence “*tadevam dhvaner anumānāntarbhāvābhyupagamah śreyān iti.*”

Chapter IV deals with Mahimabhaṭṭa's Theory of Language. The contribution of ancient Indian thought to Linguistics is substantial. The value of Indian contribution to Semantics has been acknowledged even by modern linguists from the West. In India grammarians, literary theorists and philosophers were all concerned with problems of meaning and much was thought and written on the subject. The theory of Mahimabhaṭṭa is thus summed up by Dr. Rajendran at the end of this chapter : “Mahimabhaṭṭa accepts *sādhya-sādhana-bhāva* as the basic logical pattern within language, pervading its literal and inferred meaning. All ideas conveyed through language are based on some demonstrable reason and no meaning other than logically warranted by language can be recognised in it. Sentences convey the meaning denoted by them and all ideas cognised by the reader afterwards are the result of the mental process, inference. The worldly and bookish knowledge is a must for the operation

of this reasoning faculty in the mind.”

Chapter V treats of Mahimabhaṭṭa's concept of poetry. According to him *rasa* is the be-all of poetry. Consequently he denies any place in poetry to *citrakāvya* and *prahelīkās* which are devoid of *rasa*. Furthermore, he rejects the idea of *guṇībhūtavyaṅgya* that the suggested sense can sometimes become subordinate to the expressed sense.

Chapter VI mainly deals with Mahimabhaṭṭa's fivefold concept of *anaucitya* (impropriety) : 1. *Vidheyāvimarśa* 2. *Prakramabheda* 3. *Kramabheda* 4. *Paunaruktya* and 5. *Vācyāvacaṇa*. Mahimabhaṭṭa's exposition of these *anaucityas* has deeply influenced later *ālaṅkārikas* like Mammaṭa, Viśvanātha, etc. as is clear from their treatment of *doṣas* in their respective works.

Chapter VII treats of Mahimabhaṭṭa's influence on later writers such as Ruyyaka, Mammaṭa, Viśvanātha, etc.

Chapter VIII, called Conclusions, briefly recapitulates what has been said and discussed in the preceding Chapters. At the end are added Select Bibliography, Name Index, Subject Index and Errata.

The present work is undoubtedly a noteworthy contribution to studies in *Alaṅkāra-Śāstra*. It presents an analytical, interpretative and critical study of the linguistic and aesthetic thought of Mahimabhaṭṭa, set forth in *Vyaktiviveka*, an admittedly difficult text in Sanskrit Poetics. Dr. Rajendran has rightly emphasized the linguistic and aesthetic philosophy, relegating polemical portions of the text to a secondary position. All students of Sanskrit Poetics will warmly welcome the present study which brings within their compass in lucid language the originality and profundity of Mahimabhaṭṭa's linguistic and aesthetic theories. It would not be out of place to draw the author's attention to one or two points.

P. 125, L 4 (from below) : Abhinavagupta shows... how his teacher, presumably Bhaṭṭa Tauta, criticises 'imitation theory.' Dr. Rajendran's observation made cautiously because of the not-so-clear reference made by Abhinava needs to be modified in the light of the passage from Hemacandra : *tad idamapyantastattva śūnyam na vimardakṣmam iti Bhaṭṭa Totah-Mahāvīra* Jaina Vidyalaya edn. Bombay, 1964, p. 93. See also *Kalpalatāviveka*, L. D. Institute, Ahmedabad 9, 1968, p. 306, para. 1, p. 199, para. 2 : “The most salient feature... by Abhinavagupta.” In the relevant discussion before arriving at this conclusion, the author should have examined the following passage which ably summarises Śāṅkuka's position : *saṁyogāt gamya-gamaka-bhāva-rūpāt anumīyamāno'pi vastu-saundarya-balād rasanīyatv enānyānumīyamāna vilakṣaṇaḥ sthāyītvēna sambhāvyamāno ratyādir bhāvas tatrāsannapi sāmājīkānām vāsanayā carvyamāṇo rasa īti Śāṅkukaḥ*.

