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V. M. KULKARNI
DEVANGANA DESAI

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RASĀNUBHAVA AND ICONOGRAPHY*

INDIRA AIYAR

Ālaṁkārikas have opined that *'rasa'* is a word in the singular number. The plural is used only for convenience. The *sthāyibhāvas* are many, and when one of them is ascendant, it accentuates one facet of the *rasa.* Just as a single ray of light passing through a prism breaks into its component colours, *rasa* seemingly shows variety under the different excitant moods. Thus, a single *rasa* contains within itself various emotional excitants. This paper first takes up the motivation behind the activity in our artistic expressions. Next, it sets out to explain the reason for the ambivalent representations in the Goddess figures. Icons are not evaluated here *per se,* but are used as illustrations to understand the theory better. The Goddess cult can be studied from the view-points of different disciplines like Sociology, Anthropology, History, Culture, etc. Here we look into psychological aspects, particularly through Jung's works.

Man lives in a symbolic universe. Language, myth, art and religion are the expressions of this symbolism. He understands his surroundings by applying symbolic norms to it. These symbolic expressions were present long before the existence of organised societies. To understand the symbolic activity of man we should comprehend the fields of this activity mentioned above. The earliest original thought on symbolism was put forward by Bachofen. He said that we tend to communicate our inner thoughts through symbolic forms. In our struggle against odds in this world, we try and relate to some superhuman entity through myth, ritual and prayer. Symbols are invested with special powers and they are valid for truths at different levels.

Myth and symbol fulfil the need raised by a weakness in language to express fully the intuition of man. Words try to bring the infinite into finite understanding, whereas symbols, that is, icons take us far beyond the realm of the finite into that of the infinite. Iconography gives meaning to symbolic expression all at once, while literature has to unfold it word by word, and sometimes falls short of expression. Iconography contains various component elements of symbols.

Symbols reveal certain facts of life which otherwise would not be apparent. They also have the capacity to be multivalent on different levels, which

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★ This paper was presented at the Seminar on Rasānubhava in June 1994 at the Ananthacharya Indological Research Insitute, Bombay.

we experience in our lives. Symbols unite in themselves structurally many levels of meaning; man is able to understand the unity of the universe and his part in it. This is their relevance. Since they contain polarities, they appeal to our reason and emotions. Symbolic representation in icons stimulate our senses as much as our intuition. It gives meaning to our existence. Putting this differently, it has cosmic reference to the individual's existence. If at a certain period in history, a religious symbol expressed clearly certain transcendental meaning, it can be surmised that this meaning was held in it in obscurity much earlier. Cassirer[1] says : "Language and science are abbreviations of reality; art is an intensification of reality." When we observe a superior work of art, we cease to feel the separation of subject and object, of subjective and objective worlds. We lose our identity, and momentarily may be, merge or get absorbed in the beauty of the art form. Indian theoreticians express a similar view.[2] This form has real universality. Kant, quoted by Cassirer,[3] distinguishes sharply between aesthetic universality and objective validity, the latter belonging to our logical perceptions. We are concerned with the contemplation of the art object and not with the object itself. Aesthetic universality means that the perceptive enjoyment is not confined to a single individual, but to the whole field of judges. Abhinavagupta also states similarly about the homogeneity of the experience of the audience. He speaks about drama, but this should include all art forms.[4]

When an artist shows a certain aspect of reality, we look at the world through his eyes. His intuition is made permanently acceptable through his work. Whatever the mode of the representation, each piece of art has a rationality of its own, the rationality of form. Art may be called a type of symbolic language. It is a spontaneous expression of the spirit which produces its world of forms. Under its sensuous structure it has an ethical or moral value, and it helps us in our aspirations towards a higher goal. Thus, icon is a symbolic mode, the mode of art. Further, it is averred that God's character is fixed by myths and settled by icons.[5] Religious symbols may change, but the underlying principle, the symbolic activity remains the same.

To our question why should we be impelled to project the emotional contents of our perception into art forms, Cassirer answers that we are motivated by our need to engage in symbolic activity; that man is as much an animal symbolicum as he is an animal rationale. We think and act symbols. Cassirer's "basic mythical configurations" underlying the structural form of myth is analogous to Jung's "collective unconscious." We now take up the psychological aspect behind the Goddess motif.

Freud took the unconscious as the repressed or the forgotten contents of the mind.[6] Jung stated that there were two layers in our unconscious. The superficial layer is derived from personal experiences. This personal unconscious contains the personal feelings and is the private side of the psychic

life. Underneath this personal unconscious is the collective unconscious. This latter is common to all individuals and owes its existence to heredity. The unconscious is neutral and contains every experience and concept of mankind -- the most sublime and the worthless. Since the contents of the unconscious is not of an individual's experience, it also exceeds the individual's comprehension. Jung says:[7] "Experience shows that religions are in no sense conscious construction, but that they arise from the natural life of the unconscious psyche and somehow give adequate expression to it. This explains their enormous influence on humanity throughout history which would be incomprehensible, if religious symbols were not at the least, truths of man's psychological nature." Religious icons may not stand rational examination. But we should never forget that they are based on numinous archetypes, that is, on an emotional foundation which is unassailable by reason. We are dealing with psychological facts which logic can overlook but not eliminate. The unconscious expresses itself as human figures, animals, plants, flowers and abstractions. In anthropomorphic representations, plants, etc. become the deity's attributes. To understand the Goddess figures, there are two elements encountered as the psyche transforms itself in the unconscious: they are the anima and the Mother archetype.

Anima is the unconscious femininity and the female soul in man. This throws up images of : 1) the Spouse Goddess, 2) the goal of the hero in myths and fairy tales, 3) the guideway to reach the goal.

The Mother Archetype is personified as the Great Mother, or as the Mother Goddess. The Mother Goddess has also two aspects: the positive and the negative. The positive is wholly benign, associated with fertility, fecundity, the protective Mother Goddess, or personal female relations. This springs from the outward mother-child relationships.[8] The fully negative are the devouring demons, dragons, snakes, underworld, death and darkness; and the ambivalent aspect contains both the positive and the negative characteristics. These arise from the inside, and have no relation to the objects in the outside world. This is a very general list. The ambivalent symbol would be the Terrible Mother. This symbol is thrown up from the unconscious.

The images that the unconscious throws up are mainly feminine. It contains "forces, tendencies, complexes, instincts and archetypes; male and female gods, demons, spirits, animals and so on."[9]

The concept of the Great Mother belongs to the field of Comparative Religion and encompasses varied types of the Mother Goddess. The symbol of the Mother Goddess is derived from the Mother archetype. To understand the Great Mother image we have to understand the archetypes.

An archetype is essentially the unconscious content which becomes altered when perceived by the consciousness, and it takes its characteristics from

the individual consciousness. The archetypes are not defined as regards their contents, but only as regards their form. Further, they are universally inherited factors. They throw up religious forms, which lie beyond a person's experience. Since the Mother archetype belongs to the whole race, and not exclusively to the individual, it can be described as the pre-conscious mother aspect of the whole race.[10]

The primordial archetype contains all symbols-- negative and positive. This ambivalence is the characteristic of the unconscious till consciousness starts discriminating these into positive and negative symbols as for instance the Goddess splitting into two specific goddesses of good and evil. The term 'primordial archetype' in Psychology means an image from our subconscious working on our psyche. The representations of this phenomenon are the symbolic expressions in myths, rites and symbols pertaining to the Mother Goddess. In other words, symbolism of the archetype is the manifestation in specific psychic images perceived by the consciousness, and this is different for each archetype.

In the beginning man's capacity to understand or visualize these paradoxical symbols in the primordial archetypes fell far short of the numen. Therefore he could give no form to it. Later when he could conceive of it, it took monstrous, fearful forms. Still later when consciousness was able to view the archetypal symbols from a distance as it were, man was able to distinguish the ambivalence and conceptualise them separately. In this way, over a very long period of time, traditional forces moving within and without enabled man to perceive the symbols in a concretised form. Thus, sacred icons came to be fashioned.

In the earliest period of man's history, his life was determined more by the unconscious than by consciousness. Thus, he perceived the world not as an objective human being – differentiating between the object and the subject, but as a mythological experience symbolising the archetypal images spontaneously thrown up by the unconscious. Early man perceived the world like an infant perceiving its mother, i. e., an image of the Great Mother on whom he is totally dependent and not as a subjective perception of an objective earthly mother. Therefore, he is said to perceive the world mythologically.

The notion of the Great Mother appeared thousands of years after the psychic abstraction of the Archetypal Feminine. Again the words 'Great' and 'Mother' are not concepts, but symbols coloured by emotions. Thus, the word 'Mother' does not merely connote a filial relationship, but denotes a complex psychic situation. The word 'Great' is a referrent to superiority over everything in the created world.

The Great Mother symbol contains two characteristics :

1) The Elementary Character where the unconscious is dominant and the discriminatory power of the ego is weak. Bachofen[11] has explained sociologically the dominance of matriarchate in early societies, but this is true psychologically also.

2) The Transformatory Character is also symbolically represented as the feminine goddess. But it is not static but dynamic and is therefore called 'transformative.' Thus in the Archetypal Feminine these two characteristics are always present together, though one of them is dominant.

The elementary character contains both the protective and the destructive features. Thus its symbols represent not only nourishing and sustaining, but also taking back what it has put forth. Woman then symbolised as a vessel is a life-vessel, bearing all living beings, and giving birth to them. This symbolism of the vessel may be explained as woman = body = vessel. The lowest zone of the vessel is the womb. As such it is also the dark nether world and the caves. The burial urns as for example of Adichanallur typify this symbolism of the revivifying power of the feminine creative mystery. The *kalaśa*, the *pūjā* of which is a usual part of worship, symbolises the womb containing the amniotic fluid which is sustaining and nourishing. Under the negative feminine character the womb of the earth becomes the devourer, the maw of the underworld, just as she puts forth and nourishes under the positive feminine characteristic. She creates and pursues her creation with death, disease and destruction, and ensnares them back into herself. Examples of this are the goddesses Nirṛti and Kālī. Iconographically, the Kulli and Zhob goddess figurines illustrate this aspect graphically. Kālī's icons are replete with phallic symbolism. The symbol of the negative feminine characteristic is the goddess of war and hunt, who demands blood.

One of the Great Mother's symbolism is of the earth's putting forth abundant vegetation as food. The iconic examples of this vegetative aspect are the ring stones adorned with the fertility goddess from the Indus Valley Culture right through to the Maurya and Sunga periods; the Lajjā Gaurī or Baubo figurines diffused over a large area from the 2nd century A. D. to the sixth century A. D., and Śākambharī-Durga, the goddess of vegetation and forests. The mountain was also the symbol of the Great Mother, as successively it became the seat of the numen, an empty throne on which the godhead descended, and finally the seat of the goddess of the mountains — Durgā.

In the Uroboros, that is, the Great Round containing in itself all opposites, the Uroboric Goddess is first the goddess of the night. With almost the sole exception of the Indian Rātri Devī, she is rarely lauded as such. The origins of the goddess are always traced to the primordial darkness. This darkness, or night is the symbol of the unconscious, and is identified with the goddess

of the underworld, night, waters, etc. In the Palaeolithic period the Venus figurines with their maternal organs emphasized, were diffused over a very large area in the Fertile Crescent. Their large posterior, and the heavy hips and thighs symbolised fertility. This might be one of the reasons for Indian sculptors to highlight heavy hips and thighs as a norm for the perfect feminine form.

The goddess is also pictured in her transformatory character, as the devouring but transforming fire. Vedic *sūktas* on Durgā and Lakṣmī delineate this concept. Examples of this transformative characteristic are the nude goddesses with their generative organs emphasized. This symbol is from our unconscious. In the earliest period of the cult, there were aniconic, and natural symbols like *tīrtha, kuṇḍa,* etc.; and also the spiral motifs and *svastika* from the Indus Valley period. One point to be noted is, the mythological mother is not a carbon copy of the empirical mother, but the symbol is clearly discernible. The divine mother is superhuman, her origin bespeaks of this. Her multitudinous hands hold the weapons of the gods. She is accoutred in a strange way; her *vāhana* is one which cannot be so used by any human being.

The Mother archetype is mythologically irrational. Her physical make-up, her character and her deeds are miraculous or monstrous. Mother symbols as we have seen are in a very wide range, from physical relationships, our goals and longings, to anything that creates awe in us. Thus the primordial Goddess combines in herself both the static and the dynamic, that is, the elementary as well as the transformatory characteristics, and is represented in icons and aniconically also, regardless of time and space.

Man has great propensity for transforming everything into symbols and expressing them in religious art. This is evident even from the prehistoric period. At each stage in the progress of civilization man has constantly attempted to give new symbolism and fresh interpretation to icons, thus giving meaning to our existence, connecting our past life to the present. Without such constant re-evaluations the psyche becomes rootless and succumbs to various disorders.

It is only in India that there is a continuous tradition of the grandiose representations and worship of the negative aspect of the Goddess. If the goal of *rasānubhava* is final beatitude, then indeed the innumerable saints and savants of our country are proof of the relevance of this aspect of the Deity, even in present day India.

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TRAGEDY IN THE CONTEXT OF SANSKRIT LITERATURE AND POETICS

LEELA ARJUNWADKAR

The Oxford Companion to English Literature defines tragedy thus – 'Play or literary work of a serious or sorrowful character with a fatal conclusion. Also, that branch of dramatic art which treats of sorrowful or terrible events in a serious and dignified style.' Aristotle's definition of tragedy runs thus – 'Tragedy is a representation of an action which is serious, complete in itself and of a certain limited length. It is expressed in speech made beautiful in different ways in different parts of the play. It is acted, not merely recited and by exciting pity and fear it gives a healthy outlet to such emotions.'

The term 'tragedy', it seems, signifies both a particular variety of literature and a particular type of play. Whatever its contextual connotation, the term relates to some awfully serious and disastrous incident or ill-luck, a great person connected with it, some fatal flaw or mighty power leading to the destruction or downfall of that person, some particular effect of all this on our mind and all this expressed through figurative, high-flown language. This is the general nature of tragedy.

Sanskrit rhetoricians do divide literature into *dṛśya* and *śravya,* but nowhere is this distinction treated to be an essential one, as both aim to create aesthetic emotion. And in neither tragedy is to be found, because the meaning conveyed by the words – 'disastrous, sorrowful, terrible' to a Western mind, has simply never occurred to the Indian mind. Indian attitude towards life and the experience of weal and woe differs radically from that of the Westerners. That particular experience of life which can give rise to tragedy has evoked a specific response in all Sanskrit literature. This response fully explains the absence of tragedy in Sanskrit literature. Tragedy, as per the specifications of both the above definitions, is a Western concept.

But in a slightly different or limited sense, we can find tragedy in Bhāsa's *Ūrubhaṅga* and *Karṇabhāra* and epics like *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata.* Disastrous ending, death, complete destruction of what is lovable in life is to be found there. Rāma in *Rāmāyaṇa* experienced all this. The *Mahābhārata* is, veritably, an unending vortex of grief and misery. Those who have been victorious also cannot escape the feeling of defeat. Yudhiṣṭhira says - 'This victory has got nothing but the bitter taste of defeat.'

In other epics and plays we come across deep agony and heart- rending

sorrow. Different kings in the *Raghuvaṁśa* had to be under some dark spell of sorrow. Dilīpa was childless for a long time. Aja had to face his beloved wife's death in his youth. Daśaratha was torn between childlessness on the one hand and separation from his beloved son on the other. Rāma's agony is too well-known. Even Agnivarṇa, given solely to arts and pleasure that he was, was unfortunate, because he was born in a dynasty known for its sense of duty towards the subjects. Sorrow comes as an inevitable stage in plays like the *Śākuntala* and *Uttararāmacarita* . Curse motif is quite frequent in Bāṇa's *Kādambarī*

That means, all these poets have described sorrow and misery and death which are so essential for tragedy. But though the essential seed was there, the plant that sprung up and was later lovingly nurtured was not thorny like a giant cactus. This plant of Sanskrit literature attracted all through its aesthetic beauty, shapely delicacy and freshness. The reason is, in all this literature sorrow has come just as a middle stage. The happy ending is not darkened either through the sorrow experienced or maddened through the joy in hand. The consciousness of sorrow experienced has given a firm poise to the happiness in hand. 'Who is it that gets unadulterated happiness or unmixed sorrow? Like a wheel this life constantly rotates up and down.' The consciousness of this inevitable blending of happiness and sorrow and its acceptance is the characteristic of Sanskrit literature in which, may be, the fur of joy withers to a certain extent, but it also takes of the edge of excruciating sorrow.

It can be mentioned in this context that according to Ānandavardhana the principle Rasa of the *Mahābhārata* is *Śānta*. According to some commentators at least – this may be debatable! – the Rasa of *Ajavilāpa* is not Karuṇa but Vipralambha Śṛṅgāra, because Aja and Indumatī meet in heaven!

What is the basic idea underlying such a traditional happy ending? It does not mean in a naive way that spectators or listeners should after the performance is over, go home jiggling and dancing with joy. All Rasas give rise to aesthetic joy. Karuṇa is an important Rasa. Once you accept its Rasa-status, it will be incongruous to say that any composition must end on a happy note. Then why did this tradition of happy ending get rooted so firmly and why did all Sanskrit writers, except perhaps Bhāsa, accept it?

Generally speaking the Indian world-view has not been anthropocentric and it has believed not in fighting with and conquering the world but in cultivating and nourishing an attitude of friendship, amity and love. Man is just a part of this world along with others, big or small. Explaining this H.W. Wells has said, – 'The two (Western and Indian) philosophies by no

means differ in their interpretation of the basic human condition. They differ in the manner of confronting it. One implies the value of intelligence and the will to ameliorate the forces of evil; the other implies the power of spirit to transcend them.' (Wells also makes a detailed comparison of Sanskrit plays with Western plays and brings out the distinguishing characteristics of Sanskrit plays.) Whether it be drama or other literary forms or fine arts, Indians never gave up their philosophical outlook. Also they viewed arts as just arts. Art signified for them the fountainhead of eternal beauty. Again *ānanda* is,to them, the eternal sustenance and essence of life, whatever the outward facade.

This yearning of theirs is not to be missed in any art. The gods, says the *Nāṭyaśāstra,* requested Brahmadeva for a play by saying, — 'We want a toy that will be a feast for our eyes as well as ears.' Kālidāsa also describes Nāṭya (Drama or Dance) as a beautiful sacrifice to be enjoyed visually, full of diverse Rasas and wherein the life of human beings is reflected. Admonishing has never been a must for literature, but if at all it is there, it should be '*kāntāsaṁmita.*' Though the *Nāṭyaśāstra* gives sanction to Lokadharmī, its main emphasis is on Nāṭyadharmī.

Wells has many times described the Sanskrit plays in such terms — 'flower-like perfection in execution'. 'Hindu stage delighted in delicately carved trifles resembling works in ivory and excelled in them.' 'The Western dramatist,' he opines, 'is a general deploying life's forces into a battle; the Eastern dramatist, a choreographer arranging them in a dance. One drama exploits tension, the other conspires to eliminate it.'

Rasa has always been the supreme consideration for Indian art and it has never been crassly realistic. 'The poet also moves his magic wand and drawing upon the materials of the world, weaves a new creation which possesses its own law but which is free from any spatio-temporal bondage of particularity in the objective world.' It has been real without being blatantly realistic.

Consonant with this attitude, a firm faith in the final beatitude of the world process and in the theory of rebirth and Karmavipāka, has distinctively etched the Indian ideas of happiness and sorrow and consequently reacting to their experience. According to the dictates of the Karmavipāka, man himself is solely responsible for his own weal and woe. Whatever comes his way is the fruit of his own actions. It is he himself who gets born, his parents being a mere biological cause of his birth. When, thus, he himself — i.e. his *karma* is the material cause of his life, whom will he fight and how? In no Sanskrit play or work do we meet any villain as such. Rāvaṇa brought so many ups and downs in Rāma's life, but has anyone looked on him as a villain? And even if we do call him a villain, can he be an Iago? Who is he after all? Just a tool through which Rāma's *karma* operated.

Who is the villain in *Śākuntala*? Durvāsas? No. Inimical fate *(pratikūla daiva)* alone is the villain in the *Śākuntala*. That made Śakuntalā neglectful of her duties, which in its turn brought on the wrath and curse of Durvāsas. That made Duṣyanta, righteous though he was, forget Śakuntalā. Whom, then, but her own *karma* should Śakuntalā blame? (But that the curse also proved to be a boon is yet another point of view. Can curse be really a curse?)

Śakāra in the *Mṛcchakaṭika* may be the only exception and can be called a villain. But the *Mṛcchakaṭika* has got a pretty complicated and long-winding plot and it is only the external worldly incidents that create obstacles in the union of the hero and the heroine. It has become, towards the end, a very cleverly constructed thriller. Precisely because of this is the *Mṛcchakaṭika* described as 'the most Shakespearean and the least Hindu of all the Sanskrit plays' and, moreover, it never attains to the dimensions of the *Śākuntala*.

Gods occupy an important place in Greek tragedies. Greek gods are not only highly irascible, but belong to the category of superpowers who can 'do, undo or misdo.' Hindu gods, on the other hand, are soft and sober. If at all, they come to help as in the *Vikramorvaśīya* and *Nāgānanda* . Again they are tied down by the principle of Karmavipāka. Who is Brahmadeva? Just a clerk distributing rations according to the card brought to him. 'As flies to wanton boys are we to the gods. They kill us for their sport' can never be said of Hindu gods. Their peculiar concept of gods is seminal to the Greek tragedies, says Steiner.

As unshakable faith in the theory of rebirth, in addition, did not allow the seed of tragedy to get rooted in the Indian soil. The two principles of Karmavipāka and rebirth completely took off the edge and fierceness of death. According to Western thinking death is the end of the only life that you have got. Naturally nothing could be more gruesome than death. But we believe that life does not begin at birth, nor end at death. Death is just a change in apparel. Naturally enough, the Karmavipāka theory provides you with an optimistic outlook for the next birth. The same is the sentiment of Sītā in the *Raghuvaṁśa* when she says – 'Oh! This is the unbearable consequence of my own past deeds. But I will purify myself through penance, so that you should be my husband in the next birth, but there should not be any separation!' We are overcome by the optimism and nobility of her attitude in accepting sorrow. But it does not evoke pity and fear.

Real tragedy is possible only where there are blind alleys, where high ramparts hem you in on all sides, where there is blinding darkness and where you can never hope to escape. Such darkness and bone-chilling cold is simply not known to the Indian mind. We love to remember at every step past birth friendships *(janmāntarasauhṛdāni)*. We believe in *ānanda* being the basic

nature of existence. Well, difficulties, accidents, calamities, disasters do come. But they are just a fleeting phase like clouds on the moon or damp mist on a mirror. That is why Steiner says — 'All men are aware of tragedy in life. But tragedy as a form of drama is not universal. Oriental art knows violence, grief and stroke of natural or contrived disaster. But that representation of personal suffering and heroism which we call tragic drama is distinctive of Western tradition.'

Sanskrit poetics has never got stuck in the welter of 'literary form' and has straightaway dived into 'Rasa' which is the life and breath of literature. It discusses 'poetry' and has mostly brushed aside 'form'. True, Sanskrit dramaturgy goes into a thousand details regarding the varieties of drama. But all these depend more or less on external factors like the number of acts, the social status of the hero and the heroine, the span of the plot, etc. There is no binding in it of a particular experience being dealt with in a particular way.

If we brush aside the discussion of 'form', then in the discussion of tragedy we unmistakably come to Karuṇa rasa. This is the nearest point to tragedy in Sanskrit literature. No one has denied the status of 'Rasa' to Karuṇa. A Bhavabhūti might go to the extent of granting supreme status to it. But no one has turned his back on the tragic experience in life. Sanskrit poets are neither escapists, nor angry Turks. They face the tragic element in life, but soften it with the hope for and experience of happiness. How else could the *Meghadūta* have been born?

It must be mentioned in passing that though there is a lot of biting parody and pungent satire in Sanskrit literature and realistic pictures of life prevail especially in stray verses, there is no destructive extremism in most of the works. Normally every literary piece, more especially the plays, begin on an auspicious note and end on a happy note with a prayer for universal good. A disastrous end would be quite incongruous end inconsistent with this feeling. So, as a natural instinct also Sanskrit literature has kept away from tragedy.

Drama is poetry to be enjoyed through both the eye and the ear. Naturally enough whatever is shown on the stage should be not only pleasing to the eye, but should never destroy the illusion so essential for theatric experience. For this very reason, Sanskrit dramaturgy has banned actions like changing clothes, eating, drinking, sleep, quarrels, death or such loud things to be shown on the stage. Killing and fights also are not allowed. Such incidents are conveyed through words, not visually. Stage directions in Sanskrit plays show that Sanskrit stage-practice was never crassly realistic and it consequently nurtured the lyrical and other potentialities of the dramatic art. Naturally enough we find a copious interweaving of music and dance in it. Drama

was basically considered to be literary art, made more beautiful with the help of dance and music. In addition, it also took ample support from the imagination of the audience. So we do not find realistically ugly things on Sanskrit stage. A harrowing thing like swoon also was shown through suggestive dance movements. The description of the old Dravida in *Kādambarī* of desolate Ayodhyā in the *Raghuvaṁśa* and of the Jiṛṇodyāna in the *Mudrārārākṣasa* are good illustrations of this type from Sanskrit literature.

After we have cleared the dust and tumult of realism, we are able to appreciate the beauty in the dream chamber of Sanskrit poetry where sorrow is made beautiful as in the *Meghadūta* , tears are transformed into pearls and angular limbs into delicate and shapely lotus flowers.

This has been, I admit, the limitation of Sanskrit literature, especially of the later decadent period where lifeless, insipid and overdone descriptions prevail, because in it the freshness of early writers like Kālidāsa got stuck and became stale in a dead groove. Nevertheless, it is its strength as well, because it is based on a clear aesthetic and philosophical consideration. Sanskrit writers, dramatists and stage-traditions carefully preserved and nurtured the poetic, lyrical element and the charm and grace of visual aspects. It is precisely for this reason that Susan Langer has showered high praise on Sanskrit stage-traditions.

Looking from the historical point of view, we find, that only Bharata's tradition is extant today. Bhāsa-plays like *Ūrubhaṅga, Karṇabhāra, Svapanavāsavadatta,* Sūdraka's *Mṛcchakaṭika* make us infer that there must have been experiments which Bharata did not approve of. But these stray experiments did not grow into lasting traditions and Bharata had an all encompassing sway.

Besides, we Indians are known for creating stereotyped patterns in every walk of life. So the earliest experiments in Sanskrit drama very soon became stale prototypes and fixed standards for later period especailly of a lesser calibre. Unfortunately the first light-house was Kālidāsa. It was quite easy to walk in his blazing light. There too it was easy to copy *Mālavikāgnimitra* and no one cared to follow Bhāsa. It was, perhaps, only Śūdraka who refused to stick to the trodden path.

Again, we find that stories kept alive in bardic tradition were not altered. They were preserved intact in the archaic epics like the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata.* Tragic element in the form of pathos, misery, destruction was preserved there, though tragedy as form of literature or drama did not come into being. But later plays based on them inevitably ended on a happy note. The most characteristic example of this type is the *Uttararāmacarita* .

It is basically wrong to seek for a particular type germane to a particular

culture in another culture. We need not have any inferiority complex because there is no tragedy in Sanskrit literature, like in the Western literature. So I won't go to the length of saying like G.K. Bhat – 'From a purely aesthetic point of view, the absence of a formal tragedy is in itself the tragedy of Sanskrit literature, – a tragedy that was inevitable.'

Bhāsa's *Ūrubhaṅga* and *Karṇabhāra* come very near a Western tragedy. But we must note the difference also. Though both these plays end with the hero's death or its suggestion, both the heroes embrace death with a feeling of contentment and fulfilment. They do not evoke pity, fear or frustration as in a Western tragedy.

Almost in all Sanskrit literature, sorrow does not come as an end but always as a middle stage. The end is invariably of mellow happiness where saddest thoughts are told in sweetest songs. The reading of a Western tragedy leaves us without moorings and desolate. It whips us into agony and makes us wince. Sanskrit literature, on the other hand, keeps resonating in mind through its sheer beauty and polish that encompass an entire outlook on life. In the words of Cārudatta–

yat satyaṁ viraté'pi gītasamaye gacchāmi śṛṇvanniva /

[I should like to add an interesting postscript : Curiously enough there is a strange link between this tradition and the modern Bollywood films where Amitabh Bachchan fights single-handedly with at least a dozen goondas and comes out victorious. Bharata's dictum – *'kuryān nirvahaṇe 'dbhutam'* could never be more misused than in these films! In those films also we rarely come across any tragedy. Is this the heritage of the Sanskrit literary tradition?]

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THE STRUCTURING OF SENTENCES IN SANSKRIT

V.M. BHATT

The mere vocalising of the animate and the inanimate objects of the world – such as the man, the woman, the cow, the tree, the river, the stone, the pot and so on – does not seem to serve much purpose. The business of life as such as well as its linguistic representation obviously depends upon the objects coming together and performing some action. Thus, the man, the axe and the tree would become meaningful when stated thus : *'puruṣo vṛkṣaṁ kuṭhāreṇa chinatti'* ('The man is cutting the tree with an axe'.) or *'nadī parvatāt vahati'* ('The river flows from the mountain.')

These are also instances where the utterance denoting action alone also becomes meaningful : *uttiṣṭha* ('stand up'), *gataḥ* ('went'), *brūhi* ('speak up'), *paśya* ('see') and so on. These are the instances of a verb assuming the status of a sentence. Even so, it must be stated that a sentence in Sanskrit would normally be constructed around some noun-phrases, and, at least one verb-phrase. A sentence, thus establishes a relationship between noun phrase/s and verb phrase/s. Within a given sentence, the noun phrase/s and the verb-phrase/s assume a causal relationship, that is, the noun-phrases become indicators of the participants in the action, whereas the verb-phrases denote the action itself i.e. that being brought into existence. All participants of action in a sentence are regarded as minor. The object of a sentence is always assumed to be action which is denoted by verb phrase/s.

This conclusion that action is the semantic focus of a sentence would lead us to inquire further into the internal structure of a sentence. Such an internal structure would reveal further the time of action, the location of action, and the participants of action. The noun phrase/s serve as the indicators of all of these. Any action is bound to be circumscribed by time and space. No action can ever take place outside the boundaries of time and space. The initial action of the creation of the universe itself is subject to these limitations. And action would always imply participants of action.

Let us analyse the sentence, *"prātaḥkāle mahānase Sītā agninā sthālyāṁ taṇḍulān pacati. "* (This morning *Sītā* is cooking rice in her kitchen in a pot with the help of fire.)

1.	2.	3.		4.	
Place	*Time*	*Participants*	+	*Action*	= *Sentence*
mahānase	*prātaḥ-kāle*	- *Sītā*		*pacati*	
(in the kitchen)	(This morning)	- *agninā* (with the help of fire)			
		- *sthālyām* (in a pot) - *taṇḍulān* (rice)			

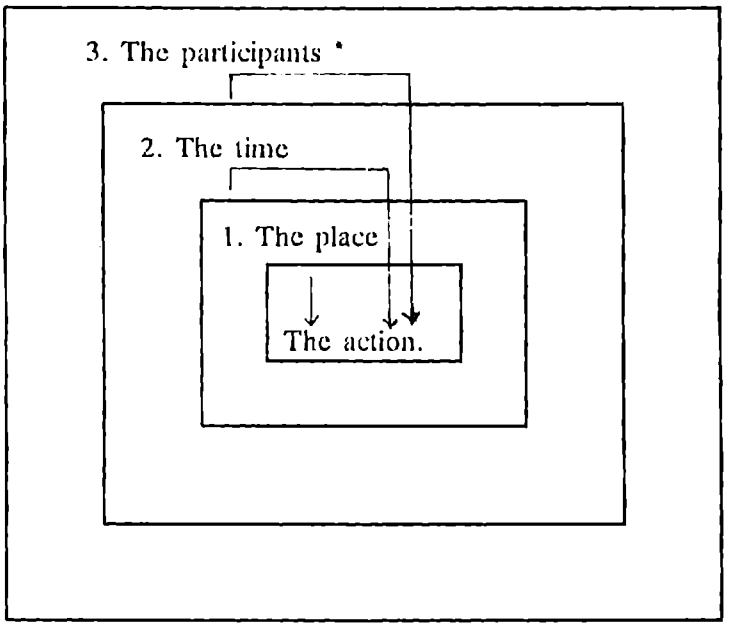
Note 1 : Though the pot forms the 'place' for the rice being cooked, in the context of the sentence as a whole, it is a participant of action. The kitchen is the place in the right sense, since all participants of action are located therein.

Note 2 : The segment prātaḥ-kāle (This morning) delimits the general present tense indicated by the verb *pacati* (is cooking) which denotes only the general present tense.

Note 3 : Naturally, there are, in this sentence four of participants that converge on the action of cooking : rice, pot, fire and *Sītā*. *(a) Sītā* is the core agent of action, the animate agent here organises the inanimate participants, the pot, the rice, and the fire for the purpose of cooking. It is thus *Sītā,* the co-ordinating agent that is directly responsible for bringing into existence the action of 'cooking'. *(b) agni* (the fire) is the means of the action of cooking. *(c) sthālyām* (the pot) supports the rice for cooking. *(d) taṇḍulān* (the rice) is the object on which the action of cooking takes effect. As a result of the action of cooking rice becomes soft, digestible and enjoyable.

In the context of such an analysis, the structure of a simple sentence in Sanskrit may be diagrammatically represented as under :

(A)



The diagram shows that action is at the semantic focus, since everything else in the sentence derives its meaning through its relationship to the action. The time and place circumscribe the action in a universal context and are invariably linked with any action. And the action itself is brought into existence through the participants. All arrows thus converge upon action.

It may be mentioned here that all sorts of participants can be further contextualised and specified by the use of qualifiers *(viśeṣaṇāni)*. Such qualifiers, would naturally fall into two separate categories. A woman, a fat woman, dark fat woman, a dark fat cheerful woman are all segments, each successive one more specific than the previous one.

But the specifying qualifiers dark, fat, cheerful-all relate to the woman. Now if you say Rāma's woman, the qualifier 'Rāma's' would also act as a specifier, but 'Rāma' indicated in the specifier 'Rāma's' would have an independent existence. The qualifiers that can be directly organically related to the noun (fat, dark, cheerful) may be described as intrinsic *(Abhedamūlaka)* qualifiers, the qualifiers that would also have independent existence (Rāma's) may be described as extrinsic *(Bhedamūlaka)* qualifiers.

A simple sentence can be enlarged by the use of both the types of qualifiers.

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* The relationship of the various participants to each other as well as to the sentence as a whole is indicated precisely in Sanskrit by the inflections denoting the different cases.

The simple sentence,

'Rāmaḥ jalayānena Gaṅgām uttarati'.

[Rāma crosses the Gaṅgā with the help of a boat (= on a boat)]. - can be enlarged by using qualifiers to specify the participants.

1. *'Ayodhyāyā Rāmastava jalayānena taraṅgitām Gaṅgam uttarati'. [Rāma* of *Ayodhyā* crosses the turbulent *Gaṅgā* with the help of your boat (= on your boat)].
2. *'Bhagavān Rāmo Bharatasya jalayānena vistīrṇām Gaṅgām uttarati.'* [The God *Rāma* crosses the wide *Gaṅgā* with the help of *Bharata's* boat [= on *Bharata* 's boat)].
3. *'Sītayā saha Rāmaḥ kāṣṭhamayena jalayānena pūtām Gaṅgām uttarati.'* [*Rāma,* accompanied by *Sītā* crosses the holy *Gaṅgā* with the help of a wooden boat (= on a wooden boat)].
4. *'Bharatam vinā Rāmo mahatā jalayānena Bhāratavarṣasya Gaṅgām uttarati.'* [Rāma, unaccompanied by Bharata, crosses the Gaṅgā of India with the help of a large boat (= on a large boat)].
5. *'Asau caturo Rāmo'nena jalayānenākāśasya Gaṅgām uttarati.'* (That clever *Rāma* crosses the *Gaṅgā* of the sky (= the milky way) with the help of this boat (= on this boat)].
6. *'Kausalyāyā Rāmo laghunā jalayānena tāṁ Gaṅgām uttarati.' [(Kausalyā's Rāma* crosses that *Gaṅgā* with the help of this small boat (= on this small boat)].

The noun-phrases in these sentences may be diagrammatically analysed thus :

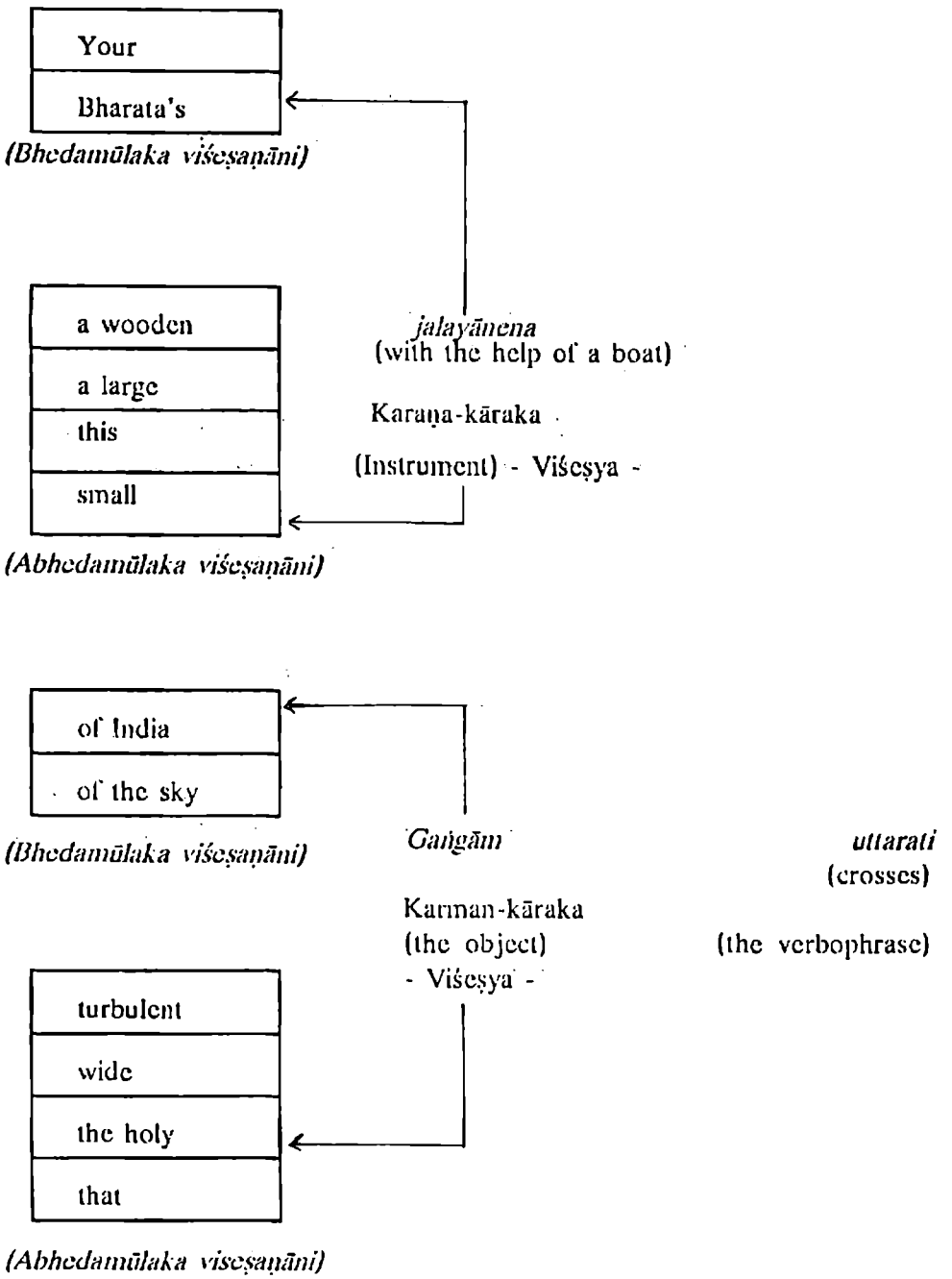
of Ayodhyā
Kausalyā's
accompanied by Sītā
unaccompanied by Bharata

(Bhedamūlaka viśeṣaṇāni)

Rāma Kartṛ-kāraka (Agent) -
Viśeṣya -

That
The God
clever

(Abhedamūlaka viśeṣaṇāni)

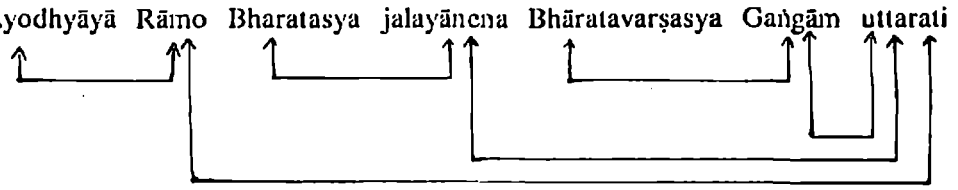


It may be noted that the extrinsic *(Bhedamūlaka)* qualifiers require the use of undeclinable prepositional phrases such as *saha* and *vinā* together with the third case or the second/third/fifth case.

1. *(Sītayā saha) Rāmo jalayānena Gaṅgām uttarati.*

2. *(Bharatam/Bharatena / Bharatāt vinā) Rāmo jalayānena uttarati.*

The participants being specified by the intrinsic *(Abhedamūlaka)* qualifiers come to be bilaterally related. These are directly related to the action denoted in the sentence. But the extrinsic *(Bhedamūlaka)* qualifier establishes for them a context that stands outside the world of action itself.

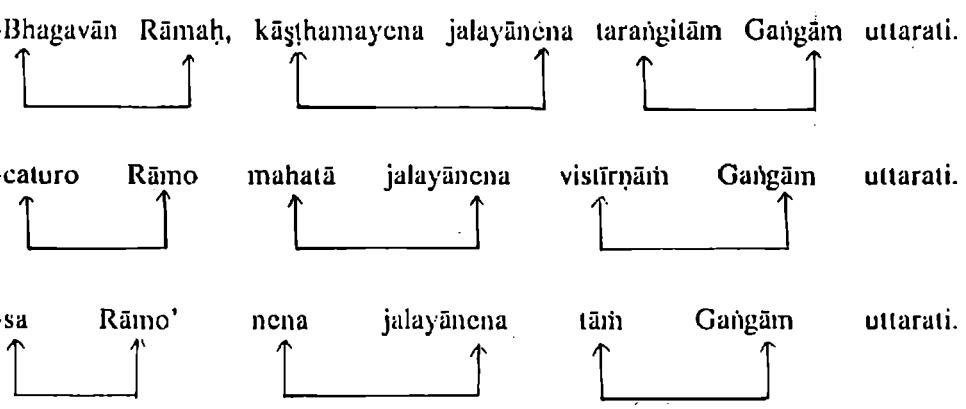


Ayodhyā in *'Ayodhyāyāḥ Rāmaḥ'* (Rāma of Ayodhyā) stands outside the action wherein Rāma is the active agent causing action. *Bharatasya* (of Bharata) stands outside the world of action wherein *jalayāna* (the boat) plays a significant role of being the instrument of action. Bhāratavarṣa (India) stands outside the world of action wherein Gaṅgā (the Gaṅgā) is significant as Karman-kāraka (the object) a river which is to be crossed.

The intrinsic *(Abhedamūlaka)* qualifiers are governed by the gender, the case and the number of the qualifieds. This is at the instance of the dictates of grammar :

yalliṅgam yadvacanam yā ca vibhaktirviśeṣyasya /
talliṅgam tadvacanam saiva vibhaktirviśeṣaṇasyāpi //

The philosophy behind this must be understood. Since the intrinsic *(Abhedamūlaka)* qualifiers are directly linked with the qualifieds, it is quite natural that the gender, case and number for both of them should be in harmony.



Since the extrinsic *(Bhedamūlaka)* qualifiers stand outside the qualifieds, such harmony need not be insisted upon.

The enlargement of a simple sentence by using the extrinsic *(Bhedamūlaka)* and intrinsic *(Abhedamūlaka)* qualifiers may now be diagrammatically represented :

Bhedamūlaka viśeṣaṇāni

(Extrinsic qualifiers)

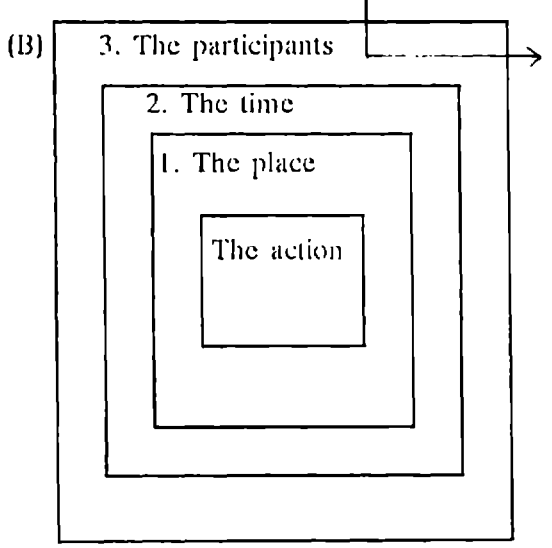
1. Indicators of togetherness expressed by the use of third case, governed by *'saha'*.
2. Indicators of 'alone'ness expressed by the use of the second/the third/ the fifth case, governed by *'vinā'*.
3. The objects that are related to the participants, but not to the action as such indicated by the possessive (the sixth case).

*Abhedamūlaka viśeṣaṇāni**

(Intrinsic qualifiers)

1. Quality indicators
2. Colour indicators
3. Pronouns
4. Some compounds
5. Present Participle
6. Future Participle
7. Secondary Derivatives
8. Number Indicators
9. Some specific participles.

- Primary derivatives -

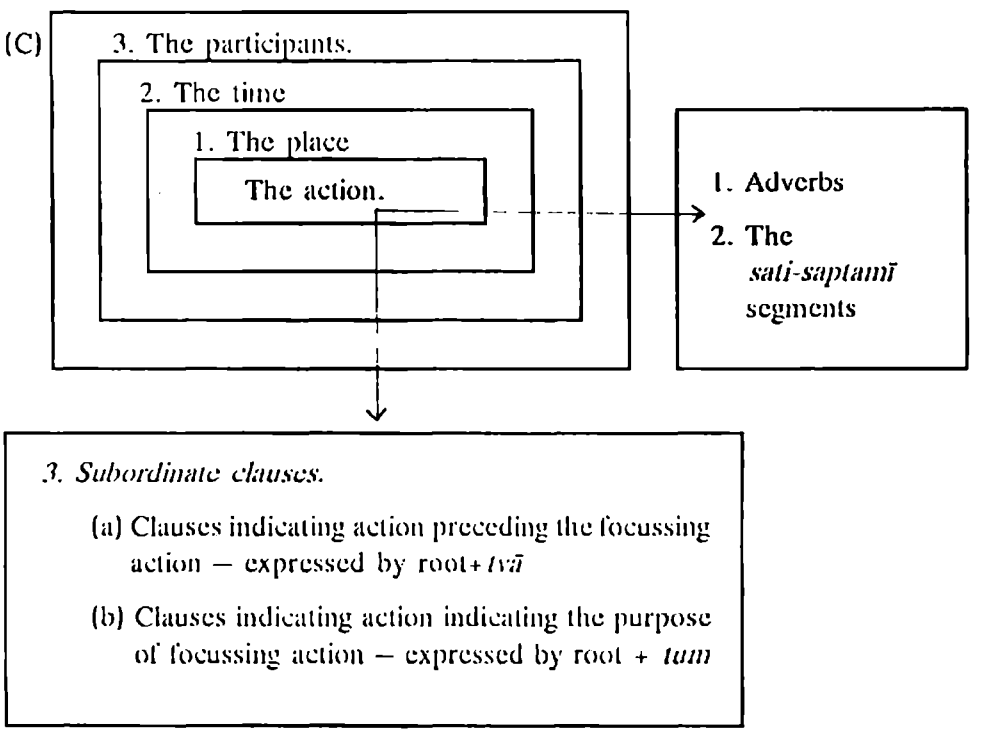


* for the detailed discussion see : *Saṁskṛta Vākya - Saṁracanā* by Bhatt V,M., pub. : Saraswati Pustaka Bhandar, Ahmedabad, India 1990, pp. 71-72.

Just as a simple sentence can be enlarged by using extrinsic *(Bhedamūlaka)* and intrinsic *(Abhedamūlaka)* qualifiers contextualising the participants, it can also be enlarged by using 'linguistic segments' that would contextualise the action itself. These 'linguistic segments' get related to the verb-phrase/s, and fall into three categories :

1. adverbs.
2. the *'sati-saptamī'* segments.
3. the subordinate clauses contextualising action.

The structuring of a sentence thus enlarged may also be diagrammatically represented. It must be mentioned that all these three categories are independent of each other, though, the subordinate clauses may be separated from the other two. All three may also be used simultaneously.



Let us consider some instances.

1. *Jarāsandhaḥ sukhaṁ śete. (Jarāsandha* is sleeping peacefully.) *sukhaṁ* (peacefully) is an adverb qualifying the action of *śete* (sleeping).
2. *Bhīṣme hate Duryodhanaḥ saṅgrāmaṁ agacchat. (Duryodhana* entered the field when *Bhīṣma* got killed.)

'Bhiṣme hate' (when *Bhīṣma* got killed) illustrates the use of *sati-saptamī.*

(= Bhāvalakṣaṇā - saptamī). The reference to Bhīṣma getting killed acts as a time indicator for the focussing action of *Duryodhana* entering the field.

3. (a) *Kaṁsaṁ hatvā Kṛṣṇo Dvārikāṁ gacchati.* (Having killed *Kaṁsa, Kṛṣṇa* goes to *Dvārikā).*

The action of killing Kaṁsa precedes the action of going to Dvārikā:

Kṛṣṇa	*having killed*	*Kaṁsa*	*goes*	*to Dvārikā.*
The agent of focussing action as well as the action described in the subordinate clause.	Indicator of action preceding the focussing action.	Object of the action in subodrinate clause	The main action - focussing action.	The object of action / the main (focussing) action.

3. (b) *Kṛṣṇaḥ Kaṁsaṁ hantuṁ pratasthe.*

(Kṛṣṇa set out to kill Kaṁsa.) Here, the action of killing Kāṁsa is the purpose of focussing action -*pratasthe.*

Kṛṣṇa	set out	to kill	*Kaṁsa*
The agent of focussing action as well as the action described in the subordinate clause.	The main focussing action.	Indicator of action following the focussing action (or indicating the purpose of focussing action).	an object of the subordinate clause.

This paper focusses on the structuring of simple / basic sentences as well as that of simple enlargements when qualifiers are used to contextualise participants as well as verb-phrase/s. Indeed, there are much more complex and compound structures as well as the sentences involving the use of words such as *yat / iti /* and *iva* etc. Even these would reveal the same basic patterning that is discussed here, and can be similarly analysed.

DOUBT IN VEDIC LITERATURE

SUKUMARI BHATTACHARJI

If the Vedas had merely been a collection of dogmas and tenets, they would not be held in the high esteem in which the world holds it. One of the chief values of the Vedas is that they are an intensely living human document. We go back to them again not only to learn about a very ancient period of our country's history and culture, but because in the texts we see a group of people, completely human, with their hopes and dreams, their follies and foibles and their lower as well as lofty thoughts, a people who display many human moods, beliefs, passions, desires as also their doubts and misgivings. If the Vedas were merely a record of man's prayers and praise of the gods prompted by unquestioning faith, we would still revere the text, but would not be drawn to them repeatedly for pleasure and stimulation as we do now. In the Vedic texts we find men who believe, compose songs and hymns and act out their belief in ritual. But they also betray their desires, their greeds, their jealousies and rivalries. They are devoted to their gods whom they placate with oblations, libations, and hymns, whom they plainly flatter, offer food, drink and songs and supplicate for boons in return. Their gods are invisible except when they are elements of nature, like the sun, moon, dawn, fire, etc. But most gods are invisible, so the devotees approach them in faith. When, however, the expected boons failed to arrive, doubts arose. And as Tennyson says, "There lives more faith in honest doubt."[1] These doubts really do them credit; they thought at first hand and sought to understand and explain life and the universe and when these attempts failed, they gave voice to the nagging doubts.

Doubts in the Vedic literature are there right from the beginning i.e., from 'the family books' until the latest period i.e, the Upaniṣads. Who expresses these doubts? None less than the venerable seers themselves, the authors who compose hymns in honour of their gods. What do the seers doubt? We can roughly categorize the doubts, as (i) in the existence of the gods, (ii) regarding their abodes, (iii) in their origin or the manner in which they came into being, (iv) in their will or ability to fulfil the petitioners' prayers, (v) in cosmogony and the gods' role there, (vi) in the efficacy of the sacrificial ritual to satisfy the devotees' needs, and finally, (vii) in the existence of the soul after death. Now, in a society where offering sacrifices to the gods with praise, oblation and libation was the prevalent and predominant mode of worship, these doubts tear at the very core of the belief pattern.

A valid question is: why are these passages signifying doubt preserved? In the absence of any conclusive proof, I would like to submit that these doubting seer-authors were not the only ones to doubt; there must have been a sizeable section in the community which shared them, and the doubts expressed in the hymns set them thinking more profoundly about the gods, about life, its origin and its place in the cosmos as also about the myth-ritual complex framed as a mode of worship. We know from the life of Buddha that he met several roving groups of mendicants, so at the latest by the seventh century B.C. there were many itinerant non-conformist groups outside the Vedic society. The Upaniṣads were composed by thinkers who belonged to the Vedic mode of religious life, although they underscored their departure as usherers of the '*jñānakāṇḍa*' as distinguished from the earlier liturgical religion of the '*karmakāṇḍa*.' So, within a little more than a couple of centuries after the compilation of the Ṛgveda, and co-extensive with the Brāhmaṇa period, these non-conformist seekers of truth had grouped together inside the Vedic society, as also outside. Some of them questioned and doubted, rejected and turned away.

Let us analyze some of the relevant texts to form an idea of the nature of these doubts. Nema Bhārgava says: "*pra su stoman Bharata, vājayanta, Indrāya satyam yadi satyamasti / nendra astīti nema tvā āha / ka īm dadarśa kam abhi stavāma.*"[2] The doubt in Indra's existence impels the poet to state categorically that 'there is no Indra, who saw him? Whom shall we praise?' These questions are basic to the Vedic credo: none has seen Indra, none knows whether he exists or not, with such unresolved scepticism ritual and litany are both bereft of their validity. The seer *Ṛṇañcaya* wonders where can the famous Indra exist: "*kva syā vīraḥ ko apaśyadindram.*"[3] Then he describes the god as going about in a horse-drawn chariot, but no one, says the seer, has really set his eyes upon this Indra. Similarly, about Sūrya the seer Hiraṇyastūpa says: "*kvedānīm sūryaḥ kaściketa katamām dyām raśmirasyā tatāna.*"[4] "Where now is the sun? Who knows in which firmament he scatters his rays?" This rhetorical question has only one answer: none. Presumably, the question is provoked at night time when the sun is invisible or when the sky is overcast with clouds. The poet ponders if *sūrya* is a god, an eternal verity in the firmament, quite naturally he enquires about the sun's habitat or which sky he brightens when he is absent in ours. Not so much as a problem of the phenomenal world, where the sun is a physical entity but as a god's absence to his devotee, the problem assumes different dimensions. Rahūgaṇa's son, Gotama addresses Agni: "*kaste jāmirjanānāmagne ko dāśvadharaḥ / ko he kasminnasi śritaḥ.*[5] "Who is your friend among men, O Agni, who indeed is the sacrificer? Who are you, in fact? And where do you really dwell?" The same poet says about Agni in the next hymn, "*kā ta upetirmanaso varāya bhuvadagne śantamā kā manīṣā ko vā yajñaiḥ pari dakṣam ta āpa kena vā te manasā dāsema.*"[6] "Which, indeed, is thy

worship, O Agni, that fascinates thy mind? Which, indeed, is the praise dear to you? Who is the sacrificer who attains prosperity through sacrificing to you? With what kind of mind, O Agni, should we offer oblation to you?" The depth and the genuineness of these doubts strike a new note: the devotee suspects that the mode and articles of his offerings are inadequate, possibly improper, and, therefore, unacceptable to the god. He is quite in a fix regarding a relationship with his deity which should bear fruit. Again, sage Gṛtsamada says: *"kuha seti ghoramutemāhurnaiṣo astītyenam,"*.... and ends with *"sa janāsa Indraḥ"*[7] "The non-believer said that Indra did not exist at all. But exhilarated, Indra plundered the strangers' wealth. So, he, O men, is Indra." This refrain is repeated fourteen times; it can be an auto-suggestion, an assertion of the poet's hard-retrieved faith or it may be an effort to assure his fellowmen who were sceptical about Indra's existence. Again and again we hear different poets doubting Indra's existence. If he was an apotheosis of the general of the victorious Aryan hordes, he must have died a natural death after a time, yet the divinity–image persisted with nothing to reify it i.e., with no real god to corroborate to the image. At a later period such doubts are quite valid and the people had to be reassured with repeated assertions of *"sa janāsa indraḥ."*

Ātreya Iṣa says: "Where does Agni exist? At whose arrival the gladdened sacrificer's hall kindles it, while creatures can produce it?"[8] This is a doubt regarding the divine origin of Agni, because, literally, unlike most other gods, Agni does not reside anywhere, and men kindle Agni with two pieces of *araṇi,* hence he is the one palpably man-made god. Naturally, his origin makes his divinity somewhat questionable; *RV* VIII: 67:5 is composed either by Mitrā-Varuṇa's son Mānya or by Matsya, son of the Great Fish Saṁmads or by a shoal of fish nearing death in a net. They cry out "O Ādityas, rush to us, where do you linger while we are near (our) death? Please come soon." This is an appeal to the god to rescue the devotee in dire distress. The doubt here is regarding the god's abode: where do you stay? In other words, "Why can't you hear our supplication? Or, is it not possible for our distress signal to reach you in time for your divine intervention?" The doubt is basic to the deity-devotee relationship and its validity.

