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**Editors  
V. M. KULKARNI  
DEVANGANA DESAI**

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## THE PLACE OF ŚĀṆKARA'S FINAL DISAPPEARANCE

W. R. ANTARKAR

The place where exactly Sankara (Śāṅ.) laid down his body is a very controversial point and is still not finally decided, in the biography of Sari. It has also a peculiar bearing upon another very controversial topic, viz. the establishment or otherwise of a fifth *matha* by Śāṅ. at Kāñcī, presumably for himself. the other four *mathas* being for his four principal disciples, who are said to have been placed in charge of the same.

Three places have been put forward as the venue of Sari's final resting place and they are 1) Vrsacala in Kerala 2) Kāñcī and 3) Himalayas or the Himalayan region or Kedaranatha,

Out of these, the first i. e. Kerala (vrsacala) has been favoured by two biographies only. viz. *Śāṅkarācārya Carita* (S.Ca.I of Govindanatha (Gov.) and Kūṣmāṇḍa Sankara Vijaya (KOs', Ś. V.) of Purusottama Bharati (Puru. Bha.) out of the 17 biographies of Sari. (i. e. S. V.' s) available and with me today. Except for just one or two stanzas, giving this version in the second of the two works, this is almost a solitary version and no biographer. not even Gov. or Puru. Bha, refers to Śāṅ's visit to Vrsacala at any time. Gov. was a Keralite and his work also is alternatively called K. Ś. V. It has been remarked that this has prompted him to bring Śāṅ. 10 Kerala for his final exit from this world." In the absence of any personal information about Puru. Bha., nothing can be said about his sudden preference in one stanza only.

There is also an internal contradiction in Gov.'s version. All antecedents of Śāṅ., as described in his work are Śaivite. Vrsacala also being a Śaiva Shrine and yet Śāṅ. is said to praise Viṣṇu on Vrsacala and then to become one with Viṣṇu's bliss. Puru. Bha. otherwise agrees with Gov.'s version but after saying that Śāṅ. composed Haristuti, he says that he went to the abode of Śiva.<sup>3</sup> All these points render this version untenable. The contest. therefore lies between Kāñcī and the Himalayan region or Kedaranatha.

Out of the remaining 15 Śāṅ. Vijayas, three works, viz. Sarikarabhyudaya (Sari. Daya) of Tirumala Dixit (Tiru. D.I., Śāṅkarācārya (Śāṅ. ya.) Mahima of Bala Gopala Yati and Ācārya Vijaya or Acārya Vijayakhyana of Pararnesvara Kavi Kamhtrava (Param. Kavil are incomplete and do not contain the account of Śāṅ.'s passing away. Śāṅ. Vijaya of Vyasacala (vya.), as at present available in print, is doubtful on this point as it does not say anything clearly about

Sari.'s end. More about this Śaṅ. Vijaya of Vyā. will be said a little later.

About 4 works, viz. Śaṅ. Vijaya of Anantanandagiri (Ananta), Brhat Śaṅ. Vijaya (Śr. Ś. v.) of Brahmananda Sarasvatī (Brahma, Saras.), Śaṅ. Daya of Rājacūdāmaṇi Dixit (Raja. D.) and presumably Ācārya Digvijaya Campō of Vallī-sahaya (Vallī) describe Sari.'s end at Kāñcī. Vallī is not explicit about Kāñcī but he generally follows Ananta's Śaṅ.V. and all his description in the 5th and the final chapters of his work refers to Kancl and hence he can be inferred to have placed Śaṅ.s end at Kāñcī only. In addition to this, Susāna, a commentary on Guru-ratna-rnalka (G. R. M.) quotes from Br. Ś. V. of Citsukha (Cīt.) and Pracna Śaṅ. Vijaya (Pr. S. V.) of Anandagiri (Ananda) to the same effect and Mr. T. S. Nārāyaṇa (Nara.) Śāstri, on the basis of the same works, which he says were in his possession, confirms susāna,

Lastly, seven works, viz. Sanksapa Śaṅkara Jaya (S.S.Jaya) of Madhava (Mad.), Śaṅkara Digvijaya Sāra (Śaṅ. Dig. Sāra) of Sadaṇanda (Sadal, Sankara Vijaya Vilasa (S.V.V.) of Cidvilasa (Cid.), Bhagavat Padabhyudaya (Bhag. Daya) of Laksmana Śāsm, Guru Varṇsa Kāvya (GYK.) of Kavi Laksmana Sarin and Sarikara Mandara Saurabha (S.M.S.) and Śaṅ. Daya, both by NĦakantha (Mia.) describe Sari.'s passing away in the Himalayan region at Kedara or Kailasa or the cave or hermitage of Dattatreya (Datta.)

Generally, Sari.'s end is described after the incident of San.'s ascending the Sarvajna Pitha but while in the Kāñcī version, hardly any major incident takes place between the two, in the Himalaya version, the two are separated by San.s visit to a number of places right upto Pamesvara, Kancl and so on, before he reaches the Himalaya and passes away there only. G. V. K. is the only biography to describe his visit to Nepal before his passing away. After *Pīthārohaṇa* and before going to Nepal," Śaṅ. is said by G. V. K, to have gone from Kāśmīra to Srrigerl, Kāñcī, Badarivana, Kāśī and Badarlvana again. Cid. only describes the *Pīthārohaṇa* much earlier in Sans life, to be followed by Sari.'s going to a number of places thereafter, establishing the *mstnes*, the Kāpālika incident and finally the establishment of a *matha* in ttie Badarlvana, with Totaka in charge of the same. Br. Saras also describes Sari.'s triumphant tour (Digvijayayatra) between his *Sarvajña Pīthārohaṇa* and passing away, both these incidents being located at Kāñcī only.

Regarding the Himalaya version, we find that it falls into two groups viz. 1) G. V. K. and S V. Vilasa of Cid., who connect Śaṅ.'s passing away with the cave or hermitage of Dattatreya in the Himalayas and 2) the works of Mād. (S. Ś. Jaya), Sada (Ś. D. Sāra), Mia, (Ś. M. S. and Śaṅ. Daya) and Laksmana Śāstri (Bhg. Daya) connect it with Kailasa. In both these groups, there are internal variations each, in addition to the variation between the two groups themselves. All these variations can be stated as follows :

According to G. V. K., Śaṅ. desired to see Dattatreya and hence went

to his Āsrana. There, he gave up his Danda and Kamaṇḍalu, which were transformed into a tree and a *firtha*. Then, he entered the Āsrana, where he stayed with Dattā for a long time i. e. never to return. Sari. had given up his house, all his disciples and books already and Dattā gave blessings to Visvarupa (visva) and others.

According to Cid, Dattatreya came to see Sari., who showed him his own Bhasyas. Dattatreya was pleased with the Bhasyas and then asked him to leave his body. Then, both Dattatreya and Śaṅ. entered the former's cave and then, in due course, went to Kailasa, along with Parvati and son Kartikeya.

The difference between G.V.K. and Cid. with regard to the interval between Śaṅ.'s *Pīthārohaṇa* and his passing away and then the actual end of Śaṅ.'s life, is quite *obvious* and does not need to be pointed out specifically. Cid. can be said to agree partially with the second group, that Sari. finally went back to Kailasa as Lord Śiva.

According to Mād. and others, Śaṅ. went to the *Pitharohaṇa* (Sada takes him from Kāśmīra to Srigaṅgā and Badarivana before actually coming to the Himalayas), where gods came to him and urged him to return to his divine abode as he had finished his work on earth. Sari. agreed and assuming his divine form along with the third eye, mounted his ox and along with the gods, went back to his abode Kailasa. According to NĪa., who belongs to this group Śaṅ. actually passed away at Kedara Ksetra only.

Once again, it is clear that apart from the two points of internal difference, viz. the interval between Śaṅ.'s *Pntuiroheris* and the actual end as per Sada, and the actual place of Śaṅ.'s laying down his body as per NĪa., the difference between the accounts of the two groups also in the Himalaya version is quite obvious. The difference between the accounts of G.V.K. and S-Ś. Jaya of Mād. is particularly noticeable in that both the works are avowedly pro-Srīgeri (Sri.) and hence were expected to be in agreement mutually.

A few words need to be said about Kedaranatha in the Himalayas as the exact place where Śaṅ. laid down his body or from where he disappeared finally.

NĪa.'s statement in this regard has been noted already. Mr. Sarma quotes views of Atkinson Gazelter (1882-83 A.D.) and Dwaraka Swamiji i. e. Sankaracarya (San.ya), to the effect that the disappearance of Śaṅ. at Kedāranātha itself is beyond doubt." It has also been said that people there show the place of Sari.'s disappearance and visitors are asked to offer worship there.

Vidyananda Sarasvatī, (Gita Satsang, Kedāranātha Ksetra), says that he has made special research into the history of Uttarakhanda from 8th Cent. onwards and that all sources like Govt. records and other authentic sources

corroborate admirably to establish that Śaṅ. shed his mortal coil and attained immortality at Kedaranatha itself. The Govt. records and folk songs reiterate the incident as a hallowed and cherished memory and history establishes the position of Kedaranatha as the place where Śaṅ. attained final beatitude. The most convincing and unchallengeable fact according to Vidyananda Sarasvati (Yidya. Saras.) is that at Kedaranatha itself, there is an old structure, which has been there for centuries and to the present day is regarded as the *samādhi* of Ādi Śaṅ.<sup>6</sup>

Mr. Sarma quotes extensively from a speech of Dr. Sampurnananda (in 1956)<sup>7</sup> who in *effect*, maintains the above view that Śaṅ. passed away at Kedaranatha itself and that the *semaati* structure should either be renovated replaced by a new one. Mr. R. K. Iyer, however, quotes the same person to say that the structure shown at Kedaranatha is not a *ssmsdhi* of Śaṅ. but only a memorial."

Moreover, the idea of a *semsdhi* at Kedaranatha runs counter to Mr. Iyer's statement that 'true devotees of Śaṅ. are reluctant to admit that he left his physical body behind for any ceremonies being performed for it'<sup>9</sup> Perhaps, that is why he himself does not favour the idea of a *ssmsdhi* at Kedaranatha and hence also the second statement of Dr. Sampurnananda above, quoted by him. He has not specified who, beside himself, these 'true devotees' are. Similarly, the reluctance of Śaṅ.'s devotees is utterly incomprehensible when it is a very natural thing in the case of great persons like Śaṅ.

Thus, we find that there is no unanimity at all about the place or mode of Śaṅ.'s passing away in the Himalaya version. If some people say that Kedaranatha is the exact place where Śaṅ. passed away, others say that he went to Kaiiasa in his human form.<sup>10</sup> still others hold that he assumed his signs of Lord Śiva and mounting the Bull, went to his own abode, viz. Kalasa while yet others say either that he entered the cave of Dattatreya, never to return therefrom or after entering the cave, went to Kailasa in due course. Even G. V. K. and S. Ś. Jaya of Mād., both authoritative books of the Śrīn, Matha give altogether different accounts mutually. Even Mr. R. G. Sarma admits the existence of such a variety of views.<sup>11</sup> All this shows utter lack of reliable or definite information and uncertainty about the exact place and/or mode of Śaṅ.'s passing away.

Secondly, we find that the accounts of Śaṅ.'s passing away in this version are very much overlaid with the element of the supernatural and as such, sound unrealistic while those of his end at Kāñcī are much more natural and hence more believable and acceptable comparatively.

Thirdly, Swami Sakhyananda from Trichur says very clearly that it was AbhinavaSarikara, the 37th head of the Kāñcī Matha, who disappeared in

the Dattatreya cave in the Himalayas and he has also written to me to say that he has gleaned this and some other information also about him from a book called 'Sankarendra Vilasa' by Vakpaf Biana, which was seen and read by him about 40 years ago<sup>12</sup> (he wrote to me to this effect in 1988).

By elimination, Kāncī alone remains as the possible/probable place where Śaṅ. passed away. I have indicated already which of the Ś.V.s support this view. Before dealing with them, it is necessary to examine certain stanzas quoted as from the Ś. V. s. of Govindanaha and Vyasacala. in support of this same view and then to examine the criticism of persons like Mr. R. G. Sarma and Mr. R. K. Iyer<sup>13</sup> and some passages which are claimed to support the Kāncī version.

1) Susarna, a commentary on G. R. M., one of the authorities of the Kāncī *matha*, quotes certain stanzas as from Gov's Ś. ca. or K. S. V. which say clearly that Śaṅ. placed Sarvajñātman in charge of Śrī Sarada Matha at Kāncī and himself passed away at Kāncī only, in the vicinity of Goddess Kamaksi.

This passage is open to the following objections :

a) This statement contradicts the version of Gov.'s work that Śaṅ. passed away at Trichur.

b) This work of Gov. makes no mention of the establishment of any Matha by Śaṅ. at any place in India. The reference to Sarada Matha at Kāncī only sounds out of place.

c) None of the stanzas quoted in Susarna as from Gov.'s S. ca, is to be found in any of the seven copies of this work I have gone through so far and which are in my possession.<sup>15</sup>

For these reasons, this reference to Kāncī as the place of Śaṅ.'s passing away does not appear to be genuine.

2) Secondly, we have the stanza from Vyā.'s S-V. viz. *Evariḥ niruttara-padām. ruciradeSamayariḥ jagama* (XII : 82). It tells us that after ascending the *Sarvajña piths* and being honoured by all the people there, Śaṅ. went to some pleasant region.

The editor of Vyā.'s work notes in the Introduction (p. XV) thereto 5 additional stanzas supplied to him as from the same S. V. of Vyā. The first only of these 5 stanzas has been printed in the book and is the same as XII-82 except for two variants, viz. *Mathe Svsklpte* in place of *nananda sabhyah* in the second line and *Kamapi kalamuvāsa Kāñcyām* in place of *rucira-deSamayariḥ jagāma* in the 4th line. The stanza then means that 'having ... ascended the *sarvajñapitha* in his own *Matha* (at Kāncī)... he stayed at Kāncī for some time.' The third out of 5 additional stanzas says

clearly that Śaṅ. laid down his body at Kāñcī only.

These 5 stanzas also are open to the following objections:

a) This Ś.V. of Vyā. contains no reference whatsoever, earlier or later, to the establishment by Śaṅ. of any *Ma./ha* at any place in India, including Kāñcī. The words *Mathe sva-k!pte* are, therefore, left hanging and out of place and do not sound genuine.

b) This Ś.V. otherwise describes the incident of *Pitharoha*(*la* as having taken place at Kashmir and that, immediately thereafter, Śaṅ. should be said to have ascended the *sarvajīa-pītha* in his own *Matha* (of course, at Kāñcī) and then to have spent sometime at Kāñcī is quite inconsistent with the earlier version. The words *kamapi kālam* seem to presume that Śaṅ. was in Kāñcī prior to that, which is not true, as per the earlier version.

It is sadly significant that these additional stanzas as also the ones attributed to Gov.s work, discussed earlier, should emanate from Susama of the Kāñcī *Matha* and that all these stanzas, almost without an exception, should not be traceable to 7 and 6 mss. respectively of the two works, available for inspection today.

Once again, therefore San.'s passing away at Kāñcī cannot be accepted on the basis of Vyā's Ś.V.

Now about the other passages which seem to support the Kāñcī version and their criticism by the opponents of the same.

1) Firstly, Siva Rahasya, an old Puranic work, while giving in one chapter (Amsa 9, ch. 16) a kind of a summary of Sans life, says in the last stanza (St. 46) thereof that after overcoming in debate the various scholars, Śaṅ. attained *siddhi* in Kāñcī in his own Asrama<sup>16</sup> i. e. he laid down his body there.

Mr. K. Sundaramaih objects to this interpretation on the following grounds :

a) According to him, the stanza has been misquoted by Susarna deliberately by altering *sa kāmam* to *svakssreme* and *Tato najamavapa lokam* to *sa kāñcyāmatha siaahmsps*. "Because the (Kāñcī) *Mettu*: wanted to create an impression in the popular mind that 'He' (i.e. San.) passed away at Kāñcī itself." <sup>17</sup> According to him, *najamavapa lokam* does not refer to San.'s passing away. He, however, says that "even adopting the reading as *siddhi*, scholars would not give the narrow meaning to that word." He quotes Bhatta Śrī Nārāyaṇa Śāstry, who says that the word *siddhi* does not denote *moksa* for want of authority but accomplishment of desires only (by San.) Even Mr. Sarma argues similarly that the word *siddhi* means *tapassiddhi* and not *tanutyaga* (laying down of the body!)"

b) Secondly, according to Mr. Sundaramaih and Mr. Sarma also, the 16th

chapter under consideration of Śiva Rahasya does not end with St. 46 only but contains 13 stanzas more, beginning with *kāñcyām tapah-siddhimavtipya daadi* (st. 47) and ending with *prāṇanāma mattesverem* (st. 59). These stanzas contain the main incidents in San.s life like his writing the Bhiisyas, meeting with Vyāsa, Śaṅ. Mandana encounter and so on, without a mention of which no account of San.s life would be complete and hence the critics maintain that this is the correct version of ch. 16 of Śiva Rahasya. If so, St. 46 cannot be taken to refer to Sans final departure, which according to St. 57 took place at Kailasa. Their contention is that the supporters of the Kāñcī version have deliberately omitted these 13 stanzas for obvious reasons.

It is not possible to agree with the critics on any point of their criticism. My reasons are :

Regarding the meaning of the word *Siddhi* as *tapassiddhi*, San. is not said by any work (including *Siva Rahasya*) anywhere to have practised any kind of penance (*tapas*) at any time, of which any *siddhi* could have been expected and hence it is quite out of place to argue that even if the Susarna reading in the second half of the stanza were accepted, *Siddhi* means *Tapassiddhi* and not *tanutyāga*. Moreover, to maintain, as S. Rah. does and as even these critics do, that Śan. was Lord Siva incarnate and yet to say that his attaining *siddhi* only means that he attained *tapassiddhi* (just like a mortal being) is at least to my mind, self-contradictory. I, therefore, feel that if this reading is accepted as the correct one, the conclusion is inescapable that Śan. passed away at Kāñcī only, at least according to S. Rah.

Regarding the number of stanzas, we have to note the following points:

a) Even if we accept the reading *naijamavtipa lokam* of *Kāñcyāmatha siddhimtipa* no one, Sundaramiah, Mr. Sarma or Mr. Iyer, says (clearly) what the expression, actually and or really means, possibly because it is inconvenient for them to do so. It, however, seems to refer clearly to San.s final passing away because Śaṅ. has been equated by Ś. Rah. with Lord Śiva himself and as such, his own *Loka* obviously means his own divine abode. Mr. Iyer and Mr. Sarma note a still variant reading viz. *Lokamavtipa ssivsm* which is still clearer about the meaning of the same."?

All this shows that whichever reading is accepted, the conclusion is inescapable that Ś. Rah. wants to convey the idea of San.s passing away only. His going back to his own abode, i. e. Siva-loka has, of course, to be taken symbolically. If this is so, the account of Sans life must be taken to have concluded with St. 46 (or 47) only.

A description of other incidents in San.s life, however relevant or necessary they may seem otherwise, is inconsistent with the text of the Ś. Rah. The subsequent 13 stanzas must, therefore, be taken to have been added afterwards

by some person. Curiously enough, that person chose to begin the very first out of the (13) additional stanzas with the expression काञ्च्यां तपःसिद्धिमवाय दण्डी, whereby he tried to insert his own interpretation of the word 'siddhi' as *tapassiddhi* but in the process, inadvertently left evidence behind of how the immediately preceding stanza (No. 46) must have ended, i. e. with the words (मिश्रान्) स काञ्च्यामथ सिद्धिमाप. And with the meaning of this expression shown to be what it is, at least Ś. Rah. must be taken to support the Kane! version only of Sari.'s passing away.