- Mammaṭa, *Kāvyaṅkārāśāstra*, BORI edn., 1950, p. 90

It is curious that the author skips over Hemacandra, the author of

Kāvyaṅnuśāsana when he examines the influence of Mahimabhaṭṭa on later literary critics. It deserves special mention that of all later literary critics it is Hemacandra who shows the greatest impact and influence of Mahimabhaṭṭa. He quotes over a score of his *Saṅgraha-ślokas* and over a century of illustrative verses with his brief comments, and occasionally even long paragraphs, mostly when treating of *Doṣas* in the third chapter of *Kāvyaṅnuśāsana*.

It is a pity that this splendid study should have been disfigured by innumerable errors (printing/spelling mistakes). The errata, added at the end records scores of errors. Still scores and scores of errors remain to be noticed. Here only a few of them may be noted by way of example :

Page	Read
Foreword, p. 5, line 4	poetry
p. 8, para. 2, line 5	indebted
p. 17, para. 2, line 2, line 18	protagonists theoreticians
p. 19, line 5 (from below)	separate
p. 41, para. 2, line 1-2	ascertained
p. 56, line 8	occurring
p. 68, para. 4, line 2, line 5	prostrating prostration
p. 87, para. 3, line 1	discrepancy
p. 93, last para, line 7 (from below)	corollary
p. 119, line 3	simultaneity
p. 120, para. 3, line 2	acquaintance
p. 127, para. 2, line 5, last line	believe facilitate
p. 135, para. 2, line 4	extension
p. 153, para. 3, line 2	transgression
p. 157, line 3 (from below)	contours

In spite of these deficiencies the fact remains that Dr. Rajendran's work is a noteworthy contribution to Sanskrit Poetics and truly deserves commendation.

V. M. Kulkarni

**TRANSLITERATION OF THE
SANSKRIT AND ALLIED ALPHABETS**

अ	.....	a	औ	.....	au	ऌ	.....	ṭha	ष	.....	bha
आ	.....	ā	क	.....	ka	ड	.....	ḍa	य	.....	ma
इ	.....	i	ख	.....	kha	ड	.....	ḍha	य	.....	ya
ई	.....	ī	ग	.....	ga	ण	.....	ṇa	र	.....	ra
उ	.....	u	घ	.....	gha	त	.....	ta	ल	.....	la
ऊ	.....	ū	ङ	.....	ṅa	थ	.....	tha	व	.....	va
ऋ	.....	ṛ	ष	.....	ṣa	द	.....	da	ण	.....	ṅa
ॠ	.....	ṝ	छ	.....	cha	घ	.....	dha	ष	.....	ṣa
ॡ	.....	ṝ̄	ज	.....	ja	न	.....	na	त	.....	sa
ए	.....	e	झ	.....	jha	प	.....	pa	ह	.....	ha
ऐ	.....	ai	ञ	.....	ña	फ	.....	pha	ड	.....	ḍa
ओ	.....	o	ट	.....	ṭa	ब	.....	ba			
			(Anusvāra)	.....	ṁ	×		(Jihvāmūliya)	.....	ḥ	
			(Anundātika)	.....	ṃ	⌋		(Upadhāniya)	.....	ḥ	
			(Visarga)	.....	ḥ	s		(Avagraha)	.....	

**TRANSLITERATION OF ARABIC AND
ALLIED ALPHABETS**

ARABIC											
ا	.....	a	ز	.....	z	ق	.....	q	ق	.....	fore
ب	.....	b	س	.....	s	ك	.....	k	ك	.....	u or o
ن	.....	n	ش	.....	sh	ل	.....	l	ل	.....	d
ت	.....	t	ص	.....	s	م	.....	m	م	.....	t, e
ج	.....	j	ض	.....	ḍ	ن	.....	n	ن	.....	ū, ō
ح	.....	h	ط	.....	ṭ	و	.....	w	و	.....	ai, ay
خ	kh	ظ	ẓ	ي	y	ي	au, aw
د	d	ع	ʿ	ي	y	ي	silent t ḥ
ذ	dh	غ	gh	ا	a	ا	
ر	r	ف	f	ا	a	ا	
PERSIAN											
پ	p	چ	ch	ج	zh	ک	g

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