Towards the close of the first book of the Ṛgveda we have the important Asyavāmīya hymn which poses various epistemological and cosmogonic questions. *'ko dadarśa prathamaṁ jāyamānam*[9]... "Who saw the primeval being while it was being born, who has bones which he holds differently. The life of the earth, its blood and soul, who was it: who approached the knowledgeable person to enquire about it?" "I ask thee, the very terminus of the earth, where the omphalos of the universe is, I ask thee the virile horse's semen; I ask these words in the highest heaven."[10] "I do not know if I am the invisible one, attached with the mind I wander about. When

the first of Truth approached me, I heard words which are part of him."[11] The next hymn continues with doubts of a similar hue. "Whose fat oblations do the young ones enjoy, (those) who carried the Maruts to the sacrifice? Like eagles soaring in the heavens, with whose high mind do we take delight?"[12] "Wherefrom art thou, O great Indra, why do you walk alone? A good patron, why art thou such a solitary god? Speak graciously to us, you who ride a horse *(hari)* drawn chariot."[13] O Maruts, what is your (proper) food? Why do you appoint me alone for the slaughter of Ahi? I am extremely mighty and powerful, and I assisted in the extirpation of the enemy."[14]

These doubts concern the origin, abode and activities of the gods and they also relate to the nature of man and his role in the universe, his relationship with his god or gods. In other words, they shake the very bottom board of the dogma and theological tenets current at that time. In the very first verse the doubt is fundamental: who was witness to the birth of the primeval being, who asked a knower of this arcane secret? The implied import is: none could possibly be present, since coming into existence of the primeval being presupposes a void all round. The boldness of this conceptual position amazes us. The imagination was sheer and stark, with no quarters given to the possiblity of any proof. Indra's absolute solitary existence also demonstrates a flight of imagination which reaches a blind alley of an insoluble doubt. The magnificent altitude of the imagination which places the devotee upon a similar semi-divine invisible station where he has the first inkling of Truth.[15] This brings home to us the truth of man's affinity with his god: they are both solitary and companionless at the highest level of their existence. Since this poses a challenge to comprehension, it naturally breeds questions and doubts regarding the essence and mission of both man and god-teleology and ontology both perplex the devotee.

Seers also question the gods regarding their origin, nature and function as well as the nature and activities of the universe. The *Atharvaveda* introduces a new god Skambha, the poet asks, 'who puts complexion to your form?'[16] 'In which of his limbs does *'tapas'* reside? And *ṛta*? What is his special vow, what belief? In which part of him does truth reside? From which of his limbs does the dazzling fire shine or the wind blows?' It goes on in this vein until it asks, 'And who is he?'[17] This was an inevitable corollary to the various minor doubts which culminate in this fundamental sceptical query. Most of these basic questions are still valid and we feel respect for the poet who could boldly ask these all-time questions. The same Veda lists the diverse human experiences, favourable and adverse – dream, oppression, weariness, intense joy and happiness – why does man bear all this? Suffering, agony, transgression, misery, prosperity, wealth, upliftment, thought and uprising – whence do these come?"[18]

These doubts have not yet lost their validity and significance. The

metaphysical, epistemological, ontological, and teleological queries still retain their relevance and vital worth. No wonder, poets and custodians of the canon thought it proper to preserve these. What is singularly striking is that the seers do not fight shy of expressing sceptical thoughts or shrink from asking candidly questions which plague and disturb them deeply. They transmit their inner disquiet quite effectively and bequeath it to posterity as a legacy of spiritual honesty.

Regarding the origin of the gods the Atharvanic seer Kaurupathi asks, "Whence is Indra, whence Soma, Agni, Tvaṣṭṛ and Dhātṛ?" Then he himself answers: "Indra came from Indra, Soma from Soma, Agni from Agni and so on."[19] In other words, epistemological questions pertaining theogony lead to a blind alley; the gods are self-created and in this repect, one should not try to probe further than what meets the eye. Prajāpati, the son of Viśvāmitra or Vāc asks *"ko addhā veda, ka iha pra vocat devān acchā pathyā kā sameti. dadṛśva evāmavamā sadātisi pareṣu yā guhyeṣu vrateṣu."*[20] Knowledge, the poet hints, is impossible to attain, there is no eye-witness, no first-hand reporter about the paths the gods tread. The experiential part is but the lower end of reality; the upper and truer part ever escapes man's capacity to penetrate. Such a doubt has thus an ultimate validity; it can never be solved.

This verse is basic in its significance; it rules out the possibility of man ever piercing the veil enveloping reality, be it about theogony or cosmogony. We can only see the nether part of the divine firmaments, further up it is all a dark impenetrable mystery. Another epistemological roadblock is experienced by Vāmadeva when he says, *"kayā tacchṛṇve śacyā śaciṣṭho yayā kṛṇoti muhu kā cidṛṣvaḥ?"*[21] "With what kind of wisdom can the wisest one (Indra) be conceived?" The verse continues with his gifts to his devotees, but the question remains: Indra is beyond human perception and comprehension. The sage Gautama virtually repeats this scepticism: "We cannot conceive Indra who pervades all, who, indeed, can know Indra who exists in his might far away... ?"[22]

Questions regarding the efficacy of the sacrifice began to be asked from quite an early period. Gotama in the Ṛgveda says, "Who, then, offers praises to Agni, worships Agni with the *sruc* and *dhruvā* ladles in due seasons with ghee and oblation? Unto whom do the gods give swiftly their wealth? Who is that sacrificer, who even after performing the rites and worshipping the great gods knows Indra?"[23] So the doubt is in reality quite fundamental: sacrifices do not ensure a knowledge of the gods, nor the promised results. They are offered in blind faith which leaves a gaping hole in the conceptual framework. He destroys all certitude regarding the god and the ritual with its due paraphernalia, everything becomes of doubtful verity, to put it mildly. Ritual performances attended with belief are thus drained of its content of

truth. Trita Kutsa expresses the same doubt: *"yajñam pṛcchāmyavamaṁ sa taddūto vi vocati / kva ṛtam pūrvyam gatam kastāvad bibharti nūtano vittam me asya rodasī.' amī ye devāḥ sthana tṛṣvā rocane divaḥ kadva ṛtam kadanṛtam kva pratnā va āhutīrvittam me asya rodasī."*[24] The gnawing doubt in the poet is, "Where, indeed, is now my oblation offered to you?" And he invokes heaven and earth to listen to his song appealing to them to bear testimony to his fundamental scepticism. 'Is his oblation mislaid?' He begins by asking the sacrifice itself. We remember the later *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad* text *'plavā hyete adṛḍhā yajñarupāḥ."*[25] These boats viz., the sacrifices are unsteady. The gap between the expected result and the actual experience widened until the efficacy of the liturgy itself is questioned. A grave doubt shakes the sage Kakṣīvat: *"kā rāddhaddhotrā Aśvinā vām, ko vām, joṣa ubhayoḥ, kathā vidhātyapracetāḥ."*[26] "What is the song that pleases you? Is any singer able to please you? How, indeed, will singer, ignorant of your prowess serve you?" The poet is confused regarding the appropriate kind of praise. Is it because his earlier praise-offering miscarried? He rightly connects the proper liturgy with a knowledge of the deity, if the rite is to bear fruit. Vāmadeva asks, "How will Indra listen to the singer? How will he ensure protection to him while hearing (the song)? How will the ancient gifts acquaint Indra with this singer's desires?"[27] The scepticism here is regarding the manner of divine help reaching the devotee; the relationship between the litany-liturgy and the fulfilment of the supplicant's desire. The process which he had accepted so far in faith, he now questions, asking to be shown its rationality.

Śunaḥśepa in an extreme predicament calls upon the goddess Uṣas and wonders which pleasant name will incline the goddess favourably towards him.[28] He also asks: "Who among the mortals and immortals can please you, O Uṣas?"[29] These doubts regarding the correctness and efficacy of the ritual and its concomitant myth strikes at the root of Vedic religion and questions its fundamental tenets.

The *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* dares to question the basic premise of all knowledge: *" ko hi tadveda yadyamuṣmin loke asti vā na veti."*[30] An extensive literature is based on this tenet of a life after this life. Many obsequious rites are performed, prayers offered to the deceased and the god of the death, Yama, into whose keeping the dead are reverentially committed with devout prayers. They are supposed to be fed and entertained by Yama in the next world. The assumption that there exists such a world validates all these rites and prayers. But this *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* passage dumps all this in a deep well of uncertainty: *"ko hi tadveda, asti vā na veti."* There can be no real answer, as no visitor ever returns from its border. One may believe in an after-life to soothe one's doubts, but belief itself does not constitute an evidence.

This kind of doubt and disbelief is present in many texts. For example, Kabandhī Kātyāyana asks Pippalāda in the *Praśna Upaniṣad*, "Master, from

where are these creatures born?"[31] Later Bhārgava Vaidarbhi asked, "Master, how many gods uphold a creature's body?[32] A third question was "From where is life created? How does it enter the body? How, dividing itself, does it reside within? How does it expire, how does it hold the outer and inner matter together?"[33] The fourth question was, "How many entities sleep inside a man? How many are awake? Who is that god who dreams dreams? Whose is the pleasure? In whom are all contained?"[34] Other questions of a more abstruse nature follow. But the depth of the doubts and questions the genuineness and intensity of the problems facing these seekers is truly amazing. An entire Upaniṣad, the *Praśna* which is devoted to some very fundamental cosmogonic, cosmological, theogonic and generally metaphysical queries bears testimony to the validity of the doubts acknowledged by society.

The *Kaṭha Upaniṣad* furnishes a fine illustration of such a doubt. The text opens with Vājaśravas' son performing a sacrifice (presumably the Viśvajit) in which he was obliged to give away his all as sacrificial gifts. His son Naciketas watched his father's gifts: old cows which had drunk their last draught eaten their last morsel and borne their last calves long ago. These were arranged in a row as the *dakṣiṇā*. The very fact that such cheap and wholly useless articles were being offered as sacrificial gifts signifies the sacrificer's lack of faith in the rite itself or he would never dare offer such a ridiculous gift. It is a silent expression of disbelief in the validity of the rite. Naciketas told his father that a giver of such gifts passes on to a miserable existence. The text says, *"tam ha kumāram santam dakṣiṇāsu nīyamānāsu śraddhāviveśa,* while these sacrificial gifts were being brought (for distribution among the priests), Naciketas, though still a boy, was filled with *śraddhā* (faith)."[35] What was the particular faith which entered the young Naciketas? That man who performs sacrifice in the expectation of results should give appropriate gifts prescribed by the scriptures and not stint and cheat. He threatened his father with dire consequences in the next world. But apparently the father paid no heed. So the son was bothered if the next world really existed, since his sacrificing father could treat the whole issue too cavalierly. He then asked his father, to whom did the latter intend to give Naciketas as a gift. This he repeated twice, even three times. The exasperated father replied, "to Death." Naciketas took him at his word and forthwith went to Yama's abode only to find the god away. So Naciketas fasted for three days there. On his return Yama, alarmed at a Brahmin boy fasting at his door sought to placate him with boons. But the boy craved only one: *prete vicikitsā manuṣye astītyeke nāyamastīti caike.* "This controversy over the dead man's fate, some say there is another world, others deny it — You Death, teach me what to believe." Reluctantly Yama kept evading the issue, confessed that even the gods themselves from of old were perplexed over this question, for not even a small particle of this subtle knowledge was easy to comprehend. Then Yama proceeded to explain the relevant metaphysical aspects of the

question.[36] What strikes us powerfully is Yama's admission that some say that there is a life after death and others maintain that there is nothing, that even the gods maintained that this was an insoluble problem. And this as early as around the seventh century B. C.

When we remember that all this was happening so early, we are amazed. At this stage clearly the doubts stemmed from disaffection, a disenchantment with the Vedic sacrificial ethos. Buddhism, Jainism, Ājīvikism and many other nameless sects swarmed the country. Each sect had a special set of queries, a few new modes of soul-searching and evidently, each had its own peculiar solutions to the queries. But the age was one of re-examining life, an age of probing and plumbing. Greece, the Middle East and China were all caught in a spiritual ferment and Indians also had their share of inner turmoil. Today when higher physics has solved some cosmic questions – and also posed others in their stead, the solutions to the doubts expressed by the Vedic seers seem somewhat less relevant in some areas. People accepted these solutions according to their inner proclivities and predilections. But what rather stands out as of crucial significance is the depth and sincerity behind these doubts themselves.

And doubt is as old as the human mind. Ever since man developed a mind, that mind sought to construct a rational paradigm where every bit of his experience fitted into a whole. These experiences consisted of the gods they had inherited from their ancestors from a hoary antiquity – some were deified natural phenomena, culture heroes, apotheosized military conquerors and abstract ideas transmogrified into deities. Myths and rituals invented, formalized and put into practice faithfully and rigorously also formed part of their experiences as also the place of man in the universe, his origin, his model function. Cosmogony, etiology, ontology, teleology – everything stoked his curiosity. He believed when he could, and doubted when he could, and doubted when he could not. The very capacity for doubting evinces a vital and dynamic mind, a mind not satisfied with blindly accepting the given, but is deeply disturbed, with apparent discrepancies, and fundamental non-correlations, and is plagued by anxieties and restlessness arising out of the doubts. These deeply sincere seers have left us a proud legacy of exercising our rationality and to express doubts in unequivocal terms.

Notes and References

1. *In Memoriam* XCV, st. 3.

2. VIII: 100: 3.

3. V: 30: 1.

4. I: 35: 7.

5. I: 75: 3.

6. I: 76: 1.

7. II: 12: 5.

8. V: 7: 2.

9. *ṚV* 164: 4.

10. I: 164: 34.

11. 37.

12. I: 165: 2.

13. 3.

14. 6.

15. I: 164: 37.

16. XI: 8: 16.

17. *AV* X: 71: 6.

18. X: 2: 9-15.

19. *AV* XI: 8: 8-9.

20. III: 54: 5.

21. IV: 21: 9.

22. I: 80: 15.

23. I: 84: 18.

24. I: 105: 4,5.

25. I: 2: 7.

26. I: 120: 1.

27. IV: 23: 3.

28. I: 24: 1.

29. I: 30: 20.

30. VI: 1: 1: 1.

31. I: 3.

32. II: 1.

33. III: 1.

34. IV: 1.

35. This word *śraddhā* is, as we all know, derived from the Indo-European root O.E. - créda (Old English), L. crēdō (Latin) which means to believe, the cognates are credo, credible, etc.

36. I: 1-21.

AP. NIMAÑCHANA–, SANSKRITIZED NYUÑCHANA–AND ALLIED MIA AND NIA EXPRESSIONS

H. C. BHAYANI

1. The text of the Apabhraṁśa verse cited on p. 442 of Bhoja's *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa* as an illustation of a type of the Prativastūkti variety of Sāmya is corrupt. In the printed text it reads as follows :

एक्कोण्णमिअभुअभङ्गे विमलकवोले, वअणम्मि तुइ मिअच्छि तिरिञ्छणअणे ।
एहु ससिबिम्बउ कलङ्गगारउ पण्डरउ खित्तउ, उप्परेण भमइअ णिमञ्छणखप्परउ ॥ ७० ॥

Tentatively this text may be restored as under :

एक्कुण्णमिअ-भुअभङ्गे विमल-कवोले वअणे, तुह मिअच्छि xxxx तिरिच्छ-णअणे ।
एहु ससि-बिंबउ कलंक-धारउ पंडरउ, खित्तउ उप्परे भमइ णिमंछण-खप्परउ ॥

The metre is probably Rāsāvalaya, with 21 Mātrās per Pāda, the last three Mātrās being made up as a rule by three Laghus. The second line is defective. The verse can be translated as follows :

"O fawn-eyed girl, above your face with the bright cheeks, with the eyes (looking) askance, and with one eye-brow raised and knitted, this orb of the moon, pale and bearing the dark spot, moves around like the (soot)-smeared potsherd[1] that is thrown up during the evil-warding off rite.' (See 'Prakrit Verses in Sanskrit Works on Poetics', I, Appendix, p. 39)

nimañchana- (corresponding to Sk. *nirakṣaṇa*) is a rite to ward off evil. In it, a potsherd, smeared with soot is waved around the head of a person and is then thrown away. A remarkably beautiful person is supposed to catch the evil eye. So to protect him/her such a rite is perfomed on him/her. In the above-cited verse the poet, says in admiration of the beauty of the Nāyikā's face that as compared with it the moon, which is usually presentad as an Upamāna of the face and hence superior in beauty to it, when it is compared with the face of this girl, seems like the black potsherd thrown away in the evil-warding off rite, performed on her.

In the Subhāsiya-pajja-saṁgaho included in the *Gāhārayaṇa Kosa* as one of the three texts (pp. 76-82), Gāhā 37 is as follows :

तीए ति-जयंपिकीरउ निउंछणं पिच्छुल्लुच्छु जट्ठीए ।
छित्ता (? छिन्ना) - वि पीलिआ -वि-हु जा नहु महुरत्तणं मुअइ ॥

"Let the three worlds be given away as offerings on behalf of the leafy

(also 'juicy') sugar-cane stalk which, even when cut to pieces and squeezed does not give up its sweetness."

Here the reference is to the practice of giving away by way of offering a valuable possession in order to protect a prized thing from the evil eye. The obvious implication is that the quality of sweetness preserved by the sugar-cane even under most distressing circumstances is so praiseworthy that nothing in the three worlds can match it in value.

2. Corresponding to Sk. *mrakṣ-* 'to smear', *mrakṣita-*'smeared', *mrakṣaṇa-* 'smearing', we have in Prakrit *nimañch-nimañchia-* and *nimañchaṇa* respectively. Later, *niuñchaṇa- nimañchaṇa* was Sanskritized as *nyuñchana.* See for example, *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* (dated 1305 A.C.), 15.29, 31; 88.24 and 25; 90. 18. Further from *nyuñchana* was formed the evil-form *nyuñchanīkṛtal* (104.4).

The Gujarati word *lūchaṇū* is derived from *niuñchaṇaya* with the changes *n- l-* and *iuñ* Compare the same type of dissimilation in Sk. *navanīta* > Pk. *Navana-* > Marathi *Loṇī,* 'butter' etc. and Hindi, *nyautā,* Guj. *notarvū,* Sk. *nimantrayati* etc. See Turner CDIAL sv. nimantr- Guj. lūchaṇū means 'bowing down.' Semantically what was the secondary meaning has become primary.

Hindi *nivchāvar, nevchāvarī,* Guj. *nyachāvar, nevchāvar, nichāvar, nivchūr* with the meanings 'the protective rite of waving something around the body of a protege and throwing it away or gifting it to somebody', 'such a thing' derive from *niuñchāv,* causative of *niuñch.* The Gujarati phrase *koi-ne māṭe nichāvar thavū* (and its corresponding Hindi expression) means 'to sacrifice life for somebody.' Gujarati has also an action-noun formed from the causative *nichrāv-* viz. *nichrāval* (should it be *nichrāvaṇa*) the act of doing *nyochāvar,* 'donating as a gift'. Accordingly *(n)yochāvar* has also acquired a special meaning of 'waving around a deity, a holy or a royal person a purse of money and giving it away as a gift.'

3. This ritual, ceremonial or auspicious act of protecting a dear, respected or sacred person from the evil eye and thereby ensure his/her well-being and show one's respect or love is associated with various occasions, and it has various types and modes. Corresponding to Sk. *avatāra,* we have Prakrit *avayār-, oyār* or *uttār-,* and Guj. *utārvū,* [3] having the special meaning of 'waving an object around or above the head, or around the body of a person-to raise that and then bring it down repeatedly.' In one form a small pouch containing salt is waved over the head of a protege. In Gujarat, Rajasthan and other regions of North India there is quite an old custom in which during the marriage procession the younger sister of the bridegroom, seated behind him on the horse-back waves over his head a small jar, containing salt. This ceremonial act is called *lūṇ utārvaū* in Gujarati (*lūṇ* means 'salt'). This

expression occurs in its Sanskritised form *lavaṇasya avatāraṇam* in the description of the wedding ceremony in medieval Jain Sanskrit works from Gujarat (e.g. in Hemacandra's *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita*, 1, 2, 827).

In the Apabhraṁśa section of Hemacandra's Prakrit grammar (= *Śiddhahema*, chapter 8) the fourth illustrative verse for the Sūtra 8.4.444 is as follows :

पेक्खेविणु मुहु जिणवरहो, दीहर-नयण-सलोणु ।
नावइ गुरू-मच्छर-भरिउ, जलणि पवीसइ लोणु ॥

'Seeing the face of the *saloṇa* (1. 'beautiful', 2. 'with salt present'), face of the Tīrthaṅkara having long eyes, *loṇa* ('salt'), as if filled with intense envy, enters fire (to burn up itself)'.

The purport of the situation and description we have in the above-cited verse can be grasped only if we are familiar with the ceremony of waving a pouch of salt around the face of the idol and then emptying it in burning fire. The idea is to remove or absorb anything that is inauspicious, by magically catching it in the salt and burning it up. Thereby worshippers' regard and devotion to the deity are expressed. In the secular context, it is a traditional custom in Gujarat, Maharashtra and elsewhere to wave over a sick child a packet of salt, mustard seeds, etc. and then throw it in a vessel containing live charcoal. In the description of the wedding ceremony of Ṛṣabhadeva in the *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita*, when he arrives as a bridegroom at the gate of the marriage pandal, women are said to place there a pair of earthen bowls in which salt is sprinkled on live charcoal and hence it is crackling (1, 2, 832).

4. It is a very popular and widely prevalent custom according to which a kinswoman (mother, sister or any well-wishing woman) puts her palms with bent fingers over the head, or touches with them the cheeks, or waves hands around the face of a dear person on an auspicious occasion, say at the first meeting after a period of separation or after the latter has safely overcome some calamity, etc., and then presses the palms with *bent inwards* fingers to her temples, and cracks the fingers. The gesture is symbolic of taking over herself the misfortunes and troubles of the dear one. The Gujarati expressions used to signify such action are *bhāmmā levā dukhnā levā* (also dialectally *mīṭhdā levā* which also means 'to kiss') and *ovāṛṇā levā bhāmma* derives from Pk. *bhāmaṇā*, Sk. *bhrāmaṇa*. waving around, *dukhnā means* 'grief and worries' (synonymous with *alā-balā*, a reduplicative of *balā* of Urdu origin); *ovāṛṇā* derives from Pk. *avavāraṇa*, Sk. *apavāraṇa-*, 'driving away.' Guj. *ovāri javū, varī javū, vāṛṇā levā* also have similar meanings.[4] Words and expressions corresponding to those illustrated here from Gujarati can also be cited from other NIA languages like Rajasthani, Hindi, Marathi, etc.

Lastly, the Gujarati expression *ghoḷvū.* 'It is good riddance'; 'I don't care for its loss' and the corresponding phrase *ghoḷyū karvū* (and the reduplicative *olghol karvū.*) 'to regard something with the attitude "who cares for its loss"' also have their origin probably in Pk. *ghoḷ* = Sk. *ghūrṇ* 'to turn round and round, to swirl'. The noun *ghoḷ* also means 'the amount of money that is presented to a king or some great man after it has been waved around his/her head.'

Notes and References

1. Here we may note that it is an old custom prevalent in Gujarat and elsewhere to mark the upper part of the cheek of an infant with collyrium to protect it from the evil eye. Guj. *khāparū, khāparḍū* derives from Pk. *khappara-*, Sk. *karparaka.*

2. This word also has an interesting history with its NIA derivatives. See Turner's 'Comparative Dictionary of Indo-Aryan Languages', sv. *mrakṣana.*

3. Waving light around the face of the idol of a deity during the daily ceremonial worship (or otherwise, as a part of any sacred person or object) is called in Gujarati *ārtī utārvū,* in Marathi *ārtī ovāḷṇe* means 'to lower', 'to bring down', 'to cause to make a descending movement'.

4. The Apabhraṁśa conjunct verb *balikar-* 'to sacrifice oneself', etc., Hindi expressions *balihāri,* etc., belonging to the same semantic sphere covering similar customs deserve a separate treatment.

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TEMPLE AS AN ORDERED WHOLE – THE ICONIC SCHEME AT KHAJURAHO*

DEVANGANA DESAI

Khajuraho is not synonymous with erotic sculpture. When I say I am working on Khajuraho, many people think that I am researching on erotic sculpture. But erotic figures are not even one tenth of Khajuraho sculpture. Today, we shall see the other side, the less discussed but more profound side of Khajuraho.[1] There are hundreds of images of divinities in the interior halls and exterior walls of Khajuraho temples. There are images of Viṣṇu, in his various incarnations, the childhood sports of Kṛṣṇa, notably without any reference to Rādhā, Śiva in his various *līlā-mūrtis*, the goddess Pārvatī, Sūrya in his different aspects, and so on. Are the images indiscriminately assembled to fill in space and balance the architectural design of the temple? Or is there a central focus in their arrangement? What is the mode of arrangement of images in the Khajuraho temple? Is the pantheon of deities or *devatā-gaṇa* related to the religious system associated with the temple? In short, is there any order or system in the arrangement of images in the Khajuraho temple?

Khajuraho, now a lovely village in the Chhatarpur district of Madhya Pradesh, was earlier a prosperous town called Kharjūravāhaka. It attained considerable religious and political importance under the powerful Candella Rājput kings and witnessed tremendous temple building activity for a period of 250 years between the 10th and 12th centuries A. D.[2] A local tradition records 85 temples at Khajuraho, but about 25 temples now exist. Of these ten were dedicated to Viṣṇu, eight to Śiva, one to Sūrya, one to the Sixty-four Yoginīs collectively, and more than five to the Tīrthaṅkaras of Jaina Digambara faith. Three more Śiva temples once existed, but only their dedicatory inscriptions now remain. While some of the lofty Hindu temples built by the Candella kings were constructed on the banks of the Śivasāgar lake in the western zone of the site, the Jaina temples built by the merchants and traders occupied the eastern zone of the town. A solitary but huge image of the Buddha in the *bhūmisparśamudrā* found from the eastern area of the site indicates that Buddhism was once prevalent at Khajuraho, as it did in the nearby Candella town of Mahoba. One of the earliest inscribed Hanumān images of India, dated to A. D. 922, is located near the Khajūrsāgar or

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Ninora lake. Lakes and tanks, important in temple rituals, provide picturesque view to this temple site. In the past Kharjūravāhaka town was richly furnished with *vāṭikās*, gardens, as inscriptions inform us.

The temples are not under worship today except the Śiva temple called Mātaṅgeśvara. (Pl. I, temple on the left). This temple with pyramidal roof, according to architecture historians, Prof. M. A. Dhaky and Shri Krishna Deva, was a *svargārohaṇa prāsāda* or a memorial shrine.[3] The celebration of the Śiva-Pārvatī marriage in this shrine today on the Śivarātri festival seems to be a post-Candella practice, not connected with the Candellas who patronized Khajuraho.

The Khajuraho temples are constructed in the śāstric tradition of the central Indian Nāgara style of architecture. Though no *śilpa* texts have been found from the region, inscriptions refer to the Viśvakarmā tradition which the architects and *śilpins* followed. A mature Khajuraho temple (see Figs. 1 & 4) consists in its plan of the *ardhamaṇḍapa* (entrance porch), *maṇḍapa* (hall), *mahāmaṇḍapa* (great hall), *antarāla* (vestibule), and *garbhagṛha* (sanctum). All these units are aligned on the east-west axis forming a unified structure. The temples do not have enclosures like their south Indian counterparts, but are erected on a high platform terrace called *jagatī* (seen in Pl. I) which demarcates the temple's sacred space from the material universe.

Khajuraho rose to prominence in India's history at a time when the temple had architecturally evolved into a mature structure. The 10th and 11th centuries witnessed the culmination of the Indian temple at Khajuraho, Bhubaneswar, Udayapur (Malwa), Modhera, Tanjavur, to mention only a few of the foremost examples. The simple square cube of the early temple of the 4th century A. D. had gradually changed to acquire a ground plan of greater complexity. The Viṣṇu temple of Devagadh in central India of about the 6th century A. D., for instance, has a projection on its exterior wall on the three sides which is adorned with a sculptural niche sheltering Viṣṇu's images. Similarly, the 7th century Śiva temples of Bhubaneswar in Orissa have images of the family members of Śiva, viz. Pārvatī, Gaṇeśa and Kārttikeya, on the three cardinal niches of their exterior walls. Gradually, with the building of larger temples the walls acquired many more projections and indentations which accomodated a considerable number of figural sculptures of divine hierarchy. The families and retinues of gods were expanding along with the developments in religious cults.

The architectural expansion of the temple was accompanied by conceptual developments in the religio-philosophical systems regarding the Supreme Being and its manifestations, the One and its many forms. A concept of far-reaching importance in the religious systems of the period was that of emanation of cosmic elements *(tattvas)* from the Supreme Being in the process of Creation

of the Universe, and their reabsorption back to the Primordial centre in the process of Dissolution.

The temple in this period displays a profusion of images which are generally related to the central divinity as its *parivāra* (family) or its *āvaraṇa* or surrounding manifestations. As Stella Kramrisch, the eminent authority on the Hindu temple, says, the centre of the temple, i. e. the chief divinity of the sanctum, is the luminous source which radiates its power in cardinal directions through the images of its manifestations in the *bhadra* niches of the sanctum facade.[4] The temple is "the monument of manifestation"; forms of the principal divinity emerge on the central projections of the sanctum wall. Various images of the temple are graded manifestations of the central principle. Though each individual image on the sanctum wall is complete in itself, often sheltered in a niche and attended by its own retinue of figures, conceptually it is not isolated but a part of the total system. The temple, in some of its best representations, is an ordered whole in which images are part of an integrated scheme.

The cosmological principles of Emission and Reabsorption played a significant role in the philosophy and rituals of the Tantra-based religious systems of Khajuraho. The earliest temple of this site built in the elite Nāgara style, viz. the Lakṣmaṇa, consecrated in A. D. 954, enshrines a composite image of Vaikuṇṭha form of Viṣṇu (Pl. III). It was affiliated to the Pāñcarātra of the Kāśmirāgama school.[5] The Kandariyā Mahādeva, one of the finest of the Indian temples, was built in *circa* A. D. 1030, and was associated with the Śaiva Siddhānta of the central Indian school.[6] Both these religious systems – Viṣṇuite and Śaivite – had parallel existence and functioned within the Brahmanical fold as inscriptions testify.[7] Unlike the Kāpālika sect, they were not extreme Tāntric, but were influenced by the Vedic revival and had incorporated Purāṇic elements. J. N. Banerjea has rightly observed that some of the ideas and concepts of the Śaiva Siddhānta are closely parallel to those of the Pañcarātra system and both these systems originally evolved in northern India.[8] Both the systems believed in the role of Śakti or Female Energy in the Creation and Dissolution process. The Supreme Being (Para-Vāsudeva or Para-Śiva) is both transcendent *(viśvottīrṇa)* and unmanifest *(avyakta)* and also immanent *(viśvamaya)* and manifest *(vyakta)* in graded powers and elements. Theologians bridged the gap between the formless and form by bringing in intermediary stages. In order to become an instrument of meditation and worship, that which is undivided *(niṣkala)* assumes parts and becomes *sakala*. This development led to a hierarchical order in images : the principal divinity and its emanations and sub-emanations.

The Khajuraho temples represent a creative moment in Indian art when artistic talent combined with religious aspirations to produce a meaningful form. Architects or *sūtradhāras,* as they are called in Khajuraho inscriptions,

have meticulously planned sculptural scheme of the temples, aided possibly by religious *ācāryas* who had grasped the system. They have deliberately used puns and *sandhyā bhāṣā* or enigmatic language in sculpture to express ideas and concepts in non-discursive language on which I have an article published elsewhere,[9] and we will have an occasion to see one or two examples. Yoga and *jñāna* (knowledge) find expression in the icons of Khajuraho. There are literally hundreds of images of deities holding manuscripts in their hands suggesting the importance of knowledge and learning. Not only Sarasvatī, Brahmā, Agni, but also Kārttikeya, Śiva, and the Grahas (planetary divinities) carry manuscripts at Khajuraho. Kārttikeya, the god of war, is portrayed at Khajuraho also as a teacher with a manuscript, perhaps of the Kātantra or the Kaumāra grammar revealed by him as mentioned in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* and the *Agni Purāṇa*.[10] There are many *yogāsana* images of Viṣṇu, Śiva, Sūrya and the goddesses.

Hayagrīva, Viṣṇu's horse-faced *avatāra*, finds a prominent position in the northern cardinal niche of the Lakṣmaṇa temple (Pl. II, B). Hayagrīva saves the Vedas in the mythology of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (VIII, 24), and is called Vāgīśvara, the god of learning in the Pāñcarātra tradition. However, we shall be interested not so much in individual images and their iconography, but rather in the configuration of images in the temple. Hayagrīva, along with Viṣṇu's other two incarnations, viz. Varāha and Narasiṁha, surrounds the Vaikuṇṭha image of the sanctum. On the three upper niches we see unique representations of Matsya (fish) and Kūrma (tortoise) in the form of Viṣṇu *yogāsana*, and Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa in the mythic Śveta-dvīpa[11] (Pl. II, A.). Twelve panels of Kṛṣṇa-līlā are interspaced between the three Viṣṇu *yogāsana* sculptures (Fig.2). Viṣṇu's Daityāri aspect, slaying demons, and his Yogeśvara aspect are thus juxtaposed possibly to suggest the balancing of *pravṛtti* (activity) and *nivṛtti* (repose), or heroic and yogic qualities.

The Vaikuṇṭha icon (Pl. III) in the sanctum is a composite image with Varāha, Saumya (placid), and Lion faces.[12] Its carved nimbus has arrangement to put a small lamp which could create "the impression of rays emanating from the lotus halo as part of the effulgence of the god's *prabhāmaṇḍala*."[13] The image has an elaborate *parikara* frame with representations of *avatāras* and emanatory forms of Viṣṇu. Matsya and Kūrma are paired on the top near the nimbus, Varāha and Narasiṁha are paired on the sides ; and near Vaikuṇṭha's feet are : Vāmana paired with Paraśurāma, Rāma paired with Balarāma, and Buddha paired with Kalki on the horse. There are eight sub-emanatory forms or *vyūhāntaras* of the Caturviṁśati such as Keśava, Govinda, Śrīdhara, Dāmodara, etc. on two sides of the *parikara* frame. Sūrya-Nārāyaṇa seated in *yogāsana* presides over the centre of the frame indicating a close relationship of Vaikuṇṭha and Sūrya. Sūrya, again, presides over the front facade of the temple. Vaikuṇṭha is supported by the Earth

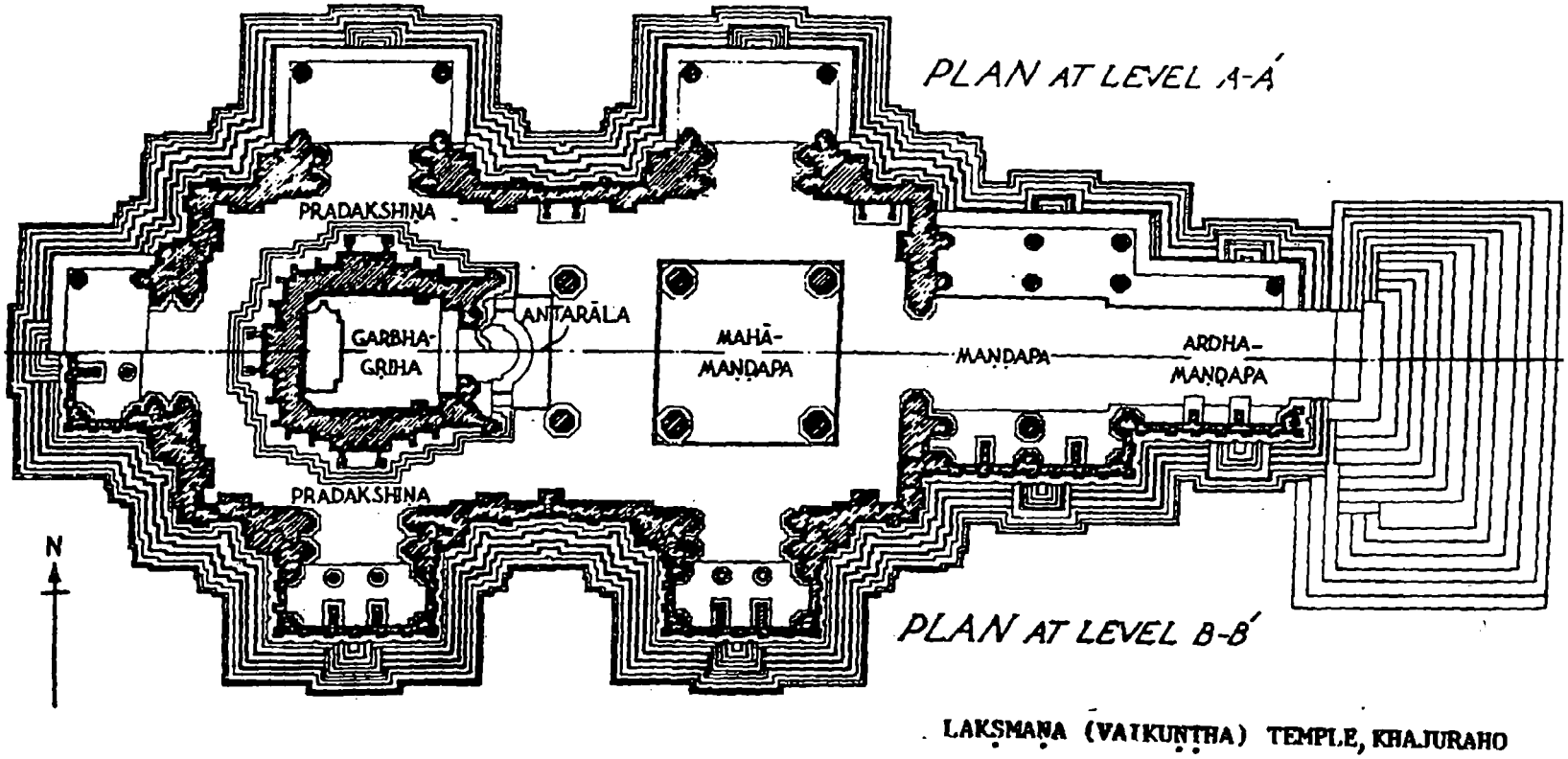
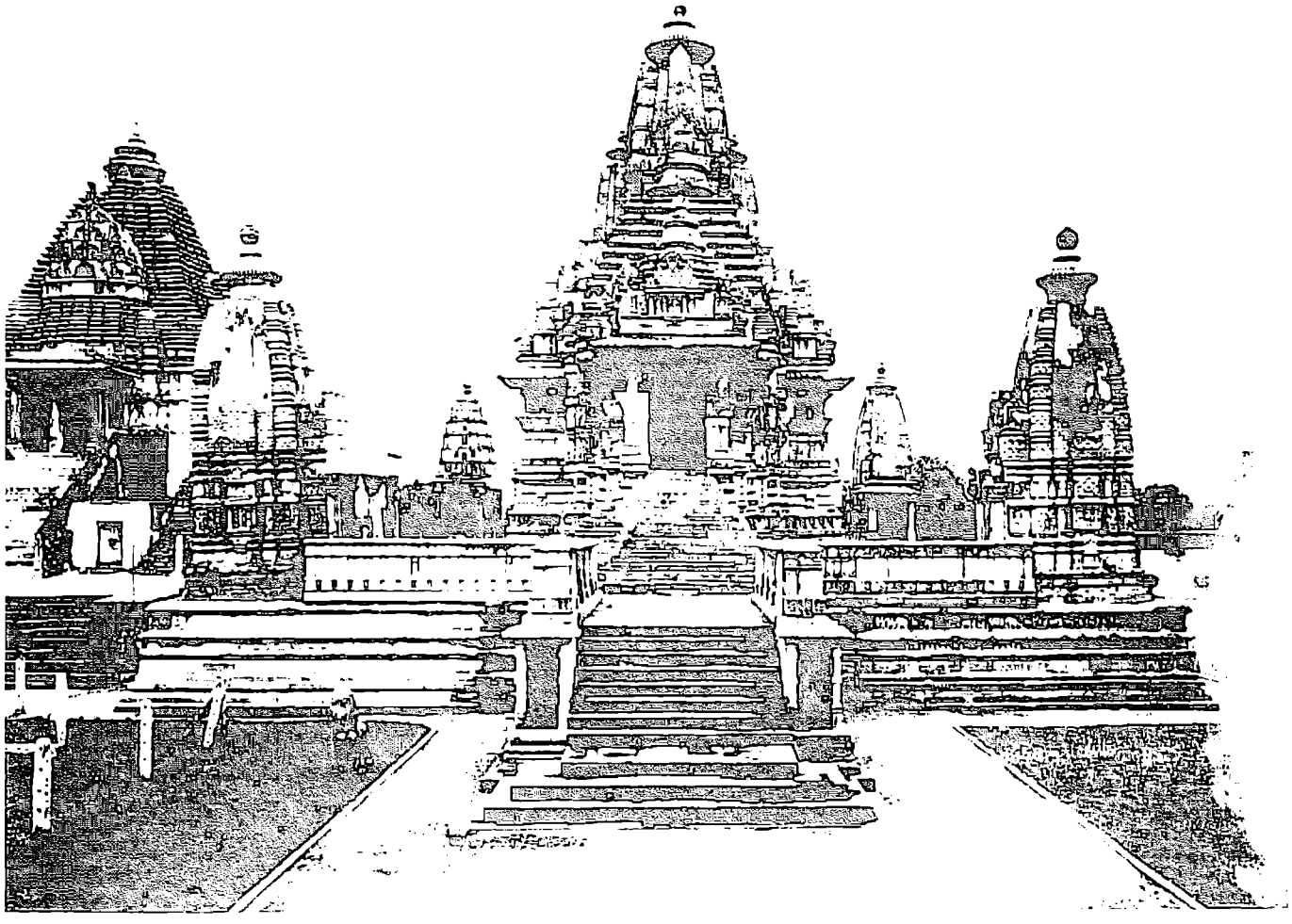
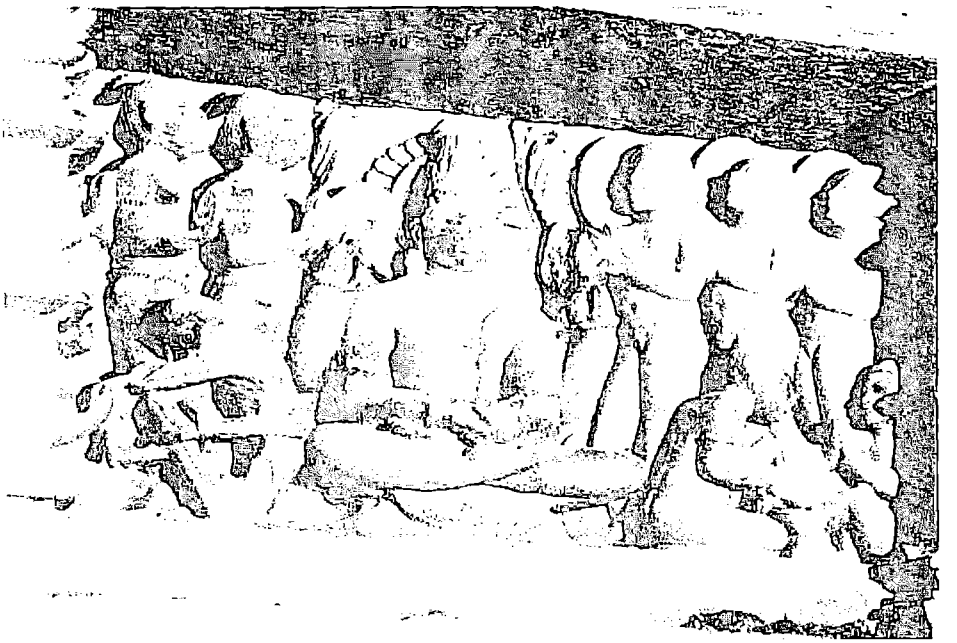


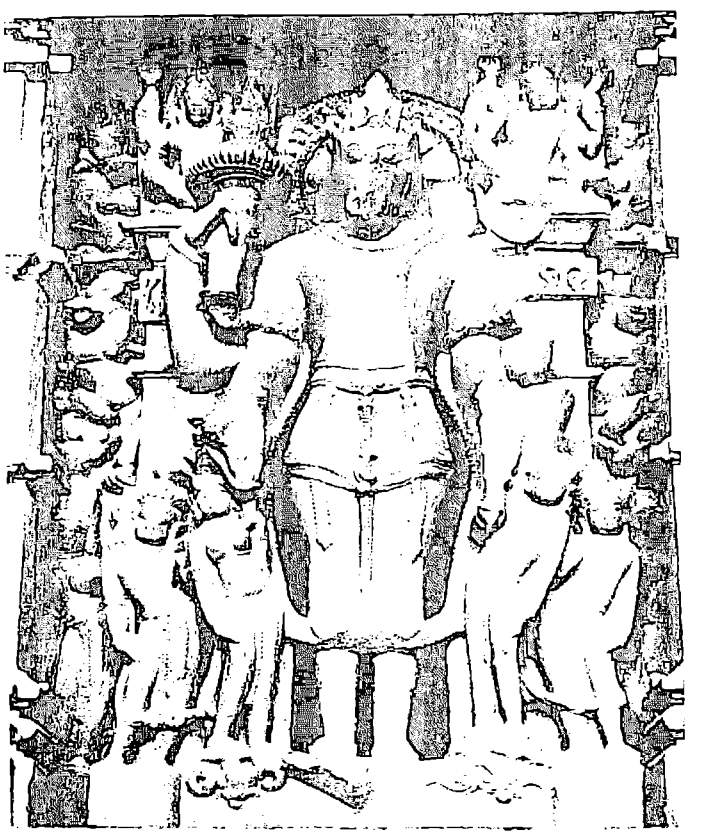
Fig. 1 : Ground plan, Lakṣmaṇa temple.
(Courtesy : Archaeological Survey of India)



Lakṣmaṇa (Viṣṇu-Vaikuṇṭha) temple, consecrated in A. D. 954.
The Mātaṅgeśvara temple (*circa* A.D. 1000) is on the left, Khajuraho.

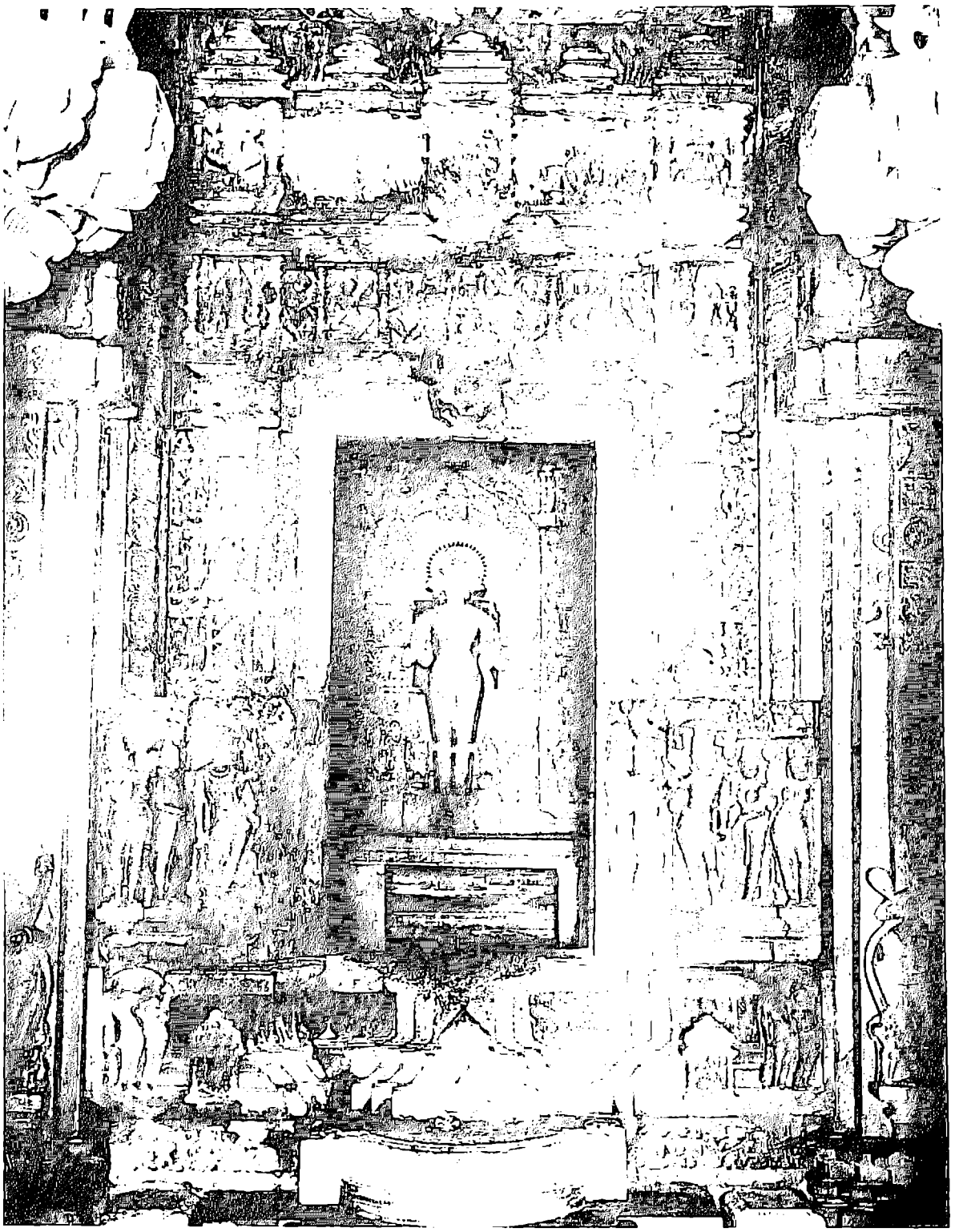


A. Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa in *Yogāsana* worshipped by the *ekāntin* devotees of the mythic Śveta-dvīpa, western cardinal niche, upper row, sanctum wall of the Lakṣmaṇa temple.

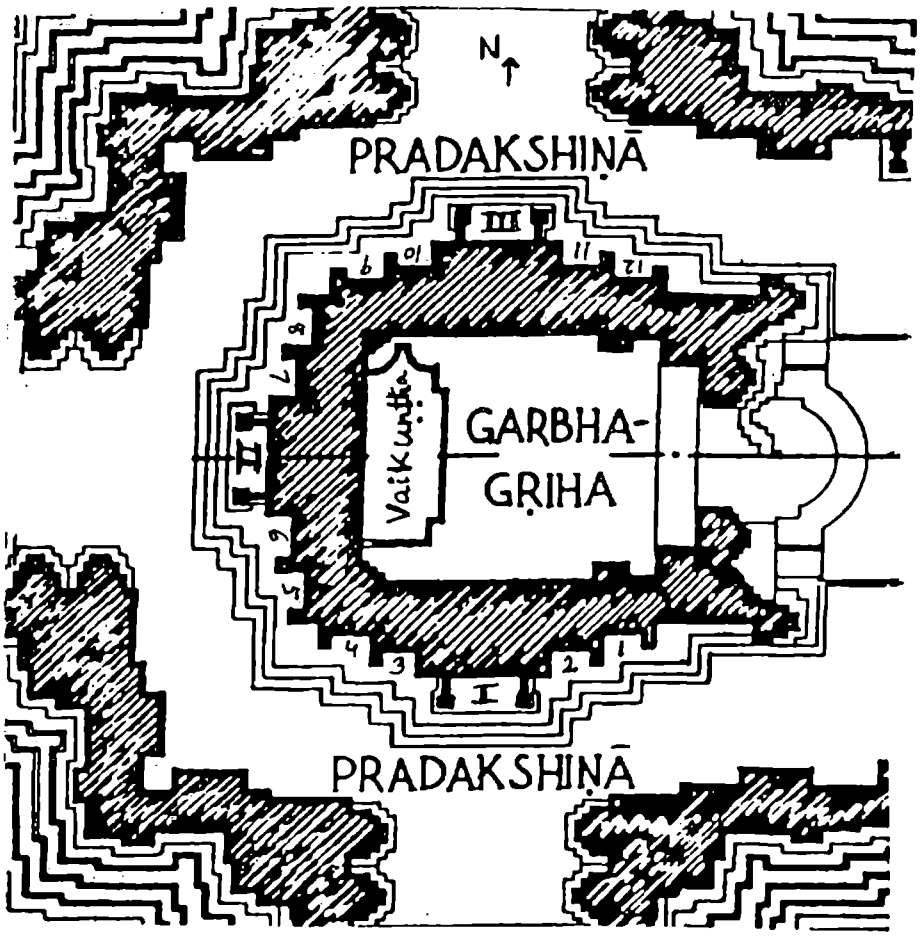


B. Hayagrīva *avatāra* of Viṣṇu, northern cardinal niche of the sanctum wall, Lakṣmaṇa temple.

Vaikuṇṭha image in the sanctum, Lakṣmaṇa temple.



Vaikuṇṭha image seen through the sanctum's door-frame, Lakṣmaṇa temple.



South I A Varāha, I B Kūrma
West II A Narasiṁha II B Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa
North III A Hayagrīva III B Matsya
1 to 12 Kṛṣṇa-līlā scenes on upper row

Fig. 2 : Plan of the sanctum indicating placement of images, Lakṣmaṇa temple.

Goddess, Pṛthvī, seated on the primeval tortoise, Ādi-Kūrma. She is flanked by the serpents who represent the waters.

The sanctum of the Vaikuṇṭha temple thus pulsates with the forms of Viṣṇu, his emanations and incarnations. If we view Vaikuṇṭha and his surrounding manifestations through the sanctum's door-frame (Pl. IV), we again notice the *avatāras* Matsya, Varāha and Vāmana on the south jamb paired respectively with Kūrma, Narasiṁha and Paraśurāma on the north jamb. Nine planets protect the surlintel, while Lakṣmī presides over the main lintel of the door (Fig. 3). The total iconic arrangement creates the vision of Viśvarūpa, the boundless universal form of Viṣṇu. We are using the word 'Viśvarūpa' not in a strict iconic sense but as a general concept of the cosmic form.

There is an icon of Viśvarūpa-Viṣṇu in the *mahāmaṇḍapa* of this temple. However, it is of ordinary workmanship and does not reveal the cosmogonic vision of the omnipresent god we see in the sculpture of Shamalaji in Gujarat. But the total form conveyed by the configuration of images around the central

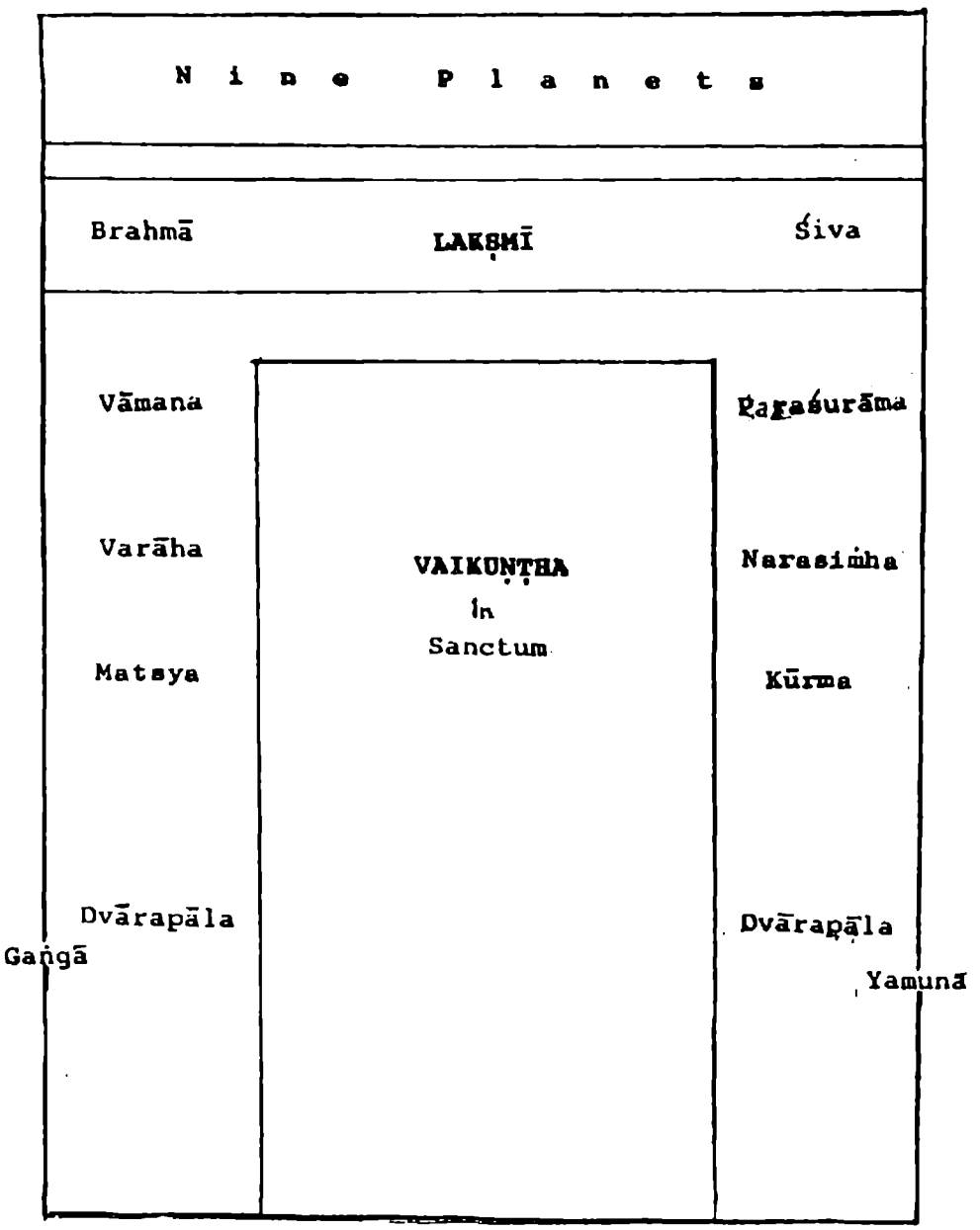


Fig. 3 : Schematic drawing indicating placement of images on the door of the sanctum, Lakṣmaṇa temple

divinity Vaikuṇṭha of the Lakṣmaṇa temple, including the images on the three sides of the sanctum and its door frame offers Viśvarūpa-darśana. We see the temple as Puruṣa, the personified image of the Universal Being.[14] In the *Agni Purāṇa,* composed by the 9th century A. D., the temple is conceived of as Puruṣa (ch. 61). The door of the temple is its mouth. The *Pratimā* (image) is its *jīva* (life-force). The Purāṇa further says : "Viṣṇu (Hari) himself is standing as the temple." The Lakṣmaṇa temple celebrates Viṣṇu as the Universe.[15]

II

We shall now examine the cave-like and mountain-like Kandariyā Mahādeva temple (Pl. V) to see how the architect has organized images in the temple's space.