Moreover, even while mentioning the other incidents, the 13 additional stanzas describe Śaṅ.'s encounter with Bhatla Bhaskara, Nīlakaṅṭha and others (which is a historical anachronism) and at the same time, they omit very important events in Sans life like his meeting with Kumarila, Gaudapada, Govinda Muni, the crocodile incident, his mother's passing away, his acquisition of his main disciples and their writing their own works and any explicit reference to the establishment of the principal *Mathas* except the one at Śringerī and a very casual reference to the *Mathas* in the 4 directions (*caturdiksu mathesu*) while addressing his disciples at the time of laying down his body. If Sans life-account is not complete without a mention of the incidents described in the additional stanzas, how is it complete without those that have been omitted therein?

Then, again, these 13 stanzas contain a repetition of Sari.'s encounter with Vānī—wife of Maṅḍana (vv. 48 & 49) once after the latter's defeat by Sari. and then again at the time of Sari.'s ascending the *servsjnsputu*. All the Ś Vs describe this encounter between Śaṅ. and Vānī varyingly on either of the two occasions only and never on both the occasions. Mr. Iyer points out this fact as a kind of a speciality of these 13 stanzas" but the repetition only serves to show that the genuineness of the stanzas is obviously suspect.

Lastly, Achyutaraya Modak, while commenting (in his commentary *Advaita-Rajya-Laksmi* on S.S. Jaya of Mād. XVI. 103) quotes this chapter in full from Ś. Rah. but upto St. 46 only and that also ending with the reading *Sa kāñcyāmatha sidahimsp*« which shows that according to him also, Siva Rahasya shows Sans end at Kāñcī only. It further shows how and where the chapter ends and does not favour the idea of 13 additional stanzas after St. 46 as part of the same chapter. It is really surprising that Modak quotes from Ś. Rah. favouring the Kāñcī version while commenting on a work which explicitly favours the Himalaya version. Modak also remarks that all this story (kathajala) should be studied from the Br. Ś. V. of Ananda,<sup>22</sup> by which he again suggests that that work also favours the Kāñcī version only.

Mr. Sarma's criticism of both these points (the number of stanzas and the ending of Ch. XVI) is not at all convincing. He complains that the commentary



(i, e. Modak) does not try to reconcile the two conflicting statements of S. Ś. Jaya, which clearly points to Kailasa or Kedara as the place of San.'s passing away and Ś. Rah. which, he admits, shows Kanci as the place of his passing away nor does he say clearly that Kāñcī is that place.<sup>23</sup> It can, however, be said with good justification that by quoting the Siva Rahasya passage which, according to Mr. Sarma also points to Kāñcī as the place of passing away, Modak has shown his inclination towards the Kāñcī version though he may not have said so in so many words.

Secondly, Mr. Sarma argues that Modak's quoting the chapter upto Sl. 46 only does not justify the inference that he also held that the chapter contained no more stanzas after Sl. 46 because he has quoted these stanzas in the course of supporting the view that Śaṅ. was an Arṇsa (part) of God. Modak's object was only to bring these stanzas to light and not to prove the validity of their coruents.'" All this criticism is simply incomprehensible. If there were in Modak's mind any element of doubt about the validity of the contents of these additional stanzas, how can they be said to have been cited by him to support any view?

Thirdly, Mr. Sarma's very idea of reconciliation presupposes that according to Modak, the word *siddhi* meant *lanUlyaga* only and not *lapassiddhi* and Mr. Sarma himself also says in so many words that the expression *Kāñcyāmatha sidahimspa* denotes Kāñcī as the place of Sans passing away and thereby contradicts his own stand elsewhere in the same book that *siddhi* means *lapassiddhi* and not *lanUlyaga*.

Fourthly, if the above expression meant, according to Modak, San.s passing away at Kanci, he would have contradicted himself by quoting the additional stanzas which describe clearly Śan.s end in the Himalayas. It is, therefore, obvious that he did not give those additional stanzas only because they did not exist there, at least according to him and not for any other reason, as imagined by Mr. Sarma.

Lastly, if st. 46 ends with San.s passing away, there is no propriety in recounting thereafter only some of the many incidents in his life. The same argument applies even with much greater force to the other two variant readings *tokems vspe ssivsm* and *naijamavapa lokam wh ich* unmistakably point to San.s passing away.

Mr. Sarma has cited 12 copies of the above chapter XVI from Śiva Rahasya from different places. Six out of these contain 44 to 46 stanzas while the other six contain 59 or 60 stanzas" Out of the latter, three are from the Govardhan *Malha* of Śan. at Puri and appear to represent one source only. I have personally seen at Kumbakonam 8 copies of the same chapter and all of them ended with 46 stanzas only and with the words *sa kāñcyāmatha siddhnspr*.

Mr. Sarma has quoted one chapter (no. 6) as from one work *Mtmikya Vijaya*<sup>26</sup> in support of Ch. XVI of Ś. Rah. with 60 stanzas at the end. The chapter from *Mānikya-Vijaya* is just a reproduction of Ch. XVI from Ś. Rah. with slight variants in the intervening portion thereof.

I, therefore, feel that there is no justification for Mr. Sarma's trying to show by some dev. bus reasoning that the total number of stanzas in the chapter (XVI) from S. Rah. was 60 and not 46 only and that *siddhi* means *lapassiddhi* and not *lanulyaga*. At least according to Ś. Rah. and Ach. Modak, the total number of stanzas was 46 only and the word *siddhi* and the expression *Kañcyām skidhimeps* denote SAṆS passing away at Kāñcī.

I have discussed at length this point pertaining to Ś. Rah. not because I attach any kind of supreme or conclusive importance to Ś. Rah., but firstly because it has been seriously debated by the critics and unjustifiably so, at least according to me and secondly because it provides one more pointer in a particular direction.

2) Rāja D., in the last stanza and particularly the second half<sup>27</sup> of his work S. Daya, tells us that while worshipping daily goddess Karnesvari on the bank of the river Kampa, Śaṅ. attained the bliss of Brahman. Mr. Sarma has made a lot of fuss about the meaning of the expression *Bmbmsnsndems-vindala* in the last quarter of the stanza, saying that it does not mean that Śaṅ. passed away at Kāñcī (*lanulyaga*).<sup>26</sup> Now, such expressions as per H. H. Śaṅ. Swarniji, the late Mahasannidhanam (he had cited the expression *Kailasamagamal*) have necessarily to be understood symbolically and mean the passing away of the person concerned and no one but a prejudiced person will refuse to accord to the expression *brahmananda* etc. the sense of *lanulyaga*.

Mr. Sarma goes on to say that even if this sense were conceded, it definitely does not mean that Śaṅ. stayed at Kāñcī or that he established an *Āmnāya Malha* at Kāñcī.<sup>29</sup> It appears that all the efforts of critics like Mr. Sarma in denying or refuting Śaṅ.'s passing away at Kancl are aimed at avoiding a necessary inference that Śaṅ. established such a mull also at that place. If only the establishment of a *Malha* there was not contingent upon his *lanulyaga* there, Mr. Sarma (and others) would not have so insistently resisted Śaṅ.'s passing away at Kāñcī. It might at least have been conceded, as being plausible, while, however, the work of Rāja D. is not at all intended to suggest or to bear out the establishment by Śaṅ. of *Ma.lha* at Kāñcī, because there is no such reference in the whole work, it is simply not understood how his slay at Kāñcī during the final days of his life could reasonably be precluded or denied while his passing away at Kāñcī is accepted or conceded as being possible.

With regard to this same stanza, Mr. R. K. Iyer affirms that it only says

that Śaṅ. enjoyed the bliss of Brahman in worshipping the Goddess Karnesvari everyday there.<sup>3D</sup> The third and the fourth quarters i. e. the second half of the stanza 'Karnpatra... Sankaran" can, however, be understood in a much better way and more correctly also to mean that 'while worshipping daily the Goddess Karnesvarī. Śaṅ. attained the bliss of Brahman.' In simple language, the line means that Śaṅ. passed his last days in worshipping the Goddess Karnesvari and while doing so, he passed away there only. Particularly when we find that this is the concluding stanza of the work, which at no other place mentions Sari's passing away and because the stanza comes after the description of all the major incidents in his life, this interpretation becomes more pertinent and plausible. It is to be noted that beyond asserting that the stanza in question cannot mean that Śaṅ. passed away at Kāñcī, Mr. Iyer has advanced no argument to support his assertion. On the contrary, he has, in his translation of the same, reversed the order of the two points, viz, worshipping the goddess and attaining the bliss of Brahman.

3) The last stanza of *Patañjali-Carita* by Rāma. D. (VIII : 91) ends with the line *Kṣnctpure sthītavapa sa śaṅkarāyah*. While interpreting this line in particular, Mr. Sarma says that 'It seems that Sari. stayed at Kancl and not that he passed away at Kāñcī,<sup>31</sup> when the context seems to favour the second meaning. The words *sthītavapa* clearly suggest permanent stay at Kāñcī and this is also the last stanza, bearing on the life account of Sari'. It has been seen a lillie earlier that this same Mr. Sarma while interpreting the words *brahmanandamavindata* was just not prepared to concede Sari.'s stay at Kāñcī though he might concede his passing away there. This work also does not claim that Śaṅ. established any *Maṭha* at Kāñcī. All this shows the manner of Mr. Sarma's general attitude towards the Subject and the manner of his criticism, It is left to scholars to decide how far he is dependable as an objective and fair critic.

Mr. R. K. Iyer concedes Sari.'s stay at Kāñcī after writing the Bhasyas and a successful tour. His only objection is that the stanza seems to mean that Gov. Muni had passed away before the Bhasyas were written and in that case, Sari. could not have met him in the Himalayas after completing his own life's mission.<sup>32</sup>

In the first place, no other writer, except perhaps Citsukha and possibly Anandagiri as per I. S Nārāyaṇa Sastri, refers to the passing away of Govinda Muni. And, then, he has passed away long before Śaṅ. completed the mission of his life. There is therefore, no way to find out as to when exactly in the course of Sari.'s life he passed away. In fact, even when biographers (S. Vs) describe at some length, incidents like his mother's passing away or *parakāyāpraveśa*, they differ widely as to the exact stage in San.'s life at which they took place. As such, it is not useful to discuss the priority or otherwise of Sari.'s writing the Bhasyas and the passing away of Gov.

Muni. Lastly, what logical difficulty or contingency is involved in Gov. Muni's passing away before Śaṅ. had written the Bhasyas, even in Śaṅ.'s not meeting him in the Himalayas and how all this bears on the meaning of the line in question is not at all clear.

Mr. Iyer refers to Mr. Ramesam's remark that Śaṅ. had *darśana* of Gov. Muni & Gauda. at Kedaranatha.<sup>33</sup> This particular detail however, does not affect the import of the last line in the stanza, viz. that Śaṅ. passed away at Kāñcī and not that he simply stayed there. The important point is what the stanza means and not what other persons say about other things. Both Mr. Sarma and Mr. Iyer appear to try to resist the meaning which the stanza appears to convey even to themselves and in the process, contradict each other.

4) Another piece of evidence in favour of the Kāñcī version is what is known as the Hultzsch Ms. and the Kōdali Śrīgerī *Guruparampara-Stotra* both of which seem to say very clearly that Śaṅ. passed away at Kāñcī. Dr. Hultzsch obtained the ms. from a Maratha Brahmin at Tanjore. Mr. Sarma discusses the ms. at length in respect of its validity as such and then with regard to its contents." : His position with regard to the first is :

Mr. Sarma tells us that he had procured *vivarana* of another ms., many stanzas from which were found in the ms. of Dr. Hultzsch. Mr. Sarma, however, does not give any particulars of this other ms., which he wants in the case of other mss. Yet according to him, this other ms. was the original of Dr. Hultzsch ms. which however, contains many more stanzas, not found in the original ms. According to a research scholar, these stanzas must, for the same reason, have been added to the original ms. quite recently (to constitute the Hultzsch ms.)

Though Mr. Sarma complains that the time of the Hultzsch ms. is not known, he relies upon a ms. about which he has only heard but which he has not seen and upon what the other people say about it. And all this is based upon the hypothesis that the other ms. is the original of the Hultzsch ms. He gives not the slightest evidence nor does he advance any argument for his view except that certain stanzas are common to the two and that the Hultzsch ms. contains some more stanzas than the other ms.

Mr. Sarma says further that another copy of Hultzsch ms. was available with Mr. (Govinda Bhalla) Hirlekar (the correct name is Yerlekar) of Belgaum. This copy, he says, was found to be ancient (*prsc̄tns*) and appeared to be the source of the stanzas quoted by Dr. Hultzsch. Mr. Sarma feels that possibly, the Maratha brahmin from Tanjore, who supplied the ms. to Dr. Hultzsch, had procured a copy of the work from Mr. Yerlekar.

Mr. K. B. Pathak, who has seen the ms. from Mr. Yerlekar and who brought it to light for the first time, makes no comment about its being ancient.

How Mr. Sarma could say so is not clear.

Secondly, why this Belgaum ms. is said by Mr. Sarma to be a copy of the H. ms. is also not clear. If, again, the Belgaum ms. is the source of the H. ms., what about the other ms. referred to earlier, of which Mr. Sarma had obtained a *viverens* being the original of the H. ms.? Also, what are Mr. Sarma's grounds for saying that the Maratha brahmin from Tanjore, who had supplied the ms. to Dr. Hullszsch had procured his copy from Mr. Yerlekar? He gives none. That both viz. the ms. which Mr. Sarma had procured a *vivarana* and the one from Mr. Yerlekar, were original i. e. the source of the H. ms. means that the two mss. were one and the same. But Mr. Sarma does not say so.

The foregoing discussion will make it clear that all these as also the previous comments of Mr. Sarma are nothing better than guesswork, at least as far as his book is concerned, with no basis for them except some stanzas common to the two. Mr. Yerlekar's ms. has not been seen by anyone except Mr. K. B. Pathak, who also gives no particulars about it except the name of its owner being Mr. Yerlekar from Belgaum. Pursuing the assumption that this ms. is the basis of the H. ms., he has tried to belittle the importance of the H. ms. by pointing out how the Belgaum ms. contains statements like Sari. being born from a Kūṣmāṇḍa and so on.

Now we come to the contents of the stanzas in i) H. ms. ii) Kōdali Sṛṅgeri *Guruparampara stotre-msle* and iii) Mr. Yerlekar's ms.<sup>35</sup> as far as s.a.n.s passing away at Kāñcī is concerned. Mr. Iyer cuts across all considerations about the validity of the H. ms. as such and though he attaches no historical importance to the same, he assumes that it is a genuine document and then discusses its contents. I shall first deal with Mr. Iyer's arguments and then with those of Mr. Sarma, where they are in addition. I am working on i) two pages of H.'s ms. from *Adau Sivastata visnut:* etc. up to *tatah Sankere Bhārati* ii) a complete copy of Kōdali Sṛinger] *Gurumālā stotra* published by that *matha* and iii) the article by Mr. K. B. Pathak, which mentions and quotes from Mr. Yerlekar's 3-page ms. certain stanzas relevant to the present inquiry.<sup>36</sup>

According to Mr. Iyer, " the passage quoted (from the H. mss.) only mentions that Sari. established Goddess Kamaksi at Kāñcī and not that he passed away at Kāñcī. ...<sup>37</sup> Thereafter he quotes the rendering of the 5 stanzas from the H. ms. by Mr. Ramesan (who according to Mr. Iyer, seems to suggest that the word *Svakāśrame* therein means *Kaiicimathe*) followed by the stanzas themselves, then he gives his own rendering of these stanzas and finally, he tries to show how Ramesan's rendering is defective.

It is true that Ramesan's interpretation of the word *svakāśrame* as *kaiicimathe* is wrong. Actually, it means the *mama* at (Kuoall) Sṛinger] only,

referred to very clearly in the very first of the 5 stanzas. It is also clear from the two lines that follow that Sari. stayed at that *Malha* only for 12 years and then, appointing Prthvidhara as the Vidyapljhadhipa there, gave him the title Bhāratī<sup>38</sup>. After this, Śaṅ. is said to have gone on his own (*Sveccheye*) to Kāñcī, where he established Goddess Kamaksi and (then) attained the highest state - *Jagāma paramam padam*. These are the contents of the first 2 1/2 stanzas out of the 5 from the H. ms.

The remaining 2 1/2 stanzas from the H. ms. tell us that on hearing that news (*lad vttentem samākarnya*,) Prthvidhara Bharati, after appointing Visvanipa for the propagation of his Āsrana (*Svasramasya Prscsrne*) i.e. the mull at Kōdali Sm. himself went quickly to Kāñcī for the perfection of his penance. Now, what could be the news except of Sari's passing away at Kancl. that could have motivated Prthvidhara to hasten to Kancl. after making almost final arrangements at K. Śrn.?

The *Guru-Mālā* puts just the above substance in 3 or 3 1/2 stanzas only, with the difference that Visva, was appointed by Prlhv. at Kudali Srngeri for the propagation of *Brahmavidya* and the addition that (after coming to Kāñcī) he attained the slate of Brahman i. e. passed away there only.

We have just one stanza from Mr. Yerlekar's ms. pertaining to the point at issue, *āgatya svecchsys kāñcīm* etc. which is then said by Mr. Pathak to be followed by the names of Sari's successors. Prior to his coming to Kāñcī, Śaṅ. is said in the ms. to have established his mull on the banks of the Tungabhadra river, appointed Prthvidhara as its head and conferred upon him the title Bhāratī.<sup>39</sup>

I have quoted at some length from all the three works, only to show that there is one stanza pertaining to Śrn's going from Kudali Sm, to Kāñcī, where he established Goddess Kamaksi and then attained the highest state i. e. laid down his body there only, which is common almost verbatim to all the three works and that it mentions beyond any doubt that Śaṅ. passed away at Kāñcī only. While charging Mr. Ramesan with suppressing the preceding and succeeding *stokes* and then to try to give a twisted meaning of *svakasrame*<sup>39a</sup>. Mr. Iyer has himself suppressed altogether two very material parts of H. ms. Firstly, while giving his own rendering of the 5 stanzas from H. ms., he has translated wrongly the word *svecchys* as "casually", which to me at least has been done deliberately. Secondly - and this is very serious indeed - he has omitted the rendering of two quarters of two lines. viz. *jagāma peremsm padam* and *lad vttentem semskemya*. It is very significant that even while discussing the place of Sari's final disappearance, he should omit just those expressions, one of which says clearly and the other equally clearly suggests/indicates that Śaṅ. passed away at Kane], What is still worse, he denies altogether such a mention in the passage quoted from the H. mss."? If, again, the words *jagāma peremem padam* do not mean that he passed

away at Kāñcī, Mr. Iyer should have said what they mean. Similarly if the words *lad vṛttāntam ssmekemye* do not refer to tidings about śaṅkara's passing away, what do they convey? When he has interpreted the remaining parts of the passage, why should he not interpret these parts also? Obviously because they do not suit his own theory. All his other comments are misleading and irrelevant to the point at issue. I have shown already how he has interpreted the passage in the same context from *Sarikarabhyudaya* of Rāja D. (VIII-711). How far all these works are reliable is quite a different matter but once we set out to discuss them, what they say must be presented fairly, honestly and accurately, as far as we can, particularly when they pertain to very important issues.