The key figure which helps us to unfold this Śiva temple's metaphysical order as well as its iconic scheme is that of Sadāśiva (Pl. VI, A) who sits in the north-east Īśāna corner in the great hall facing towards the *liṅga.* Conceived as manifest-unmanifest *(vyakta-avyakta),* he has been given a unique iconography forming a pyramidal structure with six visible heads, arranged in a hierarchy of two tiers, topped by a *liṅga.* He has four feet *(catuṣpādas).*

T. A. Gopinatha Rao writing as far back as 1916 emphasized the great significance of the Sadāśiva concept in the Śaiva or Śaiva Siddhānta system, and demonstrated his position in the cosmological process of Creation and Dissolution or Evolution and Involution.[16] The Sadāśiva concept though seen in other schools such as Kashmir Śaivism, was pivotal to Śaiva Siddhānta. This system was already prevalent in central India in the 9th-10th centuries, even before it reached south India under the Cola kings.[17]

It is significant to note that the *Sarvadarśanasaṅgraha* of the early 14th century, which describes a large number of religio-philosophical systems, defines this Śaiva school as *tripadārtham catuṣpādam mahātantram. Tripadārtham* refers to the three categories : Pati or Lord Śiva, *paśu* or embodied soul, and *pāśa,* bondage. Man is a microcosm and ontologically divine, but because of *pāśas* which conceal the active powers of the soul, he does not know his oneness with Pati and identifies himself with *malas* (impurities) of egoism, immersion in the material world. The *catuṣpādas,* the four *pādas* or parts of the Śaiva system lead Man on the way to Śiva.

The *catuṣpādas* are (1) *jñāna* or knowledge;

(2) *caryā* or conduct, daily rituals;

(3) *kriyā,* activities concerning initiation, methods of worship;

(4) *yoga* which teaches meditation.

In this context the representation of Sadāśiva as four-footed = *catuṣpāda* is of great import. The Khajuraho artist has indicated through visual language the concept of *catuṣpāda* of texts by portraying Sadāśiva with four *pādas* or feet. He has employed a pun on the word *pāda* and expressed the word through its visual correspondence : *pāda* = part of the system = foot in sculpture.

Significantly, a similar image of the four-footed Sadāśiva, larger in size, with the name "Sadāśiva" inscribed on the pedestal, is now in the Khajuraho Site Museum (Pl. VI,B). This image was installed by Ācārya Ūrdhva-Śiva, as mentioned in the inscription. The name Ūrdhva-Śiva suggests the Ācārya's affiliation to the Śaiva Siddhānta order. The names of the teachers of this Śaiva order generally ended with the suffix - "Śiva".[18]

Sadāśiva represents a stage, from the point of view of macrocosm, when the first movement towards the Creation begins.[19] From the point of view of microcosm (Man), he is associated with grace.

We briefly mention the process of creation or manifestation in the Śaiva system. Para-Śiva, the Supreme Reality is *niṣkala,* without *kalā* or part, in undifferentiated state. When he wills creation Parā-Śakti emerges from his own self; from Parā-Śakti emerges Ādi-Śakti, from Ādi-Śakti, Icchā-Śakti; from Icchā-Śakti, Jñāna-Śakti; and from Jñāna-Śakti, Kriyā-Śakti. From these five Śaktis emerge the five aspects of Sadāśiva: Īśāna, Tatpuruṣa, Aghora, Vāmadeva and Sadyojāta. These forms are connected with the five *mantras* and the five activities, *pañca-kṛtyas,* and they preside over the five elements, viz. sky, air, fire, water and earth respectively.

Maheśa, the third main *tattva* is conceived as emanating from the thousandth part of the fifth aspect of Sadāśiva. Maheśa is the direct agent in the acts of creation, preservation and reabsorption of the universe. He is the *sakala* or differentiated aspect of Śiva who manifests through 25 *līlā-mūrtis*[20] such as Naṭeśa, Dakṣiṇā-mūrti, Kalyāṇa-Sundaramūrti, etc.

From the thousandth part of Maheśa emanates Rudra; from a crore part of Rudra emanates Viṣṇu; and from Viṣṇu similarly Brahmā emanates.

Altogether there are 36 *tattvas* (cosmic elements) from the Śiva-*tattva* to the *pṛthvī-tattva* (earth element) in the process of manifestation or evolution (see Table). At the time of involution, all these *tattvas,* from the gross to the subtle, are withdrawn into the primordial state of Śiva. Each evolute or manifestation depends on the preceding one, and each manifestation is ultimately related to the Supreme Śiva.

TATTVAS (ELEMENTS) IN THE SCHEME OF COSMIC EVOLUTION-INVOLUTION

I PURE TATTVAS

1. Śiva-tattva (Pure Consciousness) 2. Śakti-tattva (Bliss) 3. Sadāśiva 4. Maheśvara 5. Śuddha Vidyā (Rudra, Viṣṇu, Brahmā, and Śaktis from Manonmanī to Vāmā)

II PURE - IMPURE TATTVAS

6. Māyā

five *kañcukas* or limitations:
7. Kalā (part or fraction)
8. Vidyā (knowledge)
9. Rāga (attachment)
10. Kāla (time)
11. Niyati (predestination)

III IMPURE TATTVAS

12. Puruṣa
13. Prakṛti

	sattva	rajas		tamas	
14.	*buddhi* (intellect)	five sense-organs	five action-agents	five subtle elements	five gross elements
15.	*ahaṁkāra* (ego-sense)	17. ears	22. mouth	27. ether	32. ether
		18. skin	23. genitals	28. air	33. air
16.	*manas* (mind)	19. eyes	24. bowels	29. fire	34. fire
		20. tongue	25. hands	30. water	35. water
		21. nose	26. feet	31. earth	36. earth.

The triple presence of Śiva: (1) in Śiva-liṅga as sign of unmanifest, (2) in Sadāśiva as manifest-unmanifest, and (3) in Maheśa as manifest form, has been noticed by art historians in the sculptural imagery of some of the Śiva temples built between 6th and 8th centuries A. D. Interpreting the sculptural scheme of the 6th century Elephanta Cave, Stella Kramrisch observes: "Śiva is triply present in his great cave: imperceptible and transcendental within the *liṅga*, in his quintessential being emanating from the *liṅga* in the colossal sculpture (Sadāśiva/Mahādeva), and manifest in the eight sculptural configurations carved in the grottos."[21] Recently, Doris Srinivasan in her article, entitled "From Transcendency to Materiality : Para-Śiva, Sadāśiva and Maheśa in Indian Art"[22], has discussed the iconographic implications of the doctrinal unfolding citing visual representations in art in many regions of India.

No doubt, the architect of the Kandariyā Mahādeva shows his familiarity with the Śaiva doctrine in his planning the placement *(sthāna-nirṇaya)* of

icons. He not only represents the triple levels of manifestation (Śiva-liṅga, Sadāśiva, Maheśa), but he also extends his scheme to include Viṣṇu and Brahmā as aspects of Śiva. In addition he represents numerous lesser aspects of Śiva on the exterior wall of the temple, as we shall see.

A magnificent concept of Śiva is expressed in the Khajuraho inscriptions. Śiva is named the Supreme Cause, *Eka Kāraṇa,* who is Pati (Lord). He is *bīja-ajāyamāna,* the Seed-without-Origin of the Universe like the form of a huge *vaṭa* (banyan) tree. He is the Creator. He manages the sustenance and dissolution of the Universe, although he himself is without action *(niṣkriya).*[23]

The Seed-without-Origin is an apt analogy to the Śiva-liṅga. The *liṅga* is installed exactly in the centre of the dark cave-like *garbhagṛha* of the Kandariyā Mahādeva (Pl. VII). This is symbolically the womb-house of Creation and Reabsorption. The *liṅga* is described in a Candella inscription (*Epigraphia Indica,* XXXI, pp. 163 ff.) as *jagataḥ mūlastambha,* the primordial pillar of the Universe. It is the cosmic axis uniting heaven and earth. The finial of the *śikhara* is placed exactly above the *liṅga.* It is from the *liṅga* as the centre that the centrifugal movement radiates in the four cardinal directions of the temple.

The *liṅga,* the sign of unmanifest Śiva, sends out its luminous influence through its manifest forms of Maheśa, Viṣṇu and Brahmā, hierarchically arranged and graded in size, in diminishing order, on each of the three sides of the *garbhagṛha.*[24] Maheśa is manifest in the southern cardinal *bhadra* niche as sixteen-armed Andhakāntaka, spearing the Blind Demon; in the western cardinal niche facing the evening light he dances as sixteen-armed Naṭeśa; and in the north as sixteen-armed Tripurāntaka he sends out just one powerful arrow to vanquish the three cities of the demons (Pl. VIII, B).

Viṣṇu, (Pl. VIII, A) smaller in size, is seen on a row above Maheśa's *līlā-mūrtis,* except on the west wall, where we see a dancing Vīnādhara Śiva in a teaching gesture. Brahmā, yet smaller, appears on the plinth of the sanctum. Being aspects of Śiva in this Śaiva system, Maheśa, Viṣṇu and Brahmā empower the *grabhagṛha* and the devotee as he circumambulates it. On the lintel of the *garbhagṛha* again, Maheśa occupies the centre flanked on his right by Brahmā and Viṣṇu on his left (see Pl. VII).

An image of Vaikuṇṭha-Viṣṇu is placed on the juncture *(kapilī)* of the sanctum and vestibule on the south side, paired on the north with Lakṣmī. If this image of Vaikuṇṭha was found detached, out of the context of the temple and placed in a museum, we would have taken it to have come from a Viṣṇu temple. But in the context of the Śiva temple Vaikuṇṭha is an *āvaraṇa* divinity whose worship is prescribed in the *Śiva Purāṇa* (Vāyavīya Saṁhitā II, 30, 53-57). There is another Vaikuṇṭha (Ananta) in the *śukanāsa* of the temple, below the main Śiva image.

Couples intertwined in creeper-like embrace flank the *līlā-mūrtis* of Maheśa in the main cardinal niches and the images of Viṣṇu in the upper row. They may be interpreted as auspicious *alaṅkāras* or fertility motifs designed to protect the womb-house from evil influences.[25]

Surasundarīs, celestial damsels, have their auspicious influence as *alaṅkāra* on the body of the temple (Pl. IX), their poses suggestive of fertility symbolism. They are ubiquitous motifs of Indian art placed on walls and pillars of almost all the temples built in the ornate Nāgara style of architecture. The Orissan text *Śilpa Prakāśa,* composed between the 9th and 12th centuries A. D., specifically states, "As a house without a wife, as frolic without a woman, so without a figure of a woman the monument will be of inferior quality and bear no fruit." (I, 392). This text gives sixteen types of *kanyās* (maidens) according to the various activities they are absorbed in.[26] The number of types of female figures to be depicted on temple walls increases to 32 in the Medieval western Indian text *Kṣīrārṇava* of the Viśvakarmā tradition.[27] It is noteworthy that a recently found Orissan text *Śilparatnakośa* recognizes them as *upaśaktis,* associate goddesses, assigned to the different parts of the Śrīyantra.[28]

The *garbhagṛha* is conceived of as a *maṇḍala* in the *pūjā* rites performed by the aspirant at the entrance of the sanctum according to Śaiva Siddhānta text *Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati* (Kriyāpāda, ch.13). The text gives *mantras* for worshipping the threshold divinities, Gaṇeśa and Sarasvatī, then for Gaṅgā and Yamunā on the right and left of the door, followed by the *mantras* for Nandīśa and Mahākāla. These deities stand at the entrance of the Kaṇḍariyā. In the centre of the threshold sits the goddess on Kūrma, possibly representing Ādhāra-Śakti. After worshipping the door divinities the aspirant performs rites for the removal of obstacles *(vighnas)* from the earth, atmosphere and heaven. The role of the auspicious *(maṅgala)* couples, creepers and other motifs on the door jambs becomes clear against this background. Having removed the *vighnas* from the directions, and having placed Dikpālas there, the aspirant enters into the *maṇḍala,* i. e. the *garbhagṛha.*

इन्द्रादीँल्लोकपालांश्च सायुधान् रक्षणोद्यतान् ।
दशदिक्षु प्रतिष्ठाप्य मण्डलान्तर्विशेत् स्वयम् ॥[29]

The Dikpālas Indra, Agni, Yama, Nirṛti, Varuṇa, Vāyu, Kubera and Īśāna guard the *garbhagṛha* of the Kandariyā Mahādeva at the eight points of the compass. In the upper row of the wall are placed the eight Vasus, atmospheric powers. It is also noteworthy that the Dig-gajas, the elephants of cardinal directions, are depicted supporting the base of the *garbhagṛha* (front part) of the Kandariyā Mahādeva.

The *yantra*-like plan of the sanctum with its numerous projections and recesses seems to be similar in structure to the *maṇḍala,* visualized or drawn

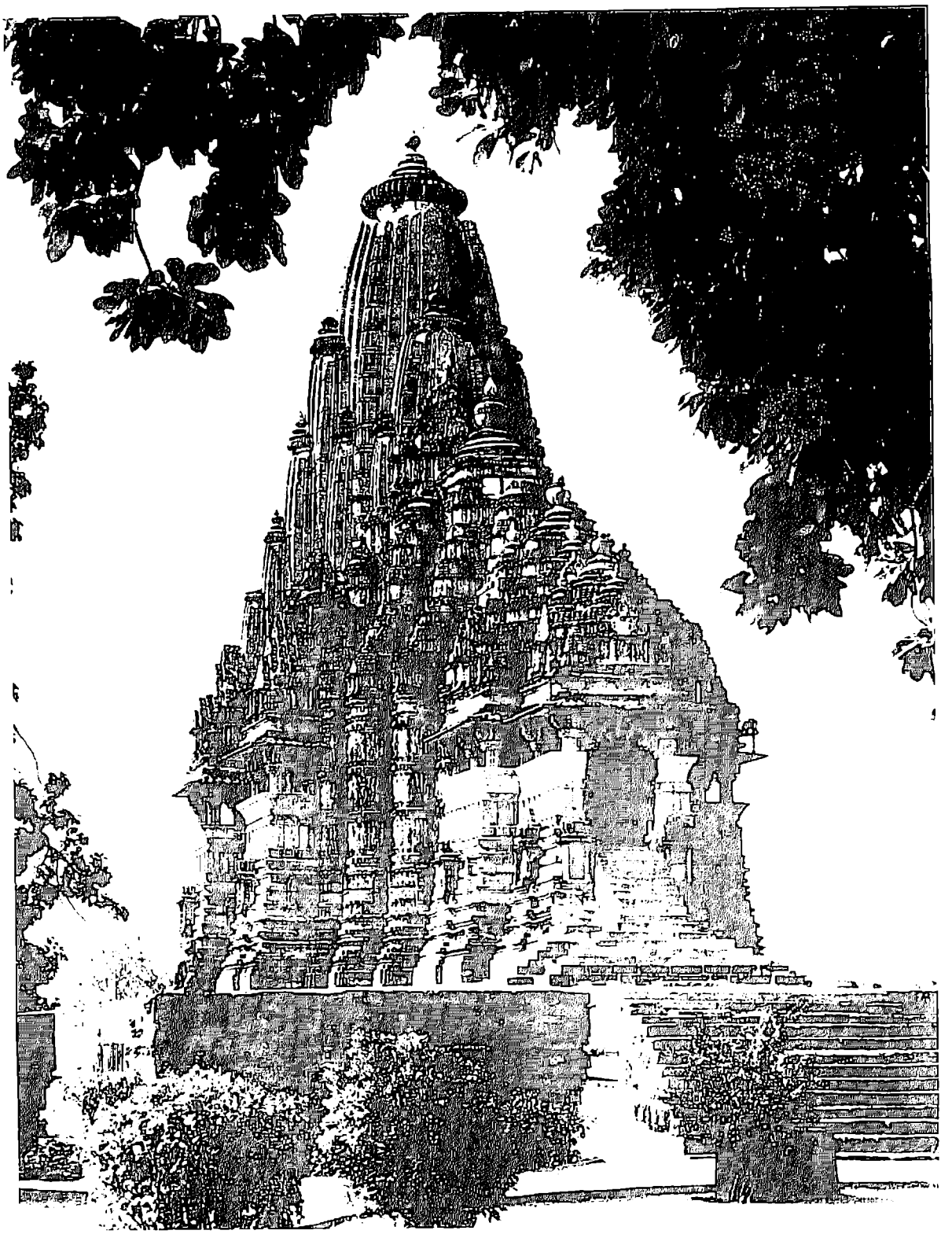
on the ground, with the imagery of the Dikpālas, and Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Rudra that the aspirant invokes and worships during his *pūjā* and meditation as given in the texts, the Vāyavīya Saṁhitā (II, ch. 24) of the *Śiva Purāṇa* and the *Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati* (Kriyāpāda, ch.13). For instance, in the worship of the *ādhāraśilā* (base) performed before the worship of the *liṅga,* the aspirant imagines an eight-petalled lotus on an *āsana.* He invokes and worships on its outer petals *siddhis* such as *aṇimā;* on the filaments Vāmā and other Śaktis; on the tip of the lotus petal, the Sūrya-maṇḍala and its presiding deity Brahmā; on the top of the filament, the Soma-maṇḍala and its presiding deity Viṣṇu; and in the centre of the pericarp, the Vahni-maṇḍala and its presiding deity Rudra. Then he worships the five-faced Sadāśiva with *mantras* and *nyāsa* and meditating on Śiva in the lotus of his heart, unites him with Niṣkala Śiva.[30]

It may be observed from the description of the above Śaiva rite that the visualization of the Dikpālas, the powers *(vidyās, kalās),* and Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Rudra on the eight petals, tips of petals, pericarp, etc. of the lotus - *maṇḍala* has a close correspondence with the stone images on the wall enclosing the *garbhagṛha* of the Kandariyā Mahādeva temple.

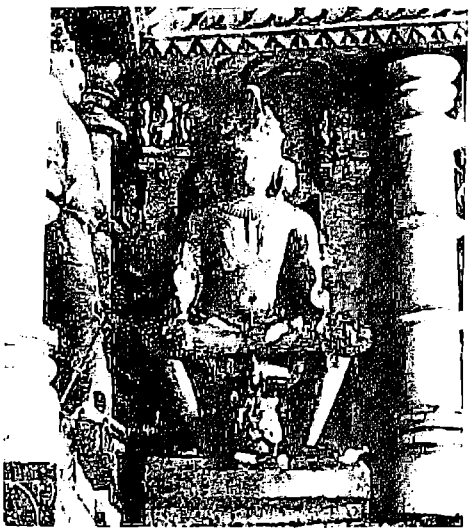
The divinities Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Rudra, Maheśa and others again figure in the *āvaraṇa* ring around the sanctum.[31] The devotee in his circumambulation passes through the "region" of Brahmā, (see Fig. 4, Nos. 4 and 5), where two images of Brahmā-Śakti face each other in the southern part of the *mahāmaṇḍapa.* Brahmā as Sadyojāta presides over the earth element. Walking further on the southern part of the ambulatory (Figs. 4, 9, 10), he comes to the "region" of Viṣṇu, who as Vāmadeva presides over the water element, and so on, until he comes to the image of Mahākāla (Rudra), and then to Sadāśiva towards the end of the circuit (Fig. 4, Nos. 24, 25).

The three manifestations, Brahmā, Viṣṇu (including his *vyūha* Saṅkarṣaṇa) and Maheśa also appear in the niches of the roof pediments of the three transepts of the *garbhagṛha,* respectively on the south, north and west. Umā-Maheśvara sit in the front facade of the temple. The *śukanāsa,* antefix above the roof of the vestibule, has Maheśvara standing in the upper and larger niche, while Vaikuṇṭha-Viṣṇu stands in the lower niche.[32]

The outer wall of the Kandariyā Mahādeva, "like the fretted outline of the buttressed fort" has numerous projections and recesses which display *surasundarīs, vyālas,* Dikpālas, snake-goddesses (in corners, one above the other), and numerous male divinities who appear to be Śiva (Pl. IX). These divinities standing in *tribhaṅga* do not have the majesty of the great god but seem to represent the lesser aspects of Śiva such as Vidyeśvaras and Mantreśvaras. They are "pure" *(śuddha)* beings "whose *mala* (impurity) is in a high state of *paripakvatā* (ripeness), who are about to be emancipated.[33]

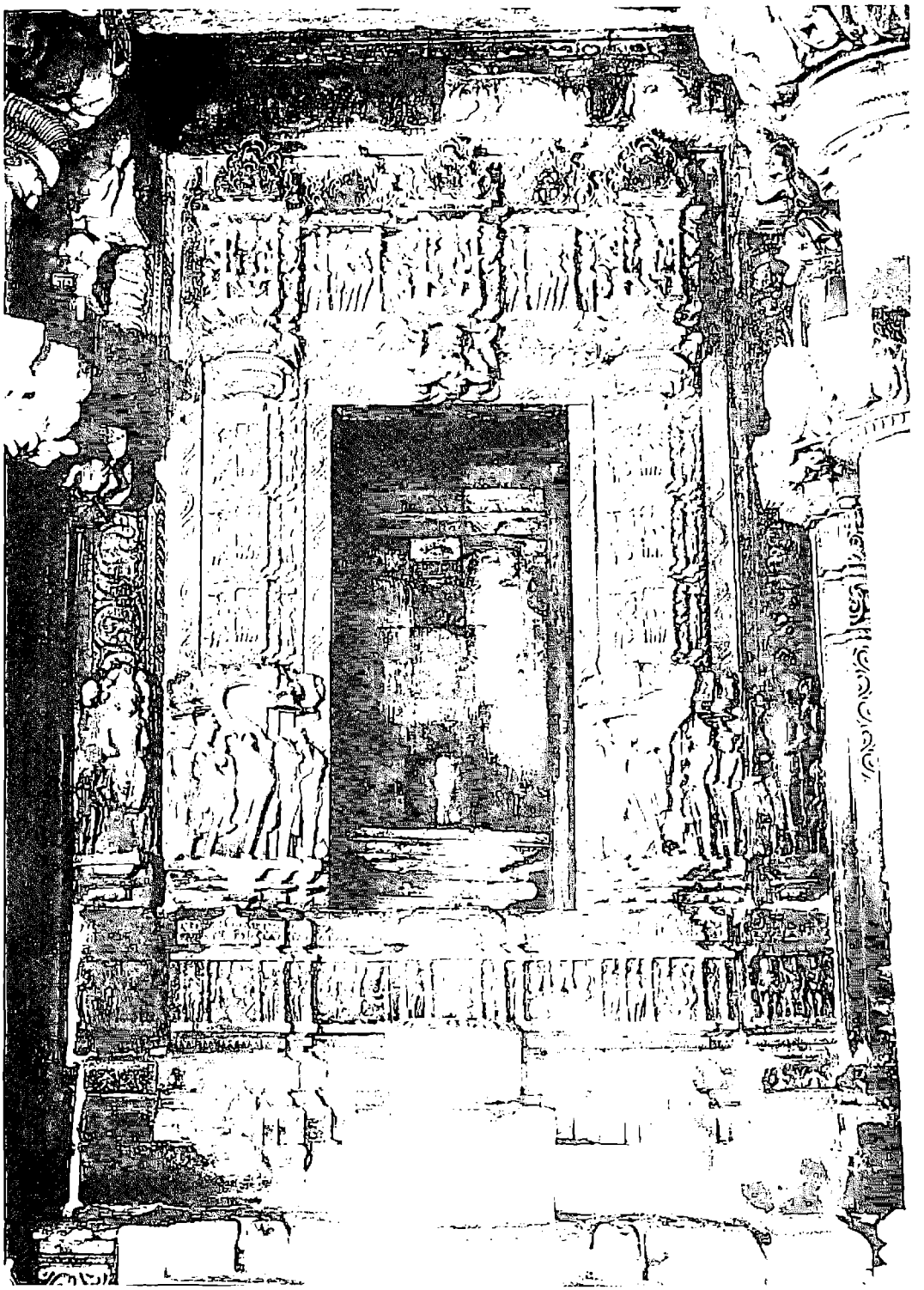


Kandariyā Mahādeva temple, *circa* A. D. 1030, Khajuraho.

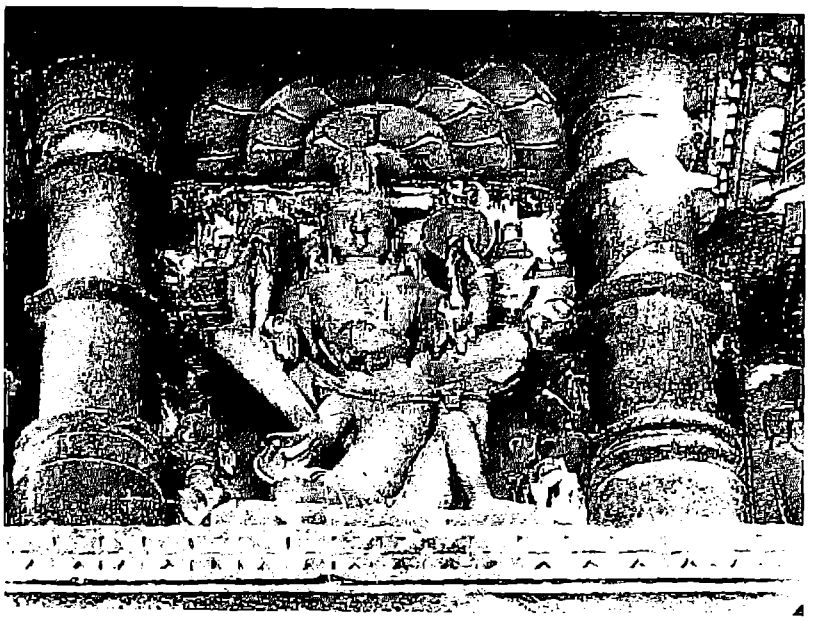


A. Sadāśiva with four feet, *mahāmaṇḍapa* niche, Kandariyā Mahādeva temple

B. Sadāśiva with four feet, inscribed image, Archaeological Museum, Khajuraho.

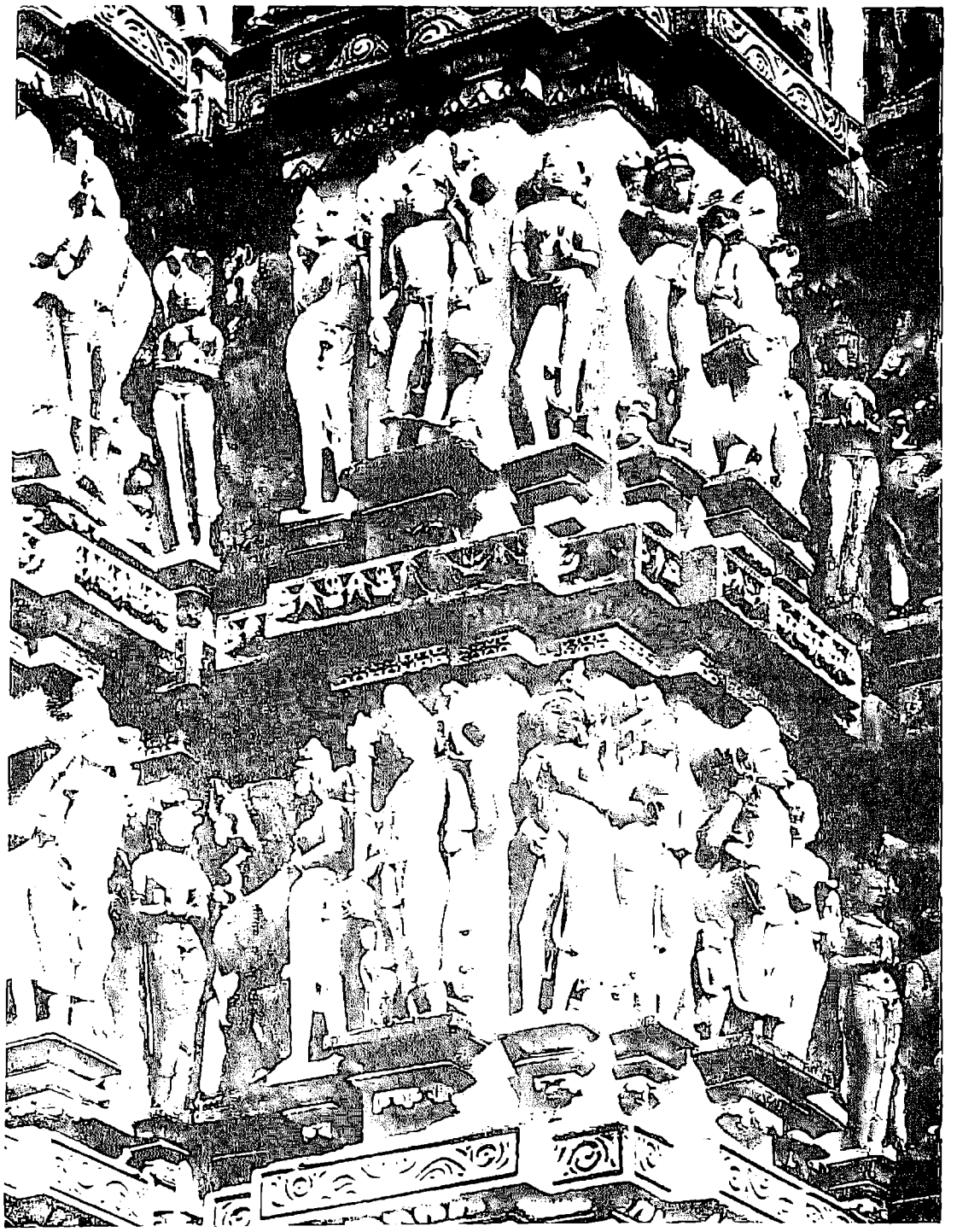


Sanctum entrance, Kandariyā Mahādeva temple.

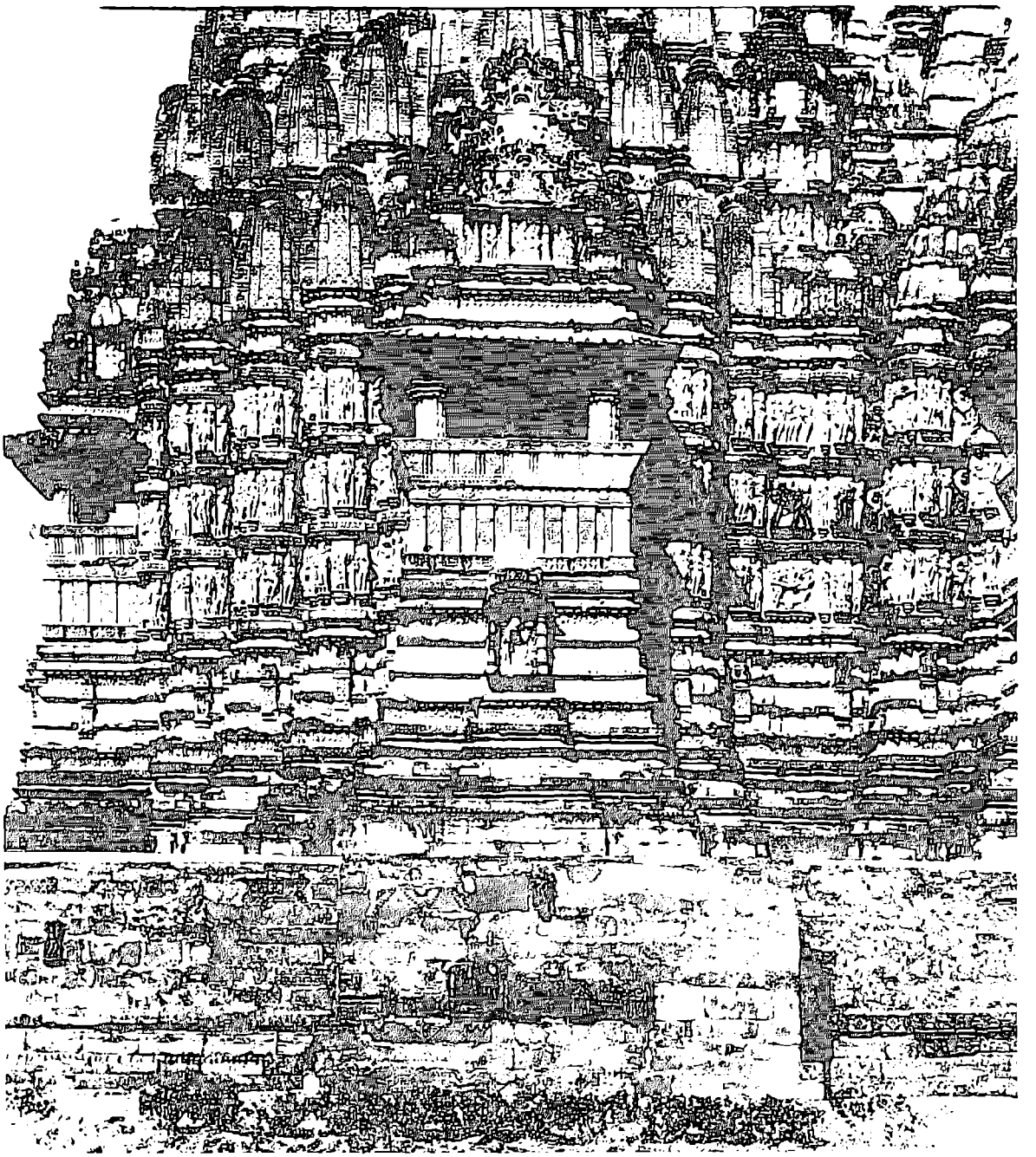


A. Viṣṇu *garuḍāsana,* southern cardinal niche, upper row.

B. Tripurāntaka Śiva, topped by Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa, northern cardinal niches of the sanctum, Kandariyā Mahādeva temple.



Exterior wall depicting Śiva in his lesser aspect, *surasundarīs, vyālas,* and snake divinities, Kandariyā Mahādeva temple.



View from south, Kandariyā Mahādeva temple. On the left can be seen the *kapilī* wall joining the hall and the sanctum.

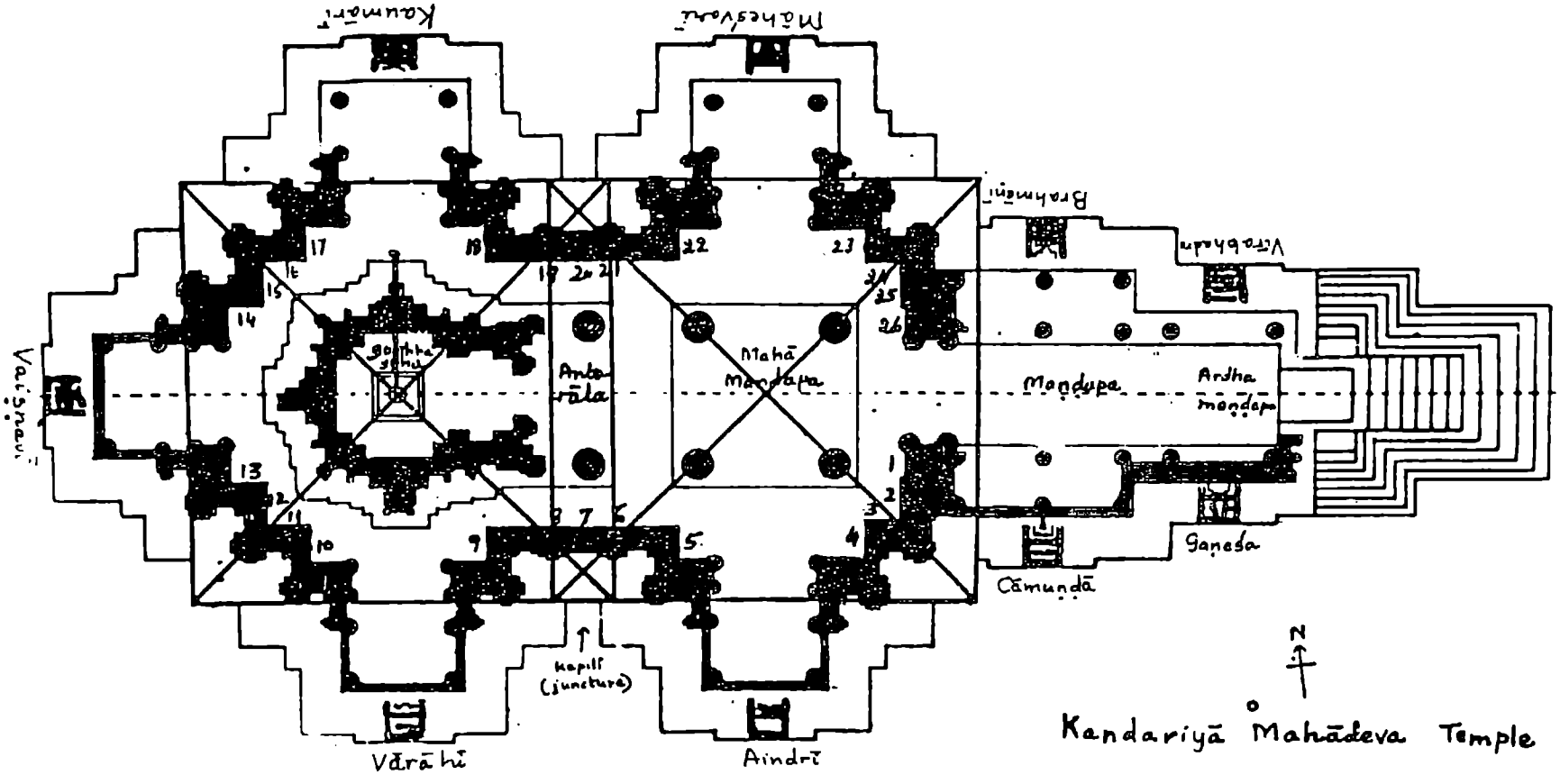


Fig. 4 : Ground plan, Kandariyā Mahādeva temple.
(After Archaeological Survey of India.)

Images of Vidyeśvaras are mentioned as having three eyes, *jaṭā-mukuṭa* or *karaṇḍa-mukuṭa,* the sacred thread and four arms.[34] The *Jñanaśivagurudevapaddhati* mentions them as *āvaraṇa* deities. They encircle the temple and perform "angelic functions" in helping the lower order of *paśus* to ascend to higher levels in the involutionary process.[35]

The devotee in his circumambulation proceeds through various aspects of Śiva, the graded images of his manifestations, until he reaches the entrance of the sanctum, and stands in the *antarāla,* the *sandhi-kṣetra* or passage which joins the hall and the sanctum. Here the devotee faces the Śiva-liṅga.

The architect has imaginatively placed sculptures of physical union on the outer wall *(kapilī)* of the *antarāla* (Pl.X). In placing the *sandhi* (conjoint) figures on the *sandhi-kṣetra,* he has employed not only an architectural pun as suggested by Michael Meister[36], but also *sandhyā bhāṣā*[37], the intentional code language of the Tāntrikas. Just as the Tāntric texts describe Kuṇḍalinī Yoga and secret doctrines in the erotic terminology of *sandhyā bhāṣā* which would delude non-initiates, the architect-priests of Khajuraho's three *sāndhāra* temples (with built-in ambulatory), viz. the Lakṣmaṇa, the Viśvanātha, and the Kandariyā Mahādeva, have used *sandhyā bhāṣā* on their juncture walls and attempted to communicate experiences of the stages of meditation, as discussed by me in my earlier paper.[38]

The juncture wall of the Kandariyā Mahādeva is formed by an overlap of two equal squares (see Ground Plan, Fig. 4). On this overlapping space which is like no man's land, "neither here nor there", or "here also and there also," the architect has placed the symbol of timeless experience, when there is "neither day nor night." Through the symbolism of conjoint figures on the juncture of the hall of devotees *(paśus, jīvas)* and the womb-house of the divinity (Pati, Śiva), the juncture of the phenomenal and transcendental worlds, the architect conveys the transcendence of the human condition. It is believed that by combining the opposites — the Sun and Moon, Piṅgalā and Iḍā - and unifying them in the central *nāḍī* Suṣumṇā, the *yogī* can pass into the non-dual state of timelessness.[39]

The geometry in the compositional scheme of the head-down pose of the Kandariyā Mahādeva reminds us of the Kāmakalā Yantra of the *Śilpa Prakāśa* (II, verses 498ff.). Perhaps as in the case of the Kāmakalā Yantra, the lines of the *yantra* symbolism were concealed from non-initiates by the placement of erotic figures, which were for "the delight of people", the laymen, as the *Śilpa Prakāśa* puts it. By placing the symbolism on the most vulnerable part where the corners of the two structures meet, the architect secured the building against *vighnas* (obstacles). The erotic scene and the *yantra* that it seems to conceal magically protect the building, doubly empowered by the fertility symbolism of the scene and the geometry of the *yantra.*

The seven Mātṛkās (Mothers) along with the music-playing Vīrabhadra, and Gaṇeśa, dance dynamically on the socle, while they encircle all the four structures of the temple forming a protective *maṇḍala* around Śiva. Their placement on the temple is counter-clockwise *(prasavya)* as far as the devotee is concerned. The first Mātṛkā Brahmāṇi of the standard *krama* (order) is placed on the north, whereas the seventh Mātṛkā Cāmuṇḍā, placed in the southern niche (see Ground Plan, Fig. 4), is met with first when the devotee circumambulates the temple. This apparent counter-circumambulatory position results because the Mātṛkās themselves are circumambulating the temple. So the first Mātṛkā Brahmāṇī has gone ahead in her movement in space, followed by the other six Mātṛkās and Gaṇeśa. The Mātṛkās are doing eternal circumambulation around the temple of Sthāṇu, a point of Stillness.

Icons, which are but *nāma-rūpa,* name and form of the Formless, are not placed beyond the *śukanāsa.* Beyond this point what we see is "the ascent and descent and renewed ascent"[40] of the graded mini-*śikharas,* 84 in number,[41] leaning against chest *(uraḥ)* of the principal *śikhara.* There are series of graded mini-spires, each with its subsidiary spires (Pl. 13). The ascent and descent of graded peaks on the *śikhara,* centering around its highest point, the finial, the Cosmic Axis, convey the perennial rhythm of Creation, Dissolution and again Creation.

To conclude: I have seen people blush at the name Khajuraho, and so I have attempted to clear the misunderstanding as much as I can and show how the Khajuraho artist is trying to express the essence of Indian philosophy in the grid and vocabulary of his time. It is the medieval language of expression related to the prescribed feudal modes of behaviour and thinking. But through this language of hierarchy and graded manifestations, the *sūtradhāra* is conveying the truths of cosmological insight which today also strike a note, and which modern physics would explain in terms of the Big Bang, Expansion and Collapse of the Universe. Researchers on Design and Architecture[42] have also seen the temple as a model of the cosmos, based on the principle of "holonomy", according to which "each fragment of the cosmos is a whole and complete in itself, and is like the large cosmos of which it is a part." The self-similar forms in different scales, as represented in the multitude of peaks of the main *śikhara,* and in repetitive motifs and design convey the order of the cosmos in the temple.

While giving an exposition of the temple as cosmos through the Vāstu texts, M. A. Dhaky writes with his penetrating insight : "The cosmos may be looked upon as a single phenomenon : in a physical sense, the universe; in a spiritual sense Supreme Being pervading in but also beyond matter, space and time. The enormity of the material Cosmos makes it inestimable; the profundity of the spiritual Cosmos makes it imponderable and hence incomprehensible. It must, then be reckoned through its parts, and, through

its aspects. The aspects are conceived to be conveyed through and represented by the emanations -- minor and major, primal and secondary, less potential and tremendously potent – known variously as *devas, divya-śaktis* and so on."[43] I have in this paper attempted to present the cosmic order through the doctrinal unfolding in the iconic scheme – the centre and its many differentiated manifestations.

The architects, *ācāryas* and patrons of Khajuraho are no more, but they have left a legacy of this visual language for us to read. Today also standing silently in the evening light near the grand Kandariyā Mahādeva we can feel the rhythm of the ascent and descent of its multiple mini-*śikharas* clinging to the main *śikhara*. And we walk around this Śiva's mountain in the direction led by the Mātṛkās and Gaṇeśa, circumambulating the temple and becoming a part of its *yantra*-like rhythm and coming nearer to its vibrations, to the cosmos that the temple symbolizes in its geometric order and images, *nāma-rūpa,* of the Formless, Timeless, Niṣkala that Śiva is.

Notes and References

1. My forthcoming book *The Religious Imagery of Khajuraho,* to be published by the Project for Indian Cultural Studies, Franco-Indian Research, Bombay.

2. Krishna Deva, *Temples of Khajuraho,* Vol. I, New Delhi, 1990.

3. *Ibid,* p. 33; P. O. Sompura and M. A. Dhaky, " Svargārohaṇa-prāsāda", *Svādhyāya* (Gujarati), Vol. 5, pp. 191-195.

4. Stella Kramrisch, *The Hindu Temple,* Vol. II, Calcutta, 1946, Reprint 1976, pp. 165, 300-303. Also see M. A. Dhaky, "Prāsāda as Cosmos", in *Brahmavidyā,* Adyar Library Bulletin, XXXV, 3-4, 1971.

5. V. S. Pathak, "Vaikuṇṭha at Khajuraho and Kāśmirāgama School" *Journal of Madhya Pradesh Itihas Parishad,* 2, 1960, pp. 9-18. Although in its earlier phase the Pāñcarātra faith was non-Vedic, in its historical development by 10th century it had admitted Vedic elements. This is evidenced also at Khajuraho in the inscription of the Lakṣmaṇa temple, *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. I, pp. 122-129, verse 49.

6. This is discussed in my paper "Man and the Temple - Architectural and Sculptural Imagery of the Kandariyā Mahādeva Temple of Khajuraho", presented at the Destiny of Man Seminar, convened by Thomas Maxwell for the Festival of India in Great Britain in 1982, later published in *Eastern Approaches,* ed. T. S. Maxwell, Oxford University Press, 1992. Meanwhile S. N. Chaturvedi presented a paper on Śaiva Siddhānta at the U. G. C. National Seminar held at Khajuraho in 1987, which further confirms my position.

7. King Dhaṅga's inscription of the Viśvanātha temple (A.D. 999), and Kokkala's inscription of the Vaidyanātha temple (A. D. 1001) mention donations to the *brāhmaṇas* learned in the Vedas and dwellings for them constructed near the temples. *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. I, Khajuraho Inscriptions No. IV, verses 52-54;

No. V, verses 16-18, p. 152.

8. J. N. Banerjea in *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 310; *Paurāṇic and Tāntric Religion*, p. 50.

9. Devangana Desai, "Puns and Intentional Langauage at Khajuraho" in *Kusumāñjali*, Shri C. Sivaramamurti Commemoration Volume II, 1987, pp. 383-387. Also in my paper "Placement and Significance of Erotic Sculptures at Khajuraho" in *Discourses on Śiva*, ed. Michael W. Meister, Philadelphia, 1984.

10. *Kathāsaritsāgara*, tr. *The Ocean of Story*, Vol.I, pp. 72-75; *Agni Purāṇa*, chs. 349 ff.

11. Discussed in my forthcoming book *The Religious Imagery of Khajuraho*. The panel depicts Viṣṇu Nārāyaṇa amidst the radiant Ekāntin devotees of the Śveta-dvīpa described in the Nārāyaṇīya section of the *Mahābhārata* (XII, 335, 336). These chapters dealing with the *Śveta-dvīpa Varṇanam* and *Pāñcarātra Māhātmya* are among the earliest documents of the Pañcarātrins. This sculptural panel substantiates the Pāñcarātra association of the Vaikuṇṭha (Lakṣmaṇa) temple.

12. The present three-faced Vaikuṇṭha image is stylistically of about A. D. 1100 and was installed in the temple around this time when the original previous image, possibly of metal, from Kashmir-Camba region and brought by Yaśovarman from his Pratīhāra overlord, was missing. See my paper "The Date of the Vaikuṇṭha Image of the Lakṣmaṇa Temple" presented in 1987 at the U. G. C. National Seminar, "The Art of Khajuraho", and published in the proceedings of the Seminar, Bhopal, 1994, and as Appendix B in my forthcoming book.

13. T. S. Maxwell, "The Viśvarūpa Sculpture from Bhusawar at Bharatpur", in *Eastern Approaches*, p. 158, notes this feature in the halo of the Vaikuṇṭha image of Bhusawar.

14. M. A. Dhaky, "Prāsāda as Cosmos" in *Brahmavidyā*, The Adyar Library Bulletin, Vol. XXXV, parts 3, 4, 1971.

15. Stella Kramrisch in her Foreword to T. S. Maxwell's *Viśvarūpa*, Oxford University Press, 1986, p. x, says while referring to the Viśvarūpa sculptures, "Such a multiple shape... presents the virtual correspondence to a theological thought structure created in the Pāñcarātra system to celebrate Viṣṇu as the universe."

16. T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, ii, pp. 361-396.

17. V. S. Pathak, "Śaivism in Early Medieval India as known from Archaeological Sources", *Bhāratī*, No. 3, 1959-60.

18. J. van Troy, "The Social Structure of the Śaiva-Siddhāntika Ascetics (700-1300 A. D.)", in *Indica*, Vol. II, 1974, p. 78.

19. T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *op. cit.*, II, ii, p. 371.

20. *Ibid.*, pp. 369-370.

21. Stella Kramrisch, "The Great Cave Temple of Śiva in Elephanta : Levels of Meaning and Their Form", in *Discourses on Śiva*, ed. M. W. Meister, Philadelphia, 1984.

22. Doris M. Srinivasan, *Artibus Asiae,* Vol. L-1/2, 1990.

23. *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. I, King Dhaṅga's inscription, verse 1, p. 140; Kokkala's inscription, verse 3, pp. 149 - 151.

24. However, on the western upper niche is placed Vīṇādhara Śiva, and not Viṣṇu.

25. Devangana Desai, *Erotic Sculpture of India, A Socio-Cultural Study,* New Delhi, second ed., 1985.

26. *Śilpa Prakāśa,* tr. and annotated by Alice Boner and Sadasiva Rath Sarma, E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1966.

27. *Kṣīrārṇava,* ed. P. O. Sompura, Palitana, 1967.

28. *Śilparatnakośa,* text ed. with Eng. tr. by Bettina Baumer and Rajendra Prasad Das, New Delhi, 1994.

29. *Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati,* ed. T. Ganapati Sastri, III, 13, quoting *Mañjarī* after verse 28.

30. *Ibid.*, verses 58-71. Also see Richard Davis, "Enlivening Images: The Śaiva Rite of Invocation", in *Shastric Traditions in Indian Arts,* ed. A. L. Dallapiccola and others, Stuttgart, 1989.

31. Devangana Desai, "The Location of Sculptures in the Architectural Scheme of the Kandariyā Mahādeva Temple of Khajuraho : Śāstra and Practice", in *Shastric Traditions in Indian Arts,* referred to above.

32. Krishna Deva, *Temples of Khajuraho,* Vol.I, p. 159.

33. T. A. Gopinatha Rao, II, ii, pp. 392 ff.

34. *Ibid.*

35. S. N. Dasgupta, *A History of Indian Philosophy,* 1922; Reprint 1975, Vol. V, p. 164.

36. Michael W. Meister, "Juncture and Conjunction: Punning and Temple Architecture", *Artibus Asiae,* Vol. XLI, 1979, pp. 226-228.

37. *Sandhyā bhāṣā* has been used by Tantras at least from the 5th century A.D. onwards to conceal their esoteric doctrines. See S. B. Dasgupta, *Obscure Religious Cults,* revised 1976, pp. 413-424, Mircea Eliade, *Yoga, Immortality and Freedom,* New York, 1958, pp. 249-254.

38. Devangana Desai, "Placement and Significance of Erotic Sculptures at Khajuraho" in *Discourses on Śiva,* Philadelphia, 1984.

39. In the code language, *sandhyā bhāṣā* of the Tāntrikas, the Sun and Moon refer to Piṅgalā and Iḍā, the two subtle veins. To transcend "day and night" means to transcend the opposites. As Mircea Eliade says, *Yoga..* p. 271, "The union of the "Sun" and "Moon" is brought about by the unification of breaths and vital energies circulating in the *iḍā* and *piṅgalā;* it takes place in the *suṣumṇā.*" The *yogī* by arresting his breathing and unifying it in the *suṣumṇā* passes into nonconditioned timeless state.

40. Stella Kramrisch, *The Hindu Temple*, pp. 365-367, 371-372.

41. Krishna Deva, *Khajuraho*, 6th ed. New Delhi, 1980, p. 31.

42. Kirti Trivedi, "Models of Cosmos", *Taj Magazine*, July 1990; Adam Hardy, "Architectural History and Ways of Seeing" in *Architecture Design*, July-Aug. 1993.

43. M. A. Dhaky, "Prāsāda as Cosmos", *Brahmavidyā*, The Adyar Library Bulletin, Vol. XXXV, parts 3-4, Dec. 1971, pp. 211-226.

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PERSIAN IMPACT ON INDIAN LIFE

N. S. GOREKAR

India, the centre of oriental learning and culture, had commercial intercourse also with Afghānistan, Iran, and Central Asia from very ancient times. It is still very difficult to determine the exact date when, and the manner in which *Persian* as a language in Iran, or *Dari* as a tongue in Afghānistan, or *Tajeki* as a dialect in Tajikistan, entered India. However, the regular influx of fresh bands of Iranians, Afghāns and Turks into India and their day-to-day association with the people of India, resulted in mutual acquisition of each other's languages. In spite of the fact that the Persian language was not the native language of either the Turks or the Mughals who held sway over India, yet it had become so popular with Timurid princes during their stay in Central Asia that they used it in preference to their mother tongue. The royal impetus, in fact, was responsible for instilling in the people of India a love for Persian even before the Mughals. The lineal descendents of Tīmūr played a vital role in the popularisation of this language in India. Owing to his leanings towards Persian, Humāyūn neglected the use of Turkish and encouraged the use of the Persian language at the court, making it the chief medium of expression and communication. The study of Persian, which was not so very popular and so very current amongst the people of India from the time of conquest of India by Sulṭan Mehmūd of Ghazni to the reign of Emperor Akbar, received a fillip in A. D. 1582 with the enactment that all government records should henceforth be kept in Hindi as well as in Persian, which enforced the study of the Persian language on the Indian people. Persian maintained its status during the regimes of Emperor Shāh Jehān and Aurangzīb ʿĀlamgīr until 1800 when Persianisation was almost complete.

Persian which has been rightly called the *French of India* was the chosen language of the courts, governments, and general administration, and also the vehicle of exchange on the cultural plane between these two great countries during Muslim rule in India, and hence the Indo-Muslim *farmāns, sanads,* chronicles, grants, documents, inscriptions and epigraphic or numismatic records are in the Persian language. Though Persian was considered to be the language of the nobility, yet is was adopted by the people in general for their day-to-day affairs : firstly, on account of the basic structure which continued to remain Aryan through the ages; and secondly, on account of its close affinity to Sanskrit.

Towards the first half of the eleventh century when Abū Raiḥān Muḥammad Aḥmad al-Bīrūnī, who accompanied the retinue of Sulṭān Meḥmūd, was busy studying Sanskrit and collecting materials for his remarkable work entitled *Kitābu'l-Hind,* social intercourse between the Hindus and Muslims became so close and so compact that the racial barriers between these two peoples had almost broken down, and as a consequence, Islamic civilisation and culture was fast making itself felt in India.

The Indian mind, though deeply absorbed in its philosophical lore, had been largely influenced by the languages, cultures and philosophies of the Greeks, Scythians, Arabs, Turks, Pathans and Mughals on its coming into contact with them. The importance of this external influence is witnessed, among other things, in the mastery of the language of the newcomers by Indians. Persian was one such language with which the Indians cultivated an intimate association and acquitted themselves most successfully in the skilful acquisition of the language. And consequently, they left their mark on its literary history, particularly, in the branches of poetry, lexicography, epistolography, historiography, memoirs, journalism and Indology, the last mostly in the form of translations.

In view of the political and social considerations in favour of the intensive study of the Persian language, the Indians threw themselves heart and soul into this task; and according to Abu'l-Qāsim Hindūshāh Firishteh, author of the *Tā'rīkh-i-Firishteh,* the natives were much interested in the language of the rulers of the Lodī dynasty. And with the advent of the Mughal Emperors, Bābur and Humāyūn, Persian became current and popular. Compared with the Pathan rulers, the Mughals were less exclusive in their broad outlook and social intercourse, and obviously,the Hindus found themselves drawn nearer to the Muslims in almost all walks of life. This happy fusion of the Hindus and Muslims produced still better results in the spread of the Persian language and it must be noted that Persian was studied particularly by Hindus and Muslims, without the aid of any grammar, for there had not yet been evolved any grammatical system by the time of Amīr Khusrau of Delhi, the harbinger of the synthesis of Hindu-Muslim culture.

Persian became more Indianised when the Hindus took to the study of the language during the reign of Sulṭān Sikander Lodī (1485-1510) and during the Mughal regime in India, thus enriched the language with Indian vocabulary, the homely metaphors and imageries drawn from the Hindu-Muslim beliefs.

The contacts which were initiated in Sāssanian times were renewed by the Ghaznavids and continued in various forms down to the eighteenth century. The Ghaznavids, the Ghorids, the Khaljīs, the Tughlaqs and the Mughals in the north, and the Bahminīs, particularly the 'Ādilshāhīs and the Quṭbshāhīs in the south, were either of Turkish or of Mongol origin, but before they

arrived in India they had already absorbed the all-pervading influence of Iranian culture and language as they moved down into this country through Iranian territory. Many of them, if not all, had adopted the language, customs, conventions and mannerisms of the Iranians, and had modelled their court ceremonials and administration of justice on the Iranian style. In other words, these adventurers were racially Turkish or Mongol, but culturally they were Iranian. Their successors did not know the language of their ancestors, while the immigrants from Iran who were either Turks or Afghāns, coming from the north or through the western coasts, used Persian as their *lingua franca*. And hence with the foundation of the first Muslim Sulṭanate by the Ghorid General, Quṭbu'd-Dīn Aibak (1206 to 1210), Persian became the sovereign language of India as a common medium of expression between various communities of this country. Mughal rulers like Emperor Bābur were thoroughly imbued with all the graces of Iranian culture. The mother of Akbar the Great was Persian as also the able wife of Emperor Jehāngīr. The Mughals particularly brought the administrators, jurists, artists, architects and litterateurs from Iran along with them, and thereby established an unbreakable link between the cultures of these two great countries. Obviously, the Muslims came to India with the intention of conquering and settling down in India; the Persian language also established its importance as one of the major languages of India. The true Iranian or rather Persian *renaissance* in India comes along with Emperor Bābur who with his innate sense of culture and refinement, taste and art, was its early representative. Emperor Humāyūn imprinted the stamp of Iranian culture on this country which was to endure for generations. The influence of Iranian culture promoted by the monarchs of India and Iran, found favour with peoples of these great countries. Almost all the Mughal rulers of India achieved eminence and earned admiration in the domain of culture. The mental make-up of all the Mughal rulers, indeed, had a marked bias towards the appreciation of Indian culture. Again, the Mughals came to India with the etiquette and culture of Iran, and as such, their cultural environment forms a landmark in the history of Indo-Iranian relations.

The Persian language during the Muslim ascendancy in India, spread all over the country. Not only in the Mughal territory but also in the virtually independent states of the Deccan, Bengal and Oudh, Persian was used in the Government offices in which a large number of employees were the natives of India and all of them had a command of the language. Even in the Maratha State in the times of Chhatrapati Shivaji, which had modelled its whole administration after the Mughal example and in the Sikh State in the days of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, Persian was continued along with the other regional languages.