Lastly, regarding the passage from Ananta's *Śarīkara-Vijaya* once again it says clearly that Śaṅkara laid down his body in front of the Karmaksi image at Kancl. Whatever the validity of the work, the statement about Śaṅkara's passing away at Kancl is clear beyond any doubt. Secondly, this statement is uniformly common to all the copies of the work. Critics of this work and of the Kāñcī version, who have found fault with it for some different particulars about the birth place and parents of Śaṅkara found in a few mss/editions of the same have not given it due credit for this uniformity. The process of dissolution of the physical body of Śaṅkara as described by the author, may be wrong or defective but that does not affect the statement about Śaṅkara's passing away. One is a statement of fact, the other a question of philosophy.

To be able to say that Śaṅkara passed away at Kāñcī, possibly in front of the Kāmāksī image, it is not necessary to insist that the image in the corner of a compound of the Karmaksi temple is that of Śaṅkara himself or even that his body was interred there only and that, therefore, it is a *śamsdhi* structure built in honour of Śaṅkara. It has been contended that the image was originally one of Buddha, which was later converted into that of a Hindu Sannyasin, who was still later identified with Śaṅkara.<sup>41</sup> It has also been contended that it is against the Hindu scriptures to have a *śamsdhi* structure inside the compound of a temple of a Devayoni Goddess, which Karmaksi is said to be.<sup>42</sup> All this may be true and yet it does not follow from this that Śaṅkara did not pass away at Kāñcī.

That no remnants of any *samādhi-like* structure or a memorial, which is very likely to have been built to Śaṅkara at some place in Kāñcī are to be found today can also be no argument because even assuming the latest date viz. A. D. 788-820 for Śaṅkara, nearly 1200 years have elapsed since he passed away and even if any structure were built, it is very likely to have been wiped out of existence. Structures or places, which were reliably reported to have existed just about 50 years prior to their search at the beginning of the present century, could not be found even after strenuous efforts.<sup>3</sup> Many instances can be cited" e. g. the city of Troy in Asia Minor, the tomb of King Solomon of Biblical times.<sup>4</sup> The palace of Knossus on

the Cretan Island (hinterland of Greece)<sup>45</sup> where real history lay buried underground for centuries and even millennia had become turned into legend. The questions therefore, as to where the pit is at Kāñcī, where the body of Śaṅ. was interred and why the place of interment has not secured the fame and sanctity as the last resting place of the great Teacher<sup>46</sup> need not be dubbed as inconvenient, with the adverse implication it is intended to convey. They cannot be answered satisfactorily for obvious reasons, at least in the present state of our knowledge.

A couple of points made out by Prof. N. K. Venkatesan<sup>47</sup> " deserve to be noted in this same connection.

a) Most of the Ś. V. s refer to a lot of "town-planning and lawn-founding work got done by Śaṅ. with the help of King Rajasena of Kāñcī." When he had already established his great *malha* at Srñqerl where he is said to have stayed for 12 years why should he take so much trouble about Kāñcī thereafter, unless he had certainly more permanent interest in the place for himself? He not only established Śrī Cakra there, but also planned the whole town in the form of a Śrf Cakra and placed Goddess Kāmāksī at the centre of the Cakra (Bindu Sthana). Prof. Venkatesan's conclusion is that all these facts go to show that as Śaṅ. had already finished all his preaching work, he considered Kāñcī the best place for his final stay.

ii) Prof. Venkatesan further points out (and so do many others) that there is in existence in Kāñcī even today one Ma(1dana Misra-aqrahārarn. This has however, been objected to on the following grounds:

a) Mr. Sarma and Mr. Iyer deny altogether the existence of such an Aqrahara al Kāñcī<sup>48</sup>. On enquiry at Kanci, however, in 1992, I was told that there did exist in Kāñcī a street named after Mandana and that it was so named because a *malha* only is named after a Sannyasi and not a street. Mr. T. S. Narayana Sastry tells us that Suresvara passed away at the age of 70 years in a neighbouring village *Punysrss*« which was also named Mandana Miśra Agrahara.

b) The Aqrahara must have been so named only after he (Mandana) came to Kāñcī, when he must have become Suresvara already and as such, the Aqrahara should have been named after suresvara and not Mandana.

Whether such an Agrahāra exists or not and how it is named does not materially affect Śaṅ.'s passing away at Kāñcī.

If, therefore, the evidence of the written word has any value, it can be said with good reason that Śaṅ. passed away at Kāñcī only. This view is eminently borne out by the sculptural evidence available in and around Kāñcī even today. It is as follows :

j) Śaṅ.'s seated statue with six standing disciples below, inside the premises of the Kāmāksī temple. A similar seated statue of Śaṅ., with three standing disciples each on his right and left sides has been found very recently inside the present śaṅ.'s *malha* in Śiva-Kāñcī, Salai street.



ii) A stone image of a Sannyasin, standing, just inside the main entrance of the temple. The image is to the left.

iii) A Sannyasin's image in the wall, in a silting posture, where the Golden Image of Kāmāksī was formerly kept.

iv) A Sannyasins seated image, just where the *utssve-murti* of Karmakṣ has been installed.

v) In front of the Goddess Annapurna, there are three images of Subrannanya, vyasa and a Sannyasin in a standing posture.

vi) A Sannyasin's standing image, near Annapurna Mantap, at the bottom of the pillar.

Besides these, the following images are found in the two cities of Kancl:

vii) A Sannyasin, standing with *dsnd* in hand before the seated image of Vyasa, on one of the pillars in the Varadaraja temple in Visnu-Karicl.

viii) The figure of a standing Sannyasin, with *dsnds ksmsndelu. dfpa, csndrsmsuli, Bhāsyā*-book etc. in a pose of penance, on each of the two pillars at the entrance of Vaikuntha Perumula temple in Śiva Kāñcī.

ix) A Sannyasin's figure with *dsnde* and *dandasafra* in *Sirsesetu*: posture in the Ekarnesvara temple in Śiva-Kancl.

x) On the inner wall of the *garbhagrha* in a temple called Sivaslhanam, about a mile from Kāñcī, we find figure of a Sannyāsin."''

Except No. ix and x, I have personally seen all. There may be a doubt about one or two of them. It is, however, a fact that throughout my travel in India, covering most of the Sankara centres, I have not seen sculptures in such abundance anywhere, showing the images of Sannyasins, all of whom have been identified as Śari. of Kalati.

The crux of the problem, particularly from the standpoint of the opponents of the Kāñcī-version, seems to be that if Kāñcī is conceded as the place of Sari.s passing away, his stay there during the last days of his life will also have to be conceded. In that case, the possibility of his having established at Kāñcī a *malha*-not necessarily an Ārnaya *malha* for himself will be difficult to resist and certain consequential implications like that *malha* being the *Guru Malha* and so on, were also likely to follow and it would be difficult to resist them. If only the establishment of a *malha* at Kāñcī were not contingent upon Śari.'s passing away there, the opponents might even have conceded that honour to Kāñcī. This is only a hypothesis but well worth consideration.P?

Kāñcī has all along been regarded as one of the seven *mokse-putis* in India. It has also been, particularly in the past, a place of great religious,

cultural and academic importance and the centre of great religious and academic activity. It is, therefore, quite natural that Śaṅ. may have thought of closing the last chapter of his life at such a sacred place, after he had finished all his other work elsewhere, particularly in the north, and though the exact place at Kāñcī of his passing away cannot be pin-pointed today with certainty, he possibly gave up his body in front of the Goddess Kāmāksī, whom he must have held in very high reverence. The sculptural evidence also shows the very close nexus between Kāñcī and Sari. and seems to bear out the same conclusion. Till such time, therefore, as more conclusive evidence becomes available otherwise, it seems quite reasonable to endorse the view that most probably, Sari. passed away at Kāñcī only and not anywhere in the North in the Himalayan regions.

### Abbreviations :

Al Śaṅ / Sanya - Śāṅkara/Śāṅkarācārya	Rāja. D. - Rājacūḍamaṇi Diksit
Gov. Muni - Govinda Muni	Ānand - Anandagiri
Gauda - Gaudapada	Ananta - Anantanadaqiri
Sure - Suresvara	Br. Saras. - Brahrnananda Sarasvatī
Visva - Visvarupa	Sadā - Sadananda
Prlhvi - Prthvidhava/ra	Cit. - Citsukha
Abhi. Śaṅ. - Abhinava Sankara	Rarna D. - Ramabhadra DTKsil
Dattā - Dattatreya	<b>B) K0. S».</b> - kusrnanda Sankara Vijaya
Kāmā - karnaksl	Br. S V - Brhat Sankara Vijaya
Śrn - Śrngeri	ProŚ. V. - Praclna Sankara Vijaya
Ach. Modak - Achyutaraya Modak	S. Ś. Jaya - Sanksepa sankera Jaya
Nara - Nārāyaṇa	Śāñ.Dig Sāra - Śāṅkara Digvijaya Sāra
vidya - vidyananda (Sarasvati)	Śaṅ Daya - Śāṅkarābhyudaya
Puru Bha - Purusotlana Bharatī	Ś. V. - Śāṅkara Vijaya
Gov. - Govindanatha	Bhag. Daya - Bhaqavat-Padabhyudaya
Vyā. - vyasaola	Ś. Ca. - Sankaracarya Carita
Mād. - Madhava	K.Ś.V - KeralTya Sankara Vijaya
Cid. - Cidvilasa	Ś. V. Vilasa - Sankara Vijaya Vilasa,
Tiru. D. - Tirumala DTxit	Ś.M.S. - Sankara Mandata saurabha

GV.K. - Guru Varnsa kavya	MS/MSS - Manuscript/Manuscripts
Śaṅ. Vilasa - Sankarendra Vilasa	Truth - 'The truth about the Kumbakonam Mutt' by Sri R. K. Iyer (Pl. I) and Sri K. R Venkataraman (Pl. II)
G.R.M. - Guru Ratna Malika	JSMV - 'Jagadguru sankara Matha Virnarsa' by Mr. Raja Gopala Sarma
Guru.Mālā - Guruparampara Stotra/Nama Mālā	Agra - Agrahāram
Pal. Ca. - Patalijali Carita	Myth - 'Kāñci Kamakoti Mutt - A Myth' by Sri R. G Sarma
Ś.Rah - Śiva Rahasya	I. A. - Indian Antiquary.
H Ms. - Hultzsch Manuscript	
Bel. Ms. - Belgaum Manuscript	

## Notes and References

1. Vide KṠ. S V - V : 15, 16.
2. Vide ŚCa. by Gov. Edited by Sri Diwakaran Nambudiri, 1956. Prastavana - p.11.
3. Vide KṠ. Ś V - V 16.
4. Vide GVK - III : 63 to 66.
5. Vide Jagadguru Śāṅkara Mama Vimarśa (JSMV.) pp. 488 & 'Myth' - p. 48 - both by Mr. R. G Sarma.
6. Vide JSMV - p. 493 & 'Myth' - p. 48 - Both by Mr. Sarma
7. Vide JSMV - p. 494, by Mr. R. G Sarma
8. 'Truth' by Mr. R. K. Iyer - p. 164.
9. *Ibid* - p. 156.
10. Vide JSMV by Mr. Sarma, p. 87 and p. 488
11. Vide JSMV by Mr. Sarma - pp. 87. 88. & 'Myth' - by Mr. Sarma - pp. 47 to 51.
12. Vide his i) Ādi Śāṅkara Guruparamparāyarn, Pub. by Śrī. Parnakrsna Āśrama, Trichur, p. 21 and ii) Arsa Bharata Paramparāyarn, Trichur.
13. Vide JSMV by Mr. Sarma and 'Truth' by Mr. R. K. Iyer.
14. Vide Susama on G. R. M. - SI 33. The stanzas are

इति निश्चित्य मनसा श्रीमान् शङ्करदेशिकः । मठे श्रीशारदाभिव्ये सर्वज्ञं निदधन्मुनिम् ।  
 सुरेश्वरं वृत्तिकृतमन्तिकृत्यं तदाऽऽदरात् । समं संस्थाप्य तस्मै स्वं वक्तुं भाष्यं समन्वशात् ॥  
 स्वशिष्यपारम्पर्येण लिङ्गं स्वं योगनामकम् । सेवयेनं कामकोटिपीठे सार्धं वसेति च ॥  
 इत्याज्ञां संप्रदायाऽस्मै त्यक्तपीठमठस्यूहः । कामाक्ष्या निकटे जातु संनिविश्य जगद्गुरुः ॥  
 देहिभिर्दुभेजे भेजे देहं तत्रैव संत्यजन् । अखण्डज्योतिरानन्दमक्षरं परमं पदम् ॥  
 स एव शङ्कराचार्यो गुरुर्मुक्तिप्रदः सताम् । अद्यापि मूर्तं चैतन्यमिव तत्रैव तिष्ठति ॥

15 The seven editions I copies are

- 1) Ś Ca. by Gov., Published by Citrasata Press. Poona. 1931.
- 2) S Ca. by Gov., Printed and Published by Mangalodayam Press. Trichur.
- 3) S Ca. by Gov., edited by Sri Diwakaran Nambudiri, Tripunathara, Oct 1966.
- 4) Ś Ca. by Gov., Ms. No. B 47451B 4208 Sarasvali Mahal Library. Thanjavur.
- 5) S Ca. by Gov., Ms. No D 12171, Govt Ori. Mss. Library, Madras.
- 6) Ś Ca. by Gov., Ms. No. R 3790, Govt Ori. Mss. Library, Madras.
- 7) Ś Ca. attributed to Anantakavi but the same as Ś Ca. by Gov., Ms. from Palace Bhandaram or Library, Mysore. In addition to these, I have with me one text of this same work. the source of which cannot be given; perhaps it is the same as No. 4 above.

- 16) Read तद्योगभोगवरमुक्तिसुमोक्षयोगलिङ्गार्चनात्प्राप्तजयः सकामम् । स्वकाश्रमे । तान् वै विजित्य तरसा श्रुतिशास्त्रजालैर्मिश्रान्स काञ्च्यामथ सिद्धिमाप ॥
- 17) Vide his booklet Śri Śringeri Śaradā Mutt - p. 30
- 18 Read : सिद्धिशब्दो न मोक्षवाचकः । कुतः । ज्ञानतेर्मानाभावात् ।... अतः साधनार्थः मनोरथानां सिद्धिमवापेत्यर्थः ।  
From भट्ट श्रीनारायणशास्त्री Vimarsa B-p. 26, quoted by Mr. Sundaramiah on p. 30.
19. Vide - JSMV - Mr. Sarma - p. 131.
20. Vide JSMV - Mr. Sarma - p. 129 & 'Truth'-Mr. Iyer - p. 124
21. Vide 'Truth' - Mr. Iyer - p. 129.
- 22 Read - एतत्कथाजालं बृहच्छब्दकरविजय एव श्रीमदानन्द ज्ञानाख्यानन्दगिरिविरचिते द्रष्टव्यमिति दिक् ।
23. Vide JSMV - Mr. Sarma - p.127
- 24 *Ibid* - p. 127.
25. *Ibid* - pp 1231124.
26. *Ibid* - pp 644 to 647.
- 27 Read कम्पातीरनिवासिनीमनुदिनं कामेश्वरीमर्चयन् ।  
ब्रह्मानन्दमविन्दत् त्रिजगतां क्षेमंकरः शङ्करः ॥ VIII. III.
28. Vide JSMV - Mr. Sarma - p. 239.
29. *Ibid* - p. 239.
- 30 'Truth' - Mr. Iyer, pp. 1571158
31. Vide JSMV - Mr. Sarma - p. 233.
32. Vide 'Truth' - p. 157.
33. *Ibid* - p. 157. Mr. Iyer also refers to Mr. Ramesan citing the opinion of two Vaisnava research scholars that Sañ. settled and passed away at Kāñcī though the place where he resided, preached.. and attained *siddhi* is still shrouded in mystery. p. 159.

34. For Mr. Sarma's remarks and his discussion of the topic, vide his JSMV - pp. 224-226.

35. The relevant parts of the three works are :

a) Dr. Hultzsch Ms. (H.Ms.) from Sarasvati Mahal Library, Tanjore, Report of Sanskrit Mss. in South India. Vol. III (1905)

Ms. No. 2146 entitled Guruparamparā stotra. p. 133. The Guruparampara from Śiva to Sureśvara is given first and then the 5 stanzas are :

संस्थाप्य स्वमठं कृत्वा तुङ्गभद्रानदीतटे । तत्र स्थित्वा द्वादशान्दं यतिं पृथ्वीधराभिधम् ॥  
विद्यापीठाधिपं कृत्वा भारतीसंज्ञया गुरुः । अ(आ)गच्छत्स्वेच्छया काञ्चीं पर्यटन् पृथिवीतले ।  
तत्र संस्थाप्य कामाक्षीं जगाम परमं पदम् । विश्वरूपयतिं स्थाप्य स्वाश्रमस्य प्रचारणे ॥  
स्वयं काञ्चीमगात्पूर्णं श्रीपृथ्वीधरभारती । तद्दत्तान्तं समाकर्ण्य तपसः सिद्धये तदा ॥  
श्रीविश्वरूपयोगीन्द्राज्ञातश्चिद्रूपभारती । ततो गङ्गाधरयतिस्ततश्चिद्वदनभारती ॥

b) गुलपरम्परास्तोत्रमाला - published by श्रीकूडलिशुङ्गेरीमठ -

The relevant stanzas are

आचार्यपीठान् संस्थाप्य स दिक्षु चतसृष्वपि । तुङ्गभद्रानदीतीरे ऋष्यशुङ्गाश्रमेऽवसत् ॥  
तत्र स्थित्वा द्वादशान्दान्यतिं पृथ्वीधराभिधम् । विद्यापीठाधिपं कृत्वा भारतीसंज्ञया गुरुः ॥  
स्वेच्छया पर्यटन् भूमौ ययौ काञ्चीपुरीं गुरुः । तत्र संस्थाप्य कामाक्षीं जगाम परमं पदम् ॥  
पृथ्वीधरयतिः पीठे ब्रह्मविद्याप्रचारणे । विश्वरूपं प्रतिष्ठाप्य काञ्च्यां ब्रह्मत्वमाप्तवान् ॥  
श्रीविश्वरूपयोगीन्द्राज्ञातश्चिद्रूपभारती । ततो गङ्गाधरयतिस्तस्माश्चिद्वदनभारती ॥

C) The Date of Sankaracarya' by Sri K. B. Pathak, I. A. Vol. XI, June 1882, pp. - 174/175. Mr. Pathak, after giving Śaṅ.'s Guruparampara. writes as follows The ms. next says that Śaṅ. established his Matha on the banks of the Tungabhadra. appointed Pṛthvidhara to be the head of it conferred upon him the title Bharan and आगत्य स्वेच्छया काञ्चीं पर्यटन् पृथिवीतले । तत्र संस्थाप्य कामाक्षीं जगाम परमं पदम् ॥ Then follow the names of his successors. p. 175.

36. Vide I. A., June 1882. pp. 174-175.

37. Vide 'Truth' - Mr. Iyer, p. 160.

38. *Ibid* - p. 161.

39. Vide I. A., June 1882 above.

39a Vide-T ruth' - Mr. Iyer. p. 161.

40. Vide 'Truth' - Mr. Iyer, p. 160.

41. Vide JSMV - Mr. Sarma - p. 505, 'Myth' - Mr. Sarma, pp. 49 & 50.

42. Vide JSMV - pp. 130, 490-495 & 'Myth' - p. 49: both by Mr. Sarma.

43. Read 1. 'The search for the girl with the blue eyes' by Jess Stearn.

2. 'Search for Bridey - Murphy' by Morey Burnstein.

44. Read 'Wonders of the world' (series), Hamlyn Publishing Co., London.

45. 'The Palace of Knossus' by Sir Arthur Evans.

46. Vide 'Truth' - Mr. Iyer, p. 39.
47. Vide JOR - Madras, Vol. I. pp. 330-335
48. Vide 1) JSMV - by Mr. Sarma - pp. 516-517.  
2. 'Truth' - by Mr. Iyer (Pl. I) pp. 86, 87.
49. Vide his 'Age of Sankara.' p. 177.
50. In this connection, also read 'Truth' - Mr. Iyer, p. 144 .

## LINGUISTIC FOUNDATIONS OF SANSKRIT POETICS-

KRISHNA S. ARJUNWADKAR

There can be no two opinions about the fact that poetry is substantially a linguistic art, as acknowledged in the well-known metaphor on the nature of poetry which endows upon the elements of words and senses together the status of being the 'body' of poetry.<sup>1</sup> It is, therefore, natural that theorists of poetics should look up to linguistic sciences for 'seed capital' to build their own structure. This expectation matches actual facts in the development of Sanskrit poetics. Grammarians - the Vaiyakaranas - are regarded as predecessors and foremost scholars by no less a person than Anandavardhana,<sup>2</sup> although a discordant note is struck by realistic authors like Bharnaha about the wisdom of grammarians in conceiving *sphota* as the essential nature of word," While the poetic theorists have drawn upon the grammarians for the basic analysis of the element of *word*, besides the theory of *ahvsn!* they have drawn upon the hermeneuticians (if you allow me to coin such a word) or Mimamsakas for their basic analysis of the *sense*, although the latter have not been fortunate enough to elicit similar praise from authors on poetics. Praise or no praise, no serious student of Sanskrit poetics can deny that, in the absence of the foundations the Vaiyakaranas and the Mīmāṃsakas have laid, Sanskrit theory of poetry would not have scaled the heights it undoubtedly has, particularly since Anandavardhana.

Centuries of intellectual efforts must have elapsed before Sanskrit grammarians discovered and established the minutest elements of words, - which fact itself teaches a researcher the art of analysis. Apart from this educational task, Sanskrit grammarians have provided an objective system for the analysis of poetic data. Patañjali's fourfold classification of words' based on attributes, viz., genus, quality, action and names has been accepted and utilised by authors on poetics in the classification of many a figure of speech. Mammata's classification of *upamā* is criticised by some as a dry exercise parading his knowledge of grammar. This criticism has its roots in confusing poetry with the science of poetry. Scientific analysis has to be founded, as far as possible, on objective criteria; and what more objective criteria can there be than grammatical facts in analysing poetic material, wherever they are applicable? What irks Mammata's critics is Paninian terminology. For this, they have to blame themselves for their inadequate equipment. Use of

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grammatically incorrect forms is counted among the defects of poetry" and, as far as Sanskrit is concerned, the credit goes to grammar for providing the basis for the conception of this defect. This would be a defect of *usage*, rather than grammar as commonly understood, when poetry in a living language is discussed. Ānandavardhana discusses varieties of *dhvani* conveyed by even such small elements of language as prefixes and suffixes."

But the most important gift of grammar to poetics is to be found in its concept of *sphola* which is the acknowledged source of the concept of *dhvani*. *Sphota*,<sup>7</sup> as expounded by Panmians, is the eternal form of words which consists of pure consciousness, which, in Vedantic philosophy, means the Self itself. The physical, audible, gross word consisting of sounds is the empirical expression of this subtle, eternal word. This, in simple words, means that the physical word has its roots in the conceptual word. Without going too deep into the philosophical implications of this view, it is enough to say that the relationship between the gross form and the suggested meaning of poetry as conceived by Ānandavardhana and his followers is the same as that between the gross word and the subtle word. Ānandavardhana has named this relationship as *vyañjanā* and has, after a detailed discussion, established its existence as distinct from the two powers or operations of words, *abhidhā* and *lakṣanā*, conceived by his predecessors. It is doubtful what benefit the grammarians have derived from the theory of *Sphote*: but there can be little doubt that poetics have derived immense benefit from the theory of *dhvani*. This discovery has not only pushed the frontiers of poetry beyond all limits, but has also provided an effective means to decide the rank of poetry: the richer the poetry in suggestion, the higher is its poetic value. When he detailed the theory of *sphola*, Bhartṛhari did not dream that he was building a palace that was destined to provide a spacious shelter for the people of a neighbouring country !

Although the *sphola* theory has provided an excuse for the Panmians to procure a visa to the territory of the Vedantins under the banner of the *śabdabrahman*,<sup>8</sup> the latter have controverted them on this point as is clear from the great Śaṅkarācārya's criticism thereof under *Brahmasūtra* 1.1.28, where he sides with upavarsa" in treating the sounds, and not the *sphote*, as the essence of the word. This in a way justifies the stand Bhāṅkara has taken against the *sphola* theory, as remarked earlier. It should be noted that poetics does not lose anything if the *sphote* theory stands discredited; for its utility to poetics is limited to providing a precedent for floating their theory of *vyañjana*. Now that the theory of *vyañjanā* is firmly established, it needs no support from outside.

Although Ānandavardhana traced the principle of *dhvani* to the *sphots* theory, awareness of this operation is evinced incidentally by Śaṅkarācārya while interpreting the very first *sūtra* of Bādarāyana, While elaborating the



implications of the word *atha*, he points out that the same word can convey the meaning 'after' as well as 'auspiciousness' in its capacity as a word and as a sequence of audible sounds.<sup>10</sup> This stand surprisingly matches that of *dhvani* -supporters who classify sounds on the basis of their power of suggestion which, crossing boundaries of language, extends even to realm of sounds, music, movements and even silence.

Turning to the relationship of poetics with *Mimāṃsā*, we have to give the latter the credit of conceiving the operation of words called *lakṣaṇā* as distinct from *abhidhā* (also called *śakti*).<sup>12</sup> This is a seminal discovery in the understanding of language which paved the path for the interpretation of the Vedic literature centuries ago. However, not much was done, again for centuries, in detailing this concept. In early *Mīmāṃsā* and *Vedānta* literature, we find only two varieties of this operation, viz" *jahallakṣaṇā* and *śiṣhllskseo*« the exclusive and the inclusive. To this, the *Vedāntins* added a third variety partaking of the characteristics of both, which they named *jahadajahallakṣaṇā* or *bhāgatyāgalakṣaṇā*.

Besides *lakṣaṇā*, we find in old Sanskrit critical literature a verbal operation named variously as *gaunTvrtti*<sup>13</sup> (also *gauna pratyaya* 14) or *bhakti*<sup>15</sup> meaning identification of two things on the basis of their common qualities. Reference to one thing by the name of another on the basis of this operation is called *gauna* or *bhākta*. This terminology continued 10 rule Sanskrit poetics until *Mukulabhāṭṭa*<sup>16</sup> appeared on the horizon. *Saṅkara* has evinced his great intellectual ability in establishing that *aeune pratyaya* is a mental 'act' as it is based on human will, - *purusatāntra*, to quote his expression. It is distinct from the process of valid cognition which is *vastutantra*. It is at our option whether or not to view a man as a lion; it is not, when it comes to viewing a lion as a lion. His conclusion, therefore, is that, although both are mental processes, valid cognition and willed cognition have to be differentiated, An 'act' is that which is at the option of the doer to do or not to do. In valid cognition or knowledge, there is no such option."

We have to travel as far as the 10th century to come across a comprehensive and more detailed classification of *lakṣaṇā* in the work of *Mukulabhāṭṭa*. Since he aimed at attempting an altogether new classification based on the synthesis of all wranglings that had been going on in this behalf for centuries, he discarded the existing terminology and coined a new one in which the old varieties were accommodated either as separate varieties or as principles on which varieties are based. The old names of the two varieties of *lakṣaṇā* were substituted by *lakṣaṇalakṣaṇā* and *upādānalakṣaṇā*, while *gaunTvrtti* was merged into *lakṣaṇā* as a principle on which several varieties are based. This new classification took into consideration every possible element, found out the HCF of secondary functions of words and gave us an exhaustive scheme of varieties, numbering 18 as modified by *Mammata*!" *Mukulabhāṭṭa*'s

classification is so thorough that, with slight modifications, it was absorbed by all successive Sanskrit works on poetics. The only point on which followers of the *dhvani* concept disagreed with him is his view that, since his varieties of *lakṣanā* cover the entire field of *dhvani*, it is redundant to conceive a separate operation called *vyarjanā*.<sup>18</sup> It is amusing to note that the Marathi version of Mm. Kane's *History of Sanskrit Poetics* counts Mukula.bhatta among the supporters of *dhvani*/'8

Sanskrit poetics, like linguistic concepts therein, has undergone modifications through centuries from grosser to subtler form resulting finally in an impressive organic whole as we find in Mammata's work.

## Notes and References

काप्र (followed by page numbers) = *Kāvya prakāśa* of Mammata (in Marathi), Edited by Arjunwadkar and Mangrulkar, Pune, 1961

1. काव्यस्य शब्दार्थो शरीरम्. रत्नादिश्चात्मा, गुणाः शौर्यादिवत्, दोषाः काणत्वादिवत्, रीतयोऽवयवसंस्थानविशेषवत्, अलंकाराः कटककुण्डलादिवत् । - साहित्यदर्पण 1.
2. प्रथमे हि विद्वांसो वैयाकरणाः व्याकरणमूलत्वात् सर्वविद्यानाम् । - ध्वन्यालोकः 1.16
3. स कूटस्थोऽनपायी च नादादन्यत्र कथ्यते । मन्दाः सांकेतिकानर्थान् मन्यन्ते पागमार्थिकान् ॥, - काव्यालंकार, 3 14. शपथैरपि चादेयं वचो न स्फोटवादिनाम् । नभःकुसुममस्तीति श्रद्धयात् कः सचेतनः ॥, - काव्यालंकार, 6. 12.
4. चतुष्टयी शब्दानां प्रवृत्तिः - जातिशब्दा गुणशब्दाः क्रियाशब्दा यदृच्छाशब्दाश्चतुर्थाः । - महाभाष्य, ऋलृक् सूत्र.
5. च्युतसंस्कृति काप्र - 0208
6. सुप्-तिङ्-वचनसंबन्धैस्तथा कारकशक्तिभिः । - ध्वन्यालोक ॥. 16.
7. वर्णातिरिक्तः वर्णाभिव्यङ्ग्यः नित्यः शब्दः स्फोटः । - सर्वदर्शनसंग्रह, पाणिनिदर्शन.
8. अनादिनिधनं ब्रह्म शब्दतत्त्वं यदक्षरम् । विवर्ततेऽर्थभावेन प्रक्रिया जगतो यतः ॥ - वाक्यपदीय 1.1
9. वर्णा एव तु शब्दः, इति भगवानुपवर्षः ।
10. अर्थान्तरप्रयुक्त एव ह्यथशब्दः श्रुत्या मद्गलप्रयोजनो भवति ।
11. मूर्ध्नि वर्णान्त्यवर्णेन युक्ताष्टठडडान् विना ।  
रणौ लघु च तद्वचनौ वर्णाः कारणतां गताः ॥ - साहित्यदर्पण 83.
12. The old-style definitions of these operations are worth noting: तत्र शक्तिः नाम पदानाम् अर्थेषु मुख्या वृत्तिः ।... शक्यसंबन्धो लक्षणा । - वेदान्तपरिभाषा, आगमपरिच्छेद.
13. This terminology has percolated even to the works on poetics: vide निष्ठचूतोद्गीर्णवान्तादि, गौणवृत्तिव्यपाश्रयम् । अतिसुन्दरमन्यत्र ग्राम्यकक्षां विगाहते ॥ - काव्यादर्श 195
14. See Sarikaracarya's *bhāṣya* under ब्रह्मसूत्र 1.4.
15. This term has percolated even to the works on poetics: भक्त्या विभर्ति नैकत्वं रूपभेदादयं ध्वनिः । - ध्वन्यालोक 1.17.
16. The author of अभिधावृत्तिमातृका. Vide काप्र 0 112.
17. Vide काप्र 307
18. Vide काप्र 0 113.

## SOME NEW IMPULSES OF INDOLOGY

SAROJA BHATE

Before I begin I would like to pay my respectful homage to the memory of late M. M. Kane.

Indology is a branch of a wider discipline called Orientology. Orientology is a body of knowledge about Orient. Although the term Orient stands for the eastern hemisphere, it conveys something more over and above the geographical bifurcation of the globe of earth into eastern and western hemispheres. There are two more nuances, namely, 'archaic' and 'glittering' or 'dazzling' added to the meaning of the term Orient. Orientology is thus a branch of knowledge devoted to the study of the countries in the Oriental world with an archaic and dazzling culture. This Orient emerged out of romantic interest of the West in the East. Indology or the study of India is no exception to this. It can be, thus, described as a romantic impulse of the 19th century West. Indology was earlier understood as a study of ancient and medieval India with reference to its languages, literature, religion and philosophy. In the course of time however, the scope of Indology was widened both on geographical and temporal dimensions. Indology thus stands for the study of pre-modern India in all its aspects. Recently, Indologists have started including even modern issues in this branch of learning which is sometimes also called Indian Studies. For the sake of convenience we retain the term Indology and accept it in its widest connotation.

Needless to say that Indology started outside India, in the West, particularly in Europe. As a distinct branch of learning, Indology has a history of not more than 150 years. Although it started with the discovery of India by the West, the earlier phases beginning with Indo-hellenic contact and later visits of foreign pilgrims as well as Indo-Islam encounter which are the milestones in the history of India's understanding by the West, they do not contribute much to the knowledge about the history and culture of India. The romantic conception of India as a country of fabulous wealth and rich learning continued through the ages till the orientalist period began in the beginning of the 19th century. The mist of mystery surrounding India started dissolving after the West came in direct contact with it. The discovery of the treasure of ancient literature in India was the starting point. Western interest in the ancient Sanskrit literature led to the rise of a new branch of learning called comparative philology.

The philological enquiries which thus caused a landmark in the history of the development of the science of language, were followed by religious and philosophical investigations into India's past. The amount of knowledge about India's past that the western scholars possessed by that time was enough to convince them that India should be treated on par with Greece and Rome. Further, India appeared more interesting because of its living tradition.

Although the early Indology concerned itself with the religio-philosophical studies, since the earliest available texts were of that nature, in the course of time, with the discovery of other literature, Indology spread far and wide to touch upon different aspects of Indian culture. India no more remained 'a matter of the past' as Hegel once described. The allround developments of Indology since the latter half of the 19th century marked by outstanding achievements which no more remained confined to philological level, not only exercised a great influence on the Western world of academics but also resulted in India's self-understanding. In India it started with the founding of the Asiatic Society in Calcutta by Sir William Jones. Although the beginning of Indology in India was made by the western scholars who not only initiated efforts in printing books, collecting manuscripts and excavating at archaeological sites but also successfully launched several projects such as archaeological survey of India, survey of Indian architecture, linguistic survey of India and catalogus catalogorum, etc. The Indian doyens, namely, Sir Ashutosh Mukherji, Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, Dr. Ganganath Jha, M. M. P. V. Kane and Dr. Kuppaswami Shastri, to name a few, provided a firm footing. Sir Ashutosh Mukherji is, for instance, responsible for the entry of Indology into University education in 1914. M. M. Kane, the first national Professor of Indology, immortalized by his *History of Obermaesters* did a yeoman's service to Indology. The Asiatic Societies of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras played a pivotal role in establishing indigenous Indology on a firm foundation. In addition to these individual and institutional efforts, the Government of India has been playing a significant role in the furtherance of Indological studies through the institutes like National Archives, Directorate of Archaeology and Rashtriya Sanskrit Sansthan.

Although indigenous Indology at present is experiencing a low ebb due to the country's thrust on science and technology, recent surveys show the swing of the pendulum towards gradual increase in the interest, probably because it is one of the imported objects and also because it is being directly connected with the problems of modern India. Indology in India is at present caught in the impulse of Westernization. In the West, Indology forms part of the discipline known as South Asian Studies which again is an off-shoot of a system of knowledge called Area Studies. In fact, Indology in the West has even crossed the boundaries of an academic discipline and has influenced the western ways of life. Commenting on the presence of Indian tradition

in the West, W. Halbfass observes that the presence of Indian tradition in the West is felt not only in academic research but in all cultural areas such as arts and literature, religion and sectarian movements and above all, in what he calls 'the syndrome of ancient wisdom and modern science'. His observations recorded in his two recent studies entitled *India and Europe* and *Tradition and Reflection* show that Indology in the West is at present passing through the impulse of European self-questioning and self-destruction. What is the impulse of westernization in which Indology in India is caught? What is meant by European self-destruction?

These questions take us to one of the major impulses of modern Indology, or rather, Orientalology. The story begins with the book by Edward Said called *Orientalism, Western Concepts of the Orient* published in 1978. The book is about what is described as the 'Orientalist discourse.' The Orientalist discourse assumes that orientalism was not "a purely disinterested objective quest for knowledge alone, but was a product of a mixed and hence a complex human situation in which intellectual quest, ideational explorations, individual and collective self-interest, quest for political and economic power, hunger and thirst for exotic and romantic experiences etc. all had their role to play." These are the words of Dr. Niharranjan Ray from his presidential address at the 30th session of the All India Oriental conference in 1980 (p.71). In the words of Ronald Inden, "Orientalist discourse consists of a form of knowledge that is both different from and superior to, the knowledge that the orientals have of themselves."<sup>2</sup> Dr. Ray in his address refers to Said's observations that the term Orientalism is less preferred because it "reflects the highhanded executive altitude of nineteenth and early twentieth Century European Colonialism" (Ray, *Ibid.*, p.61). Dr. Ray further observes by way of an illustration of the highhanded colonialism that during the first 47 years of its existence, the Asiatic Society of Bengal had, among its members, not even one Indian although stalwarts like Raja Ram Mohan Roy were actively engaged in Indological studies. One of the critics of the Orientalist discourse remarks, "Orientalism without colonialism is a headless theoretical beast."

However, before Said initiated the critique of the Orientalist discourse in Europe, Daniel H. Ingalls, an American Indologist made the following observation which may be described as American Orientalist discourse, "There is a quite selfish interest in India among some Americans. It springs from the desire not to understand India but to make use of India or as it is more gently put, "to keep India on our side of the fence."<sup>3</sup>

While the orientalist discourse is already in the air, Indologists all over the world are busy critically examining the Indological studies with reference to methodology as well as the motives. Dr. Richard W. Lariviere, Ralph B. Thomas, Regent Professor of Asian Studies at University of Texas at Austin, U. S. A., is aware that some Indologists have 'created' India which has no

basis in reality, while some others have created "essences" of India and Indian Society by developing a glossy distorted view of India." There is yet another approach which consists in warping different ideas found in India and using them with nefarious intent elsewhere. Lariviere calls these three approaches, "Orientalist", "essentialist" and "distortionist" respectively."