It is admitted that during the Muslim rule, India made two important contributions to the growth and development of civilisation and culture, namely,

the Indo-Iranian art and Indo-Persian literature. The Muslim rulers with a very few exceptions were the lovers of beauty, both in marble and in verse. They built beautiful structures to offer their prayers, exquisite palaces to live in, and glorious tombs to deposit their mortal remains. They wanted the best writers and poets of the age to sing their victories in love and in war, and loved to hear sweet Persian lyrics, particularly during the intervals between their strenuous work and happy moments. Indeed, it is a splendid heritage of art and literature which they have left, and a large number of Persian poets and writers who lived in India during the Muslim rule produced works of real beauty and left a deep impress upon literature in its Indian environment. The Persian literature of India is not merely an offshoot of Iranian genius thrust by the caprice of historical evolution into an alien land but an original product with an individuality of its own, and consequently evolved against the background of the land of its birth and with the history of the age. It is, therefore, of great interest for supplementing the historical data necessary to reconstruct the history of the medieval period. Or, obviously, it is interesting as a branch of our cultural heritage, and important as a source of information for understanding the political history of medieval India in its true colours.

It was during the regimes of the Muslim monarchs of India that a learned section of the calibre of Abū Raiḥān al-Bīrūnī, an outstanding scholar of Indian culture, and Amīr Khusrau Dehlavī, an all-round genius of the age, took to Indian learning and science, and transferred Indian lore into Persian in particular,in order to understand Indian Philosophy and culture. The enlightened rulers like Sulṭān Zainu'l-Ābedīn of Kashmir and Sulṭān Ḥussain Shāh of Bengal on the one hand, and Emperor Akbar and Prince Muḥammad Dārā Shikūh on the other, were prompted to render Indian learning into Persian, which gradually brought about a rapprochement between Indian and Iranian cultures and resulted into a grand synthesis in the realms of art and literature.

With the conquest of the Punjab in 1021 by Sulṭān Meḥmūd, Lahore came to be known as an important centre, politically as well as socially, on par with Ghazni. In a short time, Lahore, which rivalled Ghazni as a centre of literary activity, laid the foundation of Indo-Iranian culture, resulting in Indo-Persian literature. Since society and culture evolved round the brilliance of the court at Lahore as a centre of political authority, it necessarily attracted both the ambitious nobles and the rising poets and writers. And, as a consequence, there was a free, profuse and constant intercourse betweeen Iran, Afghānistan, Transoxania and Khurāsān on the one hand, and the Punjab in India on the other, which brought in their train a wholesome and stimulating atmosphere and condition. According to Muḥammad 'Aufī, author of the *Lubābu'l-Albāb,* "Lahore, which vibrated with a wave of Iranian culture and

learning, was the proudest of all districts in its unlimited learning and scholarship."

The early Indo-Iranian poets have played a considerable part in the evolution of Persian literature in India and have left behind an indivisible common heritage. The language of the immigrant poets was Persian and as such they formed a small colony of an aristocracy in the Punjab, speaking the language, uncontaminated by Indian idiom. This cultural tradition remained patent till the time of Amīr Khusrau, and was known for the purity of diction of the early poets as against the ornate and Indianized Persian of later poets. The early poets in India cultivated Persian poetry with catholic taste and retained the integrity of Persian idiom and flavour in all their poetical compositions. They wrote chaste Persian, unfamiliar with unwanted exaggerations, recondite words, vain epithets, far-fetched comparison and figurative language of the subsequent writers. They have displayed their power, fertility, resources and artistic instincts in their verses in the Persian language.

It is universally acknowleged that the contribution of India, on the whole, to the development of Persian poetry is vital and distinctive, though with the death of Dr. Muḥammad Iqbāl, it almost ceases to exist. The Persian poets, who were either of Indian origin or those who had to migrate to India due to want of partonage, have sought inspiration from or copied the Persian models, and thus have generously contributed to Persian poetry which can easily be compared with any rich period of the literary history of Persia, both as regards quality and quantity. It must be recalled here that the poetical works of the Indian-born poets like Khusrau, Ḥasan, Faiḍī, Brahman, Bīdil, Ghālib and of Iqbāl, and of those migrating from Persia like Naẓīrī, 'Urfī, Ẓuhūrī, Ghazālī, Ṭālib, Ṣa'ib and Kalīm who perfected their art in the poetical climate of Indian courts, were recognized as accomplished compositions all over Persia and Central Asia. It was the mission of the Persian poets, who were endowed with the gifts of composing extempore or of poetizing factual incidents, to entertain their royal masters and their entourage with their delightful verses, repartees and enigmas. Indeed, Persian poetry produced in India is a truer index of the social and cultural contact between the Hindus and Muslims than other chronicles and records, and it gives us a clearer picture of that cultural linkage.

In India the first rendering of Sanskrit verses into Persian was made during the time of Sulṭān Meḥmūd in whose praise Nandā, the Rājā of Kalinjar, had composed a few verses in 1023. According to the *Tārīkh-i-Firishteh,* the Rājā who had confined himself in a fort, for fear of Sulṭān Meḥmūd, surrendered and made a present of the Sanskrit verses in the original and in the Persian language to the Sulṭān who, in appreciation of this gesture, rewarded the Rājā with several forts.

The Hindu bard, Kedār Rājā, is said to have attended the court of Sulṭān 'Allāu'd-Dīn in the twelfth century, while in the thirteenth century Sulṭan Jalālu'd-Dīn Khaljī was probably the first Muslim monarch of Delhi who showed some intellectual interest and inquired into the Indian learning and Sanskrit scholarship, Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq's intellectual curiosity is a landmark in Indian learning. Diyā'u'-Nakhshabī's adaptation of fifty-two short stories from a Sanskrit work, *Śuka-Saptaśatī,* into Persian in 1320 under the title of *Ṭuṭī-Nāmeh* is by far the most outstanding achievement of the Sulṭān's reign in this field.

During the reign of Sulṭān Fīrūz Shāh Tughlaq, the official patronage of Sanskrit learning continued despite his unbiased theocratic policies, and as such he commissioned translations particularly of medical works into Persian from Sanskrit, when he found thirteen hundred rare Sanskrit works in a temple at Jwalamukhi after the sack of the Nagarkut in the Kangra valley in 1362. As a matter of fact the pundits of the temple were consulted and, in co-operation with Persian scholars, the rare manuscripts of a number of works on astronomy were rendered into Persian. The most significant of them was the translation into Persian of an Indian work by a court-poet, 'Izzu'd-Dīn Khālid Khānī under the title of *Dalāl 'il-i-Fīrūzshāhī.* Besides, Sanskrit works on astronomy, astrology, physics and music were also rendered into the Persian language.

It was in the reign of Sulṭān Sikandar Lūdī, an intellectually alert monarch, who by throwing Persian studies open to the natives, set in motion the process of their integration into the higher administration of the Sulṭanate, that in 1512 a work on Indian medicine, *Agadā-Mahāvaidyaka,* was translated into Persian under the supervision of Mīyān Bhūā Khawās Khān, his Prime Minister, and was termed *Ṭibb-i-Sikandarī.* It is also said that this work which contains a detailed account of therapeutics, the structure of the human body, and the diagnosis and treatment of diseases, and serves as a major authority on Indian medicine, is not a translation but rather that it is based on the works of Caraka, Suśruta, Karaṇa, Bhoja, Cintāmaṇi, Cakravāka, Kirāta and many others. The great epic, *Mahābhārata,* was translated into Persian in order to understand the religion and culture of ancient India. The Muslim kingdoms of Kashmir and also of the Deccan showed a fine spirit of toleration and displayed an active patronage to Indian learning and culture. At the instance of Sulṭān Meḥmūd Begara, a work on the cure of horses was rendered into Persian under the name of *Khail-Nāmeh* by Zainu'l-'Ābedīn Karabalā'ī *alias Hāshimī.* As a matter of fact genuine Muslim efforts towards an understanding of Indian learning, and patronage of and participation in Sanskritic lore, begins with Sulṭān Zainu'l-'Ābedīn of Kashmir, the patron of Jonarājā, who continued the compiling and editing of the great Sanskrit historical work, *Rājataraṅgiṇī,* along with a number of Hindu scholars, including the physician, Shri Bhatia.

With the accession of Emperor Akbar to the throne in 1556, a hitherto unprecedented patronage was extended to Indian lore and to the translation of important Sanskrit works, particularly on Indian philosophy and various sciences. The learned scholars who were engaged in translating the Indian learning into Persian were among others 'Allāma 'Abu'l-Faḍl, 'Abdu'l-Qādir Badāyūnī, Naqīb Khān, Shaikh Sulṭān Thānisarī, and Mullā Shīrī who were all assisted in their work of translation by an equally large number of Sanskrit pundits, well-versed in Indian philosophy and sciences. These translators along with Devī Brahmīn, the renowned scholar and philosopher, and other learned pundits, were housed in the library of the Audience Hall at Fatehpur Sikri.

The translation of the *Atharva Veda* was first undertaken by 'Abdu'l-Qādir Badāyūnī with the help of Shaikh Bhuwan Khān, a Brahmin convert, and later on by Ḥājī Ibrāhīm Sarhindī, and was termed *Athar-Bān.* The first translation of the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki into Persian was begun by 'Abdu'l-Qādir Badāyūnī at the instance of Emperor Akbar in 1584 and was completed in 1589.

Again, the *Mahābhārata* was translated by 'Abdu'l-Qādir Badāyūni, Naqīb Khan, Shaikh Sulṭān Thānesarī and Mullā Shīrī under the supervision of Abu'l-Faḍl, who wrote the prolegomena to the entire work in 1582-1587 and gave it the title of *Razm-Nāmeh.* Abul-Faiḍ Faiḍī, two years later, improved upon the the prose translation of the *Mahābhārata* which is ornamental and embellished or rather highly poetic prose. The metrical translation of the *Bhagavad Gītā* was termed *Gītā,* and the *Gītā-Sanbo-danī* is a Persian version of the Sanskrit commentary entitled *Subodhinī,* while 'Ābdu'l-Reḥmān Chrishtī's *Mir'atu'l-Ḥaqā'iq* is an exposition of the philosophical teachings of the *Gītā* in Islamic terminology. Bhāskarācārya who lived in Ujjain in the twelfth century, the last of the great mathematicians of ancient India, wrote his *Lilāvatī,* a work on arithmetic and geometry. In about 1586-87 this work was rendered into Persian at the instance of Akbar the Great, under the title of *Badā'i'u'l-Funūn.* And Somadeva's *Kathāsarit-Sāgara,* a collection of stories,was translated into Persian by Faiḍī. The story of Rājā Nala of the Niṣadha territory and Princess Damayantī of Vidarbha, an anecdote from the *Mahābhārata,* known as *Nalopākhyāna,* was rendered into Persian by Faiḍī and was named *Nal-Daman,* in 1594. Regarding the *Nal-Daman,* 'Abdu'l-Qādir Badāyūnī writes in his *Muntakhabātu'l-Tawārīkh* that "it is such a *Mathnavī* that the like of it no poet could have composed for the last 300 years since Amīr Khusrau."

Essentially the programme of translations from Sanskrit into Persian under Akbar the Great was not an isolated or specific development. It was a part of the intensive project for the improvement of his mind which also included the translations from Arabic, Turkish, and Kashmiri in particular. Among the Hindu scholars employed to help Muslim scholars, or rather translators were Kishan Joshi, Gangadhar, Mahesh Mahanand, Devi Misra, Satavadhava,

Mahusudana Misra, Caturbhuja and Bhawan. This joint enterprise put into Persian the Sanskritic lore, besides several other religious and metaphysical works.

It was during the regime of Emperor Shāh-jehān that Prince Muḥammad Dārā Shikūh, who was passionately fond of Indian Philosophy and religion, made invaluable additions to Indian thought. His translations include the *Upaniṣads* under the title of *Sirr-i-Akbar*. His important work is the *Majma'u'l-Baḥrain*, a comparative study of Hinduism and Islam. It may be recalled here that the Sanskrit work, *Samudrasaṅgama*, written in 1708, is supposed to be the translation of the *Majm'u'l-Baḥrain*.

The Puranic literature was also translated into Persian and among others it included the *Śiva Purāṇa*, the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* and the *Skanda Purāṇa* at the instance of Emperor Akbar in 1602-03 which are the other Persian versions of the same.

It may be added that though the Muslim contribution to the transfer of Sanskrit lore into Persian is undoubtedly great, yet the Hindu scholars undertook the task of acquainting their Muslim brethren with the treasures of their knowledge by bringing out a mass of literature in the Persian language through their own efforts, of which *Brahma-Sūtra*, *Prabodha Candroday'a*, *Ātma-Vilāsa*, and *Zīch-i-Ulūgh Baig* are remarkable.

Besides, al-Bīrūnī is right when he complains of the Hindu indifference to historical science, as it does not appear to appeal to Hindu imagination. In spite of the lack of interest in historiography, the Hindus along with Muslims have been able to produce a large number of remarkable and useful works in Persian during the Mughal regime in India.

Abu'l-Qāsim Firishteh's monumental work, *Gulshan-i-Ibrāhīmī* better known as *Tārīkh-i-Firishteh*, compiled in 1611, is regarded as the most compendious of chronicles that medieval India has produced, Abu'l Faḍl's detailed history of Akbar the Great, *Akbar-Nāmeh* and the encyclopaedia treasure of statistics about Akbar's empire, *A'īn-i-Akbarī* are considered to be the outstanding works. 'Abdu'l-Qādir Badāyūnī's remarkable work, *Muntakhabātu't-Tawārīkh*, is said to be the first critical work of Akbar's policy, while Khāfī Khān's *Muntakhabu'l-Lubāb* is a record of events of the Mughal empire, particularly of the reign of Aurangzīb. Of the Hindu distinguished historians, Candra Bhāna Brahmaṇa's *Chahār Chaman*, Rai Brindaban's *Lubbu't-Tawārīkh*, Ishwardasa Nagar's *Futūḥāt-i-'Ālamgīrī* and Bhimsen's *Nuskha-i-Dilkushā* are some of the important books on history which merit to be appreciated both in quality and quantity.

During the medieval period of Indian history, the Indians devoted themselves to the compilation of Persian lexicons, and in a short time, the dictionaries

compiled in India exceeded those produced in Iran. No Persian writing except the works of Khusrau and Faiḍī commands respect in Iran, but the value of Persian lexicons compiled in India has been acknowledged. The critical dictionaries were compiled by Indians, during the last days of the Mughal power in India when the controversy over the superiority of Iranian to Indian scholars in Persian learning and literature heightened its tone. Undoubtedly, the lexicons compiled by Indians reveal their critical acumen, scholarly research, vast learning and depth of knowledge.

The *Burhān-i-Qāṭaʿ* bu Muḥammad Ḥusain Tabrīzī, a controversial dictionary, written in 1651 during the regime of 'Abdu'llāh Quṭb Shāh and the *Khirqtu'l-'Ulūm,* an encyclopaedic work, by Abū'Imād, and *Farhang-i-Anandrāj,* a voluminous dictionary, compiled by Muḥammad Bādshāh, chief scribe of the Mahārāj and Anārāj of Vijayanagara, are some of the important lexicographical works in Persian by the Muslims.

The *Baḥar-i-'Ajam* is one of the most learned lexicons ever compiled by a single individual. Tek Chand 'Bahar' brought out several editions of this monumental work between 1739 and 1786, each of which was an enlargement of or rather an improvement upon the earlier one. His approach to lexicography is scientific. Indeed, the *Baḥar-i-'Ajam* is known throughout the world and both the eastern and the western critics Persian have praised it as the best lexicon produced in India.

The *Muṣṭalḥāt'ush-Shu'arā* is another lexicograhical work by Siyāikūtī Mal 'Wārasteh', completed in 1782 after over fifteen years' labour. Wārasteh's criticism is refreshing. Though the work is a small compilation with no copious quotations, yet it has the merit of being an entirely original work based on the results of research.

From the time of the Ghaznavīds in the eleventh century to the downfall of the Mughal empire in the eighteenth century, various works on *inshā* or epistles were composed by Hindus as well as Muslims. The literature in Persian on *inshā* is varied, wide and rich. The epistolary art as a literary form was developed during the Mughals' regime and attained wide popularity during the reigns of Jehāngīr and Shāh Jehān. The Hindus took zealously to this art and to the vocation of *munshīgīrī,* and their zeal and enthusiasm made it their own preserve.

With the exception of Shaikh Abu'l-Faḍl, author of the *Inshā-i-Abu'l-Faḍl,* and Aurangzīb 'Ālamgīr, author of the Rug'āt-Ālamgīr, who are regarded as the finest exponents of Persian epistles, no other artist in this branch of literature could be compared to Har Kiran, Candra Bhan, Madhu Ram, Nitral Chand and Odhe Raj. Candra Bhan was an adept in the style of Abu'l-Faḍl which was florid, verbose and metaphorical. They enriched the language with their own modes of thought, homely idioms and imageries, and Indian diction

and vocabulary.

To be brief, Candra Bhan of Shāh Jehān's reign, Odhe Raj of Ālamgīr's rule and Pandit Madhu Ram of Dārā Shikūh's times are the outstanding epistolographers, while the *Haft-Anjuman* by Odhe Raj, the *Ṭarzu'l-Inshā* by Indrajit Mehkar, the *Guldastah-i-Faiḍ* by Tohri Mal 'Tamkīn, the *Gulshan-i-Ajā'ib* by Jaswantrai Singh and the *Gharību'l-Inshā* by Kishanchand are notable works on *inshā*.

Along with Muslims there have been Hindus also whose labours have produced great memoirs in Persian during the Mughal rule in India, which like the lexicon was the main feature of the age. These memoirs serve as a great source of information about the medieval history of India.

The *Salīnah-i-Khu'shgu* by Brindabandasa Khu'shgu, the *Gul-i-Ra'na* by Lakshmi Narayana Shafīq, the *Anisu'l-Ahibba* by Mohan Lal Anis, and the *Hamisheh-Bahar* by Kishandasa Achaldasa Ikhlas are the notable memoirs of Hindu scholars who flourished during the Mughal regime in India.

The *Gul-i-Ra'na* written by Lakshmi Narayana Shafīq in 1187 of the Hijra era is divided into two sections – the first section deals with the Muslim poets writing in Persian, and the second treats of the Hindu poets in alphabetical order. The *Salīnah-i-Khu'shgu* is the work of Brindabandasa Khu'shgu, which stands as one of the very important memoirs. It gives an account of the majority of Persian poets. The *Hamisheh-Bahar* written in the year 1136 Hijra era by Kishandasa Achaldasa Ikhlas deals with the biographical accounts of the Persian poets who flourished from the times of Emperor Jehangīr to the reign of Muḥammad Shah. The *Salīnah-i-Ishrat* from the pen of Durgadasa 'shrat, composed in 1175, gives an account of the ancient and the modern poets in alphabetical order. The *Anisu'l-Ahibba* by Mohan Lal Anis, which was written in 1197, is a biographical memoir of Muḥammad Fakhir Makin, and his Hindu disciples who had cultivated the poetic art in the Persian language. The *Iyar'ush-Shu'ara* by Khubi Chand Zaka, composed in the year 1247, gives, in the most haphazard manner, the accounts of about fifteen hundred poets, and the *Anisu'l-'Ashiqin* which was written in the year 1245 by Ratan Singh Zakhmi, is also one of the biographical memoirs, written in alphabetical order.

The memoirs of Urdu poets written in Persian by Muslims as well as Hindus are great literary and critical contributions to Urdu literature and also give an account of the development of a new language, Urdu which is a common and sacred heritage, born of the joint efforts of all communities in India, particularly of the Hindus and the Muslims.

In India Persian was the language of the polished society, of diplomatic correspondence, of the law-courts and of the official reports, and was used

by Indian officials till about A. D. 1830. A large body of readers, able to read Persian and willing to pay, was assured to Persian newspapers, published in India.

The *Jam-i-Jahan-numa* was a weekly, edited by Lala Sada Sukh Ra'i of Calcutta which was started in A. D. 1822 while the *Mir'atu'l-Akhbār* was edited by Ram Mohan Roy and ushered into existence about the same year. The *Shamsu'l-Akhbār* was published periodically in Persian under the editorship of Mani Ram Thakur.

Persian was one of the vehicles employed by the mystics and Sufis in India whose contribution to the language cannot be minimised. The early part of the Middle Ages was a period of the promulgation of the Sufi doctrine in India. Shaikh Mu'inu'd-Din Chistī (A. D. 1142-1235) and many other saints and mystics who enriched Persian literature by their *malfuzat* or records of conversation as well as by their permanent works. Besides, the translators of the *Qur'ān* the *Ḥadīth*, the *Fiqh* of the Muslims, the *Bible* of the Christians, the *Grantha Sāheb* of the Sikhs, the *Gāthās* of the Parsis, the Vedic and Puranic literature of the Hindus in particular were rendered into Persian.

The contribution to almost all the branches of Persian literature in India by the Hindus and Muslims in particular, indicate the impact of the language on the Indian mind and imagination, and confirms the fact that India was the second home of the Persian language during the medieval period of Indian history.

It may be recalled that Ali Asghar Hekmat's interest in India is directly responsible for his works on Indian history and culture. The Iranian savant has also translated *Śākuntala*, the famous romance of Kālidāsa into Persian prose and poetry. Naini's publication of Upaniṣads has opened a new and fresh chapter on Indo-Iranian cultural relations. Tafaddoli's translations of the works of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Barzin's of the autobiography of Mahatma Gandhi, and Tikko's of the works of Rabindranath Tagore have acquainted Iranians with the cultural heritage of India and with trends of the modern thought in India, and serve as a guide to the Iranians to the common source of the cultural heritage. It must be admitted that it was through the efforts and interest of the Muslims and Hindus in particular, and other Indian communities in general that India directly profitted by the learning and culture of Iran in various directions. The Persian language in medieval India continued to prosper and there were instances of cultural contacts between Iran and India effected either by poets, scholars, historians and enlightened monarchs who brought about the emotional integration of the country.

Even to this day, besides the study of Persian along with Sanskrit in the schools, colleges and universities, the enchanting poetry of Khaiyyam, the objective attitude of al-Bīrūnī, the delineating brush of Behzad, the graceful

curves of *nasta'līq*, the bewitching patterns of carpets, the artistic hand of the craftsmen and the aesthetic pen of the creative writers in Persian are known to be a part of the cultural heritage of India as much as they are Persian. It is rightly stated that the silver links with which India and Persia were attached to each other are visible in the common endeavour of developing a human culture, the joint enterprise of evolving a better and nobler life, of working and fashioning patterns of peaceful, non-exploitative, graceful living together, nationally and internationally.

PARSEES IN SURAT FROM THE 16TH TO MIDDLE 19TH CENTURY: THEIR SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL DYNAMICS

MANI KAMERKAR

The Parsees, descendents of early Iranian Zoroastrian immigrants into India settled along the coast of Gujarat from the 8th century onwards.[1] From their original settlements in Sanjan on the coast south of Surat, groups of them moved north towards other villages and towns in Gujarat, the most important being Khambat (Cambay), Bharuch, Variav and Surat and south towards Thana (northern Konkan). The first batch of Parsees came towards the mouth of the Tapi river about the end of the 14th century, when Surat was just emerging as a town. Before this, reports of European visitors to Surat do not mention Parsees and neither do any other records. Rander on the opposite side was an important centre at that time. By 1515 however quite a strong settlement of Parsees is to be found in Surat.

Surat was established in the 13th century, though exact dates are not known. The first inhabitants were Kolis and farmers, and it was still a cluster of villages. By the time Parsees came, it had emerged into a town with a small fort on the river Tapi. The Portuguese came to Surat in 1512 first to plunder and burn. Surat by now had come to be known for its cosmopolitan trade, and ships from here were going to all places in West Asia and also to the East, and trade increased rapidly. The Portuguese attacked Surat twice again in 1514 and 1530. Mahmud Begada II of Ahmedabad, under whose authority Surat fell, then further strengthened the Fort in 1543, and put a stop to their depredations.[2]

The Parsees by now had become well settled in Surat and by their economic enterprise and political acumen were building a position for themselves, both elements bolstering each other. The Parsees in Surat, as elsewhere in Gujarat, had rapidly increased in numbers through early conversions, the constant emigrations from Iran across the sea, as well as from across Afghanistan through the old / trade conquest route, and from the north Indian settlements, which they left with the onslaught of the Muslims.[3] Many travellers and local chroniclers of the 16th and 17th centuries have expressed surprise at the rapid growth of numbers, influence and prestige of such a small minority of the population all over Gujarat, and particularly in Surat.[4]

By the middle of the 17th century their number was nearly 10,000 in Surat out of a total population of approximately one lakh. This small band,

as was their wont since their arrival in India, came very close to the other communities of Surat. They dressed like Hindus, spoke the Gujarati language, as according to tradition, they had promised the local ruler of Sanjan to do on their first arrival from Iran.[5] Foreign travellers could not distinguish them from others, except on closer scrutiny of their features. They were on amiable terms with their Muslim brethren also, and it is said that they were well liked by them.[6] Their social customs were not much different from those of the Gujarati Hindus, particularly regarding celebrations at the time of marriages, child-bearing, childbirth, and even some aspects of the death ceremonies. Their closeness with the Hindus can be gauged by the very Hinduized names they adopted during their early stay, such as Pujiaji (Pujia : revered), Bhikaji, Gandhi, Modi, Rattan, Nagan, Ram, Chaya and innumerable such common names between the two communities.[7] The men even kept a little top knot (Choti) like the Hindus. Unfortunately the closeness also introduced retrograde practices such as polygamy, child marriages and seclusion of women. The Parsees therefore lived peacefully, mostly unmolested and unmolesting, developing their own internal strengths, maintaining their exclusiveness through endogamy and seclusion of their religious practices. After the initial conversions which must have taken place at the early stages of their entry into Western India, they became a 'closed' society from the religious point of view. Thus they achieved, even upto today, a happy blend of being accepted, accepting and still having a distinct identity of their own. In the eyes of their fellow countrymen they formed and were accepted as another caste group and they were allowed to freely practise their exclusive lives.

Surat Parsees like those elsewhere, had begun to find large areas of Zoroastrian doctrines of the Zend Avesta and the texts missing and were at a loss as to certain tenets. Under the leadership of Changa Asa of Navsari, they joined in the arrangements to send a learned man, Hoshang Bharucha, in 1478 to Iran with a detailed questionnaire to be answered by the Zoroastrain priests in Kerman, which seems to have been the main Zoroastrain centre in Iran.[8] In the process of settlement in Surat, the Parsees took up various occupations, but chief amongst them, upto the 18th century were, apart from agriculture, weaving, carpentry and ship-building. They also entered vigourously into trade and commerce, especially as brokers, and into the liquor trade. Their diligence and capacity for hard work was recognised by the writers of the period. Mandelslo, in 1638, has called them the 'busiest people in the world.'[9] Ovington has described them as hardworking and diligent.[10] By the 17th century they had become the 'chief men of the loom' in Surat and had started weaving special types of silk like Khinkaab, garo and tanchoi which were snatched up by the Arabs and was perhaps the major cause for the European entry into Surat[11]. Thus, by the middle of the 17th century the Parsees had built themselves into a prosperous community. The wealthy

amongst the Parsees gave succour to their own poor, and it was noticed that they left no man destitute, and 'did not suffer a beggar in all of their tribe.'[12] They had developed enough clout to exert economic and political influence on the Muslim administration of Surat, which was at this time being controlled by the Begadas from Ahmedabad, through their governors and Fort Commanders.

The Sultans seem to have been practical, if not liberal in recognising the use of other communities. The wealth of the Hindus and Parsees proved useful for political reasons, and in the 16th century, as Surat grew in strength as an 'international port', the Sultans had found it expendient to appoint one Malik Gopi as Governor of Surat. Surat was recognised after 1530 as the third best town in Gujarat (after Ahmedabad and Khambat)[13] and European traders began to converge on it. It had become a great emporium of trade, where, besides cloth, all important commodities from Europe and China were bought and sold.[14]

The Europeans in search of direct contact with producers and intermediaries with the authorities, found the Parsees excellent brokers and also 'politically' useful. By now, Parsees along with the Banias of Surat had established themselves as economic assets to the State and were therefore gaining considerable weight with the authorities. It is said that at that time the Parsee community had amongst themselves 20-30 lakhs of Rupees and acted as money-lenders to the Nawabs and the Europeans. They lent, according to early records, Rs.14,00000 to the E.I.Co. and 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs to other European Companies in the 17th century.[15]

The Parsees had acquired a considerably high status within the political and economic spheres and their help was often sought by various people. After their initial attacks on Surat, the Portuguese, after the Moghul take over, decided to get trading rights in Surat and appointed Parsees as their agents, as they were influential with the Moghul court, especially after Akbar's invitation to Dastur Meherji Rana to come to Agra and be part of his religious experiment, the Din-I-Ilahi. In 1580 the Portuguese, Dutch, French and English all appointed Parsees as agents and thus increased their viability in the economic and political spheres. From the end of the 16th century to 1800, when the British took full political control of Surat, Parsees played this important role.

The position of the community had by the end of the 16th century stabilised and they were accepted in Surat by their fellow citizens as 'people of consequence' and 'superior courage',[16] as described by the Governor of Surat in the middle of the 17th century. According to Stravorinus, the Parsees were allowed to settle their own differences through a Panchayat, and the Nawabs were very circumspect with them, and were said to stand in 'awe' f them and left them in some measure independent.[17]

A mention of a few leading agents and their activities will help throw light on the dynamics of Parsee entrepreneurship and political acumen. They cemented friendly relations with the Dutch, Armenians, Portuguese and others.[18] Rustom Manek, like his fellow Parsees, acted as a liaison between his European Principals and the Indian authorities. He became a bond between the governing and the governed. Rustom Manek was a wealthy trader whose family had been supplying goods to the various foreign missions. He was appointed agent and vakil at Surat by the English at the very outset of their relations with Surat. We find him acting as a broker of the English factory with great 'ability and character'. He was instrumental in solving many difficulties between the English and the Moghul officers, over whom he had acquired great influence.[19] He also worked in various capacities for the Portuguese and other foreigners. In these capacities Rustom Manek came close to the political powers in Surat, including the Moghul Governor.[20] In 1660, the English chose him to accompany them to the Delhi Darbar to gain various concessions as their agent and broker. They were in need of trading concessions and also wanted exemption from taxes, and freedom from harassment from local officials. He succeeded in getting all the impediments to the British removed from their path and also got a free gift of land for their factory. Their goods were to be imported free of duty and they also got relief from payment of Jakat.[21] His influence was so persuasive that he was asked by the Nawab to help recover a ship of a rich Chalebi merchant (Syrian) captured by the Portuguese and taken to Daman. He was not only an able diplomat but a linguist who knew many languages – Persian, Portuguese and English. He undertook this mission in 1702, and went to Goa bearing gifts. After many meetings lasting for nine months, he returned to Surat with Chalebi's ship.[22] Due to differences between him and the Chief of the Surat English factory in 1690, he had been accused of conspiring against the Governor of Bombay to destabilise the East India Company. However, the officials of the Company at Surat refused to give credence to this and insisted on keeping him on as their agent[23] and he was reappointed as Chief Agent in 1701. During this dispute he had accepted the position of Vakil and Administrator of Passports from the Portuguese in 1681, and worked in both capacities till 1708. In this capacity he was in direct communication with the Portuguese Viceroys at Goa and other high State and Church Officials.

In 1702, after his return from Goa, Rustom Manek once again accompanied the British Ambassador, Sir William Norris to Aurangazeb's Court at Delhi. He was recommended by Sir Nicholas Waite as a person 'well-acquainted with the mysterious intrigues of these people and capable to prevent the impolicy and changeable projections of our hot brethren'.[24] Rustom acted as the principal innermediary between Sir Norris and the highest Moghul officials. In spite of all these services, Rustomji suffered two years' imprisonment by the Moghul General, Ghaziyd-din Khan, because of Sir Norris's abrupt

departure from Delhi, and was released only after offering apologies and tributes on his behalf.[25] For this, the British, instead of appreciating his personal involvement and sacrifice, refused to pay the dues which he had incurred on their behalf. The dispute went on even after his death in 1721. His eldest son refused to give up the claims, and was imprisoned by the Nawab at the behest of the English, who also attached his house and fined him Rs.50,000 and Rs.200 per day for daily supply of food to his family.[26] His second son went to Bombay to get justice and was put under house arrest. The youngest son Naorosji Rustom then went to England in 1723 and approached the Court of Directors for justice. In typical 'English fairness' the Court of Directors heard him and gave him redress by awarding him Rs.54,676 and presenting him with a 'dress of honour'.[27] The English in India had acted as if they already owned Surat and its people, and the Court of Directors generally gave them a free hand. Where colonial administrators were concerned they had already started showing their practice of disingenuity and double talk under the show of pomp and circumstance. The 'dress of honour' being the show! As time went on, one sees more and more of this. Naorosji Rustom was the first Indian to visit England.

In the *Qisseh-i-Rustom Manek,* written in 1711 by Mobed Jamshed Kaikobad in Surat, Rustom is eulogised and a detailed account of his activities is given from which we can gauge the amount of personal and group pressure he could exercise in the service of the local population, and the Parsees in particular. During Shivaji's attack on Surat in 1664, Kaikobad states that Shivaji's troops surrounded the town on all sides and that many men and women were made prisoners. Two of Shivaji's Sardars made many Parsees prisoners and had demanded a ransom of Rs.10,000 to set them free. Rustom had paid this amount and got his brethren freed.[28] Again in 1679 when Aurangzeb imposed Jizia tax on all non-Muslim subjects, the Parsees were not exempted, and the poor of the community bewailed their incapacity to make such payments, whereupon Rustom arranged to pay the local Diwan a certain sum annually on their behalf. He also helped the poor of the Hindu community who appealed to him and paid on their behalf, and thus secured freedom for those who had been imprisoned for non-payment of Jizia.[29] Also, in the public interest he got permission from the Nawab to build bridges, roads, wells, tanks and dharmashalas.[30]

The Parsee connection with the Moghul Court continued by a series of Parsees visiting the Delhi Court, even after the death of Aurangzeb, and exerting their political influence for various purposes.

During Aurangzeb's rule, Surat continued to prosper and the population grew. In the 18th century we see the accumulation of merchant finance and capital amongst the Parsees with consequent increase of political 'clout' and prestige, both working to enhance the other. The small community of Parsees

earned the love of Hindus and Muslims in general, and was able to come through these difficult political times because of these two elements working in their favour.[31] The Parsees found support from the Moghuls at Delhi against any form of persecution and injustice from the local rulers and were able to reach the ears of Darbar at Delhi on several occasions and proved politically useful to the foreign trading companies. They were also appointed in various political capacities by the Peshwas during this period and found to be extremely competent.

Early in the 18th century, in 1710-11, the Parsees of Surat sent a representative to the Emperor Firuzshah complaining of harassment by the local Kaji, who could not be controlled by the Moghul Governor. The Kaji had started to extract taxes from Parsees on occasions of weddings, navjots and other religious festivals and had also put them on forced labour to dig graves for dead Muslims and perpetrated sundry other harassments. The petition was written by a leading Parsee in Surat, Kavasji Modi. All communications with the Emperors, Nawabs and Kajis were made through the Modis whose family were the Davars of the community and whose founder was Modi.[32] In reply, a firman was sent to the Kaji and Governor forbidding them to harass the Parsees in the above and in any other manner. The firman certainly enhanced the prestige and status of the community.[33] In 1744 a Parsee mechanic, Sorabji Cawasji who had mastered the art of watch-repairing, was in great demand all over India and his fame had even reached Delhi. The Emperor sent for him to repair a clock, presented to him by the Turkish Sultan. Sorabji did this work capably and won great praise from the Emperor who kept him in Delhi for a number of years, and treated him with honour giving him the title of Neksatkhan and lands. Whilst at Delhi, he was able to intervene on behalf of the Nawab of Surat, Tej Beg Khan, saving him from deposition.

Sorabji's two sons were also honoured with titles of Behermand Khan and Taleyarkhan respectively.[34] On his return to Surat, Sorabji was greatly honoured by one and all. In 1759 he was requested by the English to intervene with the Emperor to request a firman for the command of the Surat Castle (Fort) and for the Tankha attached to the office of the Admiral of the fleet, which mission Sorabji successfully accomplished and also brought back dresses of honour for the British.

A little later, seeing the friendly reception this small community was getting from the Rulers at the highest level, Kavasji Rustamji and Kalabhai Sorabji also visited Delhi to meet Sorabji and got an honourable treatment. They received estates and titles. Kavasji Rustomji, who was the third son of the high priest of Udvada (the most sacred place of the Parsees) received the title of Mirza Khushro Beg. Having established their political credentials, the Parsee community sat quite secure in a very unstable era. Also, they were eagerly sought after by various European Companies as already mentioned.

About 1784, another Parsee, Mancherji Kharsedji Sheth, Agent of the Dutch Company, went twice to Delhi to gain both Company and private trade concessions from the Emperor. Mancherji had also gained the good favour of the Gaekwad and, in 1800 was able intercede on behalf of the British to get a favourable exchange of territory from Govindrao Gaekwad for the Surat Chauth. He exercised, according to contemporary reports, much tact, and displayed great zeal in his work.[35] He also took part in negotiations in 1802 between Raoji Appaji, Anandrao Gaekwad and the British, which ultimately led to the conclusive Treaty of subsidiary alliance.[36] Earlier, at the end of the 18th century we find that a Parsee, Maniyar, belonging to the Sheth family, was sent to England to intercede for Bajirao with a letter to Edmund Burke. Though his letter is not traced, a copy of Burke's reply to the Peshwa is extant.[37] Since Parsees were active in Maratha politics in various ways, we find that from 1801 to 1809 Khursedji Modi of Surat was a Sarsubedar of the Peshwa Bajirao, acting as a liaison between the Peshwa and the British.[38]

Thus, through a troubled century, this small band of Parsees not only survived, but came out as "winners" in many ways in this now thriving city of Surat, as well as in other towns of Gujarat. This small, but vibrant community had come to the forefront because of political and economic strength. By the 17th century they had become important merchants and traders and had begun to amass capital enough to finance the ruling Nawabs and the European Companies. They had done this through acting as middlemen in procuring and producing goods for the foreign trading companies, and developing new industries suited to the changing demands. With the slow change of demands from finished products to that of raw material, Parsee manufacturers of the beautiful silks definitely had begun to suffer, and the demand for Khinkaab, Ghat and tanchoi was being reduced and the East India Company was looking for raw cotton instead. The Parsees, though aware of the danger to their weaving industry, were the first to set up ginning factories to clean the raw cotton they procured for export. The changed economic situation brought about by British imperial needs was quickly seized on by them. Similarly from carpenters working on ships they have more moved on to building ships when they saw the English need to have more ships. Ships built of Indian teak were much stronger and lasted longer than those built in Europe of oak. Gradually, the Parsees of Surat, and later of Bombay, began to monopolise the industry and built ships for the British Navy and large frigates for trade, both in the West and East upto China. No wonder then, that by the end of the 18th century, some of the best villas and gardens of Surat belonged to the Parsees, who lived in grand Moghul style. Such were the houses of Rustom Manek and Mancherji Sheth and many others already mentioned. James Forbes describes their luxurious style of living which was a blend of European and eastern taste and comfort.[39]

Backed by such prosperity of a considerable percentage of the community as compared to the larger communities, the Parsees stood by each other in times of natural calamities and also helped others. Surat had a fair share of such disasters throughout the 18th and early 19th centuries. According to records there were four devastating floods in the 18th century and six from 1800 to 1850. Periodic fires added to the distress of the people, particularly those of 1822 and 1837. During all these events the community leaders came to the aid of their fellow men, and small as their numbers were, gave in equal measure to those of the majority community, which made up about 80% of the population. The account from contemporary records are interesting and is a commentary of the financial status of the Parsee community. For instance, during the great fire of 1837, the following collection was made Rs. 68102 from Hindus, Rs. 62152 from Parsees, Rs. 5803 from Muslims, Rs. 1000 from Vohras, Rs. 2331 from Prabhus and Rs. 25000 from Panjrapols (contributed by all). These figures are indicative of the social and economic dynamics of Surat.[40] It is also worth noting that, though during this period Hindu magnates wre considered equal, if not more financially sound, than the Parsees, the contributions to charity just about matched. During the floods and fires which occured when Ardeshir Dhunjishah was the Kotwal (chief police officer), enormous and efficient help was rendered by him to all the people of Surat, as will be shown later. Also, like all others, the Parsees suffered financially and emotionally during the Maratha attacks on Surat and stood by each other, such as the help and succour to the Parsees and others given by Rustom Manek in the early 18th century.

Within the Parsee community there arose certain serious differences from the late 17th century onwards. All of these were finally amicably settled, otherwise it would have created a real danger to the existence of so small a minority. The most vexatious problem dealt with privileges of the priests. To summarise, the sacred fire at Sanjan had been shifted to the Bharot Hills for safety after 1315 when the Muslims under Alpakhan attacked the region of Sanjan and defeated its ruler. From there it was taken to Bansda, (near Navsari) and then carried to Navsari at the invitation of Changa Asa, the leader of the Navsari Parsees. Here it remained in a magnificent temple and was tended by the priests coming originally from Sanjan. These priests were not supposed to perform ceremonies in any other temple or private home as those duties belonged to the local priests. However, the Sanjan priests overstepped their position and ventured into other areas. A serious quarrel ensued leading in 1686 to the killing of six laymen supporting the Sanjan priests. The guilty were taken to Surat and imprisoned there. Fresh disturbances broke out in 1733, which led to the Sanjan priests taking away the fire to Surat, but through the pressure of the Navsari people it was taken back there. As tension still prevailed, the priests petitioned the Gackwad (under whose domain Navsari fell) to let them take the fire to Bulsar and

then to Udvada, where since 1742 it has remained and it is now housed in a large temple, which is the most important 'pilgrim' place for Parsees[41]. Thus a vexatious and dangerous dispute came to an amicable end.

Another dispute arose regarding the rights of marriage between the Mobed (priest) families and the laymen. The priests in Surat and then elsewhere, in the middle of the 18th century refused to give their women in marriage to laymen, but continued the practice of taking lay women as wives. The lay Parsees at this time, therefore refused to give the Dasturs their women in marriage. A stalemate occurred and the matter was settled by the British government which appointed a commission, which upheld the lay ban in 1777, and the practice of keeping Mobed women within their own families still exists amongst the Parsees.[42] An interesting offshoot of this Commission was that the Bombay government gave legal status to the Parsee panchayat which adjudicated intra-communal problems.

A more serious and again divisive conflict arose in the early 18th century which originated in Surat. The dispute had started with Jamaspa, an Iranian priest, who visited Gujarat in about 1720. He found that the Parsees were using unauthenticated scriptures and gave them accurate copies of the Zend and Pehlavi books. He also set up centres of Zend and Pehlavi scholarship in Surat, Navsari and Bharuch. Jamaspa was followed by Jamshed who settled in Surat. Amongst other religious clarifications, they also claimed that the Parsee calender followed here was wrong, as it was based on the custom of interpolation of one month every hundred and twenty years. The Zoroastrians in Iran had stopped this practice after their defeat, but the Parsee immigrants had added a month in Khorasan before leaving for India. Hence Jamaspa showed that there was discrepency between the two calenders.[43] A number of important Parsees in Surat started adopting the calender as accepted by the Iranian Zoroastrians led by Jamshed Vilayati in 1746 and called themselves Kadmi. The chief of the Kadmi sect was Dhanjishah Manjishah, supported by Dastur Darab who had become an erudite scholar under the tutelage of Jamaspa and Jamshed. He was also the tutor to the well-known French scholar, Anquetil Duperron during the seventeen seventies. They were strongly opposed by Mahcherji Khursetji Sheth, the Dutch broker and Dastur Edulji Sanjana of Bombay who represented the majority of Surat Parsees known as Shehenshais. In the late 18th century the dispute became very strong and some Surti Kadmis had to flee, including the priests Darab and Nawas. The two sects proliferated in Bombay and other in Gujarat towns, and for some time extremely bitter and strongly worded controversy erupted through Gujarati newspapers and the platform, leading somethimes to violence. This came to be known as the Kabisa controversy, which ended after a year and a half, but books and pamphlets continued to be printed till the middle of the nineteenth century. By the end of that century the total number of Kadmis in Bombay out of

91,136 Parsees, was just 7208. Similar small numbers existed elsewhere. Now all that remains of the difference is that the new year and other festivals are celebrated by these groups a month after the other.[44] Through these and a few other controversies the Parsees stuck together and remained a distinct community with its own identity, supported by its many achievements and tenacity. A few of their differences have been described to show the vitality and alertness of the community and its will to survive.

The combination of financial and political acumen served the purpose of the community and of those in power, as already seen. Members of this very small but well-established minority were used as middlemen by those in authority and by supplicants, as they were credited with a sense of aloofness and impartiality and could not be accused of being subjective. This is one of the reasons why Parsees were welcomed as intermediaries by the highest authority in the land and also used by foreign powers to mediate for them. The political dynamics here are extremely interesting. The British who steadily acquired more and more power in Western India, as elsewhere in India, found the Parsee political dynamics equally valid for them on assuming power. They used them and also gave them adequate political advantages. Parsees, as others, upto the middle of the 19th century worked in a different political and economic milieu than what arose after the 1850's. 'Nationalism', 'nation', 'patriotism' did not have the same connotation as they did later. The political scenario consisted of small states with a major overlord. Political loyalty therefore, was not bound to the concept of 'motherland', but was circumscribed to one's city and the Ruler under whom one lived. Hence, we find the easy facility with which Parsees, like others, worked with different centres of political power, such as the Moghul Emperors, the Nawabs of Surat, the Peshwas and later on the British.

With the ascendency of political authority by the British in Surat, first as Killedars (Commanders) of the Fort, and later as *de facto* rulers, political power and characteristics changed, Parsees of Surat had, as seen, been close to the English since their advent into Surat from the sixteen hundreds. They had been of great service to the British in obtaining firmans from the Emperor, and also in getting control of the Fort at Surat. This relationship between the two continued to some extent for the benefit of both, but primarily for the British. Amongst many officials appointed by the British after 1800, the Parsees during the 17th century outnumbered the other communities percentagewise. At this stage the British were in need of local support for their administration at the secondary level, and Indians were appointed as a support system. Out of sixteen Principal Sardar Amins (no Indian was Judge) there were seven Parsees. Only one Indian was appointed as Judge of the small causes court and another as city magistrate, and both were Parsees. Of the ten deputy Collectors, three were Parsees and amongst many other

officials there were ten Parsee members of the Surat Municipality out of 32. These numbers show remarkable political participation by this very small community and its affinity and usefulness to the ruling elite.[45]

During the early 19th century, in 1821 we see the appointment of Ardeshir Dhanjishah as Kotwal of Surat.[46] Ardeshir was a scion of the family of Sorabji Neksatkhan (great grandson) whose Delhi connection has already been mentioned. Aredeshir's father Dhanjishah had been employed as British Agent to the Indian States, and Mandvi State was one of them. In 1810 a small rebellion against the king erupted there and Dhanjishah went there with a small British force under Cunningham. He was killed by the rebels and Cunningham in turn killed the rebel leader, Abdul Rehman. Dhanjishah's widow was given a political pension, the first to be given to a Parsee woman, and his two sons, Ardeshir and Phirojshah were taken under British protection and were educated and put into their service, first, as clerks. The Kotwal was an officer who combined the powers of the chief of the police and magistrate. In his capacity as Kotwal, Ardeshir indefatigably worked and won the hearts of all the people in Surat: Parsees, Hindus, Muslims and Christians, high and low, rich and poor.[47] He restored order out of chaos in Surat. Before his regime the people of Surat were constantly under attack from Bhils, Pindaris and roaming outlaws. The British had not been able to stop the marauding for many years, and gave full powers to Ardeshir to use his own initiative to 'kill and get killed'. Ardeshir promised peace in six months. He raised a private volunteer force of able-bodied men and sent them on peace rounds. He also raised a special police force and trained them with proper arms. All night long, watch groups went round and kept each other alert. Ardeshir himself went round incognito to supervise and encourage the men. Through spies he ferrated out the hiding places of the thugs and kept them immobilised. He was a strong disciplinarian and promptly punished any form of insubordination. He also very wisely improved prisons, made them into workshops and gainfully occupied the prisoners, to no small effect towards rehabilitation. In this way he brought peace to Surat as promised, and the common saying was that people of Surat now 'slept with their doors open'. No wonder then that he had won the heart of almost everyone in Surat.

During the many calamities of flood and fire which overtook Surat, he played the leading role in giving succour to the people. The first major calamity after he took over power was in 1822, when Surat faced torrential floods. Ardeshir's services during this time are celebrated in Narbad's famous poem, *Surat ni Muktesar Hakkikat* written in 1866. For Six days Ardeshir sat on the banks of the river at Sayyedpura and kept sending ship after ship to rescue the stranded people, rescuing thousands. He organised food, clothing, and shelter for them through his own funds, as well as those from all communities, especially the Parsees. The other great tragedy that struck Surat

was the great fire which started in April 1837. Nearly half of Surat was burnt down. Ardeshir used all his ingenuity to get the fire extinguished and resettled the homeless. In this, four of the Wadas, colonies of Parsees and Hindus in particular were destroyed, and many godowns filled with food and goods were burnt down. As an aftermath of this tragedy, Parsees who had lost much emigrated to Bombay in large numbers, and since then the Parsee population of Surat began to dwindle. The fire lasted for three days and led to great loss of life and property. Through Ardeshir, various houses of Parsee magnates such as the Antias and Bhavnagaris were opened for the destitute Parsees and others to stay. They were also supplied with food and clothing, generously sent from Bombay, again particularly by the Parsees. House to house distribution of rice, dal, long cloth, mulmal, saris and Rs. 5 each was given. Help was also forthcoming from the Bombay Government which subsidised food distribution. Two smaller fires occurred in 1842 and 1848, when again Ardeshir gave unstinted services.

For all this Ardeshir won the complete trust and devotion of the people of Surat, and the British government gave public recognition of his service. Public functions honouring Ardeshir were given on various occasions. Five 'Darbars' were held in Surat to honour him. The first one was in 1822 to felicitate him for his work during the floods when he was given the title of Khan Bahadur, and the last in 1845, after his reinstatement (he was suspended for a few years), of which more later. The manner in which these Darbars were held are eloquent testimony to the British desire to utilise pomp and circumstance, beloved by both Indians and the English, to strengthen the people's loyalty towards them. They used the love of the people for Ardeshir, their love of show and pomp, the innate love of position, prestige sense of being part of the British power, to reinforce themselves as the paramount power. To describe one such ceremonial occasion will explain this. On the 22nd December 1829 in the presence of the Governor, Sir John Malcolm,[48] twenty thousand people were present at the Darbar to honour Ardeshir. The British Army, under Gen. Hesman stood at attention whilst Ardeshir was presented with a caparisoned horse with golden reins, a rich robe (Jabho), a beautiful sword (Talwar) called Malcolm's talwar, title of Khan Bahadur, and four villages worth Rs.3000. Malcolm also declared the presentation of a gold medal. He was taken back to his home in a procession led by the army band followed by the British army, British officials, the Nawab, Princes, and the rest of the politically important officials and local people all of whom felt privileged and honoured. The general public lined the roads, and at the flower market, they lovingly showered flowers on Ardeshir and shouted *'Kotwal ni Fateh', 'Allah Kotwal ko salamat rakhe', 'pak parwardegar Kotwal no balbala kare',*[49] typical Hindu, Muslim and Parsee good wishes, showing the great love they had for him and how they really honoured him. The show must definitely have given immense and richly deserved pride to Ardeshir.

It was a greater asset to the British, who established by the open show of might and power, their paramountcy through such occasions, and also out of the gratitude of people thus 'honoured', they got unstinted loyalty. There were 6 such Darbars held in Surat from 1822 to 1845 and with the same show and intent. However, the last may not really have served its full purpose of giving legitimacy to the British.

In true British fashion the officials thought of themselves as embodiments of the Empire and any slight to that 'grand concept' could not be tolerated. In the case of Ardeshir, Mr. Luard, who was appointed Judge at Surat in November 1842 took an instant dislike to Ardeshir because of some imagined slight. Also, Mr. Luard appears to have been jealous of the Kotwal's popularity and prominence, probably feeling slighted at being overshadowed by an Indian. Accusations of misconduct were trumped up by some jealous people, which Mr. Luard promptly took up. He charged Ardeshir of fraud and misappropriation of the property of the widow of a well-known broker, Mr. Dullabhai, and suspended him from service. Not surprisingly, the British did not challenge the decision of Mr.Luard. A protest was made by a large number of persons and a petition was signed by 1000 citizens against such action. A commission of inquiry was formed to look into the charges against Ardeshir, and Mr. Luard's conduct, but Mr. Luard was allowed to remain silent during the proceedings. Whilst finding Ardeshir innocent of all charges, the inquiry against Mr. Luard was dropped. Ardeshir who had served the British and Surat so exemplarily had thus been so easily abandoned by them, whilst the false Judge, an Englishman, was allowed to go free. Ultimately the English showed that they would always protect their own man against a 'native', and that however 'loyal' an Indian was, he was certainly not an equal.[50] Ardeshir was reinstated by the British with great pomp and circumstance in the manner described above on the 28th June 1845, when felicitation signed by thousands of citizens of Surat was presented to him, with other baubles of 'honour'. The citizens' petition was by itself a sign of disillusion with the British, and though they all participated in the ceremony, the British image was definitely tarnished. Ardeshir himself had lost his enthusiasm and desire to work for the English, who had so easily abandoned him, and he resigned within two years of his reinstatement on the 24th Oct. 1846.[51] Ardeshir's career and relations with the British is a telling illustration of the dynamics of British power and the way imperial power was used and its treatment of its 'citizens'. This classic pattern of behaviour was repeated on many occasions all over their Indian Empire and in 'native states'. To a great measure the British were successful in using these methods to reinforce their power through clever manipulation of the subject people, including the Parsees.

During Ardeshir's Kotwal's tenure, another important event took place which needs a little clarification because of the different interpretations given

to it, and its reflections on inter-communal relations. It has an important social and historical implication with reference to the Parsees. Swami Narayan, or Sahajanand Swami, was a charismatic religious leader of those days. He was much revered by high and low, by British officers, foreign travellers, all of whom had a good word to say of him. He had a large following particularly amongst the Kolis and other tribals like Bhils of Gujarat, whom he induced to give up their 'bad' habits of liquor consumption and brigandage. He was respected as a reformer and ethical teacher. Later, Swami Sahajanand was considered an incarnation of God – specifically of 'Krishna'. According to certain sources, one Dinanath Shastri composed a book for which he was paid, wherein he states that Sahajanand Swami was considered an incarnation of God. He claims that he wrote this at the request of the master.[52] The Swamiji was able to hold thousands in thrall, even intellectuals like the poet Dalpatram. His audience used to go into trances and feel that they were close to God, whom they saw in Swamiji. Dalpatram and Briggs both mention the power of hypnosis (mesmerism) with which the Swamiji induced such trances.[53] This explains his great popularity and the worship which he induced. The people of Surat were eager to have him visit them. His fame had spread there and Ardeshir had developed a healthy respect for the Swamiji, who also recognised the Kotwal's ability and services and respected him. On the insistence of the people of Surat, the Swamiji paid a visit to Surat in 1825. He was welcomed at the gates by the Kotwal and taken in a spectacular procession, with music into the city, where a grand reception was held. Swamiji's disciples have given a 'fictional' description wherein Ardeshir is supposed to have done his 'puja', which would be quite contrary to Zoroastrian precepts which believes in one omniscient Godhead and such practices would be wholly an anathema to them.[54] But, in keeping with the Zorastrian precept of giving respect and honour to all religions, Ardeshir, as Kotwal, gave due reverence to the Swamiji. A public darshan was arranged where all the people were able to see him. At the time of his departure, Ardeshir, with others, went to pay their respects to the Swamiji, who presented him with a Pagdi (turban), a coconut, and a photograph of himself. Ardeshir respectfully accepted them and kept them in safe custody on a special shelf made for them in his house. These presents of the Swamiji have been guarded and preserved by the family upto date. Once a year these venerable objects were displayed for darshen to the public of Surat, when priests of the Swami Narayan sect were invited to do puja and worship the 'sacred' objects. After that the priests were asked to put the objects back on the raised shelf.[55]

This incident shows the reaction of the Parsee community to religious leaders and beliefs of other communities, and also that even whilst participating in their 'religious' activities, they were careful to preserve the sanctity of their own religious precepts, whilst playing host to others' religious ceremonies and devotions. It is also indicative of the trust and friendship which existed

between the Parsees and others in Surat, as in other place.

By the end of the 18th century the Parsees had to a great extent taken to western ideas and learning. They were the first to adopt English as a result of close economic contact with the British, and to take advantage of openings in British administrative services. As a result, their perceptions of social life began to change and they were amongst the first to encourage reforms of retrograde social customs, particularly those dealing with family and women. In Surat, as elsewhere, changes were taking place which were not totally an adoption of foreign ideas, but a revival of their true traditions. Women in ancient Iran were always free and equal. In the Zoroastrian tradition, women took equal part in religious duties and were also invested with the sacred thread like the men. However, during their stay in Gujarat, the Parsees had followed the Hindus and Muslim custom of keeping women in seclusion inside the houses, except to permit them to go in groups with escorts to bring water for their homes. Though by tradition, Zoroastrian women were included in the inheritance of property of fathers and husbands, the Parsees had excluded them according to the Hindu laws. Now, again, after getting confirmation through the Revayats, women were being given some share of the property. Change took place rapidly from the end of the 18th century and we have Briggs describing how Parsee women moved about in open carriages and attended parties with their husbands and took part in various activities with them. In spite of these advances, Parsee society was and is very patriarchal, and laws, social norms and rights were determined by the males of the community. To some extent women were being slowly admitted in sharing the decision-making processes within and outside the family. They were certainly looked up to and emulated by their sisters in the Hindu community and a little amongst the Muslims.

This brief account of the Parsees in Surat upto 1850 discloses remarkable historical processes. Instead of being swamped by an increasing majority of the other communities, the Parsees were able to both be a part of, and yet apart from others. This was possible because the combined economic and political power which the community wielded gave its members the confidence and self-esteem to stand apart and be counted. They could maintain aloofness and keep their separate identity intact without any conflicts with the others. In fact, their position and status brought them, as we have seen, respect, love and trust of the others.

This account is perhaps a useful lesson to other minorities on how identity, status and dignity can be preserved, and be accepted by others.