Ronald Inden in his study entitled *Imagining India*, and his essay entitled, "Orientalist Constructions of India" has presented a critique of all these approaches though he mentions them in a slightly different terminology. While criticizing the essentialist approach, he maintains that the caste system of India is a European construct. He shows how knowledge about India by the Europeans is coloured by their respective attitudes, call it romantic or positivist or hegemonic. He has expressed his opinion that the "Indological discourse has denied to Indians the power to represent themselves."<sup>6</sup> According to him it is possible to have a new knowledge of South Asia by breaking the notion of essentialism. He further remarks that James Mill's *The History of British India* has remained "a hegemonic" textbook of Indian History."<sup>7</sup> Regarding the histories of India that were written by the British historians, Dr. R. N. Dandekar observes, "All British historians deliberately tried to create a psychosis among the Indians that India was always subject to foreign invasion and that there has been a partial unity in India...<sup>8</sup> He accuses the British Historians for the lack of academic detachment.

Another interesting illustration of colonial Orientalism is offered by Rosane Rocher in her essay entitled, "British Orientalism in the Eighteenth Century: The Dialects of Knowledge and The Government." According to her, the textualization of Hindu law was based on Warren Hasting's plan "to reduce the religious diversity in India to a dichotomy of Hindu versus Muslim law which created a discursive framework for later colonial policy to "divide and rule" Hindus and Muslims...<sup>9</sup> It has been further pointed out how the immense popularity the *Bhagavadgita* enjoys today is due to political strategy played by Warren Hastings who sent the *Gita* for publication to England to impress upon the British Government "the advanced state of Indian Civilization" in order to dissuade it from introducing British common law. Upholding of the ideals of *Gita* by great political leaders like Mahatma Gandhi is the result of this politically motivated exaltation of the *Gita* by the British rulers!".

Yet another instance of the impulse of European self-criticism and self-destruction is the recent European approach to Hinduism. W. Halbfass in his work entitled *Tradition and Reflection* refers to the views of different scholars who maintain that Hinduism is an Orientalist construct. He quotes, for instance, W. Cantwell Smith who says, "There are Hindus, but there is no Hinduism." In the opinion of H. Von Stietencron, Hinduism is a European invention - "an orchid bred by European scholarship; in nature, it does not exist."<sup>10</sup> Halbfass also refers to the threefold Indian approach to Hinduism.

According to one school Hinduism as a distinct concept does not exist while another group of Indian Pandits maintains that Hinduism is a fullfledged religion as much as Christianity or Islam is. According to the third view, Hinduism cannot be compared to religions like Christianity or Islam; it is rather a "metareligion."<sup>13</sup> All these approaches to Hinduism represent different reactions to the Indological discourse.

The Orientalism as described above has left its legacy in India. It has been absorbed in Indian life-style and Indian ways of thinking to such an extent that due to this "internal Orientalism" it is difficult for both Indians and outsiders to think of India outside the Orientalist habits and categories. The very cultural basis of public life has been affected by ideas of difference and division that have colonial and Orientalist roots." This situation, which is described as Post-colonial Predicament may be described as a maturation of the cross-cultural approach to Indology called "Westernization" which was initiated by Raja Ram Mohan Roy about two centuries ago. Westernization led to the Nationalist discourse which started with the search by the Indians for their identity, self-assertion and defence against the European aggression. It arose as a strong reaction to the colonial discourse. The rise of the Neo-Hindu movement is a remarkable chapter in the history of the development of modern Indology. It consists, mainly, of reinterpreting the traditional Indian ideas in order to adjust them to the demands of the modern Westernized world. It is an attempt to give a new Orientation to Indian values of the past with a view to sustaining the tradition by accepting the virtuous and throwing away the vicious. This process of self-glorification sometimes takes an extreme stand and the nationalist discourse tries to make a claim that it is possible to foresee the future of the world in India's past. Exaggerated claims that the ancient Indians flew aeroplanes and used nuclear weapons and thus were far advanced not only in spiritual but also in technological achievements which the modern western world is yet to reach are, in the words of Dr. R.N. Dandekar, "cases of inverted inferiority complex."<sup>15</sup> Dr. Dandekar also observes that the use of graceful expressions like "unity in diversity" while describing the framework of Indian culture are rather a "wishful thinking"<sup>16</sup> of the nationalist mind than a factual statement.

Reference was made to the British Historians' attempts to present a distorted picture of India's past. Against this background a project of rewriting India's history in 18 volumes and history of the Vedas in 11 volumes undertaken by an organization called BHISHMA is a welcome sign. However, the basic assumptions underlying this project such as "there are no Aryan or Dravidian races," "the *Vedic* people called themselves Aryan .civilized," "they are autochthonous people of India" or "the *Vedic* India has a mission to civilize the world"<sup>17</sup> need to be substantiated with the help of positive evidence.

The syndrome of ancient wisdom and modern science as described by

W. Halbfass is reflected in the proliferous interest of the West in the East. For instance as regards the interest in the Eastern ways of meditation, he observes, "The West is turning towards the East for new inspiration and even for therapy."<sup>18</sup> To those thinkers who are critics of the Orientalist or colonialist discourse and try to seek an antidote in adopting Indian ways of thinking, Halbfass replies, "No calculated importation and application of Eastern ways of thinking, or methods of meditation will enable us to reverse the history. The recent history of Indian spiritual movements in the West illustrates this simple truth. In their application within the modern Western World, the Indian methods and teachings became parts and manifestations of this world and the constellation of science and technology."<sup>19</sup> Halbfass finally admits that it is a difficult task to reach "beyond Occident and Orient" and there is no escape from Europeanization because, it is believed that Europeanization is "the shortest route towards reaching our own selfhood."<sup>20</sup> To conclude this brief survey of the critique of the orientalist discourse and its critique, let me quote once again from W. Halbfass who ends his book *India and Europe* with the following remark-

"For Indians as well as Europeans the Europeanization of the earth continues to be inescapable and irreversible. For this very reason, ancient Indian thought, in its unassimilable, non-actualizable, yet intensely meaningful distance and otherness is not *obsoletae*" Friends, while I leave this Orientalist controversy to your scrutiny I cannot help giving my own reaction to it. Despite "the highhanded executive attitude of the Orientalists," we Indians should remain beholden to them for revealing our own glory to us. All of us know very well that the nationalist spirit, the greatest force behind the struggle for Independence is a gift from the West. Moreover, the colonial history is made also by some noble personalities who struggled for the well-being of this country. A story is, for instance, told of Elphinstone, the Governor of Bombay Presidency. When Lt. General Briggs visited his camp and saw in his tent a pile of Marathi books, he asked Elphinstone what they were meant for. Elphinstone replied, "To educate the native, but it is our highroad back to Europe." The Oriental Institute at Oxford which was established nearly a century ago, has the following verse engraved at its entrance -

ईशानुकम्पया नित्यम् आर्यविद्या महीयताम् ।  
आर्यावर्तार्लभूम्योश्च मिथो मैत्री प्रवर्धताम् ॥

We should not forget that we owe the beginnings of Archaeology and collections of Mss. in our country to Lord Curzon (1899- 1907). Well, the issue of the Orientalist discourse needs to be discussed with special reference to different aspects of Indology. For instance, John M. Mackenzie has, in his recent work entitled *Orientalism. History, Theory and the Arts*, published by Manchester University Press in 1994, taken a survey of the debates stemming from Said's book and has tried to show that the orientalist discourse does



not hold true in the field of Indian Arts.<sup>22</sup> A similar other contribution which is worth noting in the present context is a recent work by Dr. Ashok Ranade entitled *Indology and Ethno-musicology* (Published by Motilal Banarasidass in 1992) in which he tries to show that the British workers on and in India ..moved away from the prevailing Orientalism" and that " the Indological vision required a correction which was offered by studies into the Indian performing arts, especially music to allow the aliens true insight into Indian culture."<sup>23</sup> The book is claimed to provide a fresh insight into Indo-British cultural relations. Finally, I would like to make a passing reference to Dr. Romila Thapars collection of Essays entitled *Interpreting Early India* (MLBD Delhi 1992) in which she has shown how the writings on early India were influenced initially by European ideologies and subsequently by Nationalist ideologies which have also been put to criticism. She also refers to the recent notion of composite Hinduism which ignores the evidence on diversity of communities and identities in earlier period.<sup>24</sup>

Let us now turn to some other major impulses. Knowledge and power is one of the major issues being discussed in the Orientalist discourse, It can be extended to the Indian literature as a whole. There are scholars like Scheidon Pollock who have attempted to discover the factors behind the sustaining authority and power the Sanskrit language exercised over the Prakrit languages through the ages. Dr. Pollock ascribes the immense popularity enjoyed by Sanskrit in Indian subcontinent as by English in the European Continent to the transnational and transregional character of these languages.<sup>25</sup> A study of the socia-linguistic issues connected with Sanskrit and Prakrit by Prof. Madhav Deshpande *fSanskrit and Prakrit, Sociolinguistic Issues*, MLBD,931 shows that the choice of Sanskrit is also motivated by the political factor, namely, that Sanskrit was always upheld by the upper class of society. This brings us to yet another issue, the issue regarding the worth of literary documents as means of reconstructing ancient Indian history, It is claimed by some Indologists that since the ancient Indian literature is composed by the upper class of society, it does not faithfully record the ancient society with all its ramifications. Further, most of the literature being composed by Brahmins, it reflects the Brahmanical ideas and ideology rather than reality. The larger part of the society has thus remained unexpressed through this literature. This aspect has to be considered while evaluating the role of this literature for historical purpose. Against this background of thought an interesting picture has emerged in the area of recent Indological activities. While we hear the cases of the burning of the *Manusmṛiti*: the wellknown legal document in this country, a project to prepare a critical edition of the same text has been undertaken in the University of Texas. Prof. Richard W. Lariviere, one of the chief collaborators of the project has stressed the need for hardcore philological work from which modern indologists appear to have moved away. According to him a critical edition of the *Manusmṛiti* will help the Indologist

to reconstruct Indian social history using the Dharmasastra, It will also help, he thinks, in establishing reliable chronology. Although all argue that the *Manusmṛti* represents a Brahmanical distortion. Prof. Lariviere says that it is precisely here that one can hear the voice of the subordinates which is otherwise totoally extinct' 6

Modern relevance is one of the keywords of current trends in Indology, If an ancient language like Sanskrit has to survive it must have capability to live and to cope up with problems of modern society. The creation of the Sanskrit village Muttur in Karnataka by an organization committed to the spread of Sanskrit in order to prove that Sanskrit can also be a market language today, the bulk of creative literature comprising dramas and poems in Sanskrit, institution of a number of awards and honours by Government and private agencies for eminent Sanskrit authors as well as pandits in traditional learning, production of full-length feature films in Sanskrit, and broadcasting and telecasting news in Sanskrit are some of the noteworthy attempts to bring the ancient language into the modern current. The Neo-Hindu movement and the growing number of spiriiual leaders with their organizations are also responsible for popularising not only Sanskrit language but also Sanskrit Vidya. The mellifluous character of this language has attracted spiritually inclined people from all over the world to study it mainly for recitation. A fultledged institute in USA is devoted to the study of Sanskrit only for spiritual uplittrent.'" *Mantraśāstra*, the science of recitation, is gaining popularity among the solace-seekers the world over. Apart from its high spiritual content accompanied by its wonderful sonorous texture with a musical effect, Sanskrit\_is being studied abroad mainly for two more purposes, namely, *Yoga* and *Ayurveda* For example, the Dharam Hinduja India Research Centre was inaugurated a few months back at Columbia University. It is clear from the topic of the inaugural conference, namely, Veda and Āyurveda in the Western world, that Āyurveda will remain the thrust area of research in that institute. The science of *yoga* is made popular particularly by the *swami* movement. This area of study is being occupied even by those who are otherwise not concerned with Indology.

Computerization is yet another pre-eminent outbreak in the area of Indology. In tact, no branch of study can afford to stay away from this tide of modernization. Although computer is a part of the methodological scheme of a study, it has entered also in the semantics of Indology. For instance, there are two currents under this wave: computer for Sanskrit and Sanskrit for computer. The first current is flowing with a great force in all sub-branches of Indology. A look at the proceedings of the International Congress of Orientalists (now International Congress of Asian and North African Studies) reveals that a separale section is created for Computer applications. A report of the 32nd Congress shows, for instance, a presentation by Boris Oguibenine on "First results

of Vedic Grammar Processing by Computer... The presentation concludes with the following remark- ..The contribution is not meant to enrich the computer science, but to show that the use of computers furthers new approaches to the traditional, linguistic and philological problems...<sup>28</sup> Computer has, indeed, brought a revolution in the Indological approaches. Internet, the wellknown network system globally connected through computers is now being made available also for Asian Studies. While data-base is prepared for almost all major treatises such as the Vedas, the Puranas, and the *Mahābhārata*, different research activities are being carried out with the help of computer. Computer-aided user-friendly language learning packages are available both in the West and also in our country. For example, the Centre for Development of Advanced Computing (C-DAC) at Pune is engaged in a number of projects in the area of Sanskrit and computer. For instance, a package based on the Ayurvedic text called *Mādhavanidāna* is a computer-aided diagnostic system based on Ayurveda. Another programme concerning Ayurveda has been launched at Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapeeth, Pune. It consists of first preparing a data-base called *Triskandhakosa* and then processing it for various Ayurvedic programmes. Up-dating of the 'Vedic Concordance of Bloomfield' is yet another ambitious project going on at the same place for which computer is being used. These are only a few instances.

The second current, namely, Sanskrit for computer created an excitement, a decade ago, not among the Indologists but also among the computer scientists. In fact, the issue was triggered off by a computer scientist, Rick Briggs, who claimed that ..shastric" Sanskrit is very much suited as an interlingua for machine translation. The project of machine translation using Panini's Karaka theory is still going on at Indian Institute of Technology at Kanpur. Another application of Sanskrit to computer is a project called Natural Language Understanding with the help of computer. A package called *Desika* by Mr. Ramanujan at C-DAC is the first effort in this area. Here he has used Sanskrit as a prototype to illustrate how a natural language can be processed through a computer. Computerization of Panini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, another project undertaken by the same scientist is supposed to be helpful for both, for computer scientists by creating new visions in computation and for Sanskritists for a more subtle understanding of Panini. Panini has, in fact, transcended the boundaries of the language he deals with, the grammar he conceived and also the country he lived in. He has been, now, enrolled as the first citizen of the World of Intelligentsia if I may say so. The reason is, the marvellous insight with which he composed the grammar of Sanskrit is being utilized by scientists in different areas in their projects. A biotechnologist in the University of Pune is being guided by Panini's grammar in his project to write a grammar for the composition of genes and claims to have arrived at wonderful results<sup>29</sup>

And this brings us to another, very distinct aspect of Indological research,

namely, the interdisciplinary or multidisciplinary approach. The Indologists have observed that the modern Indology has taken a 'cosmopolitan' turn. It is no more confined to philological research. The text and the context are being studied together for a comprehensive approach. Sociological and anthropological models are being used for Indological research. The critique of the Orientalist discourse, discussed in the beginning of this lecture is a good example of this multidisciplinary approach. The allround growth of Orientology is evident in the change in the name of the International Congress of Orientalists into the International Congress of Asian and North-African Studies.<sup>P?</sup> Quite a few projects of interdisciplinary character are undertaken at different places. In one of the recent International congresses, "Interplay of Eastern and Western Literature" was the topic for panel discussion. It was pointed out during the discussion that Rabindranath Tagore is the best illustration of East-West synthesis of the present century.<sup>3!</sup> A cursory glance at the recent studies dealing with socio-linguistics, ethno-archaeology, ethno-musicology, etc. shows the tendency of the modern Indologists towards holistic approach. Studies like *Transcultural Approach to Poetics* (T. Rajendran, Calicut 1993) reflect growing interest in the field of comparative aesthetics. Encyclopaedic approach to singular texts like the *Gītāgovindam* by Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts, Delhi, is a striking example of the holistic approach.

Indology has thus taken a modern turn. The line of demarcation between Indology and Indian Studies is fast disappearing. The problems of modern India are being discussed on an extensive scale during international conferences on Indology, Image of the 20th century Indian woman, Modern Hinduism, ethnic problems, *Dalita* Movement in India, spread of Neo-Buddhism are some of the current topics of study at different centres in Europe and other Western countries,

What is Indology aimed at? As it is generally understood, though Indological studies began with a mixed aim, namely to understand as well as to rule India in a better manner, the emphasis has now shifted from political to cultural aspect. Although one of the strong forces behind Indian studies has remained political - the Indian studies are being undertaken by foreign scholars to provide a feed-back to the respective governments for deciding their foreign policies, policies regarding financial investment, etc. - the importance of Indological research in the process of globalization, cultural assimilation and of creating world citizen is being emphasized, India is being looked at no more as a second world country, nor also as a developing country but as a newly industrialized country. The accent of Indology has therefore shifted from past to present.

What are the challenges before Indology? Eminent thinkers of this century observe that the fusion between the East and the West should be the aim of every discipline. The prospects for every body of knowledge are being

decided in terms of globalization. Can future Indology contribute its own share towards this ultimate goal? A beginning can be made by attempting a reconciliation of the two approaches. Dr. Dandekar in his presidential address at the International Congress for Asian and North-Pacific Studies has pointed out the essential distinction between the two approaches in the following words :

"While in the East ultimate Unity is reached through elimination, in the West it is achieved through harmonization. The East attains the one, the West, Totality."<sup>32</sup>

In order to achieve cultural synthesis, a serious attempt to understand both the Eastern and Western currents of Philosophy and to go to their essence is needed.

It also needs to be pointed out that the very definition of the term Indology is a matter of serious concern. Indology in pre-Independence period covered the study of that part of South Asia which is occupied by present day Pakistan and Bangladesh. Now although geographically and politically Indology cannot extend its scope to cover both these countries, Indologists should come forward to join hands with their counterparts in Pakistan and Bangladesh and also in neighbouring countries like Srilanka and Myanmar which formed part of what is still described as Indian sub-continent and should undertake collaborative projects in the areas like archaeological excavations and collection and preservation of manuscripts. Dr. Raghavan in the concluding part of his survey of *Indologieal Studies in India* remarks, "One of the drawbacks of Indian Indology in the past has also been lack of explorative original work in regions outside the country i. e. in Greater Indian Regions...<sup>33</sup> In this connection mention should be made of the remarks made by Dr. K. P. Jayaswal long ago in his presidential address of the 9th session of AIOC. Referring to the new vistas opened out in the domain of Indian history by the discovery of the Indus valley civilization, Dr. Jayaswal emphasized the need for Indian Indologists to study Assyriology and cognate subjects and reinterpret the data embedded in the Puranas in the light of the new finds. A note of caution is however, given by DrDandekar to those who are intent on rewriting the History of India. He writes, ..History of India is being rewritten; some know why it has to be rewritten and others know that it must be rewritten."<sup>34</sup> Much more help is to be sought from other means such as epigraphical literature. Indian subcontinent provides greater opportunities for epigraphists to bring new facts to light. For example, Dr. K. V. Ramesh, the former Chief Epigraphist of India has, in S. P. Tewari memorial lecture a few months ago in Mysore, ascribed the transfer of knowledge of Indian sculpture to artisans who travelled to other countries with the Indian junior princes who migrated because the Indian law of succession came in their way of progress.

The basic question as to what should be the aim of Indology or Orientology is frequently being addressed in various forums, Should the Indian studies be directly related to the current, global issues such as environment, population and gender? One view expressed by some thinkers is that the recent crisis in science will be overcome by transformations of science on the environmental, feminist and linguistic dimensions, In fact, transformation of science is inevitable, All progress in future science will take a natural course along these global issues, On the other hand, some eminent educationists emphasize the need to obtain knowledge for its own sake rather than to put it to the service of other goals.

It is left for onlookers, as we are, to see what new impulses Indology faces in future.

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12. *ibid* p. 8
13. *ibid*
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15. R. N. Dandekar, *op. cit*. p. 37.

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18. W. Halbfass, *India and Europe*, p. 440.
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## VAIJANA.THA'S KALĀNIDHI : A UNIQUE WORK IN OLD MARATHI

H. C. IIIAYANI

The *Kalmidhi* of Valjanatba is an Old Marathi work, datable probably not later than the thirteenth century.

Its only known manuscript is preserved in the Jain Bhandar of Sanghvi Pada at Patan (Gujarat).

Its description as given in the Catalogue of the manuscripts in the Jain Bhandars at Patan by C. D. Dalal (Ms. No. 1129/3, p. 74) is as follows -  
वैजनाथकलानिधि. भाषा मराठी. पत्र ११५ साइज ११ x २. Now kept at the Hemacandra Jain Jrianamandir at Patan.

The *Kalānidhi* belongs to a peculiar type of literary compositions usually called Varnaka or Varna. Varnaka is a greatly diverse and unsystematic collection, considerably varying in range, of lists or inventories of things, objects and persons, of practices and proverbs, of stylized, stereotype, rhetorical descriptions, ready to be used by writers who can incorporate any of these pre-fabricated pieces in their literary compositions. These Varnakas or Varna are known since early times. Several works of the Ardharmaqadhi canon of the Svetambara Jains contain numerous Varnakas (Pk. *Vannaḥ*). The *Pravrajya-Vastu* contained in the Vinaya-pHaka of the Mōla-Sarvastivadins refers to such a Varna. But it is in early literature of the New Indo-Aryan languages that we find a number of such independent collections constituting a genre. Of course some descriptions are in Sanskrit and one work is wholly in Sanskrit. To mention some of them :- *vsmsrsmksr* of Jyotirsvara Kavisekharacarya (ed. S. K. Chatterji, Babua Misra, 1940) in Old Maithili; *vestummskoss*, anonymous (ed. Priyabala Shah, 1959) in Sanskrit, *Varnakasamuccaya*, anonymous (ed. B. J. Sandesara, 1956) in Old Gujarati; Rajasthani *Sabhāśrīngāra*, anonymous (ed. Agarchand Nahta, 1963) in Old Gujarati-Rajasthani. Similar types of works in early Rajasthani also have been published. In Old Gujarati Carita works in prose like the *Pttbvicsndrscsmrs* of Manikyasundara (1422 A. D.) (ed. Jinavijaya Muni in *Pracina Gujarati Gadya Ssmstrbhs*, 1930) many of the Varnakas are incorporated in the course of the narrative. For the treatment of the nature and character of the Varnakas. see the Introductions to the *verrsretneksr* the *Sabhāśrīngāra* and the *Varnaka-Samuccaya*.

The *Kalānidhi* seems to be the earliest of the Varnakas. Agarchand Nahta had drawn our attention, in his Introduction to the *Sabhāśrīngāra*, to the



importance of the *Kalanidhi* and has reproduced a portion from the text-specimen given in the Patan Catalogue. A number of the topics, their contents, the items in the lists etc. given in various Varnaka works are commonly shared, which shows that there was, in this matter also, a well-established tradition common to several Medieval literatures.

I am presently working on the *Kalanidhi* with a view to preparing an edition of the text, a translation and the study of some aspects. From a preliminary examination, I give below the list of the topics described in the first 36 folios of the *Kalanidhi*

Folio No.

1-48	यज्ञ, आश्रम	168- 178	Some game
48	मुनि	178	नदी
48-68	शरीर, पंचभूत	188	तटवर्ती वन
6A-78	दशवायु, नरक	198	नदी-नद-नाम
78-8A	विरुद (?)	20A	Fishing (मासे-पारधि)
8A-88	नीचजाति(?), सिद्धाश्रम	228-248	गिरि-दुर्ग
108- 118	अशीति सहस्र ऋषि	25A-268	विविध वस्तु
118- 14A	वसंत ऋतु	27	भयानक अटवी
14A	हुडुयुद्ध (?)	288-29A	शुष्क नदी
14A	वनस्थली	298	उद्धस नगर
14A	आंकांचे खलें	31A	पर्वत
158	A list of objects	32A	तापसी
	according to	33A	अटवी
	numerical groups	35A	पारधी
168	Excellences of	368	रूपकात्मक पारधी
	things		

[ १ ]

तेथ भ्रांति अग्नि-प्रदक्षिणीं न तु शास्त्रीं ।  
स्तन-स्पर्श होम-धेनु नो काम-क्रीडे ।  
रामानुराग रामायणीं ना यौवनीं ।  
महाभारथीं शकुनि-वधु ।  
वय-परिणामीं द्विज-पतन ।  
भुजंगां भोगु ।  
कपी श्रीफलाभिलाषु ।  
मूलां अद्योगति  
मातंग-कुलाध्यासित परम पवित्र ।  
ऐसा आश्रमु ॥

[ २ ]

मुनि वृद्ध-दशा आलगिला ।  
शाप-भएं जैसी कंपित ।  
प्रणयिनी जैसी केश ग्रहण केलें ।

कोपली जैसीं भ्रू-भंगु केला  
 मातली जैसीं (5A) आकुलित-गति ।  
 प्रथम चुंबनीं दांत पडिले ।  
 ऐसी वृद्ध-दशा पातली ॥

[३]

तयें मुनी जीकले ।  
 मग पताका उभिलिआ तैसिया जीडे ।  
 नांतरिक्ष स्वर्गरोहणु करावेया पुण्या-चिया वरता जैसिय।  
 अथवा वाढिन ।  
 जो तपो-वृक्षु तेया-चिआ कुसुम-मंजरी ऐसिया जडें उपेतु ।  
 ललाट हिमगिरि-शिला-पुंजु ।  
 तिलकु त्रिपथगा गंगा जैसी ।  
 स्वेटां कळसां-चिये राशी जवला राजहंसु तैसा  
 स्फाटिकु कमंडलु निकटु ।  
 करुणा-रस-पूर्ण वक्ष-स्थल-दीर्घिके राजहंस-पंक्ति  
 तैसी स्फटिकाक्ष-माला ।  
 तो गिरि जैसा स-मेखलु ।  
 राहू जैसा (58) आस्वादित-सोमु ।  
 नक्षत्र-राशि जैसा मृग-कृत्तिकाश्लेषोपशोभितु ।  
 जलभर-समा जैसा प्रशमित रजःप्रसर्पु ।  
 हरि जैसा नरकांतकु ।  
 वडवानलु जैसा जलाहारु ।  
 शांतनु जैसा प्रिय देवव्रतु ।

[४]

तृष्णा-लता-खंडन-परशु जैसा ।  
 नांतरि संतोषामृत सागरु ।  
 सिद्धी-मार्गा उपदेष्टा ।  
 उपशम-तरु-चें मूल ।  
 आचारां-चें माइहर ।  
 धर्म-ध्वजाचा प्रासादु ।  
 सकलां विद्यांचे संकेत-स्थान ।  
 मोहार्णवां वडवानलु ।  
 सौख्य-सुवर्णा कसवटी ।  
 स्मर-त(र)भूमिं दावानलु ।  
 क्रोध-भुजंगा महा-मंत्रु ।  
 मोहांधकारां दिवसकरु ।  
 कलि-कालांचा वैरी ।  
 (6A) तपां-चे भांडार ।  
 सत्या-चा सखा ।

[५]

अधो-मुखा चंद्र-कला तैसिया भू-लता ।  
 नांतरि भारती-भवन द्वारि-चीं तोरणें ।  
 जैसी हृदय-शुद्धि तैसी दंत-प्रभा ।  
 अथवा आत्म-चंद्र-प्रभा  
 नांतरि गंगे-चे कल्लोल ।  
 जैसी अग्नि-ची भूम-शिखा तैसी उदरीं रोम-रेखा ।  
 नांतरि ज्ञान-निराकृत मोहांभकारा-ची पाउल-वाट ।  
 जैसा नदी-संगर्भी आवर्तु तैसी नाभि ।  
 कर-कमलीं भ्रमर-माला तैसी रुद्राक्ष-माला ।  
 अथवा आनंद-द्रुमा-चीं (6B) पुष्पें ।  
 गरुडु जैसा स्वभावे उपाजिले सकळ-द्विजाधिपत्य ।  
 संतोष कमलामोद सेवित भ्रमर तैसीं कृष्णाजिन ॥

[६]

जेथ पक्षि-मुख-खंडितां पालनि व्याअ जल्पंजल्या सहं दे रचना-विशेषें स्वभाव-सिद्धा-चिआं विश्राम-शालां  
 माजि संचरतेया चंद्र-सूर्य-रश्मि-चीया तरंग-माला तेथ मुनि-संदर्शन-गता जना-चे निवर्तले सरसार-श्रम ।  
 हरित शाड्वलाळंकृती सीतलीं पावलीं वरत ।  
 उधो-भार-मंथर काम-धेनु-चे कलपां गाई रामतोयां मुनि-शिष्याचें दर्शन विवादी विचित्र-कल्प  
 तेयाचि अर्धी कंकेलि-किशिलय-केलि-दोलां-स्थितां शुक-सारिकां-चे अनुवाद ।  
 ठाइ ठाइ विद्याभरां-चे निरवद्य विद्या-विनोद ।  
 प्रलंब-जटा-कलापा भव्य-मूर्ति ध्यान-लीला-संस्थूल-पद-न्यास संचरते मुनींद्र ।  
 पलाओ ठाकलेया वन-देवतां-चे सुरेख मुख-चंद्र प्रकृत  
 द्रुम-लता-गुहें संति-सरोवरीं ।  
 मदगलयांदोलित ति सरोरुह ।  
 ब्रह्मानंद-रस-समानां ती वेदिकांचें हाट ।  
 पक्क-फल-रसांचे वपाट ।  
 परागां-ची पुलिनें ।  
 मुनि-मंत्र-श [?] (10A) रक्षित शालि-वनें ।  
 निरंतर वरि संचरतेयाह सारस-चकोर-चक्रवाक-कारंडवादि-पक्षि-कुल-चां चाचुडा भरले प्रांजल  
 स्थल-कुसुमाचे कुल्हार ।  
 पंथिया-चे झाकां कनक-कमल-बीजां-चे वारे ।  
 सम-चे (स)लगम ।  
 गावेया जे (?) सैकत मौन कल-कंठ ।  
 मकरंद वर्षतां छाया-घन लता मंडपीं तांडवित नीलकंठ ।  
 शमी-कुश-कुसुमाद्याहरण ।  
 शांत ब्राह्मणां शुक-सारिका-चां पद-शुद्धि-विवाद् आयिक तरु-तलीं विसवताथि ।  
 तीर्थी तीर्थी तिल-तंदुलां वरि मास तिआ-ची आवडी देखतां तर्पण करिते व वटुक वनिक  
 विशेष पावत सति ।  
 आवांति-आकु-तिडा-चींचा-चे पाने तोडुनु पीलीं ओवालि तवाकुलीचांत पाठीं पाले रींवा ।  
 धोंनु वाया कलि करित खिखियत दात दावित सापटले पदार्थ आसुडौनु पलता मांकडें विकार  
 करित आथि ।  
 इत्यादि अष्टारिसआ सहश्रां रिषीं-चे आश्रम दीठलें ॥

[७]

वायु आश्रम भणित माथा तुकला ।

कैसे निर्धरुं शांत जीव जातां संदेह पूर्व-पक्ष-सिद्धांत-निपुण ।

अभिप्राय प्रकाशन समर्थ हे किं भग-भयें स्वर्गाभि घातलें खांभा ।

किं । धर्मा-चें जय-स्तंभ ।

किं चलंती विमानें ।

किं स्वर्गा-ची सोपानें ।

किं । हुतव (11A) ह-हुत-हव्य-कर्षणार्थ देवतां-चियें यंत्रें ।

किं देवताह्वान-मंत्रा-चीं स्वर्गारोह स्तवें ।

किं मेघां-ची पालता ।

किं स्वर्ग-दुर्गा सूटलिआ वरता ए सेंम

होम-धूमा ते वित किं तुसे ॥

धर्म-प्रासादा-चें मूभ जैसे होम-धूमां ।

अधर्मा-चे डोले तेणें धूमें फूटलें ।

धूमू नहे । कलि जैसा पलत से ।

एव पलाइ त मुनीं-चें वृंद देखितें ।

तेथे वशिष्ठ, वामदेउ, व्यासु, वाल्मीकि, विश्वामित्र, विभांडकु, वैशंपायनु, वेदु, विस्व, वीतमन्यु,

भृगु, भरद्वाजु, भार्गवु, शुक्रु, शौनकु, शतरिथितु, शाकतल्यु, शातातपु, शकृ, शुनःपुच्छु (11B)

शुनोलांगुल, मनु, मांडव्यु, मार्कंडेउ, मंदपालु, सनकु, सनंदनु, सनातनु, सनत्कुमारु, सौभरि, सुमंतु,

सहस्रवरणु, कपिलु, कश्यपु, कात्यायनु, कौडिन्यु, गार्ग्यु, गालवु, गर्गु, आंगिरसु, आपरत्तंबु, अगस्ति,

अष्टावक्रु, याज्ञवल्कु, जावालि, जरत्कार, जमदग्नि, पराशरु ॥

[८]

तेयां उद्यानीं वसंतु मूर्ति पातला ।

तेथ त्रिभुवन-वि जौ त्यागार्थ (?) मदनें प्रस्थान स्थापितें ।

ते वलि पुंस्कोकिल निनादें ढाढी वादितली ।

विविध कुसुम-मधु-परिमलामोद लुब्धे मधुकरीं व्रत-विशेषीं मंगल गायनें केलीं ।

ते विचि षड्-भाषा प्र (12A) स्थानां सारिका शुकादिकीं

वंदी-जनीं कीर्ति-विस्तार केलें ।

चकोर चक्रवाक कलहंसु पद्मिनी-लालसता-सरस-प्रिय-रस तार स-निनाद सत्कूर्ची-चें श्लोक जालें ।

तेथ मंद-गति मनोहर नीलकंठ चतुर नर्तनोचित कोमल-केका-कलाप ।

विजमान-कलाप कनक-तुंड-विलासोल्लास ।

तेथ सोज्वलें किंशुक-वनें त्रैलोक्य-विजयार्थ अनंगें घातलीं जैसीं आग्नेयास्त्रें ।

अनेक-पुष्प-परा (128) ग-रंजितें दिगंतरालें नव-पल्लव-पल्लवितें वृक्ष लता गुल्में ।

जेथ अशोक पर विरहियां सशोक ।

जिए धामू सुवर्ण-केतकी-रज. सरजा

दक्षिण मल्ल्यानिळ । जेथ अकृत्रिम-प्रवाल-लता-गृह, भूमि-विभाग-फलित-द्राक्षा लता(मं)डप ।

दमनक-मरुवक-विचित्र-रचनाभित्ति-निर्माण, निनिर्मि(13A)त सुखद शीतल सुसेव्य मोहन शाला

निवास ।

तेथ पराग-रजां-चे अगर-धूम ।

ते विचि सदा-मद पारावत कूजिति अनवरत कूजित ।

स्थल-कमल-कुमुद विकासें अहारात्र ।

विचित्र बाह्यांतर रंग-भूमि-भाग ।  
 तेथ मदेनें मुनीं विवचुआ मुरचिला ।  
 जेयां आश्रमां दूत-दूती-वाक्यां-चिआ वेद-ध्वनीं ।  
 वैशिक-वाक्य-विनोदा-चीं अष्टादश पुराणें ।  
 पंच-विधा कूटणी-रासेयाचें पंच महाकाव्यें ।  
 मद-चोद-सावच्छ्रीं भूतलें तापस  
 जारण-मारण-स्तंभन-उच्चाटन-यज्ञीकरण वष (?) षट्कर्म-निरत पर-दारा-रत वानस्पस्थ ।  
 पतिव्रता-व्रत-खंडनैक-निरत ब्रह्मचारी ।  
 (13B) कुल-जाति-वर्णाश्रमाभिमान-रहित गुरु-द्वेषे आचार-निन्दक सर्व-कर्म संन्यासी ।  
 तेथ ॥... त व्रती ।

[९]

ऐसे या आश्रमां त्रैलोक्य-विजय कामें याग आरंभिला ।  
 तेयां यज्ञीं मुग्धा-मानस-चोरु अभिलाषु उपद्रष्टा ।  
 विदग्ध पांशुकु ।  
 काम-पात्र प्रतिसंहर्ता  
 सरस्थ(?)कवि प्रस्तोता ।  
 प्रियो वियोग विबुद (?) उद्गाता ।  
 तारुण्योर्मि होता ।  
 दूती-वाक्य-चकोरु सखा तो वि नेष्टा ।  
 भूषण-कला-कोविदु शृंगार पोता ।  
 कामुक-कामिनी-जनितु अनुरागु सदस्यु ।  
 नवावस्था-भवतृ-क्लमु अध्वर्यु ।  
 तेथ प्रेम (?) पात्र मनोरथु ।  
 दूत-दूती प्रति प्रस्थाता ।  
 परस्परग समु उन्नेता ।  
 कुच (14A) स्थली तो वेदिका ।  
 रसिक कामि-जन-मानसें कुंडे ।  
 विरहानल प्रज्वलितां  
 सहस्रपत्रादिकें कमलें चमसादि पात्रें ।  
 चंद्र-रश्मीं-चीं गगन-चुंबितें इष्टकादि पात्रें वनें ।  
 तेयां यज्ञां साभिलाषां विरूपं विण वियोगु जालें जांपुन संयोगाः॥ शंकु यूपु ।  
 तेथ वस्तु-विचारु पशु ।  
 यावज्जीव-दीक्षा-दीक्षितु त्रैलोक्य-विजय्या कामु ऐसा यागु करितसे ॥

[१०]

अतां वनस्थली कैसी ।  
 कोकिलालाप-सरसें सहकार-वनें ।  
 शुक-स्वर-मनोहरें नाग-चंपक-वनें ।  
 मधु-स्वरु मयूर ।  
 सारागें पुत्राग-वनें ।  
 मंद-मारुतां दोलितें कदली-वनें ।  
 भ्रमद्-भ्रम(14B)र-विभ्रमाभिरामें मालती-वनें ।

सरसव (?) कुल-निषेवितें बकुल-वनें ।  
 गुरभि-मकरंदामोदिते मंदार-वनें ।  
 प्रचुर-रजः-पुंज-पिंजरित-दिशा-चक्रेण केतकी-वनें ।

[??]