Notes and References

1. The exact date of their arrival in India on the Western coast of Gujarat is still being debated as between 756 to 926 A.D. From epigraphical and traditional evidence the earlier date is more credible. Also it is quite possible that various Parsee settlements which existed in Sind (Kuech) and N. India after the conquest of Darius, drifted southwards towards Gujarat at the advent of Muslim invasions in the North, and may have formed the nucleus of the settlements here. Some scholars suggest that Parsees may have fled Iran via a land route from Siestan via Baluchistan and Sind, where Zoroastrian settlements already existed (Oriental Geography of Ebn Hasakal 902 - 968 A.D.).
2. Edulji Burjorji Patel, *Surat ni Tawarikh* (Guj), Surat 1890, p.12.
3. Patel E.B., *op.cit.*, p.18.
4. To mention some : Abul Fazl, *Ain-I-Akbari* II 65, 1590. Henry Lord, *Discovery of the Sects of the Banias and Parsees,* London 1630. J.A. de Mandelslo, *Travels into the Indies,* London, 1602. Ogilby's Atlas, 1670.

   Ovington, 1690, *Voyage to Surat,* Ed. Revilson, Oxford 1929. *Churchill's Voyages.*
5. K.M. Seervai and B.B. Patel, *Gujarat Parsis,* 1898, Bombay, p.7.
6. Patel E.B., *op. cit., p.84.*
7. *Surat Na Daver Modi Khandanna Vada Nanabhai Punjiajini Tavarikh,* 1722 (Guj.), p. 18.
8. E.B. Patel, *Parsee Prakash* (Vol.I) (Guj.). Also see E.B. Patel, p.17. The Revayats were letters received from the Iranian Zoroastrian priests in reply to quesionnaires sent from Surat and other places. This practice started in the 15th century and continued into the 19th. They have been collected into several volumes.
9. *Mandelslo's Travels, op. cit.,* p.187.
10. *Ovington's voyages, op.cit.,* 370-375.
11. R.P. Karkariar, Bombay, *An Anthology,* 1915, pp. 6,7.
12. Ovington, *op.cit.,* pp. 370-375.
13. *Thomas Herbert's Account,* 1634.
14. M.S. Commissariat (A), *Studies in the History of Gujarat,* Longmans, Steen and Co., Bombay 1935, p.95.
15. Patel E.B., *op.cit.,* p.48.
16. *Ibid.,* p. 56 and Seervai and Patel, *op.cit.,* p.15.
17. J.S. Stavorinus, *Voyages to the East Indies,* tr.S.R. WilCocks, London 1774, Vol.II, pp. 494-498.
18. E.B. Patel, *Gynan Prasarak Mandal Papers,* 21.1.1879, (Guj.).
19. D.F. Karaka, *History of the Parsees,* 1884, Vol.II, p.29 ff.

20. M.S. Commissiariat (B), *History of Gujarat*, Vol.III, Ahmedabad 1980, p.429.
21. D.F. Karaka, *op.cit.*, Vol.II, p. 29.
22. J.J. Modi, *Rustom Manek and the Persian Kisseh*, in B.B.R.A.S., Dec. 1930, Vol. VI, pp.220.
23. D.F. Karaka, *op.cit.*, Vol.II, p.11.
24. Quoted by D.F. Karaka, *op.cit.*, Vol.II, p.11.
25. Quoted in M.S. Commissariat (B), *op.cit.*, p.472.
26. Commissariat, *Ibid.*, p. 475.
27. Letter of Court of Directors to Governor of Bombay, 19th Aug. 1724 as quoted in Karaka, *op.cit.*, Vol.II, p.15.
28. Quoted by Commissariat(B), *op.cit.*, *Portuguese Records on Rustom Manek*, pp.3, 4,10, 106 and J.J. Modi, *op. cit.*, pp. 121-129.
29. J.J. Modi, *op.cit.*, pp. 127-129.
30. *Ibid.* pp. 125-127, 176-179.
31. *Records of C. Neibruh's Travels*, 1761-1764, in general collection of the vast and most interesting voyages and travels in all parts of the world, Vol.X, pp. 214-220.
32. D.F. Karaka, *op.cit.*, p.18 (copy of petition in Vol. II).
33. E.B. Patel, *op.cit.*, p. 85 The Firman of the Governor in the book translated into Gujarati.
34. Bestowing the title of Neksatkhan (Lord of the Auspicious Hour), Mansab of 300 horses and 500 cavalry and several parganahs near Surat, as well as the right to collect custom duties as Forza of Surat, see E.B. Patel, *Parsi Prakash* (Guj.), Vol. II, pp. 47-49 and Cawashah M. Talyarkhan, Neksatkhan and the 2 branches of his family, p. 1-12.
35. D.F. Karaka, *op.cit.*, Vol.II, p.7-8.
36. *Ibid.*
37. Henry George Briggs, *The Parsees or Modern Zorathustrians*, Edinburgh, p.92.
38. *Ibid.*
39. James Forbes, *Oriental Memoirs, 1784*, Vol. III, p. 411-412. He visited Surat between 1765 and 1784.
40. E.B. Patel, *op.cit.*, p. 972 and *Surat ni Parsi Meternity Hospital and Parsi General Hospital Golden Jubilee Souvenir* (Guj.), 1972, Surat, p. 43.
41. *Parsi Prakash, op, cit.* , Vol. I, p.35 and K.M. Seervai and E.B. Patel, *op.cit.*, p.11.
42. D.F. Karaka, Vol.I, pp. 220-222.

43. K.M. Seervai, E.B. Patel, *op.cit.*, p.11.

44. Delphine Menant, *'les Parsees'*, with translation and annotation by M.N. Murzban, Bombay, 1917. (Orginally 1898), Vol.I, pp. 202-236.

45. E.B. Patel, *op.cit.*, p. 972 ff.

46. *Parsi Prakash, op. cit.*, Vol.I, p.699; Detailed account of his life is to be found in *Parsi Prakash, Rattan Marshall, Amar Vir Ardeshir Kotwal* (Guj.), Gandiv Sahitya Mandir, Surat, 1946; Dhanjibhai Naoroji Patel, *Parsee Kirtee Prakash* (Guj). Krashogash Printing Press, Bombay 1920; A collection of Garbas (Folksongs) and songs, celebrating Parsee prowess. 2 Garbas are on Ardeshir Kotwal, pp. 45 to 55.

47. R. Marshall, *op.cit.*, pp. 13-15.

48. *Parsi Prakash, op.cit.*, p.221 and R.Marshall, *op. cit.*, p.85.

49. *'Victory to the Kotwal', 'Allah keep the Kotwal safe,' 'God bless the Kotwal'.*

50. *Parsi Prakash, op.cit.*, pp. 441 to 457.

51. Rattan Marshall, *op.cit.*, p.92.

52. Makarand Mehta and V.S. Chavda, *Modern Gujarat*, New Order Book Co., Ahmedabad, p.175.

53. Henry C. Briggs, *The Cities of Gujarashtra*, Times Press, Bombay, pp. 237-238 and Nanalal Dalpatram, Kaveeshwar Dalpatram, Vol.I, (Guj.).

54. Swami Niskhulanand, *Bhakta Chintamani* (Hindi).

55. R.Marshall, *op.cit.*, pp.60-66, *Kavi Dalpatram in Kaveeshwar*, Vol.I and E.B. Patel, *op.cit.*, p.48.

MAHIMABHAṬṬA'S VIEWS ON HOW RASAS ARISE AND THEY ARE ENJOYED BY SAHṚDAYAS

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Mahimabhaṭṭa's (MB) *Vyaktiviveka* [1] (VV) which means A Critique of *Vyakti*, the same as *Vyañjanā* (Suggestion) severely criticises Ānandavardhana's definition of *dhvani*, the opening verse of *Dhvanyāloka*, *"kāvyasyātmā dhvanir.. "* divisions of *dhvani*, the theory of *Vyañjanā* – which he considers as the very soul of *dhvani* – Kuntaka's theory of *Vakrokti* and sets forth his own theory of language, *anaucityas* (improprieties) pertaining to *'śabda'* (word), his own conception of poetry, purpose of poetry, poetic language, his own views on how *rasas* arise and they are enjoyed by *sahṛdayas* and other related matters. This paper confines itself mainly to a critical discussion of MB's views on how *rasas* arise and they are enjoyed and incidentally deals with the poetic language.

MB states the *prima facie* view as follows :

"The permanent emotions, *rati* (love), etc. are particular states of *sukha* (pleasure, happiness, etc.) when they are described in *kāvya* (poetry), etc. how can they give rise to the relishing or enjoyment of *sukha* (pleasure, happiness) [in the case of *sahṛdayas* on the strength of which] *rasas* are metaphorically described as *vyaṅgya* (suggested)? In fact, they are inferable *(anumeya)*. In everyday life one does not feel even a trace of pleasure while inferring emotions like *śoka* (sorrow) from their *liṅgas* (or *hetus* or *sādhanas*, i.e. marks or tokens). On the contrary people experience great sorrow, fear, and such other feelings. This is what we all observe. There is no extra-ordinary power in poetry which alone can cause this thrill of pleasure or delight which everyday life does not. The *vibhāvādis* (the word *ādi* includes *anubhāvas*, *vyabhicaribhāvas* and *sāttvikabhāvas*) which are nothing but *hetvādis* (the word *adi* includes *kārya* and *sahakāri* - *kāraṇas*) of everyday life act as *liṅga* or *gamaka* or *sādhana* i.e. mark or token; and the same *bhāvas* - *rati*, etc. are inferred from them. So what *atiśaya*, excellence – extraordinary power – magical or mysterious power is there in poetry whereby we derive aesthetic pleasure *(rasāsvāda)* from it only (poetry only) and not from our everyday life? Thus, there is no possibility of any *prayojana* (purpose) for calling the *bhāvas* like *rati*, as *vyaṅgya*"[2]

MB refutes this *prima facie* view as follows :

Wherever in poetry the permanent emotions (mental states), love and

the like (*ratyādi*, the word *ādi* includes '*hāsa, śoka, krodha, utsāha, bhaya, jugupsā,* and *vismaya*' — in all the eight *sthāyibhāvas*) are inferred from their respective *vibhāvadis*, there only arises *rasāsvāda*, which is apprehended (or perceived) by *sahṛdayas* alone. This is the very nature of things and does not deserve to be questioned by *prāmāṇika* (honest) persons.

It has been declared by Bharata : "*Rasa* arises from a combination of *vibhāvas, anubhāvas* and *vyabhicaribhāvas.*" It has also been said : "*Rasa* manifests through a combination of various *bhāvas (bhāva-saṁyojana-vyaṅgyaḥ);*: it is perceived by an extraordinary form of consciousness *(para-saṁvitti-gocaraḥ)* it is an experience of the nature of a relishing or tasting *(āsvādanātmānubhavaḥ)* and it remains concealed in the layers of the meanings of the sentences concerned *(kāvyārthaḥ).*"[3]

In everyday life *vibhāvādis* do not at all exist. *Hetvādis* alone exist. Nobody should ever think that the *vibhāvadis* and the *hetvādis* are identical. The *hetvādis* are one thing and the *vibhāvādis* another. For the nature and character of these two sets are quite different from each other. To explain : In everyday life we find that certain permanent emotions like *rati*, love belong to, say Rāma, etc.; a poet identifies himself with Rāma and his emotions and describes them in his *kāvya* . These emotions, when presented (on the stage with the four kinds of acting) give rise to *(bhāvayanti)* various *rasas* and therefore they are called *bhāvas.*

Sītā, etc. who are the *hetus* (causes) of the various emotions in our everyday life, when described in *kāvya* are called *vibhāvas* in accordance with the etymology '*vibhāvyante bhāvā ebhir iti vibhāvāḥ*' — through them the various *bhāvas* (*sthāyins* and *vyabhicārins*) are understood (and appreciated) by the spectators. Incidentally, it may be noted that the *Nāṭyaśāstra* explains *vibhāva* as *vijñāna* and says that *vibhāva* is nothing but '*kāraṇa, nimitta,* or *hetu* and adds that many matters including *sthāyins* and *vyabhicārins* depending upon acting are specially understood from them (the prose passage preceding *Nāṭyaśāstra* (VII.4).

Mukhaprasāda (a pleased countenance) and the like, which are the effects of the various feelings and emotions when described in *kāvya* cause spectators to experience the corresponding feelings and emotions and therefore are called *anubhāvas.*

The various *rasas* are regarded as only limitations of the *sthāyibhāvas*:

Sthāyyanukaraṇātmano hi rasā iṣyante - p.71. And the *rasas* are, beyond any shadow of doubt, of the supreme importance. The *sthāyibhāvas* and their correpsonding *rasas* stand in the relation of *bimba* (the original) and its *pratibimba* (reflection) : *Teṣāṁ bimba-pratibimba-nyāyenāvasthānāt* -p.72.

Ruyyaka in his commentary, called *Vyaktiviveka-vyākhyāna,* thus explains

the two terms – *bimba* and *pratibimba: anukāryasya bimbatvam anukaraṇasya pratibimbatvam* - p.73.

In other words, the persons, their feelings and emotions, the events, conflicts, etc. which poets draw upon for their *kāvya* are *akṛtrima* (real), whereas their presentation and description in poetic language are *kṛtrima* (artistic, lit. artificial). For they are of the nature of *anukaraṇa* (imitation). Thus, there is a difference between the two sets i.e., (i) the *vibhavādis* and (ii) the *hetvādis,* with regard to their nature *(svarūpa),* for one is artificial or artistic, whereas the other is real; so too there is a difference between these two sets with regard to their sphere of activity *(viṣaya).* For one relates to the province of poetry (*kāvya,* both dramatic and non-dramatic), whereas the other, to the real and actual everyday world *(loka).* When there is such a wide difference, the identity between the two cannot be established. Such being the case, when the *vibhāvādis* produce an apprehension or perception *(pratīti)* in regard to the permanent emotions like love *(rati),* etc. which are non-existent (in the actor), however their perception or apprehension being very real, they can, in the primary sense, be described as inferable *(pratīyamāna)* or implied *(gamya).* And the very experience of this apprehension or perception itself is what we call aesthetic pleasure or relish or enjoyment *(rasāsvāda)* .[4]

Or let alone the case of love *(rati),* etc., which is always beyond the range of sight *(parokṣa).* Even a thing which is perceptible *(pratyakṣa),* when directly perceived does not give the *sahṛdayas* so much delight *(camatkāra)* as it gives when described by a true (gifted) poet. For it has been said: "Things *(bhāvas)* which are presented in a poetic or dramatic work through the poet's creative imagination seem, because of our identification, even more charming or beautiful to us than the things which we actually perceive with our own eyes."[5]

There is great resemblance between these ideas of MB and the ideas which Bhoja expresses in his *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* (Vol. I, p.2.) : "Things are not so charming when they are seen directly as when they are narrated by men of gifted speech. As it has been said: The things that we see around do not please the mind as much as when they are presented in a proper manner in proper words by reputed poets."[6]

Incidentally, it may be stated that it is rather difficult to say of the two, Mahimbhaṭṭa and Bhoja, who is echoing whom, as they lived almost in the same age.

MB, being a *naiyāyika,* glorifies inference *(anumāna)* : "Even that thing does not delight them (when seen) as much as when it is inferred by them. This is the very nature of things *(svabhāva)* and it does not deserve to be questioned. It has been said :

"A thing (say, a permanent emotion, *sthāyibhāva*) inferred from *hetvādis*, in our real life does not delight us so much as it does when inferred from the *vibhāvas*, etc., that are described in *kāvya*. The expressed meaning does not delight us so much as when it is inferred."[7]

In support of his own statement he quotes a passage from *Ānandavardhana*, the *Dhvanikāra* : " For an essential idea *(sārarūpaḥ arthaḥ)*, if it is revealed without stating it in so many words attains a far greater beauty."[8] And perception of aesthetic beauty is the all-in-all in *kāvya*. By that much only those who deserve to be instructed receive instruction as regards Dos *(vidhis)* and Don'ts *(pratiṣedha)*.[9] MB then quotes an authority to show that even mistaken apprehension or cognition is through *sambandha* (obtaining the expected thing), a true source of knowledge *(pramā)*. Between two persons approaching two lights (seen from distance), the one produced by a jewel, the other by a lamp [without being aware of what they really are, but] with the idea that it is a jewel, there exists a difference regarding causal efficiency but not in regard to their mistaken notion.

In some cases, even the mistaken cognition is endowed with causal efficiency. In the above case for example, the mistaken cognition allows the concerned person to find a real jewel. In other words, even an error, according to Dharmakīrti, if it does not delude the person concerned is a source of right knowledge.[10]

Therefore in real life from real causes, etc., real love, etc. are apprehended. There these *ratyādis* (love and the like) mental states (or permanent emotions) are inferable only and there is not a shade of suggestion. Whence can there be a possibility of even a trace of aesthetic pleasure *(sukhāsvāda)*? This itself makes *kāvya* superior to our real world. So it is only proper that *ratyādi* (love and other emotions) which are inferable should alone be metaphorically called *vyaṅgya* (suggested) with aesthetic pleasure as the purpose *(prayojana)* one of the three conditions for resorting to *upacāra* (metaphor)[11] (p.75).

Later on towards the end MB declares: The apprehension of *rasādis* which we have from the *vibhāvādis* deserves to be included in Inference *(anumāna)* only. For the apprehension of the *vibhāvādis* is the means *(sādhana)* to the apprehension of *rasādi* (the *sādhya*, the end). The *vibhāvādis* present themselves as the *hetvādis* of the various permanent emotions *(ratyādi)* and as they cause the *sahṛdayas* to infer the *ratyādis*, manifest *rasādis*. As the *ratyādis* are in the actual process of inference and reach the stage of aesthetic relish or enjoyment, they are called *rasas*[12] (p. 417). Therefore there is inevitably a sequence *(krama)* between the two *pratītis* – (the *vibhāvādi - pratīti* and the *rasādi pratīti*). This sequence, however, is not perceived because of the *āśubhāvitā* (the same as *lāghava*) – the extreme quickness with which

the second *pratīti* follows the first. In other words, there was no such thing as immediate apprehension of *rasādi* but that between the *vibhāvādis* and the *rasādis* (the factors and the result), there intervened some space, however short, during which the function of inference was active. Thus Mahimbhaṭṭa claimed that *dhvani* could always be reduced to inference *(anumāna).*[13]

The main points in MB's exposition of the Rasa Theory may be stated as follows:

(i) *Rasādis* are of the nature of imitation of their corresponding *sthāyibhāvas.* The relation between the *sthāyibhāva* and its corresponding *rasa* is that of *bimba-pratibimba-bhāva.*

(ii) There is sequence between the *vibhāvādi-pratīti* and *rasādi-pratīti.*

(iii) The *vibhāvādi - pratīti* is the *sādhana* (means) and *rasādi-pratīti,* the *sādhya* (the end).

(iv) Although the *vibhāvādis* are *kṛtrima* (lit. artificial or not real) and the mental states *rati,* etc. they lead to, be unreal, the relishing or enjoyment *(āsvāda)* of *rasa* is very much real. It is admitted by great philosophers that even a mistaken cognition leads to *pramā* — correct apprehension or true knowledge.

(v) Things directly seen do not delight us so much as they do when described by gifted poets. So too things inferred from *hetvādis* in our real life do not delight us as they do when inferred from the *vibhāvādis.* So too the expressed meaning does not delight us, so much as does the implied meaning *(pratīyamāna artha).* This is the very nature of things and it does not deserve to be called into question.

(vi) There is no trace of pleasure from the *rati* (love) and the like when inferred from *hetvādis* in our everyday life, but when the *rati* (love) etc., are inferred from the *vibhāvadis* in *kāvya,* we derive unique aesthetic pleasure. Regarding this aesthetic pleasure as the *prayojana* (purpose) [one of the inevitable conditions of *upacāra*] for resorting to *upacāra* (metaphor) you may call these inferred *ratyādis* as *vyaṅgya* (suggested).

Is Mahimabhaṭṭa indebted to Śaṅkuka for his Rasa Theory?

MB declares at the end of his work that he has presented here what has not been touched or written by his predecessors. Let us examine how far his claim to originality in regard to *rasa-niṣpatti* (how *rasas* arise) and *rasāsvāda* (how they are enjoyed) is just or well-grounded. Even a cursory glance at the main points of MB's Rasa Theory would show that there is a remarkable similarity between the views of Śaṅkuka and MB. Śaṅkuka is decidedly MB's predecessor. Śaṅkuka's commentary on the *Nāṭyaśāstra* is

irretrievably lost, but his views on *rasa-niṣpatti* and *rasāsvāda* have been quoted at some length by Abhinavagupta in his own commentary, *Abhinavabhartī,* on the *Nāṭyaśāstra.*

In a modern study of Mahimabhaṭṭa's *Vyaktiviveka* however the author argues that Mahimabhaṭṭa possibly could not have "seen" *Abhinavabhāratī* which contains Śaṅkuka's *anumitivāda* (theory of inference - *anumāna*). For there is no sign or indication in his VV to assert that MB had "seen" it; it is further contended : "It is also significant that MB does not refer to the analogy of the horse in the picture *(citraturaganyāya)* , described by Śaṅkuka, to demonstrate the relation between the actor and the character."[14]

We may grant that MB had not seen *Abhinavabhāratī,* but there are no two opinions regarding MB's acquaintance with Abhinavagupta's *Locana* commentary on Ānandavardhana's *Dhvanyāloka.* For MB has cited a passage from *Locana* to criticise Abhinavagupta for his defence of Ānandavardhana referring to him sarcastically as *"kecid vidvanmāninaḥ."*[15] Abhinavagupta records a number of views on *rasa* in his *Locana* in the course of his comments on *Dhvanyāloka* II.4. One of these views is admittedly of Śaṅkuka, although it is stated here without attributing it to him and simply adding at the end *'iti kecit'.* The relevant portion of this passage is reproduced here below (as translated by Masson and Patwardhan in their work *Śāntarasa*):[16]

Therefore, (here is Śaṅkuka's view:) " when this *sthāyi (bhāva),* is combined with the *vibhāvas, anubhāvas* and *vyabhicāribhāvas,* there results an experience *(pratipatti)* of the *sthāyi (bhāva)* (love, etc. which is inferred as existing in the actor... the nature of this experience is the enjoyment of the *sthāyibhāva* (love, etc.) (thus inferred as existing in the actor)... This *rasa* does not depend on any other thing beyond the actor who is apprehended (by the spectator) as non-different from the character being portrayed, and the spectator who is the relisher (of the *ratibhāva,* etc.) inferred by him as existing in the actor.) Only that much, (and nothing more is required for the aesthetic experience of the *rasa*). Therefore *rasa* exists only in the drama, and not in the characters to be portrayed, etc. This is the view of some (i.e., of Śaṅkuka)."

It deserves our notice that in this passage the famous *citra-turaga-nyāya* is absent, it is attributed to Śaṅkuka by Mammaṭa in his *Kāvyaprakāśa. Locana,* however, gives it after Śaṅkuka's views have already been expounded with the opening words *"anye tu"* "Others say." As neither *Abhinavabhāratī* nor *Locana* attributes the *citra-turaga-nyāya* to *Śaṅkuka,* we need not read any special significance if MB does not refer to it.

TO BE CONTINUED

IMPACT OF THE RĀMĀYAṆA ON HINDI LITERATURE WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO HINDI POETRY

M. D. PARADKAR

It is true that the two national epics viz. The *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* have deeply influenced the entire literary world of this vast country. The description viz. सर्वेषां कविमुख्यानामुपजीव्यो भविष्यसि, although predicated of the महाभारतद्रुम is equally applicable to रामायणद्रुम irrespective of the stress and strain experienced by the literary artists that have enriched Hindi Language and Literature.

It is in the fitness of things to begin this brief survey with Tulsidasa (1532-1626 A.D.) (although Kabir had referred to Rāma as Brahman in दशरथसुत तिहुं लोक बखाना । रामनाम का मरम है आना ॥), the deservedly famous exponent of दास्यभक्ति in all his works, especially in his *magnum opus* viz. *Rāmacharita Mānasa.* This work occupies a unique place of honour in Hindi comparable to that of *Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa* in Sanskrit. By the time Tulsidasa came into the field, Rāma and Sītā had become incarnations of Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī adored as divinity by all characters that came into their contact. In fact Tulsidasa is keen on depicting every character of his story as laying down a norm to be emulated by the common man. Rāma of Tulsidasa was not only an ideal ruler but also an ideal son, brother, husband as well as friend. This explains why this gifted poet has followed mainly the story of *Rāmāyaṇa,* but his outlook is influenced by the two works viz. *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa* and *Adbhuta Rāmāyaṇa.* This is best illustrated by the episodes of अहल्योद्धार as well as कैकेयीवरप्रदान. In *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa,* Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa bow down to Ahalyā who is invisible. In *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa,* Ahalyā is standing in the slab of stone performing penance, and Rāma just salutes her and then she goes to heaven on being touched by the feet of Rāma. In *Mānasa,* Ahalyā who is said to have been turned into a slab of stone, is full of joy on being touched by Rāma's feet as she was waiting for it. Evidently Tulsidasa followed the *Rāmāyaṇa* story but in outlook he followed *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa.* It is interesting to compare and contrast the conversation between Kaikeyī and her maidservant Mantharā in the *Rāmāyaṇa* as well as in the *Rāmacarita Mānasa.* In the former both of them have a touch of earth, while in the latter both change their minds due to the intervention of Sarasvatī indicating the touch of the supernatural. The extraordinary ability of Tulsidasa in combining excellent poetry with words of advice in all his works dealing with the Rāma story cannot be gainsaid even by a carping critic.

Rāmacandrikā of Keśavadāsa (1601 A.D.) belongs to the age of Hindi literature known as *Rītikāla* and evinces a peculiar fondess for embellishments as well as display of learning relegating devotion to the background. Although he also followed mainly the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa,* he has many innovations to make viz. Vāmadeva's attempt to pacify Paraśurāma, Rāma's advice to Kausalyā in following the duties of a widow, the royal life of Rāmā and Sītā in the forest, employment of deceitful means on the part of Rāma in his war with Rāvaṇa, Mandodarī's advice to Rāvaṇa in matters of polity, etc. It is pertinent to note that during the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Rasika-sampradāya dominated the scene in Rāmabhakti elaborating माधुर्यभक्ति as is evinced by majority of works like *Yugalotkaṇṭha prakāśika* (1601 A.D.), *Siyārāmarasa Mañjarī* (1760-1832 A.D.), *Premalatā Padāvali* (1871), etc.

Coming to modern Hindi poetry, it will be pertinent to refer to *Rāmacarita candrikā* (1919 A.D.) and *Rāmacarita cintāmaṇi* (1920 A.D.) as the author of these works viz. Pandit Ramcharita Upadhyaya who has tried to present the Rāma story in keeping with the modern trend of paying attention to the development of characters like Sumitrā, Kaikeyī, Urmilā, Mandodarī and Sulocanā. *Sītā-parityāga* of Ramasvarup Tandon evidently deals with abandonment of Sītā in Ayodhyā and tries to do justice to Sītā who decided to abandon her life as Rāma wanted from her the proof of her chastity. *Sulocanā-satī* by Viṣṇu (1931 A.D.) depicts Sulocanā who prefers consigning herself to the flames of fire, although Rāma was ready to revive her husband Meghanāda out of respect for her.

Sāketa of Maithilisharan Gupta incorporates national ideology of this country through the Rāma story where Rāma, true to a hero of modern days, prefers to raise this world to the level of Svarga thus conveying the message of Gods : सन्देश यहाँ मैं नहीं स्वर्ग का लाया। इस भूतल को स्वर्ग बनाने आया।

The poet starts this poem with the idea of making Lakṣmaṇa the hero and especially Urmilā the heroine, as her sacrifice has been left unsung by Vālmīki. True to the modern age, Urmilā on knowing the discomfiture of Lakṣmaṇa takes care to prepare and lead in war the citizens of Ayodhyā with a view to avenge the insult. This is in keeping with women participating in India's struggle for independence–Kaikeyī of *Sāketa* is also depicted as a woman who commits the mistake of sending Rāma to forest but repents for it and along with Bharata openly requests Rāma to come back to Ayodhyā in the words :

यह सच है तो लौट चलो भैया।
अपराधिन हूँ तात, तुम्हारी मैया॥

eliciting compliment from Rāma in धन्य है वह एक लाल की माई। जिसने है जना भरतसा भाई। The attempt on the part of the poet in giving supreme importance to Urmilā and Lakṣmaṇa has not been successful possibly because of his

devotion to Rāma who wrote राम तेरा वृत्त स्वयं ही काव्य है । कोई कवि बन जाय सहज संभाव्य है ॥ "*Līlā*", the opera combining music as well as drama, written by this author, though based on Bālakāṇḍa of the *Rāmāyaṇa* has many innovations to offer viz. the conversation of Rāma with his brothers and friends, the sports of Sītā, Urmilā and their friends in the palace of Janaka. Here the words क्या जन्मभूमि मेरी पुनीत । बस लंका तक ही समाप्त । या भूतल में सर्वत्र व्याप्त। hint at the propriety of being a citizen of the world. Reference to the Khaṇḍakāvya i.e., *Pañcavaṭī* of this poet is also opportune as the incident of Lakṣmaṇa disfiguring Śūrpaṇakhā is artistically presented.

Vaidehī-vanavāsa of Ayodhya Singh Hariaudha though published late in 1939 A.D. happens to be a Mahākāvya (of 18 cantos) depicting Sītā voluntarily accepting to stay far away from Ayodhyā in view of the calumny and is called back by Rāma when the wave of public censure evaporated on account of the sterling character of Rāma and Sītā, the ideal king and queen. Here the author has taken care to stear clear of the supernatural. Didactic element has attained extreme importance in *Bharata - Bhakti* (1932 A.D.) of Shivaratna Shukla, a long poem consisting of 22 cantos. No wonder that Bharata here does not speak harsh words to Kaikeyī and like Maithilisharana Gupta's Kaikeyī, here she is seen repenting over her mistake in sending Rāma to forest.

Suryakant Tripathi, "Nirala" in the first half of the 20th century boldly experimented in blank verse in Hindi and wrote *Pañcavaṭi Prasaṅga,* an attempt to present a dramatic poem based on the incident in *Rāmāyaṇa* although poetry gets the upper hand. His poem *"Rāma kī Śakti - pūjā"* (1930 A.D.) speaks of Rāma offering a prayer to *Śakti,* the goddess on seeing Rāvaṇa endowed with great power in times of war. This indicates the influence of Kṛttivāsa's *Rāmāyaṇa* in Bengali language, where Rāma is seen offering 108 blue lotuses on the feet of the goddess *Śakti.* In fact Nirala's powrful imagination has added a new dimension to a novel style which became famous by the name शक्तिपूजा छंद in Hindi.

'Urmilā' by the poet Balkrishna Sharma Naveen was published in the year 1957. This Kāvya deals with the story of union with and separation from Lakṣmaṇa of Urmilā and the author's emphasis is on the mental reactions of Urmilā with reference to the behaviour of the characters of the *Rāmāyaṇa* such as Lakṣmaṇa, Rāma, Sītā, Sumitrā, Kausalyā. No wonder that here Lakṣmaṇa and Urmilā are depicted as the lover and the beloved; nevertheless their love for each other is a symbol of the attraction of Ātman with reference to Paramātman thus bringing out a fusion of the old and new. Sumitranandan Pant's *"Ashokavana"* (included in *Svarṇakiraṇa* published in 1947) depicts the conflict between Rāvaṇa personifying materialistic glory and Rāma symbolising spiritual power. Here Sītā stands for the heart of the earth i.e., भूहृदय imprisoned by Rāvaṇa with the help of मायामृग. In fact the entire poem is a sustained metaphor reminding one of the Kanarees poem *Rāmāyaṇa*

Darśana by the great poet Kuvempu.

Dr. Baladeva Prasad Mishra wrote *"Sāketa - Santa"* (1946) based on the character of Bharata where Bharata's detachment leads him to an active life of selfless action contributing to the progress of the kingdom of Ayodhyā. This poem consisting of 14 cantos really deals with the married life of Bharata ending with Rama's return to Ayodhyā from the forest. It is true that the influence of *"Sāketa"* over this Kāvya can be easily noticed, as the author is keen on bringing out the workings of the mind of Bharata as well as other characters. बाह्य बीन का नाम न था अब । जाग्रत हृदय बीनस्वर था । happens to be the prominent note making Bharata appreciate Māṇḍavī's inner beauty. *Kosala-Kiśora* of 18 cantos written by this author does not evince much originality but *Rāma-rājya*, the third poem of this poet based on *Rāmakāvya* beginning the Rāma story with the incident of Rāma's exile in the forest ending with Rāma's entry into Ayodhyā after destroying Rāvaṇa and the Rākṣasas, shows novelty in treatment. Here Rāma is depicted as a person working in the interest of the residents of villages as well as the forest. The purpose of this poem is to establish a benevolent rule by destroying Rākṣasas tormenting the people. This brings in the conflict with the monarchy of Rāvaṇa as well as of Vālin. Rāma's friendship with Sugrīva through Hanūmān introduces a revolution and his success over Rāvaṇa assumes the colour of bringing all democratic forces together. The poem ends with Rāma establishing मानवधर्म i. e., *Rāma-rājya* in Ayodhyā. Thus the story of Rāma though not different from that of *Rāmāyaṇa* gets a different dimension. Prof. Deviprasad Gupta has considered *Rāma-rajya* to be an important landmark in Hindi Rāma-Kāvyas (see Janabharati, 1st issue, 12fth year).

Kedarnatha Mishra's ('Prabhat,' the name in poetry) *"Kaikeyī"* depicts Kaikeyī as a heroic Kṣatriya woman who knowingly suppresses the mother and wife in her and sends Rāma to the forest with the explicit purpose of saving the land from the tortures of Rāvaṇa as well as the Rākṣasas. This has given a new dimension to the well-known incidents of the *Rāmāyaṇa* such as Rāma's exile, Daśaratha's death, the arrival of Bharata, etc. In keeping with the modern trend, the poem emphasizes the inner conflict of the *Rāmāyaṇa* characters with a distinct nationalistic bias. *Satī Sītā* of Shrimati Shakuntala Kumari Renu (1951) expresses the author's devotion to Sītā for her unflinching faith in Rāma, while *"Ashokavana"* of Shri Gokulchandra Sharma restricts the Rāma story mainly to separation of Sītā during her sojourn in Laṅkā, but is intended to pay tribute to Rāma as well as Sītā. Here the incidents that take place before Sītā's stay in Ashokavana are conveyed through the conversation of Sītā and Saramā, the consort of Vibhīṣaṇa. *"Videha"* of Potdar Ramavatara Aruna (1954) indicates the author's devotion to Janaka whose selflessness is not an outcome of detachment for this life, but is a result of his inborn love for the suffering humanity. The work is written

in a style suited to Chhayavada of modern Hindi Poetry excelling in symbolic and metaphorical expressions.

It must not be forgotten that Vraja had been the literary language in earlier days and there have been Rāma-Kathā exponents accepting Vraja as the medium of expression even in the 20th century. Among these Haradayal Simha's *Rāvaṇa Māhākāya* (1962) deserves a separate mention, specially because it makes Rāvaṇa the hero of the long poem and describes his life in 17 cantos. First 10 cantos describe the marriage of Kaikeyī, the mother of Rāvaṇa, Rāvaṇa's birth, his rule over Laṅka, his marriage with Mandodarī, the birth of their son Meghanāda, his marriage with Sulocanā, etc. Cantos 11 to 13 deal with the Sūrpaṇakhā episode ending with Rāvaṇa's slaughter. Canto 14 brings out the deceitful practices of Vibhīṣaṇa bringing out the fall of Mandodarī followed by the description of the desolate Laṅka. Next two cantos speak of Arimardana's birth and his rule of Laṅkā, this Arimardana being the son of Rāvaṇa from Dhānyamalinī. No wonder that this poem speaks of many changes in the *Rāmāyaṇa* story such as the enmity of Lakṣmaṇa and Śūrpaṇakhā of Janasthāna resulting into the disfigurement of the latter and her entering fire after writing a letter to Rāvaṇa, Hanūmān's secret alliance with Vibhīṣaṇa and consequently his taking refuge with Rāma, Rāvaṇa himself providing a chariot to Rāma in war and sending his Vaidya Suṣeṇa to treat Lakṣmaṇa hit by a mountain hurled at him, Lakṣmaṇa deceitfully killing Indrajit and Rāma also making short work of Rāvaṇa while he was taking a bow in his hand. Haradayal Simha appears to have been following Maichael Madhusudana Datta of Bengal in raising Rāvaṇa's stature and depicting Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Vibhīṣaṇa in a very unfavourable light.

In 1961 Jaina Acharya Tulsi's *Agniparīkṣā* is a work dealing with the abandonment of Sītā typically following the Jaina tradition materially differing from the *Rāmayaṇa* story. According to this tradition Lakṣmaṇa (8 th Vasudeva) kills Rāvaṇa (8th Prativasudeva Vajrajaṅgha), protects Sītā in the forest, Sītā's brother Bhāmaṇḍala helps Rāma in his conflict with Rāvaṇa. Ācharya Tulsi has shown that abandonment of Sītā by Rāma in Ayodhyā was a result of the unholy alliance of other queens of Rāma (reminding one of the pictures of Rāvaṇa portrayed by Sītā) and then running to her succour after knowing the truth. This Kāvya also speaks of weakness of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa in their battle with Lavaṇa [i. e., Laval and Aṅkuśa (Kuśa)]. In fact the author of *Agniparīkṣa* does not pardon Rāma for abandoning Sītā reminding one of the words of Vālmīki viz. मन्युर्भरताग्रजे मे in Uttarkāṇḍa. No wonder that Sītā of *Agniparīkṣa* refuses to forgive Rāma and is made to say—

कपिपति मैं भूली नहीं वह भीषण कान्तार ।
नहीं और चाहिए स्वामी का सत्कार ।

To sum up, Rāma-Kāvyas in Hindi indicate different tendencies. Firstly, there is a marked tendency to treat characters of the Rāma story as presenting ideals of behaviour as well as individual virtues like chastity, truthfulness along with social virtues like love for the country as well as humanity at large. Stylistic peculiarities of the modern days are also visible. In some Kāvyas, a tendency to eulogize Rāvaṇa and denigrate Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā is also noticed. In some of the Kāvyas like *Rāvaṇa Mahākāvya*, Sulocanā and Mandodarī have also attracted the attention of some poets. Stray episodes, especially *Sītā-parityāga* has inspired many poets while *Agniparīkṣā* of Acharya Tulsi represents the Jaina tradition that materially differs from the *Rāmāyaṇa* tradition. In the year 1992, *'Uttar Rāmāyaṇa', a Kāvya* in 5 *sargas* has been published. This is written by the poet, Dr. Kishore Kavara of Gujarat who has based his long poem on Rāma's abandonment of Sītā and the consequent sorrow of Sītā which she courageously underwent.

Influence of *Rāmāyaṇa* is not restricted to poems only, as is evident from Narendra Kohli's novel on *Rāmāyaṇa*, dramas like *Ānanda Raghunandana* and operas like *Līlā*. Unprecedented popularity of Ramakinkar Upadhyaya's lectures on *Rāmāyaṇa*, published in three volumes offers fresh evidence of the overwhelming influence of Vālmīki which continues to have its hold on the large Hindi-speaking section of today. It is well-known that Rāmalīlā based on Tulsidasa's *Rāmacaritā Mānasa* still continues to attract large audiences in Hindi-speaking states of this country. This Rāmalīlā has been recently dramatised in Hindi drama, *Rāmavijaya*, written by Mrs. Lalita Bapat and revised by the celebrated Marathi dramatist, Shri Vidyadhar Gokhale as well as late Shri Amar Varma.

This survey offers sufficient testimony to the deep and far-reaching impact of the *Rāmāyaṇa* on Hindi literature in general and Hindi poetry in particular from early days right upto the present century.

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MOHINĪ – THE FEMALE INCARNATION OF VIṢṆU

VANAMALA PARTHASARATHY

Viṣṇu assumed the form of a fascinating woman, namely Mohinī[1], on more than one occasion. At the time of churning of the ocean of milk by the *devas* and *asuras,* Dhanvantari, a form of Viṣṇu appeared with a pot of *amṛta.* A tussle arose between the two groups for its possession. Viṣṇu took the form of Mohinī, duped the *asuras* and distributed the share to the *devas.* The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (Bh.P) while listing the names of the incarnations or forms of Viṣṇu assigns the thirteenth position to Mohinī immediately after Dhanvantari (I.3.17)[2]. The Tamil lexicon quotes a work belonging to tenth century, viz. *Piṅkala Nikaṇṭu* which is also a lexicon as referring to Mohinī as one of the secondary incarnations *(aṁśāvatāras)* of Viṣṇu immediately after Dattātreya.[3] This article proposes to piece together references and legends found in texts about her, and the representations of her in art, along with ritualistic traditions related to her form in Viṣṇu temples in south India. The main objective is to trace the evolution and development of the Mohinī motif.

The occasions of the appearance of Mohinī

These can be categorised roughly in the following manner :

(a) At the time of churning of the ocean of milk, Viṣṇu assumed the form of this enchantress to distribute *amṛta;*

(b) When at the request of Śiva, Viṣṇu assumed the Mohinī form, the union of the two produced Śāstā or Ayyappan as he is called in the South;

(c) In order to destory the *asura* Bhasmāsura (also known as Vṛkāsura);

(d) When Śiva assumed the form of *Bhikṣāṭana* (beggar) to entice the wives of Dārukāvana, Viṣṇu took the form of Mohinī to tempt sages;

(e) References to Mohinī's incarnation can be traced to post-Vedic literature.[4] *Mahābhārata* (Mbh.) records the legend of Viṣṇu's intervention in the quarrel between the *devas* and *asuras* for *amṛta,* acting to the benefit of the former (I.16.37-40; I.17. 1-9).[5]

When Dhanvantari appeared, there was a clamour for the possession of *amṛta.* So Nārāyaṇa called upon the illusive power *(māyā)* and assumed the exquisitely beautiful form, coquetted with the *dānavas (asuras),* deceived

them, taking away *amṛta,* distributed to the *devas.* While the distribution was going on, Rāhu in the guise of *adeva* entered. Sūrya and Soma recognised and conveyed it to the others. Immediately Nārāyaṇa cut off Rahu's head with his *cakra* (discus). The head that was cut off rose up and the trunk fell to the ground. Then Nārāyaṇa quit his form of the enchanting female. In the descriptions of the form the only idea one gathers from the text is that she was extremely beautiful. The term used being *"strīrūpamadbhutam"* (I.16.39b) and *"strīrūpamatulam"*, (I.17.9a) meaning it was a wonderful and an unequalled one.

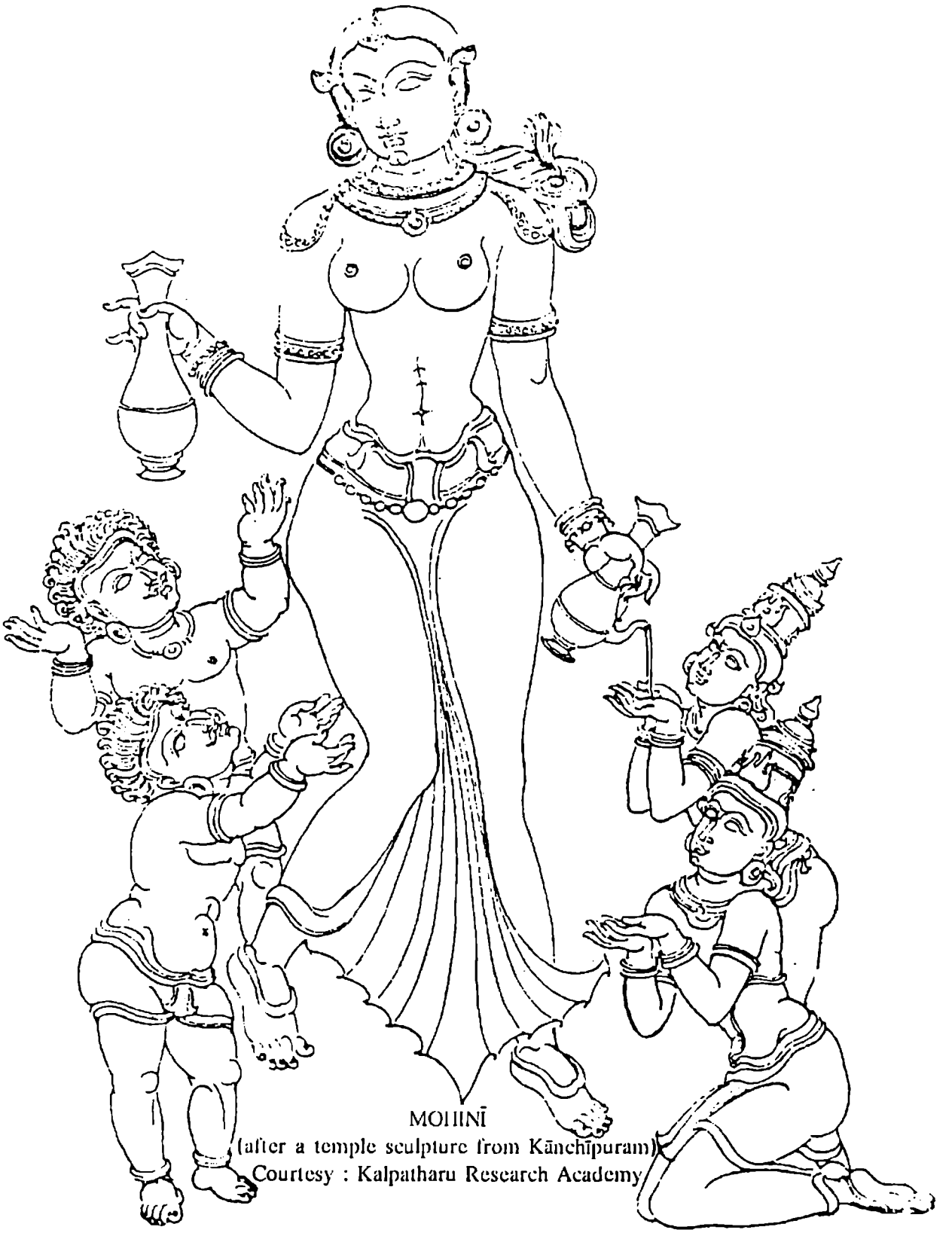
It is interesting to note here that the critical edition of *Rāmāyaṇa* does not mention specifically the form to Mohinī though the fight between the *devas* and *asuras* for the possession of *amṛta* figures.[6] However, certain south Indian editions carry the verse referring to Mohinī.[7] The very fact that the south Indian editions carry the references would perhaps indicate somewhat the popularity of the motif in south India. There are other factors too, which would be discussed later that point out to the theory to be proposed that the motif of Mohinī seems to have been more prevalent in the South as compared to the North.

Following these, there are several references and legends relating to Mohinī in the Purāṇas. Some of them being *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (V.P.),[8] *Matsya Purāṇa* (M.P.),[9] *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (Bh.P.),[10] *Skanda Purāṇa* (Sk.P.),[11] *Padma Purāṇa* (P.P.),[12] *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* (Bd.P.),[13] and *Śiva Purāṇa* (S.P.)[14] and *Agni Purāṇa* (A.P).[15]

The problem of assigning exact dates to the Purāṇas is always there, as the composition of them may have been spread over centuries. Sometimes the kernel of particular Purāṇa may have been there from very early times. The contents may have been amplified over the centuries. Then again the chapters of some Purāṇas may also be assigned to different periods. As far as possible the dates as discussed by R.C. Hazra[16] have been adhered to, unless otherwise specified.

So far as Mohinī's role in the distribution of *amṛta* was concerned, the Purāṇas agree on the fact that she by her enticing look managed to dupe the *asuras* and distributed it to the *devas.* However, the manner in which she deluded the *asuras* have slight variations among the Purāṇas. Some of them assign only a few verses such as V.P. (3-4 century A.D.), M.P., P.P. (not before 950 century A.D. and not later than 1400 A.D.). There are others like Bh.P. (6th century A.D.), Bd.P. (700-1000 A.D.), A.P. (9th century A.D.), S.P. (about 8th century A.D.)[17] which narrate the episode of Śiva witnessing Viṣṇu's female form, that of Mohinī.

According to Sk.P. (not earlier than 7th century A.D.), the *asuras* gave the *amṛta* to Mohinī and agreed to her distribution. When the *devas* arrived,



MOHINĪ
(after a temple sculpture from Kāñchīpuram)
Courtesy : Kalpatharu Research Academy

she told the *asuras* that as they *(devas)* were guests, it was important that they should be served first. Accordingly, a large share was given to them. According to Bh.P, when the *asuras* were completely enticed by her, she asked them as to why they were wanting to get associated with a *"puṁścalī"* (wanton woman) like her. Still the *asuras* under her spell gave away the pot to her and agreed to abide by whatever she chose to do, and not quarrel. Consequently, the *devas* finished consuming and Lord Hari assumed his own form, while the *devas* looked aghast. As per A.P., the *asuras* requested her to become their wife. Mohinī agreed and took away the pot of *amṛta* and gave it to the *devas*. The P.P. says she approached the *asuras* saying that she would be obedient to them and stay in their house. When they were looking in front, she gave it to the *devas*.

That the form of Mohinī was the outcome of illusive powers of Viṣṇu is seen from Mbh. onwards. However, the Bd.P. has a very interesting suggestion to offer. According to it (III4.A.10.4ff) when a terrible dispute arose for receiving *amṛta*, the sole protector of all the worlds, viz. Viṣṇu, propitiated goddess Lalitā, meditating on Maheśvarī. He then became identical in form with her and assumed the beautiful form that of Mohinī. Looking at the Tamil sources, a reference to the partial gesture of Viṣṇu in distributing the *amṛta* is found in *Paripāṭal* (3.33), a Tamil text belonging to Sangam literature (500 B.C.- 200 A.D.).[18]

The *Takkayākapparaṇi* by Oṭṭakūttar (12th century A.D.)[19] makes a reference which indicates the identification of Devī with Viṣṇu. And she (Kālī) is supposed to have assumed the form of Mohinī to distribute *amṛta* to the *devas* and put an end to the lives of *asuras* (v.107). The *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (Mk.P.) gives this indication by invoking Devī as Viṣṇumāyā (85.12).[20] Based on internal evidences the above portion of the Purāṇa namely, Devī Māhātmya is assigned roughly to the beginning of the 10th century latest. And as it is the latest part of the Purāṇa, it is felt that it cannot be later than the 9th century and may be considerably earlier.[21]

The Bd.P. wherein the references occur, namely the *'Lalitopākhyāna'* is considered as belonging to a period later than tenth century.[22] The Viṣṇumāyā had its influence on Śiva too. This brings us to the episode relating to the union of Mohinī with Śiva. The Bh.P, Bd.P., S.P., and A.P. refer to this aspect. References are found in Bh.P. (VIII.12.12.ff.), Bd.P. (III.4.10.34 and 45ff.), S.P. (III.20.3-7), A.P. (3.17 ff.). It is at the request of Śiva the female form is assumed by Viṣṇu, as the former was curious to witness the manifestation.

As per Bd.P. Nārada informs Śiva of the beautiful form of Mohinī taken by Viṣṇu at the time of the churning of the ocean. The form fascinated everyone and surpassed all power of mind (imagination) and of speech (description) (v.46). The form was so alluring that Śiva lost his control and

sought union with her. The outcome of this was Mahāśāstā, the Lord of great strength *(mahābala)* capable of destroying the arrogance of many *asuras* (v.75).[23] It is interesting to note here that Bh.P. though gives the episode does not specifically state the birth of Mahāśāstā but nevertheless says wherever the seed of Śiva fell, the areas became of silver and gold ores (v.33). In fact Śiva realizes that he had been deluded by the illusive powers of Viṣṇu (v.35), also expresses his happiness that Śiva after the realization had regained his normal state (v.38). Śiva even asks Pārvatī whether she had observed the deluding power of the Supreme and that he had become a victim to it (v.43). As per S.P., an interesting outcome of Śiva's meeting with Mohinī is mentioned. Śiva was fascinated. He let fall his semen for the sake of Rāmā, and at his urging the sages collected it on a leaf and poured it into the ears of Añjanā. In the course of time Śiva was born out of it in the form of a monkey Hanumat who had great strengh (S.P. III.20. 3-7). As per A.P., Śiva requested Hari *(Viṣṇu)* to assume the feminine form again, after the latter had renounced it after the distribution of *amṛta*. Śiva was fascinated and ran after her in a naked state. His seminal fluid dropped, and there arose in those places *liṅgas* of gold. Śiva realized the illusory aspect and regained his normal state. And Viṣṇu remarked as to how Śiva had managed to conquer his (Viṣṇu's) illusory power (3.171f.).

In all the above references one factor remains evident, namely Śiva was temporarily overcome by Viṣṇumāyā. The outcome of course varies with the texts. The Bh.P. surprisingly does not mention about Mahāśāstā though elaborate descriptions are found relating to Mohinī and her meeting with Śiva in spite of the fact that it is felt that the last redactor of the Purāṇa appears to be a southerner.[24] On the other hand Bd.P. mentions it. It is also felt that the portion of the Purāṇa, namely "*Lalitopākhyāna*" did not form a part of the Purāṇa but was later appended to it by the devotees of Śakti to give Śakti colouring.[25] It was pointed that the Tamil work *Takkayākapparaṇi* had identified Devī with Viṣṇu, some explanations are provided for the identification in the above text. She is the sister of Viṣṇu, secondly Viṣṇu formed the left half of Hari-Hara aspect, thirdly Devī is on the left half of Śiva in the Ardhanārī concept. While in the former it is Viṣṇu, in the latter it is Pārvatī (Devī) and hence both (Viṣṇu and Devī) are regarded identical.[26] It is the same idea that is projected in Bd.P. too. However, one is not able to assign a definite reason for the lack of mention of Śāstā in Bh.P. Besides Bd.P., the *Suprabheda Āgama* has been quoted as mentioning the birth of Śāstā as a result of the union of Śiva and Viṣṇu as Mohinī.[27] This Āgama is quoted by Tirumūlar in *Tirumantiram* (v.63).[28] Tirumūlar is said to have lived in the 5th century A.D. and hence the Āgama must have existed before him.[29]

In all probability, the concept of Śāstā (Ayyappan) was known earlier,

yet may not have gained great popularity, some scholars opine that *Bhāgavata* is a very late work not earlier than 9th century A.D., even though Hazra is of the opinion that it falls in the 6th century A.D.[30] It is also likely that the period when the last redaction took place might have been earlier than Bd.P. It is also possible that even if it is assumed that the redaction took place at a later period than Bd.P., the redactor (the last one) (though from South) may have chosen to delete it for some reasons which we are not able to make out.

The third occasion that prompted Viṣṇu to assume the female form (Mohinī) was when he had to destory Bhasmāsura. It is indicated that the Sanskrit Purāṇas do not mention the episode.[31] However, in Bh.P. the details relating to the boon granted to the *asura* by name Vṛkāsura seem identical. But in this case Viṣṇu in order to destroy him assumes the form of a small boy (vatukat) and uses different tactics to delude him, and finally the *asura* is destroyed (X.88).

Śivalīlāmṛta, a work in Marathi carries the story of Bhasmāsura in an elaborate fashion.[32] The author of the work is Śrīdhara (1678-1728 A.D.)[33] who was the grandson of Ekanātha, the great saint of Maharashtra. The *Ālaṅkuṭi Sthala Purāṇa* in Tamil too carries the episode,[34] *Śivalīlāmṛta* says that when Śiva applied *bhasma* on his body he felt a pebble *(khaḍā)* in it. He put it on the ground. An *asura* came out of it who then came to be known as Bhasmāsura (ch.12.105 and 106). He sought a boon from Śiva, who was pleased with his devotion. That being, on whosesoever head he placed his hand, he would be reduced to ashes. Thus he put fear into everyone. He kept chasing Śiva too, demanding his wife also. It is at this juncture Viṣṇu assumed the form of Mohinī (v.172). The *asura* was enamoured and could not resist but ask for her hand. She agreed on one condition that she had to fulfil a vow, which required her to perform a dance with the person whom she was going to marry. And the person had to exactly repeat the actions which she did, and after which she would be his. Cleverly, in the course of dance he was automatically forced to place his hand on his head, in trying to imitate her as laid down by her. And he was burnt to ashes (v.188).

There is another version which says, that Mohinī promised the *asura* that she would be his after he came back from a bath. And when he tried to dry his hair he was reduced to ashes. Following this Śiva saw the Mohinī form and the union took place, the outcome being Śāstā.[35]

The interesting features of the Bhasmāsura story is the dance of Mohinī, which gets represented in art forms too. Even the classical dance form of Kerala goes by the name of *Mohinī āṭṭam.* Secondly, it appears as per some versions, including *Ālaṅkuṭi Sthala Purāṇa*[36] which in referring to the birth

of Śāstā, says that Viṣṇu assumed the form of Mohinī to destroy Bhasmāsura, also called Vṛkāsura. So it appears that the union of Śiva and Mohinī perhaps took place after the Bhasmāsura incident. It is likely that the promoters of Bhasmāsura story may have done it to give it importance rather than place it after the *amṛta* episode. It is essential to note here that both the *Alaṅkuṭi Sthala Purāṇa*[37] and *Śivalīlāmṛta* where the Bhasmāsura-Mohinī episode occurs are not very ancient. However, a representation of the dance theme of Mohinī and Bhasmāsura is found in Viṣṇuvardhana Hoysaleshwara Temple on the south west wall in Halebid in Karnataka (12th century).[38] Tradition believes that the places where Viṣṇu assumed the Mohinī form to destory Bhasmāsura, were Belur and Halebid, and the images are called *'channa'* (sweet)[39]. The Hoysala artists have done full justice to her form. The episode though well-known by the 12th century might have gained greater popularity by about 15-16th centuries. There is a reference as to the possibility of one of classical styles of dance in Kerala known till then as *'Tevitticci āṭṭam'* came to be designated as *Mohinī āṭṭam* by about the sixteenth century A.D.[40] In fact by 17th-18th centuries one finds paintings of Mohinī's dance in paintings too in Kerala which shall be referred to later.

The dance of Mohinī which is only that of Viṣṇu in the form of Mohinī is regarded as one symbolising the 'dance of existence', because Viṣṇu was the one who distributed *amṛta* to the *devas* for 'eternal existence.'[41] The name of the dance performed by her during Bhasmāsura episode is given as *'mukkanṛtya.'*[42]

The fourth occasion when Mohinī form was assumed was in order to entice the sages of Dārukavanam.[43] The *ṛṣis* in this forest were arrogant, their wives were proud of their chastity. To put them down Śiva assumed the form of Bhikṣāṭana. He enticed the wives. The *rsis* on the other hand lost their will-power to Mohinī, the form taken by Viṣṇu to achieve the purpose. That her beauty must have been so very breathtaking, because earlier also it was pointed out how even Śiva, the 'Lord of Yogis' could not resist her.

The Bhikṣāṭana form of Śiva is often seen in south Indian temples. Actually the local chronicles connect this form with Vaḷuvūr and Tiruthuraippundi temples in the Tanjore District. A bronze image of Mohinī is found in close proximity to Bhikṣāṭana image in Virateswara Temple in Vaḷuvūr as well as in Kalahastiswarar Temple at Kalahasti.[44] The details of these two images of Mohinī would be taken up later.

Śiva roaming around the forests of Dāruvana (Dārukāvana) enticing the wives of *ṛṣis* finds mention in the Purāṇas. One Devadāruvana finds mention in Mbh. too, and regarded as sacred (XIII.26.25a). S.P. (IV.12) narrates the episode in connection with the phallic form of Śiva, as a result of the curse,

and the manner in which the wives of the *ṛṣis* were sacred and other women approached him. The location of this Dāruvana is yet to be ascertained.[45] The *Vāmana Purāṇa* (*circa* 700-1000 A.D.) also contains this narrative, and how the women except Arundhatī and Anasuyā followed Śiva, and how he was cursed by Bhārgava, and Aṅgiras that Śiva's phallus should drop to the ground. (6.58ff.).[46] From the Purāṇic references the Dārukāvana episode of Śiva seems to relate to his phallic symbol. Viṣṇu's appearance as Mohinī seems to have developed from the local chronicles of certain temples (Śiva's) fusing it with the already pointed out Purāṇic Dārukāvana legend. This could have taken place at a later stage too. A slight variation in the story is also mentioned.[47]

Descriptions of Mohinī in texts

Mbh. in which the Mohinī episode occurs in connection with the distribution of *amṛta* describes her form as a wonderful female form *(strīrūpamadbhutam)* (I.16.39b) and an unequalled one *(strīrūpamatulam)* (I.17.9a). The Purāṇas such as Bh.P., Bd.P. give elaborate descriptions. Her beautiful form is accentuated by her exquisite ornaments. The Bh.P. (VIII.8.42ff.) describes as follows: she was blue like a lotus (reminding of Viṣṇu's colour) with every limb being beautiful, ears symmetrical with earrings, with beautiful cheeks, and a shapely nose, possessing a slender waist with heavy breasts, profuse hair, adorned with *mallikā* flowers. She wore armlets and anklets. She had beautiful eyes like lotus petals. She was youthful in age (VIII.9.2.) having foliage like tender feet *(padapravalam)* (VIII.12.19). The form was so pretty that both *devas* and *asuras* were ogling at her (VIII. 9.18a). The (supreme) deity was "a compeer to goddess Śrī (or Lakṣmī in beauty)[48] (Śrīsakhīm) (VIII.9.18a).[49]

The Bd.P. too has many details about her appearance (III.4.10.56ff.). She is called as "one who could fascinate the entire world (*jagannmohanarūpiṇī*) (III.4.10.14a) and she was the "enchantress of the world" (*viśvamohinī*) (v.77); The Purāṇa graphically describes the meeting of Śiva and Mohinī (v.56ff.). As for the ornaments worn by her and of special interest are : *uttaṁsa* (a chaplet like ornament worn on the crown of her head) (v.70.a.)[50] and the nose-ring (v.65). The latter ornament is one of the reasons for this portion of the Purāṇa in getting assigned to a period later than 10th century.[51]

Portrayal of Mohinī in Art

The *Pratimā-Kośa* under the heading Mohinī gives the legend of *amṛta*, and also that of the union of Śiva with Mohinī. It quotes Mūrtidhyānam for her representation.[52] She is to be shown as "youthful (*bālā*), blue in complexion like the blue lotus (*nīlotpala-samaprabha*), three-eyed and four-armed. She is bedecked in all ornaments and draped in yellow silken garments. She is surrounded by gods and demons who worship her. She

carries in her normal right hand a pot full of ambrosia (*pūrṇakumbha*) and in the corresponding left hand blue lotus *(utpala)*. Her upper hands carry noose and goad. She is the charmer of the whole world *(loka-mohinī)*." It is interesting to note that Bh.P. too describes her youthful disposition *(navam vayaḥ)* (VIII.9.2) and also her colour as blue (VIII.8.42a). The description noted in *Mūrtidhyānam* leads us to believe that some extent of Śākta (*Tantric*) element had lent itself in relation to Mohinī motif. In other words certain kind of identification between Viṣṇu as Mohinī and Devī is perceivable. The *Pratimā-Kośa* also quotes *Śārada-Tilaka Tantra* referring to one Mohinī as also a *nityā* goddess, and her attributes being noose and goad with three eyes.[53]

Given the background of the reasons for the assumption of the Mohinī form it is but natural to have her visual representations as not only alluring but also voluptuous. Very often visual portrayals in art have direct or indirect links with the episodes connected with the deity or character in question. In the case of Mohinī too this could be applied. Based on the references collected, the portrayals can be categorised as follows : those related to the *amṛta* episode, her seduction of the *ṛṣis* of Dārukāvana, and the theme of dance associated with her.

The earliest representation of Mohinī, as gathered from the references collected appears to be the one connected with the *amṛta* episode. The figure is that of the bust of a lady belonging to the Kushana period (2nd century A.D.) from Mathura museum, identified as Mohinī and has been published.[54] Here she is shown as two-handed, looks well-built, with heavy breasts. She is holding a pot (possibly signifying the pot of *amṛta*), with some ornaments. Her hair is tied up. A thin looking veil, kind of cloth is thrown behind over the shoulders.

From the material collected it seems Mohinī's portrayal has been popular in the South in temples (on panels and images), in paintings even in palaces such as the one in Mattancheri in Kerala. The motif perhaps caught the attention of people. Even Śiva temples too came to possess her icons. Besides, Viṣṇu temples in South introduced *'Mohinī alaṅkāram'* when the deity is dressed as Mohinī as a ritualistic even during certain festivals.

Under the category of the *amṛta* episode a figure of Mohinī has been identified in one of the panels of south wall of *antarāla* of Vaikuṇṭha Perumāl temple, Kāñci in Tamilnadu which is assigned to Nandivarman Pallavamalla (8th century A.D).[55] It is of interest to note here that Tirumankai, one of the twelve Vaiṣṇava āḻvārs of South, and possibly a contemporary of Nandivarman makes a specific reference to the female form of Viṣṇu (Mohinī), and her deceptive role in the distribution of *amṛta* in his work *'Periya tirumoḻi'* (I.5.8;II.6.1).[56] It is possible to infer that perhaps the Mohinī motif had gained

some importance by the 8th century to get visually represented too.

However, the depiction does not seem very clear as far as details go. The figure is no doubt alluring, shown with a *kirīṭa*. Holding a pot *(kalaśa)* she is shown moving forward. On her left are three rows of male figures, and some to her right, possibly *asuras* and *devas* respectively. Her movement exudes gracefulness.

Following this there is a stone image in a niche in the front *maṇḍapa* of Airavateśvarar temple in Dārasuram, that has been published.[57] The temple is assigned to Cola king, Rāja Rāja II (1146-1172 A.D). The figure is labelled as Mohinī, though the name Annapūrṇī with a question mark is added within brackets. Some scholars seem to have identified it as Annapūrṇā. Dr. Nagaswami does not agree as he feels Annapūrṇā has to be shown with *annapātra* in the left hand and spoon in the right hand, whereas in the figure, she is shown with a pot *(kalaśa)* in her left hand and carrying a lotus in her right hand. Hence he has identified it as Devī who distributed *amṛta* to the *devas* as Mohinī.[58] Secondly, Balasubramaniam S.R. who has published the plate has also identified it as Mohinī, though he indicates there is scope for doubt. Keeping the literary evidence in mind, namely the interpretation provided by *Takkayākapparaṇi* (12th century A.D.), which corroborates the view that Devī assumed the Mohinī form to distribute the *amṛta* to the *devas,* one is inclined to feel that it could be Mohinī form of Devī. In other words, it is none other than that of Viṣṇumāyā (Devī). The sculpture has a beautiful captivating smile. She is shown as bejewelled with a *karanda-mukuṭa* (a kind of crown).

The second theme relating to Mohinī motif that gets projected in visual representations is the seduction of *ṛṣis* of Dārukāvana. A couple of bronzes identified as Mohinī have been published, one at Tiruvirattanam temple at Vaḷuvūr (Virateśvara) in Tamilnadu and the one from Kālahastiśvarar temple at Kālahasti in the present Andhra Pradesh.[59] These temples are assigned under those belonging to the period of Kulottuṅga III (1178 - 1218 A.D.)[60]. An inscriptional reference is also cited which states that one Alagapperumal of the post-Cola period set up a bronze image of Bhikṣāṭanamūrti at Vaḷuvūr temple.[61]

Two inferences are possible based on the above evidences. It is assumed that the icon of Mohinī was set up along with Bhikṣātaner, a reference to that effect would have been quoted. Secondly, the Purāṇas refer to the Dārukāvana episode, and it is likely that the icon of Bhikṣāṭana was set up prior to a stage when Mohinī episode in connection with the Dārukāvana gained popularity. Moreover, the temple is also dedicated to Śiva, it is possible that the icon of Bhikṣāṭana was set up first. It is also probable that the person who set up could have been a Śiva devotee. Again it is opined that

the bronze of Mohinī does not seem particularly old, and is also regarded "inferior in conception" to the type of images of Pārvatī though less conventional in pose and treatment.[62] Hence in all probability the bronze of Mohinī belongs to a period later than 12th-13th century.

The icon at Vaḷuvūr is two-handed like the one at Kālahastī. It has a slender body as compared to the one at Kālahastī. The Vaḷuvūr one is in *tribhangī* posture (the body has three bends). Though their hairstyles are of the *keśabandha* type, they seem slightly different from each other. The Vaḷuvūr icon is almost nude, with just a sash going round the thighs and taken across the left arm, which is shown as resting on a staff, with a parrot perched on it. The right arm is slightly raised above the elbow and the fingers are shown in *kaṭaka hasta* (a position of the fingers to hold a flower and common to the icons of goddesses). She is placed on a lotus pedestal, the weight of her body is on one side and the hip is thrown out. The Kālahasti icon has a tight-fitting lower garment with minute folds, and is adorned with an ornamental waistband. She is shown holding a lotus in her right hand. The left hand is shown hanging freely on the side.

The parrot and staff on Vaḷuvūr icon seem of some significance. The latter perhaps is to indicate her controlling power which is evident in all the episodes connected with her and intention of controlling the *asuras* in the *amṛta* episode, later bringing even Śiva, Bhasmāsura, the *ṛṣis* of Dārukāvana under her control, as a result of her charming looks. The parrot motif associated with her can be seen in other places too where the figures have been identified as Mohinī.

On one of the pillars of the Dhvajastambha Maṇḍapa as one enters the Āṇḍāḷ shrine at Śrīvillipputtūr in Tamil Nadu there is a figure which is described as Mohinī[63] and the temple is roughly assigned prior to 10th century.[64] It is mentioned that the parrot is shown perched on the right hand with *cinmudrā*.[65] It is not mentioned when Dhvajastambha Maṇḍapa came to be constructed though it is noted that in 15th century the *ardha maṇḍapa, mahāmaṇḍapa* and *garbhagṛha* came to be contructed in the Āṇḍaḷ temple.[66]

In addition to the above the parrot associated with the figures and also identified as Mohinī are to be found on the walls at Hoysaleśvara temple at Halebid (12 centuary A.D.)[67], and one at the Kalyānamaṇḍapa of Varadarājasvāmi temple at Kāñci (16th century A.D.).[68] The Dārukāvana episode seems to be the background against which Mohinī is shown at both Śrīvillipputtūr and Kañci. In the latter the *ṛṣis* are portrayed in a great frenzy looking at the form of Mohinī.

It would not be out of place here to offer some plausible explanations for the association of parrot with Mohinī form of Viṣṇu. That it generally forms an attribute of Devī is understood from Tamil texts such as

Yapparuṅkālavṛtti (9th century A.D.) and *Kalāṭam* (11th century A.D.) and these works are shown as belonging to classical Tamil literature having influence of Tantricism.[69] Earlier it was shown how Viṣṇu and Devī came to be identified with each other. *Suprabheda āgama* is quoted as describing Durgā's weapons as *śaṅkha* and *cakra*[70] which normally adorn Viṣṇu. Taking into consideration the above factors it is not unlikely that Tantric or Śākta influence might have been one of the reasons for associating the parrot with Mohinī. Usually, parrot is regarded as a pet bird. It is also associated with *apasarās* who are often connected with sensual love.[71] Kāma, the god of love, is shown at times riding a parrot.[72] The background of the Mohinī episodes being what it is, as evoking sensual desires, it was but natural for the artists to conceive her form, sometimes associating with a parrot to convey the idea. Moreover, as can be seen from *Suprabheda āgama,* Viṣṇu's attributes are given to Durgā; so it is not out of place to assign parrot to Mohinī, though she is an incarnation of Viṣṇu, the identification between Devī and Viṣṇu is already pointed out. Hence the justification of assigning Devī's symbols such as parrot to Viṣṇu can be understood. It is important to mention here that Āṇḍāḷ, the lady Vaiṣṇava saint from Tamil Nadu, is also shown with a parrot.

Related to Dārukāvana episode there is one more identified as Mohinī in Dhvajastambha Maṇḍapa at Tirumala temple (15th century A.D).[73] She is shown very seductive. They have gone to the extent of even showing the *ṛṣis* as sexually stimulated. The noteworthy feature of this figure is the kind of footwear she is shown with. They appear like wooden planks on stilts. The Dārukāvana theme finds expression in a painting on the ceiling in Śivakāmasundarī temple at Cidambaram in Tamil Nadu and is said to belong to period of Nayaks.[74]

The third theme that gets projected with regard to Mohinī is her dance often associated with Bhasmāsura story. Tradition believes that Belur and Halebid were the places where Viṣṇu assumed the Mohinī form as already mentioned. The Hoysala artists have depicted her exquisitely. There is one identified at Belur in Chennakeśvara temple in the Navaraṅga (entrance hall) (1117.A.D.)[75]. Two of the hands are broken. She has a well-developed body, and with a high crown over the head. She is provided with elaborate jewellery, and is shown standing on a pedestal. At Viṣṇuvardhana Hoysaleśvara temple, on the south-west wall, Mohinī is identified dancing nude with Bhasmāsura (12th century A.D.).[76]

A very ornate sculpture of Viṣṇu dancing as Mohinī is seen on the south-west wall of the Keśava temple at Somanathpur (1268 A.D.).[77] Her right leg is shown as lifted and bent inwards. A drummer is also seen below.

The dancing Mohinī motif is identified in the paintings on the panels

of Mattancheri palace in Kerala. It was mentioned earlier how there is a likelihood of one of the classical dance forms from Kerala acquiring the name as *Mohinī āṭṭam* around the 16th century. It appears the dancing theme got projected even in paintings around that period. They belong to 17th century and 18th century A.D. The first one has Śiva dancing with Mohinī (late 17 centuary A.D.).[78] The other one consists of Śiva and Pārvatī watching Mohinī's dance (18 centuary A.D.).[79] In the former, Pārvatī appears with a jealous expression. It seems Śiva is potrayed as performing the virile form (*tāṇḍava*), while Mohinī appears doing the graceful one *(lāsya)*.

The Mohinī motif seems to have appealed so much in the South that it has gained ground in the ritualistic practices in many Viṣṇu temples. The *utsavamūrti* (processional icon) is dressed as Mohinī on certain festival occasions. At Śrīraṅgam Raṅganātha Temple the *Mohinī alaṅkāram* takes place on the last day of the first half of a Adhyayanotsava known as Pakalpattu and is celebrated in the month of December-January *(mārgaśīrṣa)*.

At Mannārgudi Rājagopalasvāmi Temple[80], *Mohinī alaṅkāram* is done on the concluding day of the latter half of the same *utsava* known as *irāppattu*. At Kañcipuram Varadarājasvāmi Temple and at Tirumalai it is conducted on the fifth day of the Brahmotsavam. While I am told in some place she is shown with a parrot in her right hand. She is also shown holding a *vīṇā*, and at times holding a pot *(kalaśa* of *amṛta)*. [81] Three of the above temples, namely Śrīraṅgam, Mannārgudi, and Kāñci, are located in Tamil Nadu, while Tirumalai is in Andhra Pradesh.

It is possible to work out a rough sketch indicating the pattern of evolution of the motif of Mohinī based on the inferences drawn from the references cited in the article. The development is viewed only from two angles, namely textual and visual. The former would include the material collected from the texts. The latter would relate to her representations in art form. An attempt is made to relate the above two to understand the evolution.

Mbh. is the earliest source to mention Mohinī manifestation in connection with the *amṛta* episode. The earliest visual representation of her also is connected to this legend, as can be seen from the one identified as belonging to the Kushana period (2nd century A.D.). In the South she is depicted in Vaikuṇṭha Perumal Temple in Kāñci (8th centuary A.D.) again in relation to the *amṛta* episode.

Following the Mbh., the Purāṇas such as Bh.P., Bd.P. deal with Mohinī in an elaborate fashion. In fact Bh.P. assigns thirteenth position among the manifestations of Viṣṇu. So also the Tamil lexiconic work *Piṅgalam* (10th century A.D.) gives Mohinī a minor *avatāra*.The descriptions of Mohinī tend to become quite elaborate in Purāṇas such as Bh.P. and Bd.P. certain amount of poetic imagination seems to characterize the portrayals.

The illusive power *(māyā)* of Viṣṇu in the case of Mohinī manifestation is indicated in Mbh. But the Purāṇas develop this concept further. Viṣṇumāyā gets projected. Identification of Devī with Viṣṇu is sought such as in Bd.P., where Viṣṇu is shown as identifying himself with Devī when he assumes the form of Mohinī. The Tamil work *Takkayākapparaṇi* (12th century) also reflects the idea that Devī assumed the Mohinī form to distribute *amṛta*. Related to this idea seems to be the image from Airavateśvarar Temple at Dārasuram (12th century A.D.).

Closely associated with the Viṣṇumāyā principle is the story that Śiva himself was deluded by illusive power of Mohinī form. This finds expression in the Purāṇas such as Bd.P., Bh.P., A.P. and S.P., Bd.P. explicitly states that the outcome of the union of Śiva and Viṣṇu as Mohinī, is Mahāśāstā. The latter three texts do refer to the meeting between the two, though the outcome is different. Bh.P. and A.P. says that at the appearance of Mohinī the seminal fluid of Śiva dropped because he was greatly fascinated by her. S.P. on the other hand comes out with a very interesting idea, according to which the seminal fluid was collected by *ṛṣis* at the instance of Śiva himself. This was poured into Añjanā's ears. After some time it is said that Hanumat was born. The *Suprabheda āgama* (earlier than 5th century A.D.) is also quoted as mentioning the birth of Śāstā out of union of Śiva and Mohinī.

Possibly the Dārukāvana legend was also developed to show how Mohinī could entice even *ṛṣis*, becoming victims to the temptations caused by her. Already the Yogin like Śiva had been deluded. The art forms of Mohinī having Dārukāvana episode as background appear from about 12th-13th century onwards, if not earlier.

The dance theme which also bears a close relationship to the Bhasmāsura story finds expression in art forms from 12th century onwards in Karnataka. It is true that textual elaboration of the story is gathered from a period not earlier than 14th-15th century as based on references collected. But it is not unlikely, the legend may have had some literary source in Karnataka by about 12th century, because the art forms make their appearance by then.

By about 17th-18th centuries, paintings of the dance theme of Mohinī got adopted in Kerala. One of the classical dance forms of Kerala also acquired the name of *Mohinī āṭṭam*. The Mohinī motif found favour in Viṣṇu temples in South with respect to ritualistic procedures also. In fact a large number of devotees gather to witness the *Mohinī alaṅkāram* on festival days.

The Mohinī motif was probably developed to bring out the basic moral ethos of God punishing the evil-minded *(asuras)* to the benefit of good-minded *(devas)*. Sometimes as is noticed in the many narratives, certain devious methods are also adopted by the god for achieving this purpose. This is

evident both in the *amṛta* episode and that of Bhasmāsura. The second theme of the attempt of identifying Viṣṇu with Devī, and also of projecting the meeting and union of Śiva and Viṣṇu as Mohinī was perhaps done to promote some kind of unity not only between the two gods–Śiva and Viṣṇu, but the feeling of oneness between the two groups of devotees, the Śaivites and Vaiṣṇavites. Lastly, the illusive power is given importance to show that none can, including *ṛṣis,* in fact even Śiva, is in a position to withstand it. Though in the latter instance it might be argued that this was done to show the superiority of Viṣṇu. If such was the case, then perhaps S.P. would not have included this narrative. On the other hand, it says Śiva with the idea of creating someone namely Hanumat to help Rāma (incarnation of Viṣṇu) asked the *ṛṣis* to collect his seminal fluid which had dropped at the sight of Mohinī.

Thus developed the Mohinī motif. Though the motif is pan-Hindu in character, it seems to have assumed greater popularity in the South as compared to the North, as inferred from the evidences collected. However, as far as her art forms go, only the identified and published figures have been relied upon. Hence there exists a wide scope for further research into the subject once the scholars discover more and more of her representations in different parts of India and relate them to the textual references.

Notes and References

1. The term 'Mohinī' is translated as fascinating woman. (M. Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, Delhi, 1979, p. 836). Besides the female incarnation of Viṣṇu which is known as Mohinī, it is also the name of an *apsarā*. *Brahma Vaivarta Purāṇa* (Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Prayag, 1974) records the curse of one *apsarā* Mohinī on Brahmā (*Uttarbhāgaḥ*, ch. 33). The *Nārada Purāṇa* (Nag Publishers, Delhi, 1984) while glorifying the *ekādaśī vrata* illustrates it with the episode of Rukmāṅgada and Mohinī. The Purāṇa states that she was mentally created by Brahmā and one who fascinated the worlds (7.8-9).

2. *Śrimad Bhāgavata Purāṇam*, Sastri, J. L., Motilal Banarasidass, Delhi, 1983.

   धान्वन्तरं द्वादशमं त्रयोदशमेव च ॥ अपाययत्सुरानन्यान्मोहिन्या मोहयन् स्त्रिया ॥ (I. 3. 17).

   Tagare, G.V. translates as follows – "The twelfth (incarnation) is of Dhanvantarī and the thirteenth, the female form of Mohinī who after deluding others (i.e., demons) enabled (lit.made) the gods to drink nectar." (*Ancient Indian Tradition and Mythology*, Vol.7, the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* , pt.I, Delhi, 1979,p.27). Dange S.S, while enlisting the twenty-two incarnations given in the *Bhāgavata Puraṇa* leaves out Mohinī, and assigns twelfth and thirteenth to Dhanvantari (*The Bhāgavata Purāṇa, Mytho-Social Study* , Ajanta Publications, Delhi, 1984 pp.251-252 - f.n. 20). I am not in a position to comment on the verse relied upon by the author as it is not quoted. Secondly, it seems a different edition (Gita Press, Samvat 2018) has been made use of, as can be gathered from the bibliography. The English translation is based on the text published by Venkatesvara Press, Bombay. However,

the translation and the text referred to above are preferred to suit the context.

3. Tamil Lexicon, Madras, 1982, p. 1912.

4. Refer Bedekar, V. M., *The Legend of the Churning of the Ocean in the Epics and the Purāṇas — A Comparative Study*, *Purāṇa*, (Reprint Vol. IX, no. 1), Jan. 1967.

5. Mbh., Sukthankar, V. S. (Ed.), Vol. I, Pt. I, B. O. R. I. Poona, 1933; For English translation : *The Mahabharata of Krishna-Dwaipayana-Vyasa*, Ganguli, K. M. (Tr.), Vol. I, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, New Delhi, 1981, Section XVIII, p.60, Section XIX, *Ibid.*

6. *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa*, Oriental Institute, Baroda, 1992, I. 44. There are only twenty-seven verses in this chapter where 'Mohinī', form is not referred to at all.

7. The *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa*, Krishnamacharya, T. R. (ed.), Sri Sadguru Publications, Delhi, Reprint, 1982 (I. 45. 29b and 30a). *Śrīmad Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇam*, II ed. (revised) by Chinna Swami Sastrigal and Subramanya Sastri, V. H., Madras, 1958 (I. 45.30).

8. Annangaracharya, P. B., Sampathkumaracharya (Eds.), Kañcipuram, 1972, (I. 9.107-111).

9. M. P., Nag Publishers, Delhi, 1983 (251. 5-7). The verses referring to Mohinī are verbatim same as Mbh.

10. Bh.P., (VIII. chs. 8 and 9; VIII.12.12ff.).

11. Sk.P., Nag Publishers, Delhi, 1982. (I.1.12.4-90).

12. *Nagsaran Simba, P.P.* (Ed.), Nag Publishers, 1984 (I.4.73-75).

13. Bd.P., Sastri, J. L. (Ed.), Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1973, Reprint 1983 (III.4.10. 4ff; 34ff.).

14. S.P., Nag Publishers, Delhi, 1986 (II.20.3-7).

15. A.P., Nag Publishers, Delhi, 1985 (3.12ff.).

16. Hazra R. C., *Studies in the Puranic Records in Hindu Rites and Customs*, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1975 (2nd Ed.); *The Upapurāṇas, The Cultural Heritage of India* (Vol. II). The Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture, Calcutta, 1937, Reprint 1975, pp. 271-286.

17. S.P., *op.cit.*, Introduction IX.

18. *Paripāṭal Mūlamum Parimēlalakar Uraiyum*. U.Ve., Sāminātaiyar Nilayam, Madras, 1980 (5th ed.).

    nakaiyacāka nallamirtu kalanta naṭuvu nilai tirampiya nayamiloru kai. (3, 33-34).

    The term 'Mohinī' has not been mentioned, though it is to be understood. The commentator Parimēlakar (12th century A. D.) makes it clear that the form was that of Mohinī which the author's work refers to.

19. *Takkayākapparaṇi*, U.Ve., Sāminataiyar (Ed.), Kesari Printing Press, Madras, 1930.

20. MK.P., Calcutta, Saka 1812.

21. *The Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, Pargiter, F.E. (Tr.), Calcutta, 1904, Introduction, p. XIII.

22. *Ancient Indian Tradition and Mythology*, Vol.25, *The Brahmāṇḍa Puraṇa*, Tagare G. V. (Tr.), Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1984, p. 1071, f.n.1.

23. According to some Malayalam songs, Ayyappan was born of the thigh of Viṣṇumāyā, and was received by Śiva. (For more details refer Kunjunni Raja, "Ayyappan", *Bulletin of the Institute of Traditional Culture*, Madras, 1975 (July-Dec.), pp. 27-38, Arunachalam M., The Śastā (Aiyanar) Cult in Tamil Nadu, *Ibid.*, 1977 (July-Dec.), pp. 16-51. Gangoly, O.C. in his book makes a few observations while describing the plate of Mohinī at Virāteśvara temple. (*South Indian Bronzes*, Indian Society of Oriental Art, Calcutta, 1915, Plate no. XLV). According to him Bhasmāsura was born out of the right side of Mohinī and became known as Aiyanar. I have not been able to find any reference to corroborate this observation. Bhasmāsura is an *asura* who is destroyed by Viṣṇu as Mohinī. And Aiyaṇar (Hari-Hara Putra) is generally identified with Śāstā born of the union of Śiva and Viṣṇu as Mohinī. A reference is made by Kunjunni Raja K. in the article 'Ayyappan' *op. cit.*, p. 27 that as per some popular Malayalam songs, Śastā was born from the thigh of Viṣṇumāyā and was received by Śiva in his hand. Ganogly, O.C. also adds that the conception of Mohinī was probably identified with Khiri-āmmā of Dravidian *grāmadevatas*. Once again I have not been able to find any reference to this effect.

24. *Ancient Indian Tradition and Mythology*, Vol. 7. Pt. I *op.cit.* Introduction, p. XL.

25. *Ibid.* Vol. 25, Preface, p. VIII.

26. Nagaswamy R, *Tantric Cult of South India*, Agamakala Prakashan, Delhi, 1982, p. 30.

27. Kunjunni Raja K., *op. cit.*, p. 30.

28. Tirumantiram, Kasi Matam, Tiruppanantal, 1951.

29. Arunachalam M., *Peeps into Tamil Culture*, No. 6, The Śaivāgamas, Gandhi Vidyalayam, 1983, Tiruchitrambalam, p. 6.

30. Hazra, R. C., *op.cit.*, pp. 55ff.

31. Vattammani, *Puranic Encyclopaedia*, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1964, 1984 (Reprint), p. 127.

32. *Śivalīlāmṛtam*, Sarasvati Grantha Bhandar, Pune, n. d. ch.12.

33. Machwe, Prabhakar, 'Marathi', *The Cultural Heritage of India*, Vol. V, Calcutta, 1978, p. 549.

34. Kunjunni Raja K., *op. cit.*, p. 31.

35. Arunachalam M., *op.cit.*, p. 21

36. Kunjunni Raja, *op.cit.*, p. 31.

37. It is considered that Sthala Purāṇas literature in South glorifying the environs, the place and the deity were not written even uptill the 15th century A. D. (Arunachalam M, Tamil ilakkiya Varalāru 14th century), Gandhi Vidyalayam, Tiruccirrambalam, 1969, p. 62.

38. Maity, S. K. *Masterpieces of Hoysala Art–Halebid, Belur, Somnathpur,* Bombay, 1978, p. 21.

39. Sreenivasa Murthy H. V., Ramakrishna R., *History of Karnataka,* S. Chand & Co., New Delhi, 1982, pp. 132, 133.

40. Venu. G. and Paniker, Nirmala, *Mohiniyāṭṭam,* Mukolakal, 1983. In fact the first item of the dance is 'colkettu' where the dancer with her right hand in the *mudrā* of 'sucimukha' keeps her first finger pointing to her own head. And this reminds one of the Bhasmāsura-Mohinī episode, where she is supposed to have performed a similar gesture, followed by the *asura's* similar action and destruction. p. 17.

41. Sivaramamurti C., *N. Nataraja in Art, Thought and Literature,* National Museum, New Delhi, 1974, p. 27.

42. Vettammani, *op.cit.*, p.127.

43. Dārukāvana containing the temple of Nāgeśa, one of the twelve Jyotirliṅgas is supposed to be near the Western ocean. But Archaeological Survey Lists of Nizam's territory identify it with Aundh in his dominion. It is also pointed out that there are two more forests by this name, one in Himalayas, the other in Vijayeśvara in Kashmir : vide *Ancient Indian Tradition and Mythology,* Vol. 3, The *Śiva Purāna,* p. 1373, f.n. 164.

44. Gangoly, O.C., *op.cit.*, Plate no. XLV, Krishna Sastri, *South Indian Images of Gods and Goddesses,* Bharatiya Publishing House, Delhi, 1974, Fig. 61. Srinivasan, T. N., *A Hand book of South Indian Images,* T. T. D., Tirupati, 1954, Plate no. 43 (Vaḷuvūr), Balasubramanyam, S. R., *Later Chola Temples,* Mudgala Trust, Madras, 1979, Plate no. 311 (Kālahastī).

45. See f.n. 43.

46. *The Vāmana Purāṇa,* Gupta, A. S., (Ed.), All Indian Kasiraj Trust, Varanasi, 1967.

47. According to one version, the *ṛṣis* were proud and did not even consider it necessary to pray to the gods. Their wives thought no end of their chastity. At this juncture Śiva took the Bhikṣāṭana form and Viṣṇu that of Mohinī. The *ṛṣis* were enticed by her looks, but still retreated. The wives on the other hand were overcome by lust at the mental level looking at Bhikṣāṭana and thus lost their chastity. The *ṛṣis* who were enraged by this behaviour, with their power sent hordes of weapons to attack Śiva. Nothing would affect him, even their curses. Finally, they sought Bhikṣāṭana for his identity. He just told them that he resided in Kailāsa and disappeared. After which the *ṛṣis* suffered illness. They approached Indra who revealed that even though Śiva had come in person, they *(ṛṣis)* had failed to recognise him, and hence were put to so much of suffering. The *ṛṣis* then

worshipped Śiva in this forest (Dārukāvana) and benefited (vide *Apitāna Cintāmaṇi*, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1981, p.807).

48. Translation from *Ancient Indian Tradition and Mythology*, Vol. 9, *op.cit.*, p. 1046.

49. As per one version once Tirumakal (Lakṣmī) was extremely proud of her beauty. Viṣṇu assumed the beautiful form of Mohinī to put down her arrogance *(Apitāna Cintāmaṇi, op. cit.*, p. 1347).

50. Translation of the term '*uttamsa*' is from *Ancient Indian Tradition and Mythology*, Vol. 25, *op. cit.*, p. 1071.

51. *Ibid.*, p. 1071, f.n. 1.

52. Ramachandra Rao S.K., *Pratimā Kośa*, Encyclopaedia of Indian Iconography, Vol. V, Kalpataru Research Academy, Bangalore, 1991, p. 141.

53. *Ibid.* 141-142.

54. Gupta, M. Shakti, *Viṣṇu and His Incarnations*, Somaiya Publications Pvt. Ltd., Bombay, 1974, Plate no.33, note on pp. 49f.

55. Champakalakshmi, R., *Vaiṣṇava Iconography in the Tamil Country*, Oriental Longman Ltd., New Delhi, 1981, Fig. 85, note on pp. 167ff.

56. Nalayira Tivviyappirapantam, Tiruvenkatattan Tirumanram, Madras, 1981, "Peṇṇāki innamutam vaṉcittanai" (Periya Tirumoḻi II.5.8); "Naṇṇāta vāḻavuṇar iṭaippukku vāñavaraippeṇṇaki amutūṭṭum perumāṉār" (*Ibid.* II.6.1.)

57. Balasubrmanyam, S. R., *op. cit.*, Plate no. 244.

58. Nagaswamy, R., *op. cit.*, p. 210.

59. Refer f.n. 44.

60. Balasubramanyam, S. R., *op. cit.*, p. 305, pp. 314ff.

61. *Ibid.*, pp. 307-308.

62. Gangoly, O.C., *op. cit.*, See note for Plate no. XLV.

63. Kalyanam G., *Srivillipputtur Sri Andal Temple, Guide and History*, Srivillipputtur, 1980, p. 41. There is no plate or figure accompanying the note.

64. *Ibid.*, p. 40.

65. *Ibid.*, p. 41.

66. *Ibid.*, p. 40.

67. Maity, S.K., *op. cit.*, p. 21.

68. Raman, K. V., *Sri Varadarajaswami Temple, Kāñchi*, Abhinav Publications, New Delhi, 1975, Fig. 26, See note on p. 170.

69. Nagaswamy, R., *op. cit.*, Ch. II, pp. 19ff.

70. Gopinatha Rao T. A., *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, Pt. II, Madras, 1914, pp. 341f.

71. Hopkins E. W., *Epic Mythology*, Indological Book House, Varanasi, 1968, p. 163.

72. Campakalakshmi R., *op. cit.*, p. 173.

73. Ramesan N., *The Tirumala Temple, T. T. D.*, Tirupati, 1981, Plate no. 18, note on p. 260.

74. Sivaramamurti C., *op. cit.*, p. 279.

75. Maity, S. K., *op. cit.*, Plate no. 24, note on p. 38.

76. *Ibid.*, p. 21.

77. *Ibid.*, Plate no. 99, note on p. 44.

78. Sivaramamurti C., *op. cit.*, Fig.5, also p. 28.

79. *Ibid.*, Fig. 6., also p. 29.

80. The image of Sri Vidya Rajagopala at Mannārgudi in one of the *sannidhis* (shrines) of the main temple of Rājagopalasvāmi is unique in that the left side of the image is dressed as a female, the earring *(olai)* is also that worn by a woman. Muthuswami Dikshitar (1775-1835 A. D.) describes Sri Vidya Rajagopala as being half female in his *kṛti*, (vide Dr. Suryanarayan Nagalakshmi, *Musical Compositions and Viṣṇu Forms in South - 2"*, Bhavan's Journal, Aug. 29, 1974, Bombay, p. 42). She also adds that the depiction is supposed to convey the concept of *Mohinī avatāra*, and also perhaps stands for Sri Vidyā cult. However, on checking with Srīdhara Bhaṭṭar, who belongs to Mannārgudi, presently working as a priest at Srī Venkateśa Temple, Fanaswadi, Bombay a different interpretation for it was given. He said that the deity being shown in this manner is in order to remind us of the local legend prevalent. According to it once Kṛṣṇa performed *jalakrīdā* in the Haridra river there along with *gopīs;* when they came out of water, Kṛṣṇa and *gopīs* picked up whatever they found. Kṛṣṇa brought out with him a saree *(celai)* and earring *(olai)*. Hence he is shown as half female.

81. Sridhara Bhaṭṭar of Fanaswadi Temple provided some information. According to him the portrayal of Mohinī in temple varied between Cola and Toṇṭai maṇṭalam areas of South. In fact at Mannārgudi a golden *vīṇā* is placed. At Phanaswadi (which follows South Indian temple traditions), she is shown carrying a pot (of *amṛta*).

ICONOGRAPHY OF VARĀHA

HARIPRIYA RANGARAJAN

The term 'icón' derived from the Greek word 'eikón' signifies an object of worship which is associated with the rituals of different divinities related to the cults. It means a figure representing a deity or a saint in painting, mosaic sculpture, etc. meant for worship. In Sanskrit the parallel word for 'icon' is *arca, vigraha,* etc.

The iconographic description of Varāha is found in the Pāñcarātra texts, the Vaikhānasāgama, the Purāṇas and the Śilpaśāstras. According to them the icons of Varāha are shown in three different forms, namely, (i) Bhū Varāha, Ādi Varāha or Nṛ Varāha, (ii) Yajña Varāha, and (iii) Pralaya Varāha.[1]

The Pāñcarātra texts such as *Hayaśirṣa, Parāśara, Viśvaksena, Padma, Viṣṇutantra,* and *Śeṣa Saṁhitā* describe the zooanthropomorphic form of Varāha. According to them the image of Varāha is shown with a boar face and a human body. He can be shown with four arms to sixteen arms. He has to have *śaṅkha, cakra* and in some cases also the *gadā.* According to these texts, while one of his right hands should be on his waist, the corresponding hand on the left will be shown holding, lifting, embracing or otherwise touching the goddess Earth. He may also be shown sniffing her with his snout or by touching her breast with his nose or touchig her thigh. The icon of Bhū Varāha may also be shown with Lakṣmī or with all three consorts, Bhūdevī, Śrīdevī and Nīlādevī. The foot of Varāha should be shown placed on the cosmic serpent. He should be adorned with *upavīta, śrīvatsa,* and *kirīṭamukuṭa.*[2]

Among the Pāñcarātra texts, the *Śeṣa Saṁhitā* and the *Sāttvata Saṁhitā* describe the image of Varāha in Yajña form. They refer to the image of Varāha as Yajñapuruṣa. According to the *Sāttvata Saṁhitā,* the body of Yajña Varāha holds the *bhūḥ, bhuvaḥ* and *svaḥ,* i.e., creation of the universe and the Varāha is the supreme (Brahma) Vāsudeva.[3]

According to the *Vaikhānasāgama,* the icon of Varāha is to be shown with a boar face and a human body. In this form Varāha should be shown standing in *ālīḍhāsana* pose by resting the right leg upon the jewelled hood of the mythical serpent. The figure of Ādi Śeṣa may be accompanied by the *nāgī.* The image of Bhū Varāha should have four arms, two of which hold the *śaṅkha* and *cakra.* Of the remaining two hands the left hand should be shown supporting the legs of Bhūmidevī who is seated on the god's bent right leg with her own legs hanging down. The right hand of Varāha has

to be thrown round the waist of Bhūdevī. The boar face of the god should be slightly tilted up so as to make the muzzle approach the bosom of the goddess as though he is engaged in smelling her. The hands of Bhūdevī should be shown in *añjali* pose. Her face should be slightly lifted up and turned towards her lord with the expression of shyness and joy. She should be decked with flowers and dressed in clothes and should be adorned with all suitable ornaments. The top of her head should reach the chest of the figure of Varāha.[4]

Among the Purāṇas, the *Vāyu*, the *Matsya* and the *Viṣṇu* describe the image of Yajña Varāha which is in the zoomorphic form. V. S. Agrawala opines that "the conception of Yajña Varāha seems to have been formulated for the first time by the author of the *Vāyu Purāṇa* 6, 16-22 which includes it in the proper context of Sṛṣṭi-Varṇana, and from there taken by the *Matsya* which adds it at the tag end in ch. 248."[5] He also adds that the version of Yajña Varāha given in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (I, 4. 32-35) is the combination of some epithets from the *Matsya* with some new ones of its own, and the whole thing is restated in a new metrical form.[6] Similarly, the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (III, 13. 35-38) and the *Ahirbudhnya-Saṃhitā* (37. 40-48) also describe the Yajña Varāha in their own metaphorical expression.[7] Besides these Purāṇas, the description of Yajña Varāha is found in other Purāṇas such as the *Brahmāṇḍa, Prakriya Pada* (5. 9-23), the *Brahma Purāṇa* (213. 33-37), *Harivaṁśa*, (I, 41. 29-35; III, 34. 34-41;) the *Padma Purāṇa*, Sṛṣṭi Khaṇḍa (16. 55-61), the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* (Khaṇḍa I, adh.2, Śl. 3-8), *Viṣṇu Smṛti* (1. 3-9) and in *Viṣṇu Sahasranāma, Śāṅkara-Bhāṣya* on the word *Yajñāṅga* in *śloka* 117. In all these texts mentioned above there are seven *ślokas* in which Viṣṇu as a Boar is compared to Yajña. In these texts they compare each and every limb of the body of Varāha to each and every component of Yajña. Their conception of Yajña Varāha is based on two factors. They are : (i) the real meaning of Yajña Varāha in the light of the Vedic cosmogony and (ii) the corresponding relationship of the various limbs of Varāha with the various elements of Yajña.[8] They are as follows :

Limbs of Varāha	*Components of Yajña*
pāda	four Vedas
projecting tusks	*yūpa* with its curved top
teeth	*kratus* of the Soma sacrifice
wide gaping mouth	fire altar
tongue	*Agni*
shaggy hair	*darbha* or *kuśa* grass
head *(śīrṣa)*	Brahmā
eyes	Sūrya and Candra
*śrutibhūṣaṇa**	Vedāṅgas

nostrils*	*ājya*
snout	*sruvā*
gurgling sound	*sāmaghoṣa*
sharp claws	*prāyaścitta*
liṅga	the offerings of *ghṛta*
broad shoulder	fire altar
heart	*dakṣiṇā* or sacrificial fee

It is to be noted that the above-mentioned Purāṇas use the expression 'Chāyāpatnī-sahāya' which means Chāyā is his consort. Here Chāyā is compared to the female *Śakti* of Yajña Varāha. But Chāyā is the wife of Sūrya. She is also called Suvarṇā. She is the shadow of Saṁjñā, the real wife of Sūrya. Unless Yajña Varāha is treated as Sūrya himself, this description cannot be sustained. (see *śloka* in the last page).

The *Matsya Purāṇa* in addition to the description of Yajña Varāha explains the iconography of Varāha in detail. Accordingly the image of Mahā Varāha holds mace and *kamala* in his two hands. The goddess Earth holding a lotus in her hand is seated on his left elbow whom he has lifted up by his pointed tusk. The goddess is shown with pleasing countenance and looking at the deity in wonder. Nṛ Varāha is shown keeping his right hand on the waist. One of his legs rests on the Kūrma and the other rests on the hood of Śeṣa.[9]

According to the *Agni Purāṇa*, the terrestrial Boar should be made as Bhū Varāha in which he is shown with a human body and the face of a Boar. He should carry *gadā*, etc. in the right hand. In the left hand *śankha* and Lakṣmī or lotus should be shown. She should be shown resting on the left elbow of the deity. The goddess Earth and the serpent Ananta should be near his feet.[10]

The *Viṣṇudharmottara* describes four forms of Varāha. In the first form (i) he holds goddess Earth by the tip of his tusk through the power of his *aiśvarya;* (ii) In the second form, i.e. human boar, the lord should be placed on Śeṣa who then should be represented with four hands, with beautifully jewelled hoods, with eyes open and beaming with wonder engaged in looking at the god. In his hands should be placed the plough and the mace. He should further be shown with hands in *añjali* pose and with snake ornaments. Bhagavān should be on his back standing in the *ālīḍhāsana*. Clinging to his left arm the two-armed goddess Earth should be represented as a beautiful woman engaged in respectful salutation. In that hand which supports the goddess Earth there should be the conch and his other hand should be rendered carrying the lotus, the wheel and the mace; (iii) In the third type Bhagavān should be with Hiraṇyākṣa standing in front with raised spear in (his own)

hand with the wheel (being) ready to cut off the head of Hiraṇyākṣa; (iv) In the fourth type he should be represented with two hands to carry the earth. With the form of an entire Boar amidst numerous *dānavas* in supporting the goddess Earth, he should be shown either as a Nṛ Varāha (humanboar) or merely as a boar. The glorious Aniruddha should be Varāha who rescued the earth through his power and contemplation.[11]

The compendiums and Śilpaśāstras such as *Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi, Caturvargacintāmaṇi, Rūpamaṇḍana, Devatāmūrtiprakaraṇa, Śilparatnākara,* and *Śilparatna* describe the iconography of Varāha in detail.

The *Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi* describes two forms of Varāha. (i) In the Nṛ Varāha form, the image is to be boar-faced and the rest of the body is human. Nṛ Varāha is shown holding *gadā* and *padma* in the two upper hands. In the other left hand Pṛthvī is seated on the elbow holding the *nīlotpala* in her hand. The right hand of Nṛ Varāha is kept on the thigh. One of his legs rests on the Kūrma and the other is kept on the Nāga; (ii) In the zoomorphic form the image of Varāha is to be represented with sharp teeth and the hair should be falling upto the ears on the face.[12]

The *Caturvargacintāmaṇi* describes Nṛ Varaha with four arms. However, it does not mention about any attributes in the hands. According to this text, on the left elbow of Nṛ Varāha the figure of goddess Lakṣmī should be represented and near the feet of Nṛ Varāha the figures of goddess Bhū and Ananta should be shown. In the overall boar shape it should be shown very big and huge.[13]

The *Rūpamaṇḍana* describes that the image is to be boar-faced and human-bodied. It should hold *gadā* and *padma* in two hands. Pṛthvī should be shown on the tusk.[14]

The *Devatāmūrtiprakaraṇa*[15] describes both forms. It says that the image of Nṛ Varāha holds *gadā* and *padma* in two hands. The right hand should be kept on the thigh. The goddess Earth is to be shown seated on his left elbow and holding *nīlotpala* in her hand. The deity has to be shown looking at her in wonder. One of his legs should be resting on the Kūrma and the other resting on the hood of Nāga, which is to be shown with four hands, two in *añjalimudrā* and the two upper hands holding *hala* and *musala*. In the zoomorphic form, it should be represented with sharp teeth and tusk and the hair should be falling upto the ear on the face.

The *Śilparatnākara* follows the *Rūpamaṇḍana*.[16]

The *Śilparatna* describes the Bhū Varāha differently. According to this text the image of Nṛ Varāha should be shown standing with one of his feet rest upon the serpent Ādi Śeṣa and the other on a tortoise. He should hold *gadā* and *padma* in two hands. He should be shown as carrying Bhūdevī

on the tusk or the goddess Bhū might be shown as seated on the left elbow of the Varāha, with a *nīlotpala* flower in her hand. Her eyes should be shown with joy and admiration. One of the right hands of Varāha image should be resting upon the hip. The *Śilparatna* further says that the image of Varāha can be represented in boar form with a thick snout, broad shoulder, blades, long tusks and a big body covered with upturned bristles.[17]

The *Mānasollasa* follows the *Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi*.[18]

The *Samarāṅgaṇa Sūtradhāra* does not describe Varāha image in detail. The *Aparājitapṛcchā* describes Yajña Varāha form and prescribes iconometric canons for the same. However, it does not prescribe iconographic canons for the image of the Varāha.[19]

T. A. Gopinatha Rao describes the images of Yajña Varāha and Pralaya Varāha described in the Āgamas and Tantras. The image of Yajña Varāha with the face of a boar and the body of a man should have four hands two of which should hold *cakra* and *śaṅkha*. The Yajña Varāha should be seated in *lalitāsana* on a *siṁhāsana* with left leg resting upon the seat. To his right the figure of Lakṣmī should be shown seated in *lalitāsana* by right leg hanging. She should hold lotus in the left hand and the right hand should be resting on the seat. On the left of Varāha the figure of Bhūmidevī should be seated in *lalitāsana* with left leg hanging. She should hold *nīlotpala* in her right hand and left hand should rest upon the seat. She should be shown looking at him with wondrous look. Pralaya Varāha form is also shown with a boar face and the body of a man. In this the Nṛ Varāha is seated on the *siṁhāsana* in *lalitāsana* by hanging the right leg down. It has four arms, two are to be shown holding *śaṅkha* and *cakra*. The lower right hand is to be in *abhaya* and the left hand should be resting on the thigh. On the right side of Varāha the goddess Bhū should be seated on the same seat. She should be shown in *lalitāsana* by hanging the right leg. She should be shown with *nīlotpala* in her left hand and right hand should be resting upon the seat. She should be shown looking at the deity with a wondrous look.[20]

It is to be noted that the image of Yajña Varāha described by the Āgamas and Tantras is different from that of described in the Purāṇas. The Purāṇas visualise Yajña Varāha in the context of Vedic cosmogony and treat Varāha in animal form comparing its different limbs to the various elements of Yajña. On the other hand, the Āgamas and the Tantras visualise Yajña Varāha in the anthropomorphic form with the face of a boar and the body of a man. Even though they use the name of Yajña Varaha, they do not make any reference to its relationship either to Yajña or cosmogony.

Notes and References

The relevant *ślokas* from the Sanskrt texts are given at the end of the notes.

1. T.A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, Part I, pp. 132 ff.

2. *Hayaśīrṣa "Adi"*, XXIII, 18b - 24.

   Parāśara Saṁhitā, XXX, 10, 13-14, 17-18, 21, 26 and 32; also see XV, 140.

   Viśvaksena Saṁhitā, XI, 45b - 57.

   Padma Saṁhitā , "kṛ", XVII, 12-21.

   Viṣṇu Tantra, XVI, 5-6.

   H. Daniel Smith and K.K.A. Venkatachari, *Vaiṣṇava Iconography*, pp. 130ff.

3. *Sāttvata Saṁhitā* , XI, 46b - 52a.

   Śeṣa Saṁhitā, XIII, 4b-5a.

4. T.A. Gopinatha Rao, *op.cit.* pp. 132ff.

5. V.S. Agrawala, *Solar Symbolism of the Boar*, (Yajña Varāha - an interpretation), p. 15.

6. *Ibid.*, p.10.

7. *Ibid.*, p.2.

8. *Ibid.*, p.1 and p.15

   * The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* differs in this. According to *iṣṭa* (Śrauta) and *pūrta* (Smārta) are the ears. It does not mention ear ornaments.

   * The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* does not mention *ajyanāsa*.

9. *Matsya Purāṇa*, 260, 28-30.

10. *Agni Purāṇa* , 49, 2-3.

11. *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*, III, 79, 1-11.

12. *Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi*, III, 1, 738-741.

13. *Caturvargacintāmaṇi*. Danakhaṇḍa *śl.* 327-328.

14. *Rūpamaṇḍana*, III, 24.

15. *Devatāmūrtiprakaraṇa*, V, 72-76.

16. *Śilparatnākara*, XI, *śl.* 140.

17. T.A. Gopinatha Rao, *op.cit.*, pp. 133f, *Śilparatna*, 25, 112-116.

18. *Mānasollāsa*, Part I, *śl.* 699-702.

19. *Aparājitapṛcchā*, adh.25 and adh. 219.

20. T. A Gopinatha Rao, *ibid.*, pp. 135ff.

Fn.2.

चतुर्बाहुर्वराहस्तु शेषः पाणिपदे धृतः ।
धारयन् बाहुना पृथ्वीं धारयन् कमलामथ ॥
पादलग्ना धरा कार्या यदा लक्ष्मीर्भुजस्थिता ।
वराहं कारयेदेवं शङ्खचक्रगदाधरम् ॥
सप्ततालौ प्रशस्येते नृवराहनृकेसरी ।
नवतालावभ्यधिकौ पुरस्तात् कथितौ तव ॥

Hayaśīrṣa "Adi", XXIII, Vaiṣṇava Iconography, p. 133.

Fn. 2 contd.

शङ्खचक्रधरं देवं सर्वाभरणभूषितम् ॥
श्रीभूमिनीलासहितं भजे यज्ञवराहकम् ।

Śeṣa , XIII : 41-5a *Vaiṣṇava Iconography,* p. 133.

Fn.3.

तं यज्ञपुरुषं (वपुषं ब्रह्म) वासुदेवमजं हरिम् ॥
ध्यायेद्वै सूकरात्मानमञ्जनाद्रिसमप्रभम् ।
यज्ञाङ्गचिह्नितांङ्घ्रिं च महाव्याहृतिदंष्ट्रिणम् ॥
भूर्भुवरस्वश्शरीरं च शब्दब्रह्मैकमानसम्।
निर्णुदन्तं प्रपन्नानामविद्यापङ्कमञ्जसा ॥
वैद्येन पोत्रप्रान्तेन त्वक्षयेनामलेन च ।
वासनावासितानां च जीवानां भवशान्तये ॥
महाविभूतिर्भगवान् पूर्णषाड्गुण्यविग्रहः ।
स्वकराब्जान्तराद् ब्रह्म तत्त्वादादाय चाञ्जलिम् ॥
करोति सेचनं दोषं दधानां च स्वतेजसा ।
स्थूलरूपेण तमजं बहिराराधनाविधौ ॥
आध्मातं वायुना यद्वन्निर्धूमाङ्गारपर्वतम् ॥

Sāttvata Saṁhitā, XII, 46b - 52a from *Vaiṣṇava Iconography,* p. 132.

सवेदवाद्युपद्रष्टा क्रतुवक्षाश्चितीमुखः ।
अग्निजिह्वो दर्भरोमा ब्रह्मशीर्षो महातपाः ॥१६॥
अहोरात्रेक्षणधरो वेदाङ्गश्रुतिभूषणः ।
आज्यनासः स्रुवतुण्डः सामघोषस्वनो महान् ॥१७॥
सत्यधर्ममयः श्रीमान् धर्म्मविक्रमसंस्थितः ।
प्रायश्चित्ततरो घोरः पशुजानुर्महाकृतिः ॥१८॥
ऊर्द्ध्वगात्रो होमलिङ्गः स्थानबीजो महौषधिः ।
वेद्यान्तरात्मा मन्त्रस्फिगाज्यरसृक् सोमशोणितः ॥१९॥
वेदस्कन्धो हविर्गन्धो हव्यकव्यातिवेगवान् ।
प्राग्वंशकायो द्युतिमान्नानादीक्षाभिरन्वितः ॥२०॥

दक्षिणाहृदयो योगी महासत्रमयो विभु : ।
उपाकर्मोष्ठरुचिरः प्रवर्ग्यवित्तभूषणः ॥२१॥
नानाच्छन्दोगतिपथो गुह्योपनिषदासनः ।
छायापत्नीसहायो वै मणिशृंग इवोच्छ्रितः ।
भूत्वा यज्ञवराहो वै अपः स प्राविशत् प्रभुः ॥२२॥

Vāyu Purāṇa, Sṛṣṭikhanda, adh.b, *śl.* 16-22.

Fn.8.

वेदपादो यूपदंष्ट्रः क्रतुदन्तश्चितीमुखः ।
अग्निजिह्वो दर्भलोमा ब्रह्मशीर्षो महातपाः
अहोरात्रेक्षणधरो वेदाङ्गश्रुतिभूषणः ॥६८॥
आज्यनासः स्रुवतुण्डः सामघोषस्वनो महान् ।
सत्यधर्ममयः श्रीमान्कर्मविक्रमसत्कृतः ॥६९॥
प्रायश्चित्तनखो घोरः पशुजानुर्मखाकृतिः ।
उद्गाथहोमलिङ्गोऽथ बीजौषधिमहाफलः ॥७०॥
वाय्वन्तरात्मा यज्ञास्थिविकृतिः सोमशोणितः ।
वेदस्कन्धो हविर्गन्धो हव्यकव्यविभागवान् ॥७१॥
प्राग्वंशकायो द्युतिमान्नानादीक्षाभिरन्वितः ।
दक्षिणाहृदयो योगी महासत्रमयो महान् ॥७२॥
उपाकर्मोष्ठरुचकः प्रवर्ग्यावर्त्तभूषणः ।
नानाछन्दोगतिपथो गुह्योपनिषदासनः ।
छायापत्नीसहायो वै मणिशृंङ्ग इवोच्छ्रितः ॥७३॥

Matsya Purāṇa, ch. 248, *śl.* 68-73.

Fn. 8 contd.

पादेषु वेदास्तव यूपदंष्ट्र-
दन्तेषु यज्ञाश्चितयश्च वक्त्रे ।
हुताशजिह्वोऽसि तनूरुहाणि
दर्भाः प्रभो यज्ञपुमांस्त्वमेव ॥३२॥
विलोचने रात्र्यहनी महात्म-
न्सर्वाश्रयं ब्रह्म परं शिरस्ते ।
सूक्तान्यशेषाणि सटाकलापो
घ्राणं समस्तानि हवींषि देव ॥३३॥
युक्तुण्ड सामस्वरघीरनाद
प्राग्वंशकायाखिलसत्रसन्धे ।
पूर्तेष्टधर्मश्रवणोऽसि देव
सनातनात्मन्भगवन्प्रसीद ॥३४॥
पदक्रमाक्रान्तभुवं भवन्त-
मादिस्थितं चाक्षर विश्वमूर्ते ।

विश्वस्य विद्म: परमेश्वरोऽसि
प्रसीद नाथोऽसि परावरस्य ॥३५॥

Viṣṇu Purāṇa , I, adh. 4, *śl.* 32-35.