अतां ते वनस्पती  
 प्रदोष-संभ्या जैसी पल्लवारुण प्रवृत्त-नीलकंठ-नृत्य ।  
 विरहिणी जैसी विविध पल्लवानिल वीजित स-मदन ।  
 नारायण-मूर्ति [जैसी] तमाल-नील ।  
 पार्थ-ध्वज-पताका (जैसी) वनराक्रांत! ।  
 नांतरि विराट-नगरी तैसी कीचक-शतावृत ।  
 पुष्पवती पर पवित्र ।  
 कौरव-सेना जैसां शकुनी-चा पक्ष-पातु दीरसतु से ।  
 गगनीं पूसेयाची पंक्ति संचारिणी (15A) मरगज(?य)-निबद्ध-भूमि जैसी ।  
 राजहंसा-ची पंक्ति गगन-श्रीये ची एकावली ।  
 नांतरि गांग-उष्ण ॥

## SANSKRIT POETICS AND SEMEIOTICS

SADASHIV AMBADAS DANGE

In the sphere of Sanskrit Poetics, the contribution of the three *acarya-s*, viz. Lollata, Sankuka and Bhatta Nayaka is too well known to require any detailed comment. The author of *Dhvsnyetoke*. Anandavardhana, goes a step further in his exposition of Dhvani, the propriety of which has been acclaimed and questioned by other *ācārya-s*. Apart from whether *rasa*-realization is *praffi* or *pralipatti*, it could be observed that the first three *ācārya-s* fall into one group, while Anandavardhana and his eminent commentator Abhinavagupta fall into another. This division is obvious in view of the fact that the first group has elaborated its exposition with the *nsysk* (character) as the starting point ending with the spectator; and the second group has extended the start to an earlier point, i. e. the *kevi*. Though Bhatta Nayaka initiated the principle of *sedhererukarana*, the frame of *rasa-activity* remained the same ; Character (nayaka) → *pstrs* -factor) → *sāmājika*, or *sahrdaya* (spectator). The frame for the *rasa-activity* contemplated by the latter class is : *kavi* (poet, dramatist, or creative writer) - nayaka → *nata* → *sāmājika*. In this scheme Sankuka's contribution, though somewhat obscured under the showers of the *rasa-dhvani* eulogium by the posteriors, it has to be stressed, not only from the Semeiotic approach but also from the independent observations regarding poetic appreciation available in the writings of poets and writers.

Sankuka who advances the imagery of the horse and its picture (*citra-furaga*) subtly introduces the principle of imagery, which glides into the realm of Semeiotics. According to Sankuka the spectator oscillates between accepting the reality of the actor being Harna (the character), or actual Rāma) or otherwise, finally accepting him as Hama (character, or the original person). Sankuka's observation has two parts : (i) *Rali* is not present, according to the first observation of the spectators, in the actor, as it is in the character. But, it is inferred to be so in the actor (edancer) due to his imitation, which is artificial. Though artificial, this imitation, aided by the stage-arrangement, leads the spectators to believe that the *rst!* (about Sitā, or the female actor) is the *sthāyi-bhāva* (inherent emotion) even in the case of the actor. This inference of the spectators is based upon the active perception of the spectators; Q) This activity is called *cervsn* of the *vāsanā*.

To take up the first point : // is very clear, that the actor serves as the human symbol (the term is used as a general class-name for the character) because, like a symbol, or sign, he is artificial and counterfeit. Another point, apart from *rasa-realization*, in the observation attributed to Sankuka is that there is hesitation in the mind of the spectators regarding the presentational

ability of the actor, though it is not expressed in clear words. Otherwise, knowing that they are witnessing a dramatic presentation, they should be taken as being pretty sure that the actor is not Rāma (or the character)! Another reflection in the observation is, that actors are likely to mis-represent the character originally contemplated by the dramatist - especially if the dramatist is not alive, or is long dead. It is almost impossible to find, in the sphere of Sanskrit Poetics, such a suggestive statement regarding the basic difference between the actor and the original character being made by any *ācārya*. This reminds one of the statements by Charles Lamb about David Garric, the famous Shakespearean actor, after seeing the epitaph on the actor's tomb. The epitaph said (rather boastfully), that

'Though sunk in death the forms the poet drew

The actor's genius bade them breathe anew."

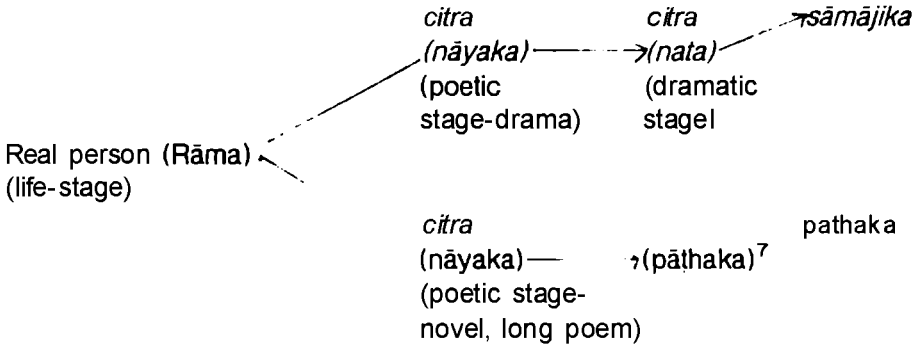
The comments of Lamb are, that it is impossible for an actor to possess "a mind congenial with the poet's." He says, "Of the motives and grounds of the passion (with which the poet, or dramatist drew his characters) the actor can give no more idea by his face or gesture than the eye can speak or the muscles utter intelligible sound." (From his essay, "On the Tragedies of Shakespeare, 18 11). This is about a *very* renowned actor. Yet, the difference between the artificial (actor's acting) and the original (character contemplated by the poet/dramatist) is clear. It is also true that, in spite of this difference, the spectators enjoy the drama. Will the spectators enjoy it if the drama is presented with the help of cartoons? Yes! In the case of the imagery suggested by Sankuka, the picture of the horse may be in any style. As long as there is some resemblance, it would be taken as the horse. This would mean, that the original can have more than one images within a set sphere and yet the cognition would not suffer. This is a step towards symbolization which does not concern us at the moment.

The second point : This does not concern Semeiotics so much as *rasa-realization*. However, the Semeiotic value of *vessrui* is to be noted. Now, *corven* is repeated chewing. In the present context, it is a repeated but effortless activity of the mind to cognize the various actions of the actor, or of the character depicted by the author in case one is reading a piece of poetry or drama. This *csrvns* is conditioned by the *vāsanā*, which is the impression of anything remaining in the subconscious (fr. *√ vas*, "to stay"). It should be noted, that the *vāsanā* spoken of here is that of the *sāmājika-s* (spectators)." But, it is not restricted to them. It is equally inherent in the reader and also in the dramatist (or poet) himself if he witnesses his own drama, whereby he becomes one of the *sāmājika-s*. The *vāsanā* acts as the conductor common for all the *sttsiyi-bhsvs*; inherent in the spectators (readers), who get stirred on viewing a respective situation concerning the real/original (character) or concerning even the counterfeit (actor). To put it slightly differently, *vāsanā* is the psychic faculty which, not only causes



the release for relish (taste; *rasana*<sup>3</sup>) in the *sthsyi-bbsw* complex but also, subtly categorizes it into various components. These various components are, hence, categories inherent in the *sthāyi*-complex.<sup>4</sup> We might explain the phenomenon as follows: While remaining dormant in the *sthāyi*-complex, the various categories are un-clear and unnamed. With the conduction through the *vāsanā* the impressions, gathered by the outer senses, in the form of the acting and dialogue of the actor together with the environmental situation on the stage, the *sthāyi*-complex gets activated. This is the stage of the *rasyamānatva* of the *sthāyi*-complex, which immediately serves to jetlison the process of categorization resulting into a particular emotion to surface corresponding to the impression that percolated through the *vāsanā*. This stirred-up and surfaced emotion is *rasa*, given a name suiting to the impression. With an addition to the already known impressions, a corresponding name to the added type of *rasa* becomes necessary. This is clear from the case of the Sānta *rasa* and also the Vatsala. This also explains the dispute regarding Sānta *rasa*. We could, now, classify the whole experiences as: (j) Psychophysical; and 0j) Purely psychical. The first, is that which precedes the conduction of the impressions by the *vāsanā* to the dormant *sthsyi-complex*; the latter is that which follows it leading to the *rasana* (stir). Though we have analysed it in these details, the process of the transmission of impressions by the *vāsanā* faculty is continuous (we might say, *s-semtsksye-krsme*) : The same is the case with *rasa*- realization throughout the dramatic performance. This, obviously, means that there is a constant shifting of the *rasa*-s during the whole duration of the drama (and while reading), iiii the finale, which determines the main *rasa* in it. And, it is here that one speaks in terms of the Main *rasa*<sup>5</sup> and the associate *rasa-so* Viewed from the Semeiotics angle, the relationship between the *sthsyi-complex* and the individual *rasa*-s is that of an undefined unit and the defined categories that comprise it. But, yet it is not Semeiotics. However, if the *sthsyi-complex* is given a new technical name indicative of this relationship without actually using the original names of the *rasa*-s from the said complex, it would very much come under Semeiotics. An example from the metalingual method of Panini would indicate this. The *pratyāhāra* method is one such example, where *ac* stands as a symbol for the vowels." In the context of Poetics such terms as *Dhvani* have a Semeiotic value. This is a juncture at which Semeiotics and Poetics could be viewed more closely. We have said earlier, that in the *citra-turaga* relationship the *citra* is the symbol of the horse, or it gets the status of a symbol. Ratly speaking, a symbol is something which stands for the thing it indicates or suggests; but it is not the thing itself. In the case of the horse and its picture, the latter is like the object, but it is not the object. We could say that it is a weak symbol; but it is not just a sign. It is a weak symbol, as in this case the picture is not different from the horse in appearance though there is difference in contour and size. As Sarikuka's comments were in the sphere of drama, the *citra-turaga* exactly suits the *nata-nayaka* relationship. However, the example is not entirely exhausted in this relationship alone; because, the

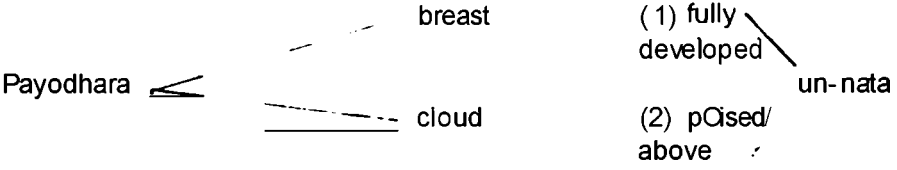
*nata* (actor) indicates the *nāyaka* (character) who is only the image contemplated by the dramatist. Actually, for the *sāmājika*, the *nata* stands for the original person—not the *nāyaka*, who is real only in the drama, or a novel. So, the position is : the *nata* is the *citra* of the *citra*. To put it to graph :



The weakness of the symbol in the *citra-turaga* example does not lie in the symbol being a concrete object. It lies in the visible non-difference between the symbol and the symbolised. The same is the case with the *nata*. However, the *rasa-nispatti* is not restricted to drama or dance. When the *kay;* as distinct from the dramatist, was brought into the discussion on Poetics" we could say, from the modern point of view, that Semeiotics gained more scope. Applied to shorter forms of poetic expressions, it would help stride over such disputes as to whether for *rasa-realization*, or for appreciating *camatkāra* in a particular poetic expression, we have to resort to inference (*snumsns*), *dhvani* (*vyañjanā*) or the *litiga-litigi* relationship." Let us take some famous examples:

(j) ..0 way-farer। There is no bed-spread (*srastara*) here, whatsoever, in this Village that is strewn with stone-stabs, (However) seeing the *unnata-payodhara*. if you (desire to) stay, then stay।,.

This is taken as an example of *vestu-anveoi*. The very fact that *dhvani* is categorized here as *vastu* (*nistha*) as different from *rsse-dhveni* indicates that, for the Dhvanyaloka-kara, *rasa* and *dhvani* do not always go together. But, could we say that this is an example of a *nirasa kāvya*? While writing about *citra-ktivyā* he says, that a poet should not attempt a piece of poetry that is devoid of *rasa* etc. (*ressdi-tstperysm enspeksye*). Whether he includes *vastu-dhvani* in *ādi* (*rasādi*) is not clear, but it could be taken as implied (to speak in his favour). Apart from the fact that Anandavardhana was not followed whole-heartedly, and by all, the influence of the concept of *dhvani* is clear even in casual use when somebody says, "Well, it is *dhvanita* in a particular expression." and so on. The actual position about the example mentioned above is that the poet presents an expression which at once throws two images:



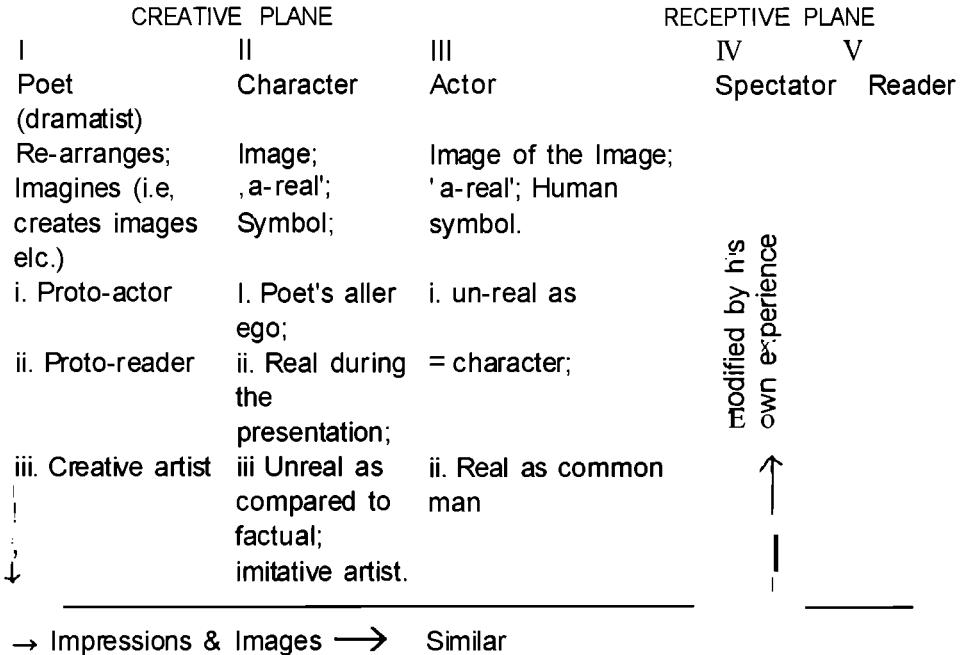
which are activated by the double meaning of the word *payas* (=i. water; and ii. milk), the fusion of this double meaning being well rooted in the mind of the *rasika-s*, as in that of the poet. There is a further aid in the expression itself in the word *srastara*, which subtly serves as an *uddipana*. This, without any elaboration, serves to render the verse striking. Here the word *payodhara* stands not only as a symbol for the objects, viz. the cloud and the breast, but for enjoyment. The Semeiotic principle involved here is that experience leads to direct cognition at the same time, without any intermediary process. This would relieve the cognition of the aid of any *dhvani* or *vyarigya*, or *līnga* and *lirigin* and the the disputary discussion accompanying these views.

Another example may be that where the *vīla* (sex-agent/or a paramour) desires to know the time of meeting and the woman signals him with her eyes, smiles a little, and closes the lotus in her hand.'? The closure of the lotus is indicative of the evening time; because the lotus is the *psdms*, which is the sun-symbol and the sun-set is suggested by its closure. For any other woman this action would have been just a mute one, Here the woman is said to be *vidagdhā* which means she is cultured in such symbolic communication. In fact she is a courtesan of accomplished sense. Though here we may see *śābdī-vyañjanā* or *vskrokti* which cannot be denied, the understanding of the symbol is an important factor." In such pithy expressions there is no scope to *cervens*, but one cannot deny the potentiality of *rasa*. It will be seen that in both the examples, what strikes us is the quick and apt imagery which is the very essence of Semeiotics. In another example, where Parvau is described as standing at the back of her father as the sages broach the topic of her marriage, her instantaneous action of the head tilting down and hand fondling the petals of the lotus it held,<sup>12</sup> suddenly gives the image of a coy girl drenched in shyness. Though in both the examples the actions of the *vidagdhā* and the *mugdā* (skilled and the coy) may be termed technically *vyabhīcarīn* what strikes the reader ;s the perfect image. The same is the case with the expression *na yayau na testnsu*,'? which suggests the psychic condition oscillating between the strong desire to stay due to love, at the same lime pricked by a feeble impulse of modesty (like the *ardham antarvedi ardham bshirvedi* "" position). These are the poetic images based on the observation of the poet from actual life. When they are repeatedly employed, they tend to become symbolic for all such emotions; and, then, they come to be mechanically followed in creative art, whether it is drama or picture or sculpture, Semeiotics and Poetics, thus, become complementary to each other, Examples can be multiplied; but we take one more from the *Ramayana*, where Parna asks Laksmāna to identify the ornaments of Sītā.

The latter says, "I know not the *keyOra-s* (bracelet on the upper arm), nor do I know the *kunasts-«* (in the ears). I know only the *noparo«* (anklets) - due to always bowing down at the feet" (Rām. Kiskindha 6.22).<sup>15</sup> Here, the image of Lakṣmāna never looking intently at the face of the wife of his elder brother is created by the poet. But, the strikingness in it is due to the norm of behaviour prevalent in a particular society. It is the impression of this image that serves as a stimulus to appreciate the inner emotion of the character (if dramatised), or the real younger brother contemplated by the poet. One feels, however, that, to do more justice to Lakṣmāna, the statement of this younger brother should have ended with, "I know only the *nipure-«*". the portion *nityem pedebhivendenst* being uttered by Rāma himself with a nod of his head. That would have rid Lakṣmāna of the thin tint of virtue-consciousness and heightened the effect of the imagery. Dramatization of the situation with this split at the last quarter of the verse, put in the mouth of Hama with an appreciative gesture, even in that condition of grief, would make all the difference. Of course, the poet is helpless by the natural limits of poetry.