ओंकारावृतनुं त्वन्यां कल्पादिषु यथा पुरा ॥
ततो महात्मा मनसा दिव्यरूपमचिन्तयत् ॥९॥
सलिलेऽवप्लुतां भूमिं दृष्ट्वा स समचिंतयत् ॥
किं तु रूपमहं कृत्वा सलिलादुद्धरे महीम् ॥१०॥
जलक्रीडारामुचितं वाराहं रूपमस्मरत् ।
अदृश्यं सर्वभूतानां वाङ्मयं ब्रह्मसंज्ञितम् ॥११॥
दशयोजनविस्तीर्णमायतं शतयोजनम् ॥
नीलमेघप्रतीकाशं मेघस्तनितनि:स्वनम् ॥१२॥
महापर्वतवर्ष्माणं श्वेततीक्ष्णोग्रदंष्ट्रिणम् ॥
विद्युदग्निप्रतीकाशमादित्यसमतेजसम् ॥१३॥
पीनवृत्तायतस्कंधं विष्णुविक्रमगामि च ॥
पीनोन्नतकटीदेशं वृषलक्षणपूजितम् ॥१४॥
आस्थाय रूपमतुलं वाराहममितं हरि: ॥
पृथिव्युद्धरणार्थाय प्रविवेश रसातलम् ॥१५॥
दीक्षा समाप्तीष्टिदंष्ट्र: क्रतुदंतो जुहुमुख : ॥
अग्निजिह्वो दर्भरोमा ब्रह्मशीर्षो महातपा: ॥१६॥
वेदस्कन्धो हविर्गन्धिर्हव्यकव्यादिवेगवान् ॥
प्राग्वंशकायो द्युतिमान् नानादीक्षाभिरन्वित: ॥१७॥
दक्षिणाहृदयो योगी श्रद्धासत्त्वमयो विभु: ॥
उपाकर्मरुचिश्चैव प्रवर्ग्यावर्तभूषण: ॥१८॥
नानाछन्दोगतिपथो गुह्योपनिषदासन: ॥
मायापत्नीसहायो वै गिरिशृंगमिवोच्छ्रय: ॥१९॥
अहोरात्रेक्षणधरो वेदांगश्रुतिभूषण: ॥
आज्यगंध: स्रुवतुंड: सामघोषस्वनो महान् ॥२०॥
सत्यधर्ममय: श्रीमान् कर्मविक्रमसत्कृत: ॥
प्रायश्चित्तनखो घोर: पशुजानुर्महामख: ॥२१॥
उद्गातांत्रो होमलिंग: फलबीजमहौषधी : ॥
वाचंतरात्मसत्रस्य नासिक्यसोमशोणित: ॥२२॥
भक्ता यज्ञवराहांताश्चाप: संप्राविशत्पुन: ॥
अग्निसंछादितां भूमिं समामिच्छन्प्रजापति: ॥२३॥

Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa, Prakriyāpāda, ch.5, *śl.* 9-23.

Fn.8 cont.

विस्तीर्णपुष्करेकृत्वा तीर्थकोकामुखंहितु ॥
वेदपादोयूपदंष्ट्र: क्रतुहस्तन्चितीमुख: ॥५५॥

अग्निजिह्वोदर्भरोमाब्रह्मशीर्षोमहातपा : ॥
अहोरात्रेक्षणोदिव्योवेदांग: श्रुतिभूषण: ॥'५६॥
आज्यनास: स्रुवतुण्ड: सामघोषस्वनो महान् ॥
सत्यधर्ममय: श्रीमान्कर्मविक्रमसत्कृत: ॥'५७॥
प्रायश्चित्तनखो धीर: पशुजानुमखाकृति: ॥
उद्गात्रंत्रोहोमलिंगोफलबीजमहौषधि: ॥'५८॥
वाय्वंतरात्मामंत्रास्थिराप: रिक्कसोमशोणित: ॥
वेदस्कन्धोहविर्गंधोहव्यकव्यातिवेगवान् ॥'५९॥
प्राग्वंशकायोद्युतिमान्नानादीक्षाभिरर्चित: ॥
दक्षिणाहृदयोयोगीमहासत्रमयोमहान् ॥६०॥
उपाकर्मेष्टिरुचिर: प्रवर्ग्यावर्तभूषण: ॥
छायापत्नीसहायो वैमणिशृंगमिवोच्छ्रित: ॥६१॥

Padma Purāṇa, Sṛṣṭikhaṇḍa, adh.16, *śl.* 55-61.

वेदपाद्यूपदंष्ट्रश्च चतुर्वक्त्रश्चतुर्मुख : ॥
अग्निजिह्वो दर्भरोमा ब्रह्मशीर्षो महातपा : ॥३॥
अहोरात्रेक्षणो दिव्यो वेदाङ्ग: श्रुतिभूषण : ॥
आज्यनास: स्रुवतुण्ड: सामघोषस्वनो महान् ॥४॥
धर्म: सत्यमहा: श्रीमान्कर्मविक्रमसत्कृत: ॥
प्रायश्चित्तमयो धीर: प्रांशुजानुर्महायशा : ॥
उद्गात्रंत्रो होमलिङ्ग: फलबीजमहौषधि: ॥'५॥
वाय्वन्तरात्मा मन्त्रास्थिर्विकृत: सोमशोणित:
वेदस्कन्धो हविर्गन्धो हव्यकव्यातिवेगवान् ॥६॥
प्राग्वंशकायोद्युतिमान्नानादीक्षाभिरन्वित: ॥
दक्षिणाहृदयो योगी महाक्रतुमयो महान् ॥७॥
उपाकर्मेष्टिरुचिर: प्रवर्ग्यावर्तभूषण: ॥
मायापत्नीसहायो वै महाशृङ्ग इवोदिताम् ॥८॥

Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa , 1,2, 3-8.

Fn.9.

महावराहं वक्ष्यामि पद्महस्तं गदाधरम् ॥
तीक्ष्णदंष्ट्राग्रघोणाग्र्यं मेदिनीवामकूर्परम् ॥
दंष्ट्राग्रेणोद्धतां दान्तां धरणीमुत्पलान्विताम् ॥
विरमयोत्फुल्लवदनामुपरिष्टात्प्रकल्पयेत् ॥
दक्षिणं कटिसंस्थं तु करं तस्या: प्रकल्पयेत् ॥
कूर्म्मोपरि तथा पादमेकं नागेन्द्रमूर्द्धनि ॥

Matsya Purāṇa , 260, 28-30.

Fn.10.

नराङ्गो वाऽथ कर्तव्यो भूवराहो गदिभृत् ।

दक्षिणेवामके शङ्खो लक्ष्मीर्वा पद्ममेव वा ॥
श्रीर्वामकूर्परस्था तु क्ष्मानन्तौ चरणानुगौ ।
वराहस्थापनाद्राज्यं भवाब्धितरणं भवेत् ॥

Agni Purāṇa, 49, 2-3.

Fn.11.

ऐश्वर्यमनिरुद्धस्तु वराहो भगवान्हरिः ॥
ऐश्वर्यशक्त्या दंष्ट्राग्रसमुद्धृतवसुन्धरः ॥
नृवराहोऽथ वा कार्यः शेषोपरिगतः प्रभुः ॥
शेषश्चर्तुभुजः कार्यश्चारुरत्नफणान्वितः ॥
आश्चर्योत्फुल्लनयनो देवीवीक्षणतत्परः ॥
कर्तव्यौ सीरमुसलौ करयोस्तस्य यादव ॥
सर्पभूपश्च कर्तव्यस्तथैव रचिताञ्जलिः ॥
आलीढस्थानसंस्थानस्तत्पृष्टे भगवान्भवेत् ॥
सव्येऽङ्गिगता तस्य योषिद्रूपा वसुन्धरा ॥
नमस्कारपरातस्य कर्तव्या द्विभुजा शुभा ॥
यस्मिन्भुजे धरा देवी तत्र शङ्खः करे भवेत् ॥
अन्ये तस्य कराः कार्याः पद्मचक्रगदाधराः॥
हिरण्याक्षशिरच्छेदश्चक्रोद्यतकरोऽथ वा ।
शूलोद्यतहिरण्याक्षसम्मुखो भगवान्भवेत् ॥
मूर्तिमन्तमनैश्वर्यं हिरण्याक्षं विदुर्बुधाः ॥
ऐश्वर्येण वराहेण स निरस्तोऽरिमर्दनः ॥
नृवराहोऽथ वा कार्यो ध्याने कपिलवस्थितः ॥
द्विभुजस्त्वथ वा कार्य पिण्डनिर्वहणोद्यतः ॥
समग्रक्रोडरूपो वा बहुदानवमध्यगः ॥
नृवराहो वराहो वा कर्तव्यः क्षमाविधारणे ॥
ऐश्वर्ययोगोद्धृतसर्वलोकः कार्योनिरुद्धो भगवान्वराहः ॥

Viṣṇudharmottara, III, 79, 1-11

Fn.12.

नृवराहं प्रवक्ष्यामि सूकरास्येन शोभितम् ।
गदापद्मधरं धात्रीं दंष्ट्राग्रेण समुद्धृताम् ॥
बिभ्राणं क्रूपरे वामे विस्मयोत्फुल्ललोचनाम् ।
नीलोत्पलधरां देवीमुपरिष्टात्प्रकल्पयेत् ॥
दक्षिणं कटिसंस्थं च बाहुं तस्य प्रकल्पयेत् ।
कूर्मपृष्ठे पदं चैकमन्यन्नागेन्द्रमूर्धनि ॥
अथवा सूकराकारं महाकायं समुल्लिखेत् ।
तीक्ष्णदंष्ट्राग्रघोणास्यं स्तब्धकर्णोर्ध्वरोमकम् ॥

Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi, III, 1, 738-741.

Fn.13.

मधुपिंगलवर्णञ्च चतुर्बाह्वायुधैर्युतम् ।
नराङ्गं शूकरास्यं च मनाक्कृपीनं सुभीषणम् ॥
श्रीर्वामकूर्परस्था तु धरानन्तौ पदानुगौ ।
ऐतद्रूपधरं देवं वराहं भक्तिमुक्तिदम् ॥

Caturvargacintāmaṇi, Dānakhaṇḍa, 5, 327-328.

Fn. 14.

नृवराहो गदाम्बुजम् ।
विभूत्स्यामो वराहास्यो दंष्ट्राग्रे तु धृता धरा ॥

Rūpamaṇḍana, III, 24.

महानृवराहं प्रवक्ष्यामि शूकरास्येन शोभनम् ।
गदापद्मधरं धात्रीं दंष्ट्राग्रेण समुद्धृताम् ॥
विभ्रा (णा) कूपरिवामे विस्मयोत्फुल्ललोचनः ।
नीलोत्पलधरां देवीमुपरिष्टात् प्रकल्पयेत् ॥
दक्षिणं कटिसंस्थञ्च बाहुं तस्य प्रकल्पयेत् ।
कूर्मपृष्ठे पदञ्चैकमन्यन्नागेन्द्रमूर्धनि ॥
शेषश्चर्तुभुजः कार्यस्तथैव रचिताञ्जलिः ।
कर्त्तव्यौ (शिल ? शीर) मुषलौ करयोस्तस्य चोर्ध्वयोः ॥
अथवा शूकराकारं महाकायं क्वचिल्लिखेत् ।
तीक्ष्णदंष्ट्रोग्रघोणास्यं स्तब्धकर्णोर्ध्वरोमकम् ॥

Devatāmūrtiprakaraṇa V, 72-76.

Fn. 16.

..... नृवराहो गदाम्बुजे
विभ्रमाढ्यो वराहास्यो दंष्ट्राग्रेण धृताधरा ॥

Śilparatnākara, XI, 140.

Fn.17.

नृवराहं प्रवक्ष्यामि सूकरास्येन शोभितम् ॥
गदापद्मधरं धात्रीं दंष्ट्राग्रेण समुद्धृताम् ।
विभ्राणंकोपरि वामे विस्मयोत्फुल्ललोचनाम् ॥
नीलोत्पलधरां देवीमुपरिष्टात् प्रकल्पयेत् ॥
दक्षिणं कटिसंस्थं च बाहुं तस्य प्रकल्पयेत् ॥
कूर्मपृष्ठे पदं चैकमन्यन्नागेन्द्रमूर्धनि ॥
अथवा सूकराकारं महाकायं क्वचिल्लिखेत् ।
तीक्ष्णदंष्ट्राग्रघोणास्यकन्धकर्णोर्ध्वरोमकम् ॥

Śilparatna, Uttarbhāga 25, 112-116.

Fn. 18.

नृवराहं प्रवक्ष्यामि सूकरास्येन शोभितम् ॥
गदापद्मधरं धात्रीं दंष्ट्राग्रेण समुद्धृताम् ।
बिभ्राणं कूपरे वामे विस्मयोत्फुल्ललोचनाम् ॥
नीलोत्पलधरां देवीमुपरिष्टान्प्रकल्पते (प्येत) ।
दक्षिणं कटिसंस्थं च बाहुं तस्याः प्रकल्पयेत् ॥
कूर्मपृष्टे पदं चैकमन्यन्नागेन्द्रमूर्धनि ।
अथवा सूकराकारं महाकायं क्वचिल्लिखेत् ॥

Mānasollāsa, Part I, *śl.* 699 -702.

THE VĀLMĪKI RĀMĀYAṆA AND THE THAI RAMAKIEN – A STUDY IN COMPARISON

SATYA VRAT SHASTRI

The two national epics of India, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, particularly the former, have exercised powerful influence on Thai life. The *Rāmāyaṇa*, called the *Ramakien* is woven inextricably into the Thai social fabric.

The Rāmāyaṇic influence on the culture of Thailand has found expression in three distinct forms, i.e., in literature, in dramatics and in painting and sculpture. Although the introduction of the *Rāmāyaṇa* into Thailand can be traced back to a date as early as the 13th century A.D., it is nevertheless not until the beginning of the Ratnakosindra period (about 1781 A.D.), that the glory of Rāma came to be expressed in beautiful epic poems. The influence of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in those early centuries is noticeable in the names of kings and nobles and in literary excerpts. In Ayuthaya period, B.E. 1952-2310, A.D. 1409-1767 A.D., it was regarded as the sacred story. It was because of its influence that the first king of Ayudhya was named Rāma and his capital Ayudhya. A number of events in the Rāma story such as the bravery of Hanumān, the ungratefulness of Thorapi, the faithfulness of Sīta are prominent mottos in Thailand. In the past, most of the Thai people knew the *Rāmāyaṇa* through oral tradition. It was not until king Taksin, the Great of Thonburi, B.E. 2310, A.D. 1767, that the Rāma story came to be put in writing. To him belongs the credit of putting some episodes of the great story in verse which are still extant. Taksin's work consists of 2012 verses spread out in four volumes wherein they describe :

1. Phra Mangkut practising the art of bow.
2. Hanumān courting Nang Vanarin.
3. King Malivraj adjudicating the case and giving his judgement as to who is at fault, Rāma or Rāvaṇa, the case which was referred to him by Rāvaṇa.
4. Totsakan (Daśakaṇṭha Rāvaṇa) setting up the ceremony of making sand acid to be his weapon.

The credit of giving a comprehensive account for the first time of the Rāma story, however, goes to king Rama (1782-1809), the founder of the present ruling dynasty. He produced a voluminous work of 50,286 verses

published in 2976 pages covering all the incidents from the origin of Rāma's dynasty to the story of his two sons. This is the only complete Rāmāyaṇa in Thailand. King Rama II (1809-1829 A.D.) the son and successor of King Rama I wanted to put the story on the stage. The story as described by his predecessor being too long and consequently not fit for the stage, he thought of abridging it. He rewrote it omitting some parts of it. His version is shorter, though still big enough. It has 14,300 verses. He divides his story in two parts. Part I starts from Hanumān's presenting Rāma's ring to Sītā in Laṅka and ends with the coronation of Rāma. Part II begins with the banishment of Sītā and ends with the reconciliation between Rāma and Sītā. King Rama II's version being found suitable for stage, it began to be played as a mask dance which with its gaudy dresses of the actors and the actresses, the rhythmic movement of their delicate forms and the sweet melody of its catching music still has great appeal to the people and is considered by them as the best Thai dramatic poetry.

It may be pointed out here that the first literature produced for the mask dates back to Ayuthaya period (1349-1647 A.D.). But like so many Rāmāyaṇic plays the poet depended on some solitary events of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and showed no evidence of continuity the like of which we find in the later work of King Rama II.

The next to handle the Rāma story was king Rama IV, the fourth king of the present ruling dynasty of Thailand – all its kings interestingly carrying the alternative name of Rāma. Rama IV described in 1664 verses just one episode of the Rāma story, the journey and adventure of Rāma in the forest during his exile. It is believed that Rama IV describes just this episode, because it is an allusion to his own pilgrimage during monkhood before he became the ruler of Thailand, called then Siam. After king Rama IV, King Rama VI took up for description in verse some unconnected episodes in the Rāma story. He was incidentally the last of the rulers as also the last of the writers to put his mite in giving the literary garb to the great story. The episodes that he describes are those of the fight between Arjuna and Rāvaṇa, the death of the demon Tathaka, the wedding of Rāma and Sītā, the abduction of Sītā, Hanumān's burning of Laṅkā, the banishment of Vibhīṣaṇa, the disguise of Benjakai, Rāvaṇa's niece as dead Sītā, her floating against the stream to the vision of Rāma, the construction by Rāma's army of the bridge to Laṅkā, the battle between Rāma's and Rāvaṇa's armies, the Nāgapāśa by Indrajit and Lakṣmaṇa's being pierced by Indrajit's Phrommat Arrow. All of these episodes with the exception of floating Benjakai and the Phrommat Arrow which are found in King Rama I's version as well are based on Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa and thus differ from all the other Thai versions of the Rāma epic.

RĀMĀYAṆA STORY

Now, a word about the story of the Thai Rāmāyaṇa. The Valmīki Rāmāyaṇa is divided into Kāndas. The Thai Rāmāyaṇa, on the other hand, has no subdivisions, even where it is the form of a dramatic poem, of acts or scenes. For purposes of analysis the Ramakien story is divided into three parts. The first part describes the creation of all beings, human, demoniac and simian. It begins with the third incarnation of Nārāyaṇa. The story goes on to describe the birth of king Anomatan, the founder of the dynasty of Ayodhya who was succeeded by his son Ajapal who in turn was followed by his son Daśaratha, father of Rāma. Next is described the birth of Rāma, his brothers and Sītā. Then is taken up for description the origin of the demons, their kingdoms, their families, their conflicts which is followed by the description of the creation of Laṅkā, the birth of Rāvaṇa and his marriage with Mandodarī and the birth of the simian characters. In the Valmīki Rāmāyaṇa, while the birth of the human and simian characters is described in the Bālakānda, the birth of the demons is described in the Uttarakāṇḍa.

After describing the origin of the different characters, the Ramakien starts to unfold the main story, the sending away of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa to forest to save the Ṛṣis from the trouble caused by the crow-demon Tāḍaka , the marriage of Rāma and Sīta, Rāma's banishment, Bharata's going to him and meeting him in the forest, Rāma's meeting with Śabarī and Agastya, his encounters with Śūrpaṇakhā and other demons, Sīta's abduction, Rāma's meeting with Hanumān and Sugrīva and the killing by him of Vālin.

The second part deals with the preparations for the battle with Rāvaṇa, Hanumān's visit to Laṅkā and his exploits therein, the building of the causeway to Laṅkā, Vibhīṣaṇa's joining Rāma, the Binayaki episode (a new episode), Rāma's encounter with Maiyrab (a new episode), the fight with Kumbhakarṇa and his defeat, Lakṣmaṇa's battle with Indrajit and the latter's death, the fight between Rāma and Rāvaṇa, the episode of Malivaggabrahma (a new episode), Rāvaṇa's meditation, his death at the hands of Rāma and the handing over by Rāma of the throne of Laṅkā to Vibhīṣaṇa.

The third part of the Ramakien describes the quelling of an insurrection in Laṅkā by Rāma's brothers, banishment of Sītā, the birth of her two sons, Rāma's fight with his sons (a new episode), Rāma's attempt to win Sītā back and the intervention of the gods to bring about reconciliation of the estranged couple. The story of the Ramakien does not stop here. It goes on to describe the exploits of Rāma's sons.

The story in the Ramakien differs from that of the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa in two respects. One, it introduces some altogether new episodes which do not figure in the original narrative. Two, even where the incidents described are the same, there is difference in detail, major or minor. Since it is not

necessary that the Thai narrative should be based on that of Vālmīki, this difference is inevitable. Grafting on a foreign soil also contributes to it. The local elements do creep in when something from outside is brought in. This is most noticeable in the case of Hanumān, the celibate monkey god of Vālmīki who turns in the Ramakien into a romantic hero making love with any pretty lady he comes into contact with, marrying her and begetting sons thereon. Rāma's *bhakta* he is, but not to the extent of self-denial. Recipient of the material reward from Rāma for the services rendered to him, he accepts the kingdom of Lopburi.

Unless the story of the Ramakien is known, it will not be possible to appreciate fully the points of difference between the narratives in the Ramakien and in the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa. Full books on this have been written in English by at least three scholars, Mr. M.L. Manich Jumsai, Mr. J.M. Cadet who has primarily based himself on the bas reliefs of Wat Phra Jetubon and Swami Satyanand Puri, an emissary of Tagore in Thailand who spent long years carrying out a thorough study of Thai history and culture and by far the most knowledgeable of the Indian immigrants to that country. Constraints of time and space will not allow the delineation of the story in all its vivid details. An attempt will be made to put the spotlight only on such of the episodes as are entirely new to the Vālmīki's narrative or those which differ materially from it. First we take up the new episodes.

THE EPISODE OF ANOMATAN

It is said that in times of yore a demon of miraculous power of the name of *Hiramtayakṣa* lived on the mountain Cakravāla. He oppressed the gods who approached Īśvara for succour. Nārāyaṇa at the behest of Īśvara fought with him and killed him. On coming back to his abode of milk ocean, he saw a lotus on his navel and a beautiful child encased in its petals. Nārāyaṇa forayed to Krailāsa to dedicate it to Īśvara according to whose injunction, he named it Anomatan, who was to be the first king of the world. Jambudvīpa was chosen for his rule. His capital was Ayodhyā which was laid for him by Indra at the behest of Īśvara and was named on the first letters of the four Ṛsis he (Indra) met on the way, Achangavī, Yugāgra, Dāha and Yāga.

THE EPISODE OF BINAYAKI OR BENJAKAI

Rāvaṇa ordered Benjakai, a demoness, to assume the form of Sītā, feign dead and float down the river near Rāma's camp with the intention to dupe Rāma into believing that his beloved wife was no more. The ruse succeeded for a while. Rāma going to the river to take his morning bath noticed the corpse and recognizing it to be that of Sītā fell into deep mourning. So did Lakṣmaṇa who came there along with Hanumān. The latter refused to accept that Sītā was dead. To test as to whether it was a corpse or not, he put it on a lighted pyre. Shrieking Benjakai leapt into the sky in her

true form only to be dragged on the earth by Hanumān. Whipped by Sugrīva she revealed her identity. Coming to know that she was Vibhīṣana's daughter, Rāma forgave her in spite of the former asking him to kill her and ordered Hanumān to see her off to Laṅkā. While escorting her the gallant monkey made love to her who later bore him a son called Asuraphad.

THE EPISODES OF THE QUARREL BETWEEN NILAPHAT OF NĪLA AND HANUMĀN AND THE EPISODE OF SUVARṆAMACCHA

To reach Laṅkā it was necessary to build a causeway. The monkeys gathered round both the heroes, Nilabad or Nīla and Hanumān and the mighty work of laying a bridge over the ocean began. Nīla and Hanumān had settled between themselves the work to be done by each. Thus Hanumān was to get in position the stones that Nīla would pass on to him. Now, Nīla nursed a grievance against Hanumān on account of the bad treatment he thought he had meted to his uncle Jambū. Taking the present one as the right opportunity to take revenge, he became overfast with the handing over of the stones which Hanumān with all his efficiency could not set in time. After some time the order of duties was reversed. In order to teach Nīla a lesson, Hanumān tied a stone each to his hair and began passing it onto Nīla much to his discomfiture. A quarrel ensued between the two. It being an act of indiscipline and a bad example to the rest of the army, Rāma decided to punish both. He sent Nīla to Kiṣkindhā to act as Sugrīva's regent and to arrange for the supply of provisions to the army. He charged Hanumān with the completion of the causeway within seven days. The great monkey acted with speed. Stone after stone came to be hurled into the sea. The tumultuous noise of the whole operation reached Rāvaṇa's ears who getting restless sent his mermaid daughter Suvarṇamaccha to obstruct it. Suvarṇamaccha set about with her host to remove the rocks from their positions. Hanumān was surprised to find the rocks vanishing. He dived into the sea and saw Suvarṇamaccha and thousands of fish at work to remove the rocks. Hanumān looked at the pretty mermaid and fell in love with her. She also responded to his love. The result was that before Suvarṇamaccha returned to her father she had become a mother to Hanumān's son Macchanu whom she discharged from her womb and left on the seashore for fear of her father.

THE EPISODE OF MAIYARAB

Rāvaṇa invited his friend, the invincible Pātāla king Maiyarab to assist him in killing Rāma. Maiyarab went to Rāma's camp and with the help of a sleeping powder made all his companions sleep. He kidnapped unconscious Rāma to Pātāla and thought of putting him into boiling water. After waking up everybody looked for Rāma. Vibhīṣaṇa applied his mind to the problem and came to know that it was Maiyarab who had kidnapped Rāma. He asked Hanumān to go to Pātāla to rescue him. Hanumān met with many obstacles

on the way, an elephant, a fiery mountain, a swarm of mosquitoes. He overcame them one by one and was able finally to reach Pātāla, find out Rāma with the help of his son Macchanu, a mermonkey born of the mermaid Suvarṇamaccha whom Maiyarab had adopted as his son. Hanumān gave a fight to Maiyarab, killed him and brought Rāma back to his camp.

THE EPISODE OF THE JUDGEMENT OF MALIVAGGABRAHMA

When one demon after another was falling in the face of Rāma's or Hanumān's superior power, Daśakaṇṭha became extremely worried and thought of some way to get rid of Rāma. One way was to persuade his grandfather Malivaggabrahma or Malivaraja Brahmā, the lord of gods, Gandharvas, Nāgas and other supernatural beings, the Brahmā of unfailing words to pronounce a curse on Rāma. Daśakaṇṭha sent for him through the demons Nanvavik and Vayuvek and requested him to pronounce his judgement on his dispute with Rāma who had invaded his country.

To look impartial Malivaggabrahma descended along with his host of gods neither in the Rāma's camp nor in Laṅkā but in the battle-field which according to him belonged to neither of the disputants. Daśakaṇṭha placed before him his charge of the invasion of his country by Rāma. Just as he was, Malivaggabrahma would not pronounce his judgement unless the gods witnessed the trial and Rāma given a chance to reply to the accusation. He also wanted to listen to Sītā who was brought into his presence in the company of the monkeys and the demons. On her evidence and on that of the gods Malivaggabrahma found Daśakaṇṭha guilty and cursed him to death by Rāma's weapon. With this Daśakaṇṭha's plan got totally misfired.

THE EPISODE OF RĀVAṆA'S SOUL

It is at more than one place in the Rāmakien that the soul being kept separately from the body is mentioned. Unless it is destroyed first, a person cannot be killed, as per its version. The same thing happens also in the case of Rāvaṇa. When the great fight between Rāma and Rāvaṇa took place Rāvaṇa remained immune to all the weapons of the former who showed unusual valour. Rāvaṇa's arms and heads were all cut one by one to grow and join again. Vibhīṣana knew that it would go on like this unless Rāvaṇa's soul kept in a receptacle with Goputra, the latter's preceptor in his Āśrama was crushed first. Hanumān offered to do the job cautioning Rāma *inter alia* that in accomplishing it he might have to use many tricks and that should not doubt his integrity. Together with Aṅgada he left for Gouptra's Āśrama. He met the Ṛṣi, a simpleton at that, and told him that he had been ill-used by Rāma and that he would like to desert him and join Rāvaṇa who knew how to treat his allies best but on his own was afraid of going to him, lest his very sight should enrage him and provoke him to finish him off and was requesting him (Goputra) to take them to Rāvaṇa's presence to

put in a word on his behalf and on behalf of his companion to him (Rāvaṇa). At Hanumān's caution that Rāma might steal away the receptacle, the Ṛṣi took it along with him. At the city gate came up a difficulty. If the receptacle was taken in, the soul would immediately fly to Rāvaṇa to meet him. At Hanumān's suggestion, it was decided to leave the receptable with Aṅgada. Hanumān and Goputra entered Laṅkā. After a while Hanumān on the pretext of giving instructions to Aṅgada for saving himself from the demons who might mistake him for an enemy, came back to him, created with his miraculous power a replica of the soul and put it in the receptacle in place of the original one which the latter (Aṅgada) at his behest buried beneath the seashore. Rāvaṇa's soul having been buried, there was no obstacle left for Rāma in killing Rāvaṇa. In the fight that ensued the former finished off the latter.

THE EPISODE OF MAHIPAL DEBASURA

After the death of Rāvaṇa, his friend Mahipal Debasura, king of Chakravāla, came to visit him, ignorant of what had happened to him. Coming to know of his death on arrival he became furious and besieged the city of Laṅkā. Vibhīṣaṇa who was then occupying the throne under the name Dashaigrivangsh did not possess the miraculous powers of Rāvaṇa. It was because of this that he would sent every week on arrow to Rāma and if he felt that anything was going wrong, he should attach a note to it. When the city was besieiged, Vibhīṣaṇa attached a note to the arrow which Rāma saw and deputed Hanumān who was then ruling over the city of Nabapuri under his new name of Phya Anujit to help Vibhīṣana. Hanumān fought Mahipal Debasura and tore him into two. Much to his amazement the portions united. At last at Vibhīṣaṇa's behest he tore open his (Debasura's) chest and the latter fell dead.

THE EPISODE OF THE INSURRECTION IN LAṄKĀ

When Mandodarī became one of Vibhīṣana's queens, she was in the family way. She in course of time gave birth to a son. Coming of age and coming to know from Bainasurivangsh, son of Benjakai as to what had happened to his father Rāvaṇa, he was seething with the feeling of taking revenge. He went to king Chakravartin, the ruler of Malivan, a friend of his father who took him for his own son, invaded Laṅkā and put Vibhīṣaṇa behind the bars. Hanumān and his son Asuraphad came to Kiṣkindhā, made all arrangements for the army and proceeded to Ayodhyā where Bharata and Śatrughna joined them. With their armies they marched to Laṅkā. In the battle Bainasurivangsh was killed and Vibhiṣaṇa set free.

MINOR DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE THAI RĀMĀYAṆA AND THE VĀLMĪKI RĀMĀYAṆA

Having spoken of the new episodes that have been introduced into the Thai Rāmāyaṇa, it will be pertinent to analyse the Thai Rāma story from

the point of view of variations in it from the Rāma story of Vālmīki. There are incidents in it such as the birth of Rāvaṇa, Vālin's fight with Māyāvin, Rāma's birth, his encounter with Tāḍakā, his marriage with Sītā, the Paraśurāma episode, Rāma's exile and the part played in it by Mantharā, Daśaratha's fight with Śambara and the part played in it by Kaikeyī, Rāma's contact with Guha, his encounter with Virādha, Śūrpaṇakhā's overtures to Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, Sītā's abduction and Jaṭāyu's fight with Rāvaṇa which have some differences, though not very big, with Vālmīki's treatment of them.

These differences could be illustrated by taking up a few of the above instances. Let us first take up the incident of the birth of Rāvaṇa and then other incidents. In both the Thai Rāmāyaṇa and the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa, Rāvaṇa and Kuvera are said to have a common father, though the names differ in both. In the Thai Rāmāyaṇa he is called Lastian, Sanskrit Pulastya and in the Valmīki Rāmāyaṇa Viśravas. Same is the case with Rāvaṇa's mother. In the Thai Rāmāyaṇa she is called Rajatā and in the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa Kaikasī. Rajatā has no connection with Sumālin mentioned as the father of Kaikasī in the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa.

In the Vālin's fight with the bull Māyāvin called Thorapi in the Thai Rāmāyaṇa, the story is common in both the Rāmāyaṇas, the Thai and the Vālmīki upto the point where Sugrīva is placed at entrance of a cave wherein the fight takes place. The Thai Rāmāyaṇa gives a slightly different turn to the story when it introduces the element of rain. Vālin had it conveyed to Sugrīva that if he saw lighter blood coming out of the cave, he should take it that it was his (Valin's) and that he had been killed by Māyāvin. If instead, he saw thicker blood in its place, he should conclude that Māyāvin had been killed. Now rain played havoc with the scheme. On account of it Māyāvin's blood became lighter. Seeing it coming out Sugrīva thought that it was Vālin who had been killed. To prevent Māvāvin's exit, he blocked the cave and left. Vālin after finishing off Māyāvin found it hard to come out and was very angry with Sugrīva.

In the description of the birth of Rāma, the Thai Rāmāyaṇa does not give the name of the sacrifice which Daśaratha performs for begetting sons unlike the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa which mentions it as Putreṣṭi. Again, the Ṛṣi who assits in the performance of the sacrifice is Kalaikot in the Thai Rāmāyaṇa, while he is Ṛṣyaśṛṅga in the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa. Further, the divine food is rice-balls in the Thai Rāmāyaṇa, while it is Pāyasa in the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa.

As for the incident of Rāma's marriage with Sītā, the Thai Rāmāyaṇa says that she (Sītā) has a look at Rāma from the balcony, who is shown conscious of it. The Vālmīki Ramayaṇa has nothing of it.

MAJOR DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE THAI RĀMĀYAṆA AND THE VALMĪKI RĀMĀYAṆA

The variations in the Thai Rāmāyaṇa from the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa are quite substantial with reference to certain incidents, such as the account of the birth of Vālin, Sugrīva, Hanumān and Aṅgada, Rāma's meeting with Hanumān, Hanumān's departure to Laṅkā, his meeting with Sampāti and Rāvaṇa, the building of the causeway to Laṅkā, Aṅgada's meeting with Rāvaṇa, the order, the account and the frequency of the battles, Rāma's return to Ayodhyā, the distribution of awards, banishment of Sītā, the birth of her two sons and the reconciliation of Rāma and Sītā.

We take up only a few here by way of illustration. The version describes quite differently the incident of the banishment of Sītā. In the Thai Rāmāyaṇa, Adul, a demoness, the daughter of Śūrpaṇakhā, the lady disfigured by Lakṣmaṇa working as a palace maid with a view to wreaking vengeance on Rāma and Sītā for the wrong done to her mother entices Sītā to draw a picture of Rāvaṇa which Rāma happens to see and which makes him suspicious of her fidelity. He assigns Lakṣmaṇa the task of killing her. On his orders Lakṣmaṇa takes her to the forest, but lacks the will to commit the ghastly act. He leaves her and brings to Rāma the heart of a deer as a proof positive for the carrying out of the assignment. Sītā continues to live in the forest. Rāma remains for long unaware of the fact that she is alive. In the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa, Rāma banished Sītā for fear of public censure. Lakṣmaṇa takes her to the forest but does not leave her alone. He tells her about the Āśrama of Vālmīki nearby.

The Thai Rāmāyaṇa shows Sītā to be very angry with Rāma for the wrong done to her, while it depicts Rāma as sad and sorrowful in separation from her. One day Īśvara was having an assembly of gods in Mount Krailāsa. He was concerned at the fact that Rāma who had brought joy and happiness to the three worlds by controlling the demons should be leading a miserable life. Wanting to attempt a reconciliation of the estranged couple he sent for Rāma and Sītā. He noticed Sītā's anger and asked Rāma to beg pardon of her appealing at the same time to her softer feelings. Sītā at first did not relent. She could ill afford to be with a jealous and a cruel person. She had been too badly hurt to forget or to forgive. But at Īśvara's intercession she consented at last to accept Rāma. Thus were united the long-separaated husband and wife.

The account of the birth of Sītā's sons differs completely in the two versions. In the Thai Rāmāyaṇa, Sītā during her exile is described as living in the hermitage of the sage Vajmrga, whereas she stays in the Āśrama of Vālmīki in the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa. A son is born to her and is named Mangkut.

The second son the sage Vajmrga created through a mircale. The story has it that one day Sītā left Mangkut in the care of the Ṛṣi and went out to gather fruits and flowers. She came across certain monkey mothers. Out of solicitude for them she asked them to be careful with their babies lest they fell. The monkey mothers retorted that they were certainly better than her who had entrusted her son to the care of a Ṛṣi who has his eyes closed in meditation. Sītā rushed back to the hermitage and brought the baby along with her. When Ṛṣi opened his eyes after meditation, he, not finding the baby around, created another one by his miraculous power. When Sītā came back, the Ṛṣi told her everything and said that the new baby created by him would be Mangkut's playmate. He gave it the name Lava. In the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa, Sītā is described to give birth to two sons who are Kuśa and Lava respectively.

The Vālmīkian account of Sītā being entombed in the earth is described differently in the Thai Rāmāyaṇa. Though Rāma had himself banished Sītā out of a feeling of jealousy and suspicion and ordered her killing, he felt lonely without her. When he came to know that she was alive, he wanted that she would be with him. To this she did not agree. She, however, came when she was informed that Rāma had died. But when she found him alive, she was furious and requested mother Earth to take her in. She went thus to Pātāla. Rāma sent Hanumān to bring her back, but in vain. She continued to live in Pātāla till her reconciliation with Rāma at the initiative of Īśvara. There is difference between the two Rāmayaṇas, the Thai and the Vālmīki, in another aspect also. In the Thai Rāmāyaṇa, Rāma is said to assign new names that he bestows on his allies while rewarding them with different kingdoms for service rendered by them in achieving victory over Rāvaṇa. Thus Vibhīṣaṇa is given the name Dashagrivangsh Bangshabrahmadhiraj Rangsary, Sugrīva the name Phraya Vaiyavangsh Mahasuraraj, Guha the name Phraya Khukanadhipati, Hanumān the name Phraya Anujit and so on. Here we see the local tradition asserting its influence. The kings on ascending the throne would assume different names and titles. This is natural that it should be so in the case of the Rāmāyaṇa characters as they ascend the throne. High-flown names and titles were thus coined and assigned to them.

The Rāmāyaṇa story as found in Thailand is said not to have come directly from India. According to Phraya Anumanvajthorn, a great authority of Thai literature, it came from Indonesia some 900 years back. It is possible, therefore, that a number of incidents and episodes came to be added in its onward march from country to country. Far greater efforts may be needed than put in by king Rama VI, the only one to have made an attempt so far, to trace their source which as can be seen in the case of Sītā's exile could be due to the different versions of the Rāma story including the folk tradition current in India itself. A comparative study of the different versions

would yield also the information as to how much of it owes to non-Indian inspiration which is at work mostly is folklore. The Rāma story in Thailand is found in all its formulations of literary works, the theatrical performances and folk tales. It is quite familiar even to the present generation and is an inseparable part of its social feabric now. The Thais regard it among their national heritage and are justly proud of it.

YOGIS AND MENDICANTS : PATAÑJALI'S YOGA SŪTRA - I : YS 1:20

N. E. SJOMAN

1. SŪTRA :

śraddhā-vīrya-smṛti-samādhi-prajña-pūrvaka itareṣām

2. TRANSLATION :

For others (yogins who resort to means in distinction to those mentioned in YS 1 : 19 (*samādhi* from YS 1:18) is preceded by faith, energy, memory, *samādhi* and *prajñā.*

3. VYĀSA :

Vyāsa, in his commentary, explains "faith" as "clarity" *(samprasāda)* of mind. He states that one who has faith, desiring discrimination, gains energy. When that is accomplished, memory is produced. When memory is acquired, the mind becomes concentrated. When it is concentrated, the insight of *prajñā* (*pra* superior, *jñāna* knowledge) occurs and the yogin "sees things as they are" – the definition of *samādhi* given in YS 3:3. He goes on to state that practice in this *prajñā* accompanied by *vairāgya* or dispassion (linking back to YS 1:12) produces *asamprajñātasamādhi* (YS 1 : 18).

This ties the *sūtra* into the *sūtra* network.

4. PROBLEMS :

The word "others" *(itareṣām),* according to Vyāsa, is to distinguish the referent from the previous *sūtra* which refers to the disembodied *(videhas)* and those who have resolved themselves in elemental matter *(prakṛtilayas).* Vyāsa glosses "others" as "the yogins who depend on means", referring to the yogins, following this school of yoga (referred to in the *sūtras*) practising *asamprajñatasamādhi* as referred to in YS 1:18. This interpretation derives totally from Vyāsa. *itareṣām* could refer to other non-yogins as well if that were supported by the context of the *sūtras.* Indeed, if it were meant as Vyāsa has taken it, the *sūtra* could have been better placed immediately after YS 1:18. Then the referent *itareṣām* would have been unnecessary.

The word *śraddhā* seems out of place here. *Śraddhā* has the implication of faith. It does not exactly mean faith as in the western context, but the word has ritual origins and implies some kind of will for acceptance or participation. Even the yoga tradition that could be associated with an idea of faith (*īśvarapraṇidhāna* in YS 2:1 and repeated under *niyama* in YS 2:32)

has a sense of concentration or placing the mind distinct from the devotional tradition. *Vīrya*, energy, literally means "having semen" (*Amarakośa* 2.6.61), although that implication should not be overemphasized as the word has a general sense quite independent of that. It does, however, seem somewhat out of place in a technical work, as the word *śraddhā* did before it.

Smṛti seems even odder. It has been defined in YS 1:11 as one of the *vṛttis* or movements of the mind to be blocked. These *vṛttis* are obstacles to *samādhi*. In the commentary, Vyāsa has taken it as a prerequisite for *samādhi*. Clearly this must be interpreted in some other way, as there is a contradiction with the technical terminology defined in the *sūtras* themselves.

Samādhi is somewhat odd here. The aim of our practices of yoga is *samādhi* according to Vyāsa on YS 1:1. Here *samādhi* is no longer an end – the end or aim here is *prajñā* – and *samādhi* is the means to it (this argument is taken up elsewhere in the *sūtras*). Further, Patañjali has defined *samādhi* in 3:3; Vyāsa has used the definitive elements of that term in the commentary saying that this is what the *sūtra* as a whole refers to but has gone on to use the actual term in the *sūtra* in a general sense – *cittam...samāhīyate* (the mind is concentrated). The word *prajñā* is not defined in the *sūtras*. Further, if *samādhi* is the goal of yoga, then why should we have a sequence of *samādhi* leading to *prajñā* leading to another *samādhi*? There are problems of interpretation of this *sūtra*.

5. THE COMMENTATORS ON VYĀSA :

a) VĀCASPATI

Vācaspati defines *śraddhā* as *icchā* or desire. He defines this *śraddhā* as the desire which is the clarity of mind arising from the knowledge of the *śāstras*. He is perhaps thinking of two things here. The first is a fundamental precept of all *śāstras* – that the prerequisite is the desire of the student to study to achieve the goal of the *śāstra*. Of the three powers – knowledge, action and desire – only desire cannot be influenced by the others and is therefore a basic prerequisite to study. Further, he links *śraddhā* to the idea of study itself which is suggested in the YS 1:12 and 2:1. He then glosses *vīrya* with *prayatna* suggesting a link back to the basic means of yoga given in YS 1:12. He glosses *smṛti* with *dhyāna* or meditation. He states that *samādhi* here refers to the *samādhi* mentioned as a limb of yoga in YS 2:29 and then, by that term, the other eight limbs of yoga are also suggested here. By the practice of these eight limbs of yoga, *prajñā* is produced. Vācaspati interprets that compound as meaning refinement of *prajñā*, (Vyāsa gives the *samādhi* definition meaning here) namely, correct knowledge and from practice of that *asamprajñātasamādhi* is produced.

COMMENT ON VĀCASPATI :

Vācaspati has done a masterful job of integrating the *sūtra* with the other *sūtras* of Patañjali. However, the same problems that arise with Vyāsa's interpretation are still relevant, though somewhat weakened in forcefulness. In addition, Vācaspati has glossed the term *smṛti* as *dhyāna*. But *dhyāna* is defined in YS 3:2 and *smṛti*, as mentioned in YS 1:11. Śāstras define their terms for specific reference. Why should a violation of these principles be necessary here? Patañjali could have said exactly what he meant directly.

b) VIJÑANA BHIKṢU

Vijñāna Bhikṣu glossess *śraddhā* as desire, and *vīrya* as *dhāraṇā*, concentration, defined by Patañjali in YS 3:1. *Smṛti* is then defined again as *dhyāna*.

This ties the *sūtra* into the *sūtras* rather ingenuously in the same way that Vācaspati has done.

6. BUDDHIST REFERENCES :

Reference to the terms discussed is found in a number of places in Buddhism.

SN 48 (Vol. V, Book IV entitled *Indriyasamyuttam*) begins by asking what these five *indriyas* (the group *śraddhā* and so on) are. The word *indriya* is rather difficult to understand here. Conze in *Buddhist Thought in India* translates this group as the "five cardinal virtues" (p. 47). Warder in *Indian Buddhism* calls them "faculties." Horner in his translation of SN calls them the "controlling powers" (Vol.5, p. 175). Buddhadatta Mahāthera's Pali Dictionary gives "controlling principle; faculty, senses." SN goes on to say (section 5 of the above) that whoever gains control in this way he becomes an *arhanta*. They are referred to in S as the means of crossing the sea (of life?) (1.77, 1.184).

VM opens section XIV with a discussion of *prajñā (paññā)* and discusses *śraddhā (saddhā)* under the subsection *saṅkharakhaṇḍo* in the same section. It is quite obvious that these are important terms. It is easy to understand from the primary texts and from the attention that the later interpreters of Buddhism give them, that this is a very important cluster of terms.

Interestingly enough, MN 1.164 notes that Āḷāra Kālāma, the first teacher of the Buddha whom he subsequently rejected, taught this group of five as did Uddaka Rāma's son, Siddhārtha's guru after Āḷāra Kālāma. Here, the grouping called *dhamma* is not considered adequate for *nibbāna*. Therefore those teachings are regarded as limited.

7. BUDDHIST MEDITATION :

Independently of the grouping of 5, *smṛti* or *sati* is often considered to be the very centre of Buddhist meditation, "mindfulness." This is traced back to the *satipaṭṭhānasutta* (Discourse 10 in the MN and 22 in *Dīgha Nikāya*). The traditions connected with that *sutra,* right up to modern times, have been discussed thoroughly by Nyanaponika Thera.

King, if I understand him correctly, wishes to explain the meditation pattern of the early Buddhists as consisting of two streams : a stream that arose from the unique Buddhist contemplation *(sati* or *smṛti)* and another from the Brahmanic-yogic concentration meditation that was prevalent at the time. He claims a relationship between the two such that, the combination of them did produce a further knowledge, namely *prajñā.* In this way, he would interpret the group of five as referring to the basis of the practical discipline – faith, which means here faith in the dharma and so on, vigour to pursue it, *smṛti* or the unique Buddhist mindfulness meditation, *samādhi* or the Brahmanic-yogic concentration meditation and finally *prajñā,* the unique insight that was produced from this combination which led to *nirodhasamāpatti* (the *arahanta* in SN), the state just prior to *nirvāṇa.* The use of *nirodha* occurs in YS 1:2 as well.

8. CONCLUSIONS :

Examining the evidence around this *sutra* of Patañjali, in spite of Vācaspati's skilful attempt to tie the *sūtra* in, and considering his ethical position as a commentator on Vyāsa (his primary obligation is to explicate Vyāsa as making sense), I feel that it might be profitable to interpret YS 1:20 as referring to sects outside the realm of the yoga philosophy. The "others" referred to here are "the Buddhists" or "the Buddhists and so on." This fits with the tenor of the section which ends here. Thus, this interpretation does not violate context. In fact it enhances the context as we no longer have to break the referent and then refer back to it stretching contextual reference in the process. It removes the problem of trying to make sense of this *sūtra* whose terms are out of context. First of all, the *sūtra* is discussing causal precedents of *asamprajñātasamādhi.*[1] But in YS 1:18 both the nature of *asamprajñāta* and the causal precedent are mentioned. The causal precedent is the cognition of absence *(virāmapratyaya),* therefore there is no expectancy *(ākāṅkṣā)* that would allow us to tie the *sūtra* to the preceding topic. The discussion of that is complete and, to tie this *sūtra* into the general structure, we would have to violate basic principles of thought recognized by commentators on *sūtras* and specialists in interpretation (Mīmāṁsakas). Further, Vācaspati's attempt to tie this *sūtra* is done by contradicting *(lakṣaṇa)* the philosophical terminology defined by Patañjali. This has been explained above in the section dealing with problems in the *sūtra.* Interpretative consideration of these terms

should also make us suspicious. In a text like YS, faith, energy and so on might be appropriately discussed under section on obstacles and means of overcoming them, but they are out of place as a causal precedent for *samādhi.* This has already been stated. The precise hierarchy of *samādhi* knowledge is laid out in the final part of this section of the *sūtras.*

However, the statement in MN, namely, that this practice was rejected by the Buddha as not leading to the final goal could make us consider this as part of early meditation or ascetical practices common to various groups including perhaps early Sāṁkhya that we have no record of. It could also lead us to question why this has become such an important part of Buddhism and why it is accorded the status of leading to an *arahanta* in SN. An attractive explanation here is provided by King, namely that the *sūtra* reflects the fusing of traditions and the ambiguity accompanying that in different time periods. This historical snippet would enable us to harmonize the discrepancy between MN and SN and the later interpreters.

It is too early to draw the implications of such a study for the *sūtras* themselves. The proposed emendation is tentative. There are other Buddhist connections in the *sūtras* to investigate, problems of interpretation and sly comments of the commentators regarding Vyāsa's interpretation. At this point, this interpretation lends support for the theory that the YS is a collection of diverse spiritual disciplines and should not be interpreted as a unified philosophy of yoga. A comparison with Buddhist source material and the interpretations of the commentators on YS may be fruitful for obtaining insight into alternative interpretations of the *sūtras* and thus eventually an insight into the original meaning.

It has been pointed out many times Vyāsa's interpretations, without which we would have even greater problems, indicate that the tradition as known to Patañjali had been broken or lost. It would have been difficult for him to fully understand the intended meaning of Patañjali's *sūtras* without that tradition.

Notes and References

1. Buddhists would prefer to mention a causal precedent by "*pūrvaka*", "preceded by" because of the contingencies of their causal theory.

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ABBREVIATIONS

YS *Pātañjala - Yogadarśanam.*

SN *Samyutta - Nikāya.*

MN *Majjhima - Nikāya.*

S *Sutta - Nipāta.*

VM *Visuddhimagga.*

IMPACT OF TRADE ON EARLY ART OF INDIA
(*circa* 200 B.C.-300 A.D.)

SUSHMA TRIVEDI

Although early art of India has been much subjected to social analysis, a study of economic trends and factors as causes of stylistic as well as formal changes has not yet been attempted. Creation of art is not an isolated event or an independent happening, totally unrelated to its surroundings, but is interconnected with and nurtured by a variety of human activities such as economic, social and political. In reality, the economic condition is the most important cause of social changes of a given society and these in their turn are reflected in the contemporary art. Thus in a deeper analysis evolution of art is closely connected with changing economic patterns. Western scholars draw a parallel between evolution in art and evolution of society. In this context they have propounded a theory of social determinism according to which socio-economic factors were recognized as conditioning factors for art and culture.[1]

However, the relationship between the economic set-up and art forms in a particular age should not be thought of as a simple one. There is a complex relationship and a long chain of causation as well as interplay of cultural and economic forces. With the introduction of new modes of production and distribution, the older tendencies in art are modified regarding designs, objects represented and styles. A change in nature of economy brings a change in the patron class, in socio-religious institutions and ideologies, which in turn create new requirements and fresh opportunities for the emergence of new forms and content in art. [2]

Arnold Hauser has maintained that "there is simply no other explanation of stylistic change, but a sociological or psychological explanation."[3] This sociological or psychological explanation has economic cause at its root level. When there is a change in the economic structure of a society, it leads to social changes and change in social psychology that affects and moulds man's creative mood.

In this paper we shall study the art of post-Maurya and pre-Gupta period in the context of resultant changes in artistic tastes and creations in this particular stage of the economy. The art of this period was mainly associated with Buddhist religion. The facades of the *chaityas,* and the railings and the gateways of the *stūpas* were parts of the monuments which provided

the artists with opportunities to show their skills. In south Indian *stūpas* of this period, drums and hemispherical domes are also richly carved. The main sites of art and architecture in north India are Bharhut, Bodhgaya, Sanchi, Mathura and Gandhara, and in the Deccan are Karle, Nasik, Bhaja, Kanheri, Nagarjunakonda and Amaravati.

This period is marked by a tremendous growth in foreign as well as internal trade. Economy was mainly based on commodity production and commercial activities. D.D. Kosambi says that "the *Arthaśāstra* mode of production and the state monopoly of metal has unquestionably been abandoned."[4] Under the dynamic rule of Śaka, Kushan of Sātavāhanas, India's foreign trade achieved new heights. India was the supplier of luxury goods which were in great demand in western societies having lavish life-style. There was a great influx of Roman gold and money and throughout this period India's balance of trade remained favourable for her. Pliny complains of the loss of fifty million sesterces (half a million sterling) per year to India in exchange of her exports.[5] During this period India became a part and parcel of the great Asian complex of international land trade. Caravans of Indian traders from all over India used to travel through these routes. At the same time the maritime trade of India also flourished. India had maritime trade relations with Rome and Egypt. Vogel, while editing the Nagarjunakonda inscriptions, pointed out that the rich monuments of Krishna-Godavari valley could not perhaps be raised and maintained without the surplus wealth which the Roman trade poured into these ports.[6] This flourishing trade and expanding economy brought an era of general prosperity and urbanism. This explains the flowering of art centres and monuments over a wide region from Gandhara in the north-west to Bodhgaya in east, and from Karle and Bhaja in the west to Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda in the south-east. Not just the expanse or quantity but also the quality and the variety of themes, reflect the rich economy of the land.

This changed economic condition brought a change in social set-up. Merchants and traders were the most benefitted community from the foreign and internal trade. They became the most affluent class of society. It seems that financial status of craftsmen and artisans was also greatly improved. Most of the donative records of this period speak of merchants, *sārthavāhas* (caravan leaders), *śreṣṭhīs* (bankers), artisans and craftsmen and the guilds of traders and artisans as donors. It seems that a close nexus developed between monasteries and merchants during this period. Most of the important Buddhist monuments have been found in and within the vicinity of great trading centres and along the trade routes. Their enlargement and decor was certainly due to their advantageous position which led them into posterity. Hundreds of dilapidated *stūpas* have been found by archaeologists which might have caught the fancy of moneyed class, as these monuments did. A cluster

of trade towns and ports is found on the western coast and simultaneously a great concentration of the rock-cut *caityas* and monasteries is also found in the region. Similar monuments are found at Nasik and Junnar. The caves of Bhaja, Karle and Kanheri are situated near the ports of Sopara and Kalyana. *Stūpas* of Sanchi and Bharhut were near Vidisha, an important station on Ujjain-Pataliputra highway. Taxila and Mathura themselves bear artistic antiquities of this period. A general survey of votive inscriptions will reveal that at Sanchi most of the donations came from the market town of Ujjain,[7] and at Kanheri most of them were received from Kalyan.[8] It is apparent from donative records from the sites that they were being used by merchants as halting stations on their trade journeys. Thus traders from Sopara are recorded at Karle,[9] Kanheri,[10] Nasik[11] and from Bharukaccha at Junnar.[12] Besides this, monasteries also worked as banking institutions. Epigraphs at Kanheri and other places speak of permanent and other kinds of endowments to these monasteries from the interest of which they were to provide certain facilities to monks and to perform some other functions. To pay interest, monasteries must have been investing the endowment money into some productive work, most probably lending it to merchants for their trading ventures.

This clearly indicates that during this period the patron-artist relationship underwent a significant change. The creation of art did not remain a royal monopoly; the rich merchants and artisans must be credited with this remarkable change. At Sanchi out of 631 donative records only three mention royalty.[13] Nearly 800 caves were excavated during the Sātavāhana period of which 128 bear inscriptions. Twelve caves record royal inscriptions, but there are hundreds of small individual donations by craftsmen and artisans such as potters, goldsmiths, ironsmiths and so on all of whom in the prevalent economy could accumulate money which was not possible in later village economy.[14] The south pillar of the eastern gateway and the north pillar of the western gateway of Sanchi were the gifts of Nāgapiya, a banker. Dhanamahācetiya *stūpa* of Amaravati is one of the biggest *stūpas*. The merchant guilds of Dhanyakataka were the chief donors in the construction of these great artistic monuments of the country.[15]

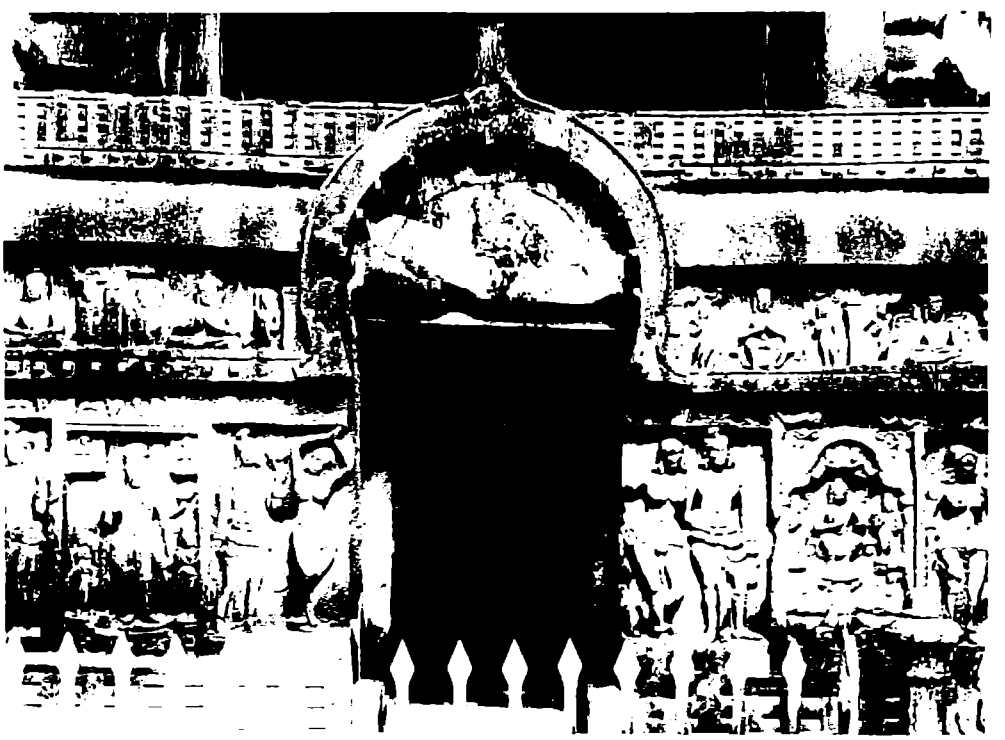
On the part of the patron, participation in art activity inevitably involved both wish-fulfilment and self-announcement.[16] The tastes of this new class of donors, along with the general social conditions imparted some new interests and aesthetic values to the art forms. It led to "bourgeois sophistication which one witnesses for the first time in Indian plastic art."[17] From the time of the early post-Maurya art of Bharhut till its mature phase at Amaravati, we see a gradual drift towards sensuousness, more and more depiction of human life, ornamentation and adornment. Since the Buddhist *saṅghas* were largely patronised by commercial classes, the content and depiction reflects their tastes and preferences. D.D. Kosambi, while discussing Karle monastery

states, "The sculpture is beautiful, even voluptuous, of handsome couples of opulent men and women, dressed in the height of style, riding horses and elephants; hardly what one would expect is an assembly place for monks, but precisely what a rich merchant would have liked."[18]

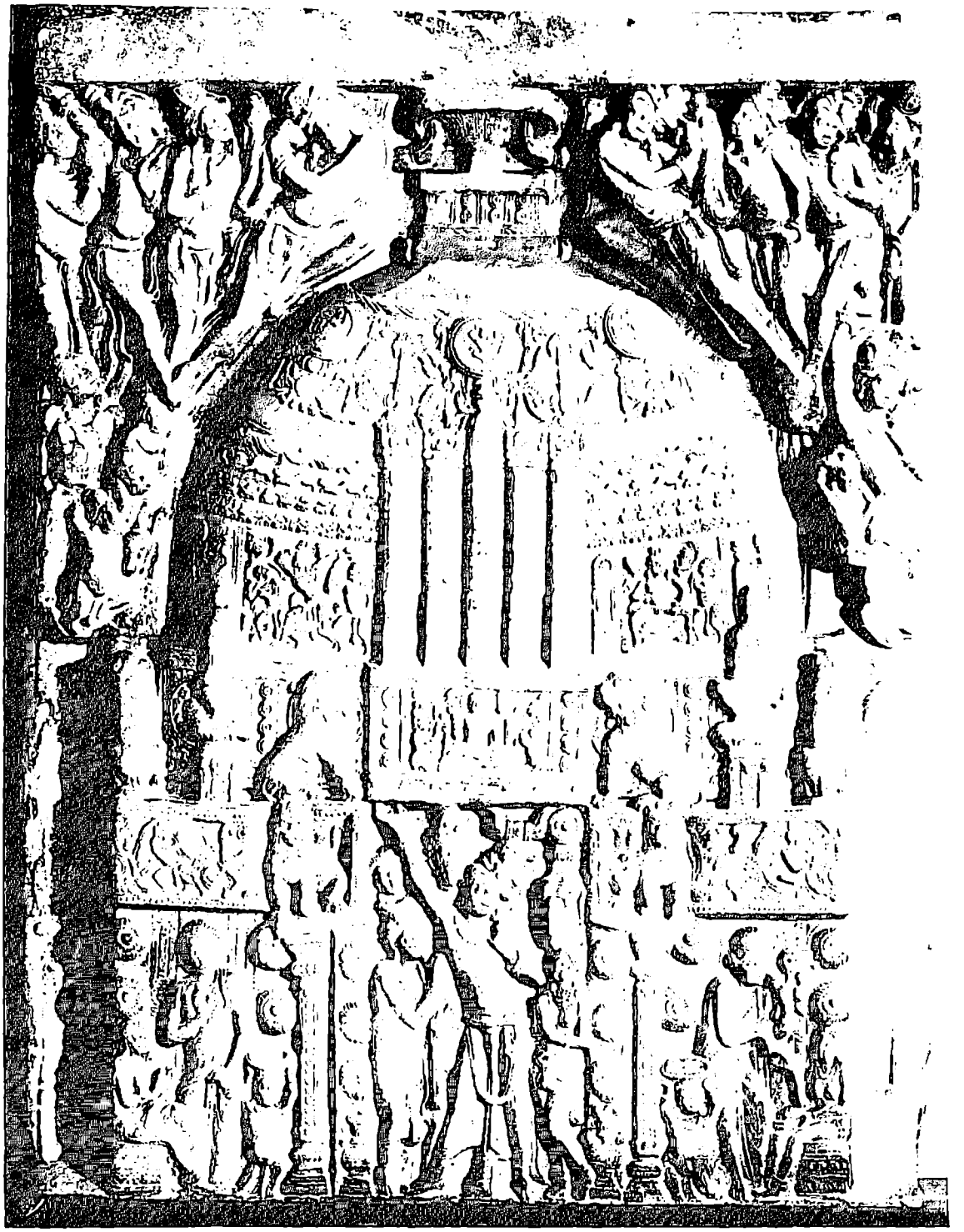
Now we will systematically study the new tendencies of the art of this period being introduced in a changed economic and social environment. Although the thematic content of art remains near about the same throughout the period and extent, the episodes from the life of Buddha and Jātaka stories, there was a growing tendency towards incorporation of diversified subjects into it. The horizon for artists became expanded. In the early phase of the post-Maurya art, nature is depicted prominently. In Bharhut, Bodhgaya and Sanchi the thematic content is closely interwoven with the background of a luxurious nature comprising of trees, plants, creepers, birds, animals, etc. Human figures are treated alike with all these components. In fact, artists of Bharhut show more expertise in dealing with animal and vegetal world than with human figures. (Pl.XI, A). Later monuments show receding importance of nature and natural elements. In the art of Bhaja and Karle and the mature art of Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda, nature is more or less left out of the narration, only being used where it has to be because of forming a part of legend. In this context Albert Grunwedel has observed "in the luxury of the cities a tendency towards pessimism makes itself felt, the people do not feel so much the need of an organised nature religion."[19] But it is not perhaps so much a question of pessimism but a question of man's changed relationship to nature. In this period of urbanisation, trade-boom and improved transport, man ceased to be entirely dependent on the forces of nature. In fact, the opening of trade routes and other facilities shows that man had gained some control over nature. Therefore nature ceased to occupy the exalted position which it had in earlier periods. There was also a corresponding change in artistic activities and the artists were now more interested in depicting human life with all its complexity and worldly pleasures.

The most important aspect of art of this period is the artist's conception of human figure in different phases. In Bharhut, human figures are relatively infrequent, compared to floral and vegetative motifs. In general terms, art is very shy and there is no attempt to exploit physical charms of feminine figures. They do not seem very easy and swift in movements. Narrations of Bodhgaya take a step further and at Sanchi the anatomical details are in proportion and figures are shapely. Here we see the introduction of sensuous elements in the sculptures of female figures. In fact, there is an attempt to make them consciously sensuous. Karle. (Pl.XI, B), Kanheri and Bhaja figures show the same trend. At Mathura, human figures are more lively and immersed in materialistic pleasures. The sculptural excellence and maturity is reached in the reliefs of Amaravati and Naganjunakonda (Pl.XII). Here

A. Bharhut Stūpa, Great railing, East Gateway, architraves inscribed 2nd century B.C.



B. Karle Caitya Cave, front wall, *mithuna* couples c. mid 1st century (Buddha images, *6th century*).



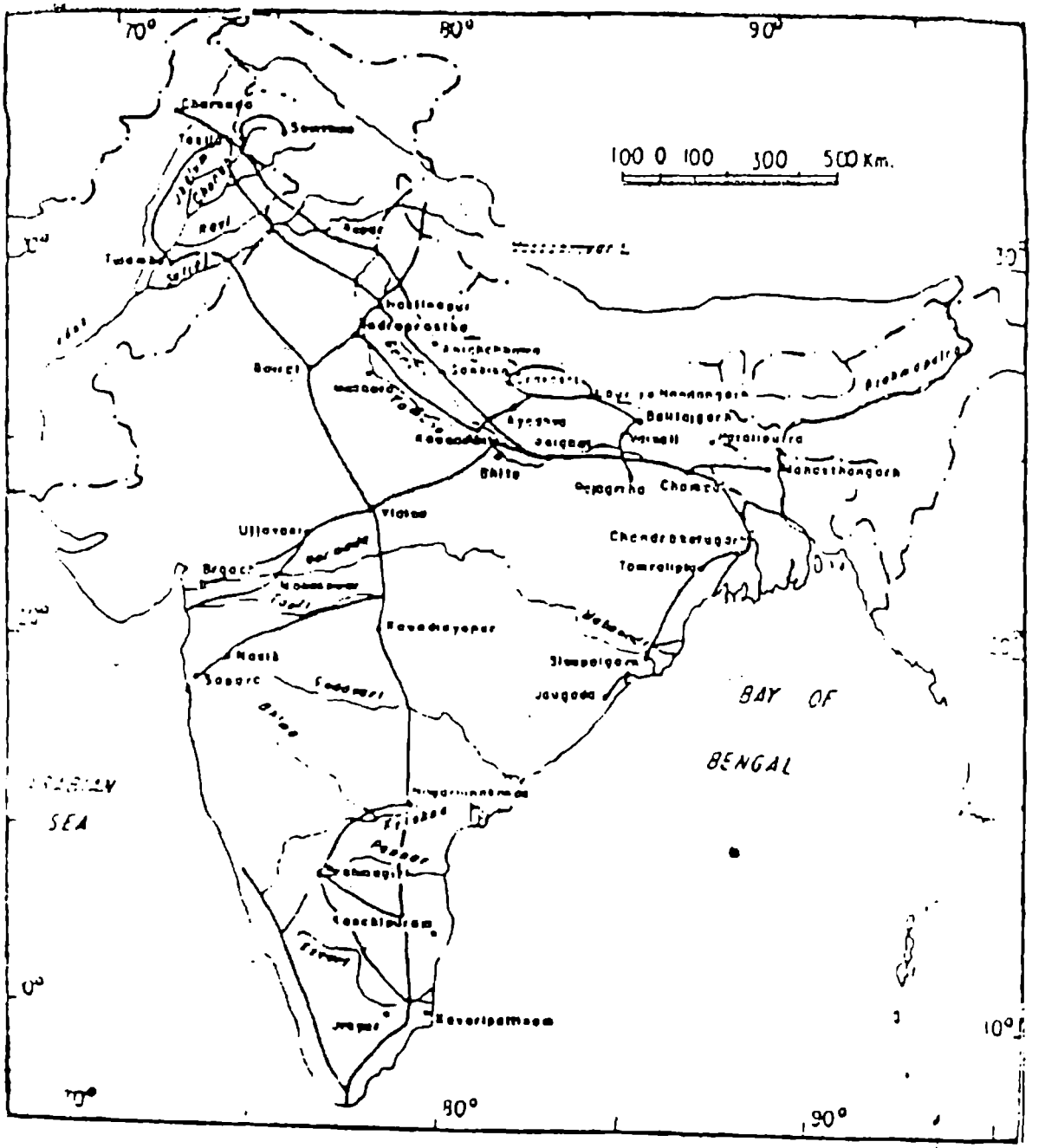
Nagarjunakonda, *Āyaka* slab showing model of decorated Andhra Stūpa, with *Āyaka* pillars and *toraṇa* with lion-posts. *c.* 2nd-3rd century, white limestone, National Museum, New Delhi.

human figures become elegant, dignified; and the sensuousness seems more natural than imposed. No doubt, the advancement of technique and artistic efficiency, was to some extent responsible for this change, but changed socio-economic atmosphere seems to have played an important role in influencing the thematic content of art. The increasing cultivation of *śṛṅgāra* and sensualisation of art can be attributed to the affluent social climate nurtured on the growing trade and urban development in early centuries of the Christian era.[20]

The life represented in reliefs of these Buddhist centres is mainly urban with all its pomp, splendour and colourfulness. The left and right pillar fronts of the eastern gateway of Sanchi represent thickly populated towns.[21] Sophistication and affluent life is reflected in the costumes, ornaments and poses of the figures. They wear a number of ornaments and in Grunwedel's words "they are decked as for gala occasions."[22] Ornaments themselves are very delicately and artistically carved. Poses of figures also indicate a luxurious and lavish life-style. In Mathura we see women decorating themselves, playing with birds and one even carrying a vanity bag. Truly, the life depicted here is nearer to the urban life described in Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra*, a text addressed to the *nāgaraka*, man of town.

It is generally believed that the art of early India was essentially religious being associated with Buddhism. But secular themes also appear in art. It seems that the new patron class, with members ranging from rich merchants to goldsmiths and perfumers was responsible for imparting popular elements in art. There are number of scenes from day-to-day life, people hunting, drinking, women preparing rice, etc. Beautifully carved sculptures of Yakṣas and Yakṣiṇīs guard the *stūpas*. They fulfil religious function but their treatment in art is non-religious. It has been aptly remarked that Indian sculpture is sensuous irrespective of its subject and even counter to its subject.[23]

As has already been stated, these centres of art grew along or near arterial land-routes and the coastal line. In north India, a grand route existed, running from Tamralipti in east to the frontier town of Puskalavati, going by way of Champa, Varanasi, Kausambi, Mathura, Sanghol and Taxila,[24] where number of central Asian land routes converged. From Puskalavati, it proceeded futher and terminated at Bactria. Deccan and Andhra regions not only had links with north India, but were also linked with Roman empire through sea-routes. The traders and mercenaries braved the natural barriers and provided people of different regions with a means of communication and contact through these routes. This helped fusion of art styles of different regions. Early sculptures of Amaravati in the Krishna valley represent a close affinity to the contemporary sculptures of Sanchi in their technique as well as in delineation of garments of figures. Introduction of foreign elements in Indian art may also be attributed to the movement over these tracts. The Gandhara school of art came into



Ancient Indian Trade Routes

being out of the fusion of traditional Indian art with art forms of central Asia, Śaka, Kushana and more importantly Graeco-Roman school. Mathura became the meeting ground of the traditions of early Indian art of Bharhut and Sanchi and the Gandhara art from north-west. It is interesting to note that the Graeco-Scythian elements make their first appearance in central India during this period. Impact of Gandhara and Mathura art forms can be seen as far south as Nagarjunakonda in Krishna delta. It is reflected in the manner of the treatment of the hanging folds of the drapery and the half open eyes, their fully rounded faces and lips,[25] particularly of Buddha and Bodhisattva images.

To conclude, this short study attempts to show that various art forms and thematic content in early India reveal influences of economic forces through the corresponding changes in traditions, attitudes and tastes of the society.

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Acknowledgements

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Plates

XI, A Bharhut (Satna-MP) Stūpa, Great railing, East Gateway, architraves inscribed 2nd century B. C.

XI, B Karle (Pune-Maharashtra) Caitya Cave, front facade, northern wing, lower part and *mithuna* couples, c. mid. 1st century (Buddha images - 6th century.)

XII Nagarjunakonda (Guntur-AP), Āyaka slab showing model of decorated Andhra Stūpa, with *āyaka* pillars and *toraṇa* with lion-posts c. 2nd -3rd century, white limestone, 1.950 x . 895 m, National Museum No. 50.25.

Map

Trade Routes of Ancient India,
courtesy Nayanjot Lahiri, *The Archaeology of Indian Trade Routes*, New York, 1992, p.368.

REVIEWS

PERSPECTIVES IN THE VEDIC AND THE CLASSICAL SANSKRIT HERITAGE, G. V. DAVANE, published by D. K. Printworld (P.) Ltd., H. 12, Bali Nagar, New Delhi 110015, 1995, pp. i-xvii+275, Rs. 325/-

The volume under review is a collection of nineteen articles written by Dr. G. V. Davane (GVD) during the last several years. Sixteen of these articles were presented at the various sessions of All India Oriental Conference. Broadly speaking, out of these nineteen articles five (Sr. Nos. 6-10) fall under the Vedic Section and the rest under Classical Sanskrit Section. Two of these articles, one on *Meghadūta* (pp. 1-28) and the other on Udayana (pp. 173-209) are the longest. Both these articles are very comprehensive and informative, In her article on Kane, GVD draws our attention to the most valuable portions of Kane's *History of Sanskrit Poetics* and observes that the service he has rendered to the subject of Sanskrit Poetics is beyond measure. In her article on 'Definition of Kāvya and its Scope' (pp. 29-39), GVD records the various definitions of Kāvya as given by Indian literary critics from Bhāmaha to Jagannātha and records the definitions of some well-known Western critics and concludes by quoting the views of modern Indian scholars like Dr. Mainkar and Dr. K. Krishnamoorthy. Her article on the Goddess Sarasvatī (pp. 41-49) among other things, specially refers to the 'awkward' or 'absurd' incident of a god trying to have an intercourse with his own daughter or sister. In 'Sītā in Sanskrit Plays' (p.p. 51-62) GVD presents a study of the character of Sītā as depicted by the various Sanskrit playwrights and concludes that they have humanised Sītā as much as possible. Her article 'Poetic Conventions in Sanskrit Literature', (pp. 63-71) mainly deals with poetic conventions in the light of Rājaśekhara's treatment of this topic in his *Kāvya-Mīmāṁsā*. The present reviewer had published his paper 'Sanskrit Rhetoricians on Poetic Conventions' in Bulletin, No. 6 and 7, Chunilal Gandhi Vidyabhavan, Surat, 1960 (and later included it in his *Studies In Sanskrit Sāhitya-Śāstra,* pub. by B. L. Institute of Indology, Patan (NG) 1983). This paper seems to have escaped the attention of GVD. In 'Samudra in the Ṛgveda' (pp. 75-81) GVD dwells on the different meanings of 'Samudra' according to the Eastern and Western scholars and development of the meanings of the word *'samudra'*. She thinks the original meaning of the word is terrestrial sea. In 'The Moon in the Vedic Literature' (pp. 83-93) GVD collects together all possible details about the moon from the Saṁhitās of the four Vedas, the Brāhmaṇas, the

Āraṇyakas and the principal Upaniṣads, and towards the end notes a few similar ideas in other mythologies of the world. In her next article (pp. 95-104) GVD notes down ideas about the dreaming sleep and deep sleep in the Vedic literature and attempts to trace their development upto the principal Upanisads. In her article 'Uśijaḥ in the Ṛgveda' GVD refers to its different interpretations by the various scholars and investigates as to what this word signifies in the Ṛgveda and by way of conclusion declares that " it is a proper noun and that it was the name of an ancient family or a small clan belonging to the Pajra branch of the Aṅgirasas. They are expert priests possessing mystic powers." In her article 'Ṛgvedic Ṛṣi Nābhānedisṭha' (pp. 115-120) GVD shows how the reformists were first denied the right to participate in the sacrifice, but later they secured it on the merit of their expert knowledge of sacrifice. In her article 'The Fourteen Gems in the Legend of Samudra-Manthana' (pp. 121-129) GVD studies each of these gems critically and concludes that the ocean in the legend of *samudra-manthana* primarily means the firmament. She further declares that though some of the gems can be traced to the Vedic or pre-Vedic period, the legend as such is of epic origin. In her article 'The Rāhu-Ketu Myth' (pp. 131-139) GVD relates that the myth in its fully developed form appears for the first time in the *Mahābhārata* and right from there it has always been forming a part of the *amṛta-manthana* legend. In her article 'A Critical Study of Dhanvantari' (pp. 141-150) GVD studies Dhanvantari under three heads : (i) The original phenomenon, (ii) Dhanvantari's relation with Viṣṇu, and (iii) Dhanvantari's connection with the science of medicine, and concludes her study with the statement : "The origin of medical science or of the ancient physician from water is also a common feature of many mythologies." In her article 'Utprekṣās of Bāṇabhaṭṭa' (pp. 211-224) GVD brings out the charm and beauty of Bāṇa's flights of imagination and incidentally she draws our attention to some glimpses of social life of his days which his *utprekṣās* give. Her article 'Good and Bad Verbal Borrowing according to Rājaśekhara' (pp. 225-234) makes an effort to give a lucid exposition of Rājaśekhara's views on verbal borrowings. Incidentally, it may be noted that the present reviewer's paper 'Sanskrit Writers on Plagiarism' discusses at length Rājaśekhara's views on *śabdārthaharaṇa*. This paper was published first in Journal Oriental Institute, Baroda, Vol. III, No. 4, June 1954 and Vol. IV, No. 1, September 1954 (and later included in his *Studies in Sanskrit Sāhitya Śāstra,* mentioned above). The article 'Apavārya and Janāntikam in Theory and Practice' (pp. 235-248) makes a determined effort to distinguish clearly between the two stage directions *'apavārya' and 'janāntikam'*. The final article, 'The Process of Rasa-niṣpatti' (pp. 249-257) gives a lucid exposition of the process of the manifestation of *rasa* according to the four well-known commentators of Bharata's famous *rasa-sūtra*. GVD introduces the point of *'vastu-saundarya'* in Lollaṭa's interpretation of the *rasa-sūtra* – possibly through oversight – instead of

anusandhāna [cf. *sa ca ubhayorapi mukhyayā vṛttyā rāmādau anukārye 'nukartaryapi cānusandhānabalāt iti.* A. Bhū I, p. 266]. In fact, it is Mammaṭa who for the first time introduces the phrase *'vastu-saundarya-balāt'* while presenting Śaṅkuka's interpretation of the *rasa-sūtra* based on *anumiti.* His point is that the inference *(anumāna)* of the Naiyāyikas—logicians is dry and insipid, whereas the *kāvyānumāna* (poetic inference) is quite distinct from it being delightful and pleasurable on account of *vastu saundarya.* GVD has rightly introduced this phrase in conveying the view of Śaṅkuka (p. 251).

Again, GVD writes : 'Lollaṭa is called a Mīmāṁsaka. Modern scholars explain this saying that he is *Uttaramīmāṁsaka,* i.e. *Vedāntin* (p. 250). It would have been better if GVD had given precise references to 'modern scholars' and their works to enable readers to understand their view fully and judge for themselves if it is based on sound arguments.

Throughout the book we come across scores of Sanskrit passages cited without giving their translation in English. It would have been far better to give their translation in the body of the article and relegate the Sanskrit passages to foot-notes.

Dr. (Ms.) G. V. Davane, a well-known scholar of Sanskrit devoted her undivided attention to the teaching of Sanskrit and research in the field of the Vedic and the Classical Sanskrit Literature. The present volume is truly a valuable contritution to knowledge. She deserves our warm congratulations for making her research articles easily available by bringing them out in a book form. The printing is pleasing to the eye and get-up of the book attractive.

V. M. Kulkarni

DIVINE HYMNS AND ANCIENT THOUGHT, VOL. I, Dr. S. A. DANGE, published by Navrang publication, New Delhi, 1992, pp. 291, Rs. 400/-.

The present volume incorporating about 29 representative hymns from the ten Maṇḍalas, (i. e., 1028 hymns) would serve as an adequate food for thought for Vedic scholars. The correlation between the divine hymns and the ritual fully justifies the title. Deep penetration in the vast field of Vedic studies is the unparalleled decoration of the scholarship of Dr. Dange, a dedicated research worker of international repute. Making any assertive statement without adequate convincing substantial evidence is always far away from him. He is always cautious while making any such statement.

In the family Maṇḍalas the poet sages are seen to have a special soft corner for a particular deity or deities besides Agni and Indra. Dr. Dange has very judiciously picked up 17 hymns to represent these Maṇḍalas. The

Tenth Maṇḍala is traditionally looked upon as of later origin. Seven hymns are incorporated from that Maṇḍala in this volume.

Vedic interpretation is an ongoing process. There were several schools and learned sages engaged in this Herculean task as indicated by Yāska in his *Nirukta*. During the last few centuries several western scholars have made untiring efforts to offer ciritical interpretation of the Ṛgveda on the basis of comparative philology and comparative mythology. Roth, Böhtlingk, Ludwig, Grassman, Pischel, Macdonell, Geldner, Oldenberg, Louis Renou, Paul Thieme, J. Gonda are some of them. Aurobindo has also in his own way thrown light on the meaning of Vedic words. Rev. F. Estellar, Vishva Bandhu Shastri, Dandekar, Bhave and Velankar are some of the Indians who combined the traditional and critical methods in their interpretation.

Dr. Dange has dedicated himself to his Himalayan task with a slightly different approach in a laudable manner.

It is a universal rule that all great scholars generally agree to differ in their interpretation. Each one has his independent line of thinking, his own critical outlook and method of interpretation. Dr. Dange always gives top priority to the ritualistic and ceremonial details while interpreting the Vedic Ṛc. India primarily being a land of agriculture, the performance of sacrificial rituals for materialistic welfare must have been quite natural and so the application of the Vedic hymns for that purpose obviously follows. In the early stages the ritual was not quite rigid. Rituals were undergoing gradual evolution and finally when it was closely linked with the fruit, it became not only more rigid and mechanical but also of magical importance.

In the present volume the plan is very systematic. The introduction of the deity is followed by the verse, then the Padapāṭha (which helps to understand it with ease) and grammatical peculiarities (where the Pāṇinian terminology is incorporated) and finally, the comments where similarities with Greek, Egyptian and Chinese mythology is also indicated.

The Indra and Varuṇa hymns and Indra Apālā Sūkta are looked upon as the germs of the later Bhakti cult. Dr. Dange looks upon Indra as deity of fertility. Indra gains virility through the medium of Indrāṇī (the ritual woman). In fact Indrāṇī is the symbolic name of the earth to be fructified. *Indrāṇīkarma* was prescribed for the bride for happy and fruitful motherhood.

Apām Napāt is said to be the male God in waters according to Dr. Dange, whereas traditionally Apām Napāt is considered to be Agni of the midregion born of the clouds. In the later stages this God, according to Dr. Dange, gets identified with the lightning fire and further the fire in the altar.

Generally the dialogue hymns are considered as the origin of the Sanskrit

Drama, but while commenting on Viśvāmitra-Nadī Saṁvāda, Dr. Dange, following Sāyaṇa (ṚV. III. 33.1) considers the two rivers as two cows licking their calves in affection as they glide softly along their silent banks. IV.39, a tiny hymn to "Dadhikrā" is in honour of a divine speedy winged horse. Here according to Dr. Dange the 'dew' represents the curds mentioned in ritual with this *mantra (dadhi-bhakṣaṇe)*. At V. 57 the perspiration of Maruts causing the earth to have a foetus is the precursor of Hanūmat generating foetus in a female crocodile.

VII. 63 : The description of Sūrya in the ṚV gave rise to various symbols used in rituals later e. g., the Horse, the rotating wheel (in Agnyādhāna) etc.

VII. 103 : (Maṇḍūka Sūkta) : is supposed to be a satire or parody against the Viśvāmitras. Dr. Dange opines that this is a rain charm and the frogs are praised because they hasten the rains by their annual croaking. Here he confirms the opinion of the Ṛgvidhāna, with a number of examples from folk-belief.

Indra Apālā Sūkta is the oldest record of Gṛhya rite. The skin disease of Apālā is just a myth.

X. 14.9 : This Ṛc is addressed to the evil spirits haunting the cremation ground. Dr. Dange feels that the word *'loka'* in this verse is associated with a rite around a permanent mound built upon the pitcher containing the bones of the dead.

X. 129 : This is the most important creation hymn. The various stages of creation, systematically presented here are corroborated by presenting an ancient Egyptian concept of creation by Dr. Dange.

The above references are only a glimpse meant for a reader to read the actual text and form his opinion. Judicious assimilation of the past tradition is seen to be accompanied by a scholarly technique of interpretation. Evaluation of a Ṛc in an unbiased manner is the aim kept in his mind by this scholar.

To reasses the evidence and the data available from the Pūrvasūris is a painstaking task. He has done it in a very humble manner – in an unegoistic way without being harsh to his predecessors in the field.

The students of Veda would certainly find this method of interpretation as a fountain of inspiration and encouragement while pursuing their Vedic study in an independent manner.

G. H. Godbole

DIVINE HYMNS AND ANCIENT THOUGHT, VOL. II, Dr. S. A. DANGE, published by Navrang Publication, New Delhi, 1995, pp. 417, Rs. 500/-

This second volume of Dr. Dange is quite unique in several ways. It establishes beyond doubt his supreme authoritative command over the vast compass of the post-Ṛgvedic Literature.

The volume can be broadly divided into three sections. The first comprises of sixteen interesting passages from the AV, *Taitt. Saṁhitā,* and Brāhmaṇa Texts are represented by the second section of 26 passages – while eight passages from the Upaniṣads from the third group. The three altar plans for Darśapūrṇamāsa, Agniṣṭoma, and Cāturmāsya sacrifices presented at the end form a useful addition to get an appropriate idea of the positions of the fire and the priests during the performance of these rituals.

Dr.Dange has his own independent glasses of examining and interpreting the Vedic and post-Vedic passages. An elaborate introduction at the outset throws adequate light on the prominent features of the significant research contribution made by the author to the field of Vedic research.

The word *Brahman* which occurs about 230 times in the AV signifies magical formula as distinguished from a simple prayer according to Dr. Belvalkar. Dr. Shende feels that it means the magical act, whereas Dr. Dange opines that *Brahman* meant a curative act accompanied by a suitable curative *mantra.* Atharvanic medicines treated the patients with medical, magical and sacrificial rites. The priests were physicians and magicians combined. The charms and amulets were more efficacious than herbs and medicines. So the AV advocated the charm system while the Kau. S. recommended the drug system. The bulk of the AV is magico-ritualistic. The *vedi* according to Dr. Dange was woman for her male counterpart, the sacrificial fire; she was so shaped as to resemble a crouching woman with her legs folded under the midbody [The diagrams are given at the end. Here Dr. Dange strictly follows the traditional view (cf. *Śatapatha Br.* I. 1.1.20; III.5.1.11)].

It is true that there are innumerable passages in the AV for a common man's interest e. g., the erotic, witchcraft, social and domestic practices, etc. that could have been incorporated in this volume by Dr. Dange but he has resisted this temptation by restricting the number to sixteen only.

At I. 29.5 the priest is seen to be emphasising that it is the power of his speech that brought strength to the amulet (*Abhīvartamaṇi* - an overpowering amulet). The passage VI. 136 discusses the importance of the plant "*Nitanī*" dug out by Jamadagni for his daughter (VI. 131.3) for the profuse growth of hair. The use of black things signifies perhaps (homeopathic) magic for black hair. This section concludes with the passages about Brahmacārin

and Vrātya (one who has not learnt Sāvitrī *mantra*).

The second section of this Volume is dedicated to 26 passages from the Taitt. and Vājasaneyī Saṁhitās and various Brahmaṇa Texts. The passages are not according to chronological order, but arranged on the basis of ritualistic significance. Dr. Dange is here on the home ground. Vedic sacrifice was a medium to convey various concepts and also it was meant for pleasing the gods for securing worldly prosperity. Several rites such as preparation of the altar and establishing the fire, Expiation, Darśapūrṇamāsa, Consecration, preparation of Puroḍāśa, fetching of Soma through metres are some of the rites discussed at length in this section. The word 'Chandas' is derived from "Chad" to conceal i.e., concealer of death – by bringing the immortal juice (plant) from heaven. The world-famous Rājasūya is described at length, while the popular myths e. g. Urvaśī - Purūravas, Śūnaḥśepa, Saramā, Suparṇa have been presented here with typical ritualistic "Dange" outlook. Finally, the topic "Common worship" marks the end of this section.

In this last section, a reference is made to "*Pradakṣinā*" (for moon worship), the waving of the right hand with water and green shoots of grass. Dr. Dange points out from the Sāṁkhyāyana Āraṇyaka, that here we have an idea that the moon has five mouths. The motif of "five faces" has its origin here. On the family plane, the rite at the first union with the wife is sublimated by calling the wife the "controller" of immortality – the one who continues the family line.

The people who were extrovert during the Brāhmaṇa period gradually became introvert. People became indifferent to material prosperity. Consequently, no historical information is seen to be available of the Upaniṣadic sages such as Yājñavalkya, Satyakāma Jābāla, Sayugvā Raikva, etc. The transitory nature of the sacrifical rewards made the people aware of the fact that contemplation, faith and holiness would lead to the realisation of the self. The deities gradually became a mere decoration in the ritual. The dual role of parents was played by one principle only i. e., Brahman.

Dr. Dange has dealt with eight passages from the Upaniṣads. He has interpreted them in his own way. In the *Īśāvāsya*, Avidyā would mean knowledge and performance of rituals only, while Vidyā would indicate oral recitation of Vedas and Vedāṅgas without any knowledge of their meaning or their application.

The passage from *Kaṭha* deals with the structure of the Universe and its relationship with the supreme Brahman. *Muṇḍaka* discusses the importance of *Oṁkāra*. Dr. Dange feels that in the ritual context where the concept of "coupling" was developed, "*Oṁ*" came to represent the male of the verse female and so it was to be uttered first and then the verse. For this he refers to *Śatapatha Br.* (I.4.1.1-3).

Sacrifice is the horse – a symbolic equation found in the *Br. Up.* – the limbs of the horse are described in the terminology of cosmic elements.

Śve. Up. marks the end of the Upaniṣads. The words *prapañca* and *saṁsāra* (creation) are seen to be introduced here for the first time.

Thus, as against sacrificial ritual requiring constant movement, the Upaniṣad required a firm seating for meditative study – a new phase of sacrifice, where the body served as the altar and the various faculties as the active helpers in gaining knowledge.

The word 'Upaniṣad' is compared with "*Niṣad*" (RV X 53.2) meaning "intimate praise" and "*Upasad*" (II 6.1) having the shade of attendance – it is not seating with the teacher but seating of the mystic thought into an exposition.

Thus well-knitted relationship between these three sections from a ritualistic angle has been established by Dr. Dange.

Controversies and disagreement form the soul of research – in fact it keeps the research alive and the scholars alert. We warmly congratulate Dr. Dange for his valuable contribution to the Vedic studies.

G. H. Godbole

PROF. VELANKAR AND VEDIC INTERPRETATION, S. G. MOGHE
Delhi, Ajanta Publ., 1993, xi, 344, - Rs. 345.

The title given on the jacket of the book namely, *Ālaṅkārika Interpretation of the Ṛgveda (Prof. Velankar and Vedic Indology)* does not agree with that given on the title page and is also misleading. As jackets are not considered to be genuine part of books, I refrain from commenting on it and accept the one appearing on the title page as genuine.

This is a collection of 15 Articles by Prof. H. D. Velankar published during his life-time in varios Research Journals and Felicitation Volumes. They have been reproduced here without mentioning the original sources from which they have been selected. It tends to fulfil the long-felt need of having these valuable Articles in one place. They have been selected with a view to throwing light on the peculiarities of interpretation of the late Vedic scholar. If carefully studied, they may provide guidelines for the budding scholars who wish to enter the area of Vedic studies.

The reprints of the 15 Articles have been inserted between 2 papers written by Dr. Moghe, out of which the first one is about the "Contribution of Prof. H. D. Velankar to Vedic Indology" and the other is about the "Style of the Vedic Poets" highlighting the stylistic peculiarities of Vedic poets in

the light of the writings of Prof. Velankar. As the collected Articles are only Reprints of writings published long back and have been scrutinized by scholars, I do not wish to review them here. I am focussing my attention on the pair of Articles so painstakingly prepared by Dr. Moghe after collecting references from Prof. Velankar's works as well as works of serveral Vedic scholars. They are meant for bringing out the salient features of his Teacher's interpretation of the Vedas.

In the opening chapter, while mentioning several principles of interpretation followed by the late Professor, the author has compared the writings and views of other scholars – both Indian and Western – having bearing on the same point. He has also expressed his loyalty towards his Guru by trying to defend him from the differing points of view of these scholars. By avoiding these side-trackings, the author could have produced a compact article on Prof. Velankar's principles of interpretation that would have been better appreciated in scholarly circles. The mention of the views of scholars who are dogmatic and try to justify their views by twisting Vedic evidence to suit their purpose, have no relevance to Prof. Velankar's principles, by following which he tried to get at the meaning that was intended to be conveyed by the Vedic Seers. He did not look at the Vedas through the bias of either Anthropology or Sociology or Sexual Symbolism and the like.

Turning to the other Article, we find that Dr. Moghe apologetically states in the opening sentence, "Actually, it was not necessary for me to write this paper" and serious readers will fully agree with him after going through it. Herein, the peculiarities of the style of Vedic poets have been mentioned by referring to the writings of the noted scholar. The author honestly confesses his "limitations in this branch of learning" which become evident through the succeeding paragraph e. g. p. 324, para. 9 – *anutta* has been given as an example of condensation or compression of a word and further been regarded as an example of Word Economy.

I close with a request to Dr. Moghe to revise his opinion about Prof. Velankar's "limitations in respect of first hand knowledge of German and French works" [p. 18, para. 10(1)] and his opinion about the Professor not accepting Pāṇini as an aid to Vedic interpretation [p. 18, para. 7].

Usha R. Bhise

PURANIC ETYMOLOGIES AND FLEXIBLE FORMS (Some Glimpses), Dr. S. S. DANGE, Viveka Publications, Aligarh, 1989, pp. 137, Rs. 120/-.

The book under review is an excellent collection of Puranic etymologies and flexible forms with an introduction of ingenious observations. As the title indicates, these etymologies and flexible forms are just some glimpses. However, being fairly representative in nature, they are of paramount importance from the point of view of the scholarly world. It is indeed remarkable that instead of studying the Purāṇas from age-old historical, cultural, philosophical, cosmological, cosmogonic or religious perspective, the learned authoress focussed her attention on the etymologies and the language of the Purāṇas.

The book is divided into three parts— i.e., (i) Introduction (ii) Part A and (iii) Part B. The Introduction contains notable research findings of the verteran authoress which when combined with the parts A and B are balanced well and these three can be considered to be mutually complementary. Here she has rightly pointed out that the composers of the Purāṇas appear to be wearing the mantle of Yāskācārya who advised that one should examine a word for the sake of presenting etymological explantations. She has appropriately exemplified some trends of Puranic etymological explanations such as metathesis, assimilation, etc.

Part A contains etymological explanations of 320 words occurring in different Purāṇas. Here we have the names of gods, goddesses, rivers, mountains, sages, holy places, beings, objects, abstract metaphysical concepts like *om,* Brahman, *jīva,* etc. Many of them reveal the fondness of the composers of the Purāṇas for presentation of mythological accounts. These words are arranged in an alphabetical order and are followed by their English rendering, the details regarding their location, the appropriate quotations of verses from the respective Purāṇas, analytical explanations of etymologies and at times some significant scholarly remarks, surmises or inferences.

Part B is methodically subdivided into five major categories (A to E) with their further subdivisions wherever necessary. They contain examples of various types of flexible forms. Here examples of un-Pāṇinian verbal forms, gerunds, irregular *sandhi* formations, incorrect grammatical forms used by the authors of the Purāṇas even though regular forms would have very well suited the metre, used not to suit the metre, of colloquial expressions which bear close resemblance with expressions in Modern Indian Languages and of words which newly find place in Puranic language have been methodically cited. The readers can fully agree with the remarks of the authoress that such flexible forms throw light on the point that being the language of the masses, the language of the Purāṇas is flowing and easily adaptable. The book also provides valuable material for the scholars who intend to do further

research in the field of linguistics and the science of etymology in general and Puranic language and etymologies in particular.

Alaka Bakre

VARIOUS INTERPRETATIONS OF THE ṚBHU HYMNS IN ṚGVEDA,

DR. DAVANE, Shri Sadguru Prakashan, Delhi, 1991, pp. i-xiv + 1-287. Rs. 225/-.

Dr. Davane has done useful work by translating into English (1985) Félix Nève's *An Essay on the Myths of the Ṛbhus* from the original French (1847). Recently another book of hers has come out with the title : *Perspectives in Vedic and the Classical Sanskrit Heritage* (1995). The book under review contains already published translations into English by other scholars, and those by herself from scholars who had translated the Ṛbhu hymns in German, French and Marathi. It also contains fifty-seven pages from her earlier book (1985; Nève 1847, noted above), as her plan was to bring all the translations of the Ṛbhu hymns together in the English language for the benefit of Indian scholars who do not know German or French. As such, it contains English version of the commentary of Sāyaṇa, translation of Langlois rendered into English, of Wilson, of Griffith, and the German translation of Grassmann, Ludwig, Oldenberg, Hillebrandt and Geldner. It contains also the English rendering of the Marathi translation by Chitrav Shastri, the English translation by S. A. Upadhyay and the English translation of such of the Ṛbhu hymns by Prof. H. D. Velankar which appear in the *maṇḍalas* translated by him. The line of translations ends with the English rendering of the French translation by Louis Renou. At the end, for ready reference, the original hymns to the Ṛbhus from the Ṛgveda are appended. As is clear, the book is of the nature of compilation with the aim to make, in English, all the eleven hymns to the Ṛbhus available to the interested reader, at one place. The aim is fulfilled and the effort is laudable. The arrangement of the various translations chronologically, one set of translation after the other, helps compare the meaning of words and the shades of interpretation right from the 14th century A. D. (Sāyaṇa) to 1972 (Prof. H. D. Velankar).

The very nature of the book is such that Dr. Davane, probably, did not think it necessary to give her own comments or observations, though she could have done so. Though the total number of hymns to the Ṛbhus is just eleven, the myths attributed to them are varied and unique. They are, to name a few, making of one cup into four, reviving a complete cow from a mere hide, rejuvenating their old and wrinkled parents, making a unique chariot for the Aśvins and horses for Indra and so on. Some of these are intriguing and scholars have various opinions about their actual meaning. The most interesting is their feast and sleep at the house of the A-gohya

(understood as the sun), with the resultant rain and floods that shower and drench the earth to help vegetation. One feels Davane could have brought the various interpretations regarding these mysterious-appearing exploits together in the Introduction, pointing out the similarities and differences among scholars whose translations she has brought together. Chitrav Shastri, who follows the line of Tilak, understands the Ṛbhus as the sun-rays, which is also the opinion of Griffith and Wilson. This, however, goes against the fact that they were the mortals turned divine. If they are like the sun (ṚV I. 110.4) can we see here the germ of the Vālakhilyas? And, if they were mortals and gained divinity, can we seen here, with ṚV I. 110.4, the germ of the belief that the souls of the mortals enter the solar orb? Such points need discussion. Langlois takes the word as *ṛbhus;* he suggests that r̲ could be ar̲ (by *guṇa*); thinks that the value of bh̲ is p̲h or f̲; and suggests that Ṛbhuḥ could be converted to Arphos, which, according to him, could be connected to the Greek word 'Orphe,' meaning 'priest'. Thus, he suggests, Ṛbhus were priests. This mid-nineteenth century A. D. interpretation, interesting as it is, could then be taken further by connecting it to the Greek mythical Orpheus who was mysterious and was believed to be the founder or interpreter of ancient mysteries that came to be known as Orphism ! Macdonell (*Vedic Mythology,* under 'Ṛbhu') derives the name Ṛbhu from the root *rabh,* 'seize,' indicating the Ṛbhus to be skilled at various arts. Probably, we have to compare the word with *arbhaka,* indicating power, skills and, at the same time, adolescence (cf. ṚV VIII. 69.5 *arbhako na kumārakaḥ,* said of Indra; the concept may be compared with the boyhood phase of Kṛṣṇa in later times, connecting also the concept of the helpful dwarf; cf. VII. 33.6). The cow that is brought to life and gets fattened is called *sabardughā.* Geldner connects her with the later 'desire-yielding cow' *(Kāmadhenu).* In the Ṛbhu myth it appears to be the parched earth that requires rain and flood, which is one of the most prominent details in the Ṛbhu myths. This is on the terrestrial level; on the cosmic level, it is the cloud-cow that gives rain (*sabar,* nectar = rain). Néve contemplates the root *samb,* connecting it to the Latin *soboles,* which did not find favour with scholars. Most intriguing is the sleep of the Ṛbhus in the house of the Agohya (sun), as noted above, for twelve days. No satisfactory interpretation has been given by scholars. The point is that we have to connect the sleep and rain here with the sleep of Viṣṇu and rains in the later Puranic mythology, and, prior to it, with the inversion of the sleep of Rudra at the end of the rainy season at the conclusion of the Sākamedha *iṣṭi* of the Cāturmāsya rites (cf. Dange, "Sabardughā and Kāmadhenu", in his *Images from the Vedic Hymns and Rituals,* New Delhi, in Press).

Dr. Davane had, obviously, no control over the production of the book. Translation and notes in many cases are not separated. They clasp each other without any demarcation (for ex. ch. III, pp. 78-79; p. 180). In certain

cases, there is no proper editing. Thus, for example, in the case of Prof. Velankar's translation included in the present book we read at III.60, which is a Ṛbhu hymn, under note 1 "see on 54.16 above" (p. 252). This reference is to ṚV III. 54.1, which with Prof. Velankar is right, as he has in view his translation of the whole of *maṇḍala* III in one book, while in Dr. Davane's book III. 54 does not figure as it is not a Ṛbhu hymn. Prof. Velankar's remark is for comparing the style of expression, and does not refer to a Ṛbhu hymn. Similar is the case with the remark "see above 7.7" (p. 254), which holds good for Prof. Velankar's *Ṛgveda Maṇḍala III;* not for the book under review as the hymn and verse do not occur here. At certain places, in between the number of the hymn and the start of the translation, unintelligible remarks occur : for example, (Geldner Commentary, p. 74) below IV. 33 and above the translation (p. 273). Likewise (Hillebrandt, p. 92) at p. 260; also IV. 35, then Caland-Henry, p.345 (p. 279) just before the actual translation. Actually these are the jottings by Louis Renou in his translation, which Dr. Davane has taken as it is. These make no sense here, unless some sort of an explanation is given, which is wanting. (These shortcomings appear to be due to her uncompromising health clashing with her desire to complete the work at hand, as the writer of this review has reason to believe.)

The zeal with which Dr. Davane worked to complete the work on schedule and her efforts in making the various translations of the Ṛbhu hymns available to the readers at one place, are commendable. For this she deserves thanks from all scholars. As mentioned above, she published one more book after the one under review, which speaks highly about her determination to follow her study so as to make it useful to the academicians. There is no doubt that the present work will be highly useful for those who desire to further study the Ṛbhu hymns.

The sad thing is that the brain that planned this book and the hand that toiled to help scholars through this book, are now silent for ever. (Dr. Davane left us on 18th March, 1995). One desires that she should rest in peace as long as she desires in the House of Agohya (SUN), where the Ṛbhus could stay only for twelve days, and (may be) come back with renewed vigour to carry on her academic pursuits.

Sadashiv A. Dange

BHARATA'S NĀṬYAŚĀSTRA, CHAPTERS 1, 2 (text only) and 6 (with the commentary *Abhinavabhāratī)* : Text in Devanagari script, translation, notes and introduction in Gujarati by T. S. Nandi, publ. by Saraswati Pustak Bhandar, Ratanpole, Ahmedabad - 1, 1994-95, pp. 10 + 232 + 832 (-72), Rs. 400/-.

The three chapters respectively deal with the origin of the Drama *(Nāṭyotpatti),* the theatre *(Maṇḍapavidhāna)* and the Rasa *(Rasādhyāya).* They are of supreme importance for a proper understanding and appreciation of the ancient Indian theory of the origin of the Sanskrit drama, the ancient Indian theatre and the *rasa* "the key word of all Sanskrit literary criticism that sums up the whole of the cricial literature". It is with this consideration that many Indian universities prescribe these three chapters for post-graduate students who choose *Alaṁkāraśāstra* as their special *śāstra* for study.

Dr. Nandi prefaces his detailed all-embracing study of these three chapters with a very long and learned introduction. It gives at the beginning information about Bharata's predecessors, successors, commentators, among whom Abhinavagupta is the most noteworthy, the writers on dramaturgy who succeeded Bharata and their treatises, the true significance of *Nāṭya,* the origin of drama, Bharata's view, the theories of modern (western) writers about the origin. PP. 84-109 deal with *nāṭyotpatti,* pp. 110-147 with the theatre and its types, pp. 148-176 treat of the various views of scholars regarding the manifestation of *rasa;* and pp. 177-232 deal with a detailed study of the *Śānta-rasa.*

The original text of the *Nāṭyaśāstra,* Chs. I, II and VI (with *Abhinavabhāratī*) along with their translation in Gujarati occupy pp. 1 to 256. There is a gap of page nos. 257 to 328 (both inclusive) which remains unexplained. The detailed explanatory notes cover pp. 329-822; and the Appendix giving Index of Verses of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* (Chs. I, II and VI), pp. 823-832. At the end is added a five-page list of corrections.

The text of *Abhinavabhāratī* is notoriously corrupt. It is at many places highly corrupt and at some other places corrupt beyond recognition. Consequently, the work of translation and exposition of such a text is by no means an easy task – a Herculean task indeed ! The translations and expositions of such highly corrupt and therefore obscure passages in *Abhinavabhāratī* by eminent Sanskrit pandits are highly unsatisfactory Dr. Nandi has made use of the translations-expositions of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* in modern Indian languages, especially Hindi and English, available to him in preparing the volume under review. He has utilised this literature but not blindly. He quotes passages from their works in his notes, examines them critically, occasionally agrees but more frequently disagrees with the pandits and scholars giving his reasons.

The highly corrupt and therefore obscure passages in the *Abhinavabhāratī* become intelligible if we succeed in getting at the original, genuine readings by consulting MSS or texts which have adopted corresponding lines or passages from it. Occasionally, we may succeed in arriving at the correct reading by intelligent guesswork but consulting MSS or borrowed passages very often gives us genuine readings. The present reviewer has thus corrected scores of passages in the *Abhinavabhāratī*.

Dr. Nandi too has consulted Hemacandra's *Kāvyānuśāsana* and Ambaprasad's *Kalpalatāviveka*, discovered the correct readings and given us faithful and lucid translations of some passages. He however has not fully utilised the two sources and consequently the translation of some other passages is erroneous. The attention of the readers may be drawn to the following few passages from these works by way of example, which have not been utilised by the editor.

i) .... मरणमिति ..... । या संबन्धाद्यवसरगता .....

- present edn., p. 174.

अथवा चैतन्यावस्थैव..... पाशबन्धाद्यवसरगता .....

- Kās., p. 110, ll. 21-22.

ii) तथा विभावादिदर्शनेऽपि गाम्भीर्यादनुद्दितहासोऽपि ।
परकीयहासावलोकेन तत्क्षणं हासविशेषः सम्पद्यत एवेति स्वभावः ।

- present edn., p.190.

तथा..... हासोऽपि परकीयहासावलोकने तत्क्षणं हासविवशः संपद्यत एवेति ।

- Kāś., p. 114, ll. 22-23.

iii) ..... आपद्यङ्क (त्साङ्कति) निमग्नतां .... स एवोत्साहहेतुः प्रधानतया ।

- present edn., p. 214.

इह चापत्पङ्कनिमग्नतां ... एव प्रधानतयोत्साहहेतुः ।

- Kāś., p. 118, pp. 6-7.

iv) वीरस्य भीतावधव (भीताभय) प्रधानत्वाद् भयानकम् ।

- present edn., p. 216.

तस्य (वीरस्य) भीताभयप्रदानसारत्वादनन्तरं भयानकः ।

- Kāś., p. 108, l. 7.

v) कथादि अतिक्रान्तयोरपि पुनरनुसन्धानेन स्मरणम् ।

- present edn., p.216.

कथा चिरातिक्रान्तयोरपि पुनरनुसन्धानेन स्मरणम्/*Kalpalatāviveka*, p. 315, l. 10.

A careful look at the corresponding passages will show that the readings in *Kāvyānuśāsana* and *Kalpalatāviveka* eminently suit the context and that they must have been the original readings.

This deficiency apart, the present volume is a splendid achievement of which Dr. Nandi can be justly proud. His translation is faithful and at the same time lucid and readable. The notes are profuse, exhaustive and leave nothing to be desired. He has indeed done his best to explain the obscure technical terms occurring in the text of the three chapters of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and the knotty expressions in the *Abhinavabhāratī*. He has made judicious use of the critical literature in English and modern Indian languages like Hindi, Marathi, Gujarati in writing his Introduction and Notes. Dr. Nandi is known to be a voluminous writer and the present volume is his crowning achievement.

We congratulate Dr. Nandi on his excellent work and hope it would be warmly received by the scholarly world of Gujarat, more especially by the students and teachers of Alaṁkāraśāstra and general readers at large.

V. M. Kulkarni

A TREASURY OF JAIN TALES, V. M. KULKARNI Shree Shwetambar Murtipujak Jain Boarding Series, Vol. 5, published by Shardaben Chimanbhai Educational Research Centre, Ahmedabad, 1994, pp. xxxix + 367 + Notes pages 41, colour illustrations 4, Rs. 200/-.

The ancient Jain narrative literature has a high position in world literature; however, it is not so much publicized or known. It is a rich storehouse of witty stories, folk tales, fairy tales, allegories, parables, legends and animal fables. We are fortunate that a good English translation of the select Jain stories of the Svetambaras, derived from the canonical literature, has been brought out with an Introduction and Notes by no less a scholar than Prof. V.M. Kulkarni, well-known internationally for his contribution to Prakrit and Sanskrit studies. The English translation of the stories is rendered by Drs. G.S. Bedagkar, Jagdishchandra Jain, P.M. Upadhye, R.P. Nipanikar, S.T. Nimkar and Nirmala Chheda.

The present volume consists of 124 short stories, neatly arranged in four divisions: (1) legends of famous persons which include Draupadī, Cāṇakya, Mūladeva; (2) brief biographical sketches of persons, focussing on their moments of enlightenment; (3) tales of wit and wisdom; (4) the twelfth voyage of Mākandi brothers, and other tales.

Prof. Kulkarni has written an extensive Introduction to the volume, defining varieties and sub-varieties of *kathās* and presenting a brief survey of Jain narrative literature. He has provided useful notes at the end of the volume

giving the source of each story.

Through much wit and humour and simplicity of style, the narrator of tales conveys the transitoriness of life and the importance of renunciation of worldly life. Though meant to be didactic, the stories are not dry but set amidst refreshing atmosphere of flowers, trees, gardens, lakes and nature. Details in the life of the common men as well as princes and merchants are woven into the tales which throw light on the culture and social life of the period.

As mentioned in the book, "It is a characteristic of good literature that it operates on various levels and conveys much wider meaning than was initially intended." The rich human content of the stories addresses itself not only to the Jain laity but has relevance to modern man, irrespective of creed and age. The volume will appeal to scholars as well as general readers, young as well as old.

Select photographs of the 15th-16th century manuscript paintings from the collection of the L.D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad, illustrate the stories. We congratulate the publishers for this fine publication and hope that other volumes in the series are soon published.

Devangana Desai

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF BOOKS RECEIVED

1. Aryan Invasion of India-The myth and the truth, by Navaratna S. Rajaram, Voice of India, New Delhi, 1993, Rs. 20/-.

2. Bhupendranath Datta and his study of Indian Society, by Amal Chattopadhyay, K. P. Bagchi & Co., Calcutta, 1994, Rs. 155/-.

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8. The Politics of History, Aryan Invasion Theory and The Subversion of Scholarship, by Navaratna S. Rajaram, Voice of India, New Delhi, 1995, Rs. 100/-

9. Swami Vivekananda in the West, by Rajagopal Chattopadhyay, K. P. Bagchi & Co., Calcutta, 1994, Rs. 200/-.

OBITUARY NOTICES

Dr. Jagdishchandra Jain

b. 20-1-1909] [d. 28-7-1994

Dr. J. C. Jain, an eminent scholar of Prakrit and Jainism and Ancient Indian History and Culture passed away on 28th July, 1994 in Bombay at the age of 85 years. His towering personality, robust health, pleasant way of talking and good sense of humour endeared him to all who came in contact with him. He was the professor of Sanskrit/Prakrit at Ramnarain Ruia College, Bombay, before he was taken up as a research guide for Prakrit/Jainology at Prakrit Insitute, Bihar. He became the professor of Hindi, University of Peking, China, and later the Research Professor, Department of Indology, University of Keil (West Germany).

Dr. Jain delivered lectures on various aspects of Ancient Indian History and Culture in various International Universities/Research Centres.

Among his various publications, the following deserve special mention : *The Vasudevahiṇḍi,* an authentic Jain version of Guṇāḍhya's *Bṛhatkathā; Life in Ancient India as depicted in Jain Canon* and *History of Prakrit Literature* (Hindi).

Dr. Jain contributed numerous research articles in English and Hindi, to various reputed international Journals and edited or translated various books from Sanskrit, Prakrit, Pali, etc.

Dr. Jain was the recepient of 'Soviet Land Nehru Award' and the University Grants Commission Award.

Dr. Jain took active part in the seminars organised by MM. Dr. P. V. Kane Institute of Post-Graduate Studies and Research of the Asiatic Society of Bombay, by presenting papers and participating in the discussions.

Last year Dr. Jain was felicitated at a largely attended function by his scholar friends, admirers, pupils and relations. The function was organised in the Durbar Hall all of the Asiatic society of Bombay. It was presided over by Dr. D. R. Sardesai, President of the Asiatic Society of Bombay. A Felicitation Volume, Jainism and Prakrit in Ancient and Medieval India, edited by Dr. N. N. Bhattacharya, Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, University of Calcutta was presented to Dr. Jain at the hands of Dr. Sardesai. Dr. Jain then looked so hale and hearty that none could have imagined that the end was to come so soon.

His demise is indeed a great loss to the scholarly world. May his soul rest in peace.

V. M. Kulkarni

Dr. Gulab V. Davane

b. 1921] [d. 1995

Dr. Gulab V. Davane, retired Professor of Sanskrit, passed away on Monday, 20th March this year.

Dr. Davane passed her B. A. in 1943, and M. A. in 1946, of the University of Bombay with Sanskrit (Principal) and Ardhamagadhi (Subsidiary) in First Class. She obtained the Doctorate Degree in Sanskrit (Indian Linguistics) in 1951. She worked for the certificate in Russian Language (1971) of the Institute of Russian Studies, the Diploma in German in 1982 and the certificate in French in 1983 — both from the University of Bombay.

She worked as professor of Sanskrit in the Government Colleges of the old Bombay State and the Maharashtra State from 7-7-1947 to 31-12-1979, when she retired as professor of Sanskrit (MES, Class I) from the premier Elphinstone College, Bombay.

She was awarded Zala Vedanta Prize by the University of Bombay (1946) and Silver Medal for her research by the Asiatic Society of Bombay (1992).

She was closely connected with the Asiatic Society of Bombay. She was an Honorary Professor of Sanskrit on the staff of the MM. Dr. P. V. Kane Institute of Post-graduate Studies and Research. She worked as Honorary Director of the Institute from 1981 to 1986 and provided beacon light to a number of students. She was an indefatigable researcher herself and presented research papers at the Seminars organised by the Institute and also at the various sessions of the All Indian Oriental Conference of which she was a life member. She was in fact a model for young scholars to follow in the field of research.

Dr. Davane was so devoted to Sanskrit that till she breathed her last she pursued her research. She has three publications to her credit and she has authored several research articles.

Books were her constant companions and now that she is no more, the books will sadly miss her.

She will be fondly remembered by all her students, colleagues and friends alike. It would be difficult to fill the void created by her passing away.

May her soul rest in peace.

V. M. Kulkarni

TRANSLITERATION OF THE SANSKRIT AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

अ	..... a	औ	..... au	ठ्	..... ṭh	भ्	..... bh
आ	..... ā	क्	..... k	ड्	..... ḍ	म्	..... m
इ	 i	ख्	..... kh	ढ्	..... ḍh	य्	..... y
ई	..... ī	ग्	..... g	ण्	..... ṇ	र्	..... r
उ	..... u	घ्	..... gh	त्	..... t	ल्	 l
ऊ	..... ū	ङ्	..... ṅ	थ्	..... th	व्	 v
ऋ	..... ṛ	च्	 c	द्	..... d	श्	..... ś
ॠ	..... ṝ	छ्	..... ch	ध्	..... dh	ष्	..... ṣ
ऌ	..... ḷ	ज्	..... j	न्	..... n	स्	..... s
ए	..... e	झ्	..... jh	प्	..... p	ह्	..... h
ऐ	..... ai	ञ्	..... ñ	फ्	..... ph	ळ्	..... ḷ
ओ	..... o	ट्	..... ṭ	ब्	..... b		

ं (*Anusvāra*) ..... ṁ × (*Jihvāmūlīya*) ..... ẖ

(*Anunāsika*) ..... m ≍ (*Upadhmānīya*) ..... ẖ

(*Visarga*) ..... ḥ s (*Avagraha*) ..... ’

TRANSLITERATION OF ARABIC AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

Arabic

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

Persian

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

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