From what has been said above, it would be clear that for the experiencing of poetic beauty, or enjoyment of *rasa*, the formation of imagery, sometimes leading to the formation of symbols, is necessary. This formation of symbols starts with the poet (dramatist included), who tries to transmit them to the reader (spectator included) through the medium of words and expressions and through the actor. Bhatia Tauta implies this when he says, *nayakasya ksveḥ srotub ssmsno anubhavaḥ*. But, the word *ssmsnst*: does not mean 'same': because, the images created by the poet (or, for that matter, any of the creative writers including the dramatist) and transmitted, are not the same, for the reader. The creative writer does not describe his experiences from the real world as he gets them directly, in which case he would lose his claim to creativity. He mixes his own imagination with them and floats them for the readers (spectators). The reader fits them in his own experience. In the words of Wordsworth, who was himself a renowned poet, and examined the process of poetic composition, "However exalted a notion we could wish to cherish of the character of a poet, it is obvious that, while he describes and imitates the passions, his employment is in some degree mechanical." According to him, the poet should consider himself "as in the situation of a translator who does not scruple to substitute excellencies of another kind for those which are unattainable by him: and endeavours occasionally to surpass his original." (From "Poetry and Poetic Diction", being Preface to the second Ed. of his Lyrical Ballads, 1800). The pertinent point is that the poet, or dramatist, is an artist who has to impress the reader or the spectator. The last sentence, that he endeavours occasionally to surpass the original, is true of the actor also, and more so, as he constantly has the spectators before him whom he wants to win over. We are now at a stage to mark the difference between the poet (dramatist) and the actor on the one hand,

and the reader and the spectator on the other. Both the poet (dramatist) and the actor are artists; their effort is artificial. In between the poet (dramatist) and the actor, the former (or any literary creative artist) takes real impressions and situations from nature, re-arranges them and then presents them for the reader or spectator. So, the artistic presentation is not real. We might say, that, in a way it assumes the status of a myth<sup>17</sup> with some difference.<sup>17</sup> What a myth expresses is real within its own sphere and period. Likewise, the incidents in a novel or a long poem or a drama, even if based on real incidents or historical facts, appear real for the duration of the reading or dramatic session. The poet or the creative artist has a double role : (1) As a manipulative artist (we may term him *bhāvayitr*) : and (2) As a proto-spectator (proto-reader). The spectator (reader) has a single role, that of a *bhāvuka* from the beginning, and at the end *bhāvita* (or, *prsbbevts*). Both are *ss-tudeys* to each other. It is not only the *sāmājika*, or the reader, who is the *se-hrdeye*. but, while the poet-dramatist is an 'artisan'<sup>18</sup> of poetic (dramatic) situations, the spectator (reader) does not require any art to enjoy the performance. The former creates imaginative situations and tries to transfer them to the other, who is to be impressed & believe them as real. For both, however, the situations are 'a-real': not real! Semeiotically speaking, the former re-arranges his experiences and even creates symbolic situations, or forwards already known symbols, while the latter does no such thing. In this scheme the actor has to be an un-creative imitator, more or less. In a diagram it could be as follows :



As has been said earlier, formation of images is the very first step in Semeiotics. The second aspect of Semeiotics is of a synchronic nature, which is seen in the formulation of groups of categories. In other words, it is visible in the various codes. A faint idea of this was indicated in the relationship between *vāsanā* and the *sthāyi-bhāvas*, though in Sanskrit Poetics such a relationship, as the *vāsanā* and the *stnsvi-otui* was not further developed. But, as the single semblance of a tree on the Shakespearean stage was a synchronic symbol for the garden or orchard, the whole arrangement on the stage stipulated by Bharata (*Nāṭyaśāstra* I. 39ft) was synchronic in essence. The *Jarjara* symbolized order, being the *axis muna!* <sup>19</sup> it also symbolized the destruction of evils (*v 65 jarjarastv abhisampūjyah syāt tsto vighna-jarjarahJ*; it was the symbol of the thunderbolt of Indra (lb. 58) and at its joints were believed to be settled various gods (lb.) The same is the Semeiotic value of the jar filled with water. Another important aspect of Semeiotics is non-taxonornicism, which serves as a base for codification. Taxis (fr. Greek *tssebm*. 'to arrange') means 'split-category' arrangement; non-taxonomy indicates arrangement into groups forming codes. This is seen in the various formations of the hands indicating various emotions. For example, the *patākā* type of hand-formation (IX.171, in which fingers of both the hands are spread and the thumbs are a bit curved, forms a code to express lightning-fall (*prahāra-pāta*, torrents of rain or fire, and even the shower of flowers (lb. 191. Though it is not specifically mentioned, we could name it as 'shower-code'. Another example is of the codification of colours; for example the same colour indicates a different group of categories.

(vi) Soft Black - Śrngara  
White - Hasya -  
Red - Raudra  
Deep Dark - Bhayanaka  
Blue - Bibhatsa  
Yellow - Adbhuta

(xxi) Ghosts, demons etc. - Black  
Varuna, Soma etc. - White  
Arigaraka - Red  
Budha, Agni

Thus (and so on) is also the case with non-divinities; but here we have only a twofold codification; *vidyedterss*- like heated gold; the same with the *Pitr-s*. Among the humans, the southerners are to be shown as dark, while the northerners and the westerners as fair (XXI. 76-88). Even a particular type and shape of the beard symbolized the difference in the categories :

*suddb* (white) : Lirigin, Arnatya, Purodhas (I.e. a religious student, minister, priest)

*vicitra* (variegated) Divya (divine being), Vidyadhara, Parthiva (king), Śrngārin, *yauvanamada* (-yuktaJ

*śyāma* (black) : *tapasvin* (ascetic). *dukhkhita*, *vyasana-abhihata* (ie. all dejected persons)

*romsse* (wooly, shaggy) : *vaira-baddha* (hostile)

Likewise and so forth.

Semeiolically, one of the most pertinent concepts in Poetics is that *rasa* is the 'womb-mate' of 'Bliss-of-Brahman' (*brehmensnds-sehodsre*). It has to be noted, that all *śāstras* in the Hindu tradition show Brahman as their source, or, in any case, a divine source. This is a fact of faith, which is not to be doubted and need not be proved. It is equally doubtful if all the founders of the *Sāstras* had actually known what Brahman is. Yet, realization of Brahman is taken as giving unsurpassable Bliss. This is not to doubt the reality of Brahman, but to show how it had a normative value; and, to express this value in plain words it would be 'The Excellence in every sphere.' This value is not the *abhidhā* potential of Brahman."? We may call this value by any name. But, plainly, it is symbolic. In other words, Brahman in Poetics (like other *Sāstras*) has a Semeiotic value. In the same way, what is said to be *a-laukika* is not 'other-worldly, meaning heavenly. It means .of a different world.' And, that world is of Poetic images, which is 'real only in the sphere of Poetics; not actually real. In other words, it is 'a-real i.e. non-real but similar to real (*laukika-sadrSa*); 21 and the 'e-teaktke: bliss is due to the creation of this 'a-real' world, which is more fascinating than the stark real - as *Māyā* is!

## Notes and References

- 1) Bhatta Lollata. *pratiyamānaḥ, pralīlyogyal> pratipattiyā* rendered as *pralīlyā* at Balabodhrūn on *keve-Prskse* IV. 28.
- 2) *Ibid* *sāmājikānām vāsanayā carvyamāno rasah*
- 3) Rudrata. *Kāvya-lamkāra*. XII. 4 *resened rasatvam esm.*
- 4) Cf Bharata, *Nāṭyaśāstra* VI. 37-38  
*evam bhāvā rasāścaiva bhāvayanī parasparam* (37)  
and *lal/la mutsm rasah sarve tala bhāvā vysvestntet*: (38) The word *vyavasthitah* is to be marked.
- 5) Cf. BhavabhOfi, *Utterereme csme* 111.47.
- 6) Panini, Mahesvara-sutras. and *Aṣṭādhyāyī* I. 1.71.
- 7) Balabodhrinī. *toe.at oerteke lli upalaksanam kāvya-pāṭhake'pi*.
- 8) Bhatta-Tauta in Abhinavagupta, Locana, *nāyakasya kavah sroluh samano'nubhavas lalah*
- 9) According to Mahimabhattacha, *Vyakliviveka*: see Kane, P. V., Ed. *Sāhityadarpana*, which includes his *The History of Sanskrit Poetics*. Bombay, 1951 (Third Ed.), p. 238 for a brief discussion and the anticipation by this theory by *Dtwsnystok*«
- 10) The verse is : *saṅketa-kāla-mānasam vitam jñātvā vidagdhayā hasannelrarpitakalam*

*Ālapadmam nimilīam.*

- 11) There is an interesting point. The *vīla* is a companion of a courtesan and also a paramour. Here he appears to be a paramour. If he is a companion of the courtesan in the present context, the subdued symbolic communication would indicate, that the woman (courtesan, in that case) is having another customer at the moment. whom she would not like to embarrass!
- 12) *sumsresemoneve* VI. 84-  
*evam vedin! devarsau persve piluradhomukhi*  
*Līlakamalapaīrari ganayāmāsa perve!*  
 It is hardly surprising that the *nayika* here and at V. 10 have a lotus in their hand, though they are socially different. The lotus had clearly become symbolic with women and for soft emotions, among other things.
- 13) *Ibid.* V. 85.
- 14) Sat. Br. III. 6.1.24; of course, this is the position of the pandal called Havirdhāna.
- 15) *Rām.* Kiskindha 622.  
*neham jānāmi keyūre neham jānāmi kurdale*  
*nūpure lveva jānāmi nilyam pādābhivandanāt.*
- 16) For example. if one has not seen the place being described by the writer (say, London), the city that gets figured up in one's mind is from one's own experience (say, Bombay. If he is a resident of Bombay, it would be different from Bombay, it may be any foreign city seen in a film or so.)
- 17) On this see Dange, Sadashiv A., *Purākathāncā Artbe-veae āni Mvecana*, (Marathi) Continental, Pune, 1994. The difference between a myth and creative literary work is that. while the former is not artificial the latter is a work of art; see p. 27 ff.
- 18) The word *ksru* used by the Rgveda for a poet is very perfect. 1.1.1.6; II, 43. 1 and at a number of places.
- 19) See Sindhu S. Dange, "The Stage of Bharata Some Symbolic Rites," *Ātam, Baburam Saksena Fel Vd.*, Lucknow, 1983, pp. 119-124.
- 20) The concept of *Brahman* was not the same originally as in its later absorption in the Upanisadic philosophical context. The ritual concept was of *karman*, as it was viewed against the backdrop of *karma-kārda*. As against the subtle principle it got evolved into in later times, originally it was tinted even with the idea of grossness (cf. *psrivrasm serveteḥ, Nirukta* I. 9; *karmāni* XII. 36; concurring only with the later idea of *mahalo mahiyan*; not with *eo» aniyān*). The concept of *rasa* in the philosophic context occurs first in the *Tattiriya upaśeā* (11.7), where it is identified with the *sal* principle, with the comment that *sukṛte* (good deed) is itself *sal* and also *rasa*, but further with a new tint; that *sal* created itself on its own: hence it is called *suāte (ālmānam svayam akurula, tesme! sukṛtsm ucyste)* thus fusing the older idea of *karman* and the subtle *sal*, which, though known to the Rgveda (X. 72.2.3) as the creative force, gained new dimensions



in the Upanisadic period. Sankara understands *rasa* (Comm. on Taitt.) as the *jtvtmsn*, which may not quite fit with the real expression *rasa vai ssn* : but it would fit in the concept of Poetic *rasa*, as being the subtle element in the body, closely associated with the *vāsana* . or the *sthāyibhāva* concept of Bharata. Later theonticians just gathered it and stuffed their argument with it, without paying heed to its symbolic value and development. See also Dange, *Divine Hymns and Ancient Thought*, Vol. II, New Delhi, 1995, Intr. and p. 357ff.

- 21) *a (nari)* has the sense of *sādṛśya* also among its other five senses, ct *tal-sedrsyem ebnsvescs* etc.

## POETIC IDEAS IN THE VEDIC RITUAL SONGS

SINDHU S. DANGE

The *mantra-s* form an indispensable part of the Brahmana-texts, which are the Vedic ritual texts. It is interesting to see that together with these *mantra-s*, which are taken from the Vedic Samhita-s, there occur some metrical compositions in the Vedic ritual texts which are stated obviously to glorify the ritual at hand. Some of these compositions are named *gāthā-s*, at times *yajñagāthā-s*. Some others are called *stoks-e* and yet some others *nsrssi-si-e*. The source of these metrical compositions might not wholly be the ritual tradition, as can be seen from the way they are referred to in the ritual-texts. The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (VII. 18 = 33.6) differentiates between a *rc* and a *gāthā*, calling the first *daiva* (divine) and the latter *mānusa* (human). This shows that *gāthā-s* were believed to be the compositions of humans though unnamed ones. The *Taitirīya Brāhmaṇa* (0.3.2.6) relates an old account that once the gods separated the dirty part from the divine Speech as also from food. The dirty part of the divine Speech became the *gāthā-s* and that of the food became wine. This shows that in the tradition of the Black *Yajur Veda*, the *gāthā-s* and the *nsrssi-si-«* were not supposed to have respectable status like that of the Vedic *mantra-so*. On the other hand, the *gāthā-s* enjoyed popularity and had a particular position in the ritual texts of the Rgvedk tradition. There occur several *gāthā-s* in the *AitBr*. Along with the *gāthā-s*, mention has to be made of the *yajñagāthā-s*, which are stated at several places in the *AitBr*. Sayana explains the term *yajñagāthā* as one which is sung by all the ritualists having in view the sacrifice at hand'. Apart from what Sayana says, it is true that the *yajñagāthā-s* extol some sacrificial ritual or practice. Again there is no doubt about the fact that such *yajñagāthā-s* were formed on the basis of the *gāthā-s*, by the ritualists to popularise the ritual tradition among wider circles. Falling in line with the *yajñagāthā-s*, there occur *stoks-«* at several places in the Brahmana-texts, which are obviously stated to glorify the ritual in view.

There is no doubt about the fact that the *gāthā-s* and certain *stoke-s* had a popular or secular origin and they formed part of the floating mass of literature. The source and preservation of this literature could be attributed to the *sate-s?* who were also singers. Right from the ancient times there were two streams - the one, of the *mantra-s* of the priests and the other, of the songs of the *sate-s?* In this secular tradition of the *stoke-e*, were preserved *gāthā-s*, *nsrssi-si-«*, the Itihasa and Purana (traditional and legendary accounts) and *stoke-s*; along with Aousasana-s, Vidya-s and

vakovakya.". The *Śatapatha Brahmana* (XI.5.6.8) mentions *gāthā*-s and *nārāśamsī*-s along with the above forms of composition, and calls them offerings of honey to gods and enjoins their daily study, The *nerssemr*-» seem to be the *densstuti*-« in the *Rgveda*. As *nārāśamsī* could be included in the term *gāthā* as said by Macdonell and Keith<sup>5</sup> and as Sayana also has taken both of them to be one and the same," *nerssemst*-« are not considered here separately.

Without going into details about the nature of all these forms of literature, it will be worthwhile taking a note of the poetic ideas strewn in the *gāthā*-s and *stok*-s,

The *Ai.8r.* (VI.1.8 = 33.6) relates the story of Sunahsepa and says that it contains a hundred *gāthā*-s. However the *Ai.8r.* has only ten *gāthā*-s in the said story and they state the importance of son, These *gāthā*-s are told by Parvata and Narada to Hariscandra, who did not have a son. A *gāthā* from this group of ten, is often quoted as a good saying. it is said here that wife is a friend, daughter is a misery but son is the light in the highest heaven."

To turn to one *yajñagāthā* in the *Ai.8r.* (III. 43 = 14.5). In the Agnistoma sacrifice, in the Prayaniya (i. e. opening) *isti* (rite) as well as in the Udayaniya *isti* (rite), the deity to whom the offering is to be given is the same i. e. goddess Aditi, and the offering also is the same viz. *caru* (i. e. rice cooked with gheel. Now as the *devets* (deity) and the *dravya* (offering) are the same, the difference between the Prayaniya and the Udayaniya *isti*-s cannot easily be marked. According to the *AiBr.* here, this is like the gait of a serpent of the Sakala species." This serpent while creeping takes its tail in its mouth, At that time, it is not possible to know which is its mouth and which is the tail. The *Ai.8r.* here says that likewise it is not possible to know the difference between the beginning and ending rites. it is to be noted that this *yajñagāthā* containing a simile is based on actual observation, for instances have been there, such a serpent while chasing a person, taking its tail in its mouth and running speedily with such a circular form. Thus the analogy or simile stated here is apt.

To turn to another *yajñagāthā*, occurring in the same Brahmana text (*Ai Br.* V.30 = 25.5). The point for discussion is - when is the morning offering to be offered - prior to the rise of the sun or when the sun has actually arisen. In order to condemn giving offering in the fire, when the sun has not arisen, the *AiBr.* here says that just as a person goes on a road with one horse (*asthDrina*) only, without having a second horse for being yoked, and thus will not be able to reach his destination, similar is the case of many persons, who give offering in fire prior to the rise of the sun." Thus their morning offering does not become fruitful.

The *Ai/Br.* here using a metaphor calls the sun a lone guest. Just as a person staying in some other different country or place, not having any relatives, goes to houses as a guest (*alilhi*), similarly the sun arrives as a guest in the morning. And to him the *agniholrin-s* give offering in the fire, in the morning.

Thus the ritual of *agnihotra* is enjoined after the sun has actually arisen. The *yajñagāthā* which occurs in the *Ai Br.* here (V.3 1 = 25.6) takes recourse to apparent contradiction (*virodhābhāsa*) and says that those *agniholrin-s*, who offer oblations in the fire to the sun (when he is yet to rise), speak false every morning (i.e. every day), as they eulogise at the night time, what is to be eulogised at the day time.'? This Virodhabhasa is explained further by stating that the sun is light (*suryo jyotih*) and prior to the rise of the sun, as there is no light, the offering given at this hour is as good as the one given in the night. Thus the otherwise dry statement of laying down the ritual is made interesting by the poetic idea.

Another *yajñagāthā* stated in the *AiBr.* (VII. 2 1 = 39.7). gives a scanty yet lively description of the horse, when a Horse-sacrifice was to be performed by King Janamejaya. The *yajñagāthā* says that Janamejaya bound for the gods a horse, eating grains, adorned with *rukma* i. e. a circular golden pendant (according to Sayana, it means 'a white patch', which the horse had on his forehead) and a yellow garland.<sup>11</sup>

Falling in line with the *yajñagāthā-s* are the *stoke-e.* which occur at several places in the Brahrnana-texts. Even though composed in popular style, they are stated to support the rituals, laid down by the Brahrnana-texts, At several places, Sayana calls them by the term *mantra*. Even *St. Petersberg Dictionary* and the *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects* say that by the word *stoks* is denoted a *mantra*.<sup>12</sup>

In spite of their ritualistic bent, it is interesting to note that the *stoks-«* in the Vedic ritual texts present their matter in a semi-poetic manner. Here are some striking ideas from the *stoke-e.*

In the *Ai/Br.* (VII.123 = 39.9) occurs the description of Bharata's extraordinary prosperity and benevolence in five verses. It is said here that the great work which Bharata achieved, neither forefathers had achieved nor will future generations achieve. Just as it is impossible for a mortal to touch the sky, similarly impossible is for anyone from amongst the Pancarnava-s<sup>13</sup> the great exploit achieved by Bharata.!" The idea of any impossible achievement could not have been expressed better than the way it is expressed here.

In the *SaiBr.* (XIII.7.1.15) occurs a piece of didactic poetry. We find that once Visvakarman, the son of Bhuvana performed the Sarvamedha (sacrifice). He promised his priest Kasyapa the whole Earth as a sacrificial

gift. The *śloka* in this context is said to be spoken by the Earth. The Earth says that no mortal whosoever can give her to anybody and Visvakarman is slow to know this. If he tries to do it, she would plunge in the waters and then his (i.e. Vīsvakarman's) promise to his priest Kasyapa would prove false.<sup>5</sup> The didactic note struck here is that the Earth cannot be given away as a gift in the sacrifice, as it belongs to all. This didactic note is based on a belief recorded by the Jaiminīyaśra (VI.7.3) and sabarasvarṇīn's commentary on it.

The *stokā* in the *Śat.Br.* (XI.5.4.12) which occurs in the context of the rite of initiation, brings out allegorically the concept of symbolic death and symbolic new birth of the disciple who is to be initiated. The *stoke* states that taking hold of the disciple's right hand, the preceptor bears him as a foetus (*ācāryogarbhibhavalī*) and on the third day, with the Savitri-*mantra* the disciple is born as a *orehmenē*.<sup>16</sup>

In the context of the sacrificial session of a hundred Atiratra sacrifices, occur four *stoks-e* in the *Sal.Br.* (XI.5.5.12, 13). The very first *stoke* (*Ibid* XI.5.5.12) states that with four harnessed steeds from the Sindhu region, the wise have cast behind them the gloom - the knowing gods who spun out the session of a hundred sacrifices.<sup>7</sup> Sayana explains that the four horses mentioned here are the four priests viz. Hotr, Adhvaryu, Prasastr and Pratiprasthatr. As Ghurye has very rightly pointed out, the Vedic Aryans like all other ancient people were having horse-complex and bull-complex.<sup>18</sup> Here the *śloka* under consideration takes metaphorically the four priests important in the Atiratra sacrifice to be the four horses, who speedily traverse the great distance i.e. the session of a hundred Atiratra sacrifices.

In the context of building the great Fire-altar (Agnicayana), two *sloka-s* figure in the *Sal.Br.* (X.5.2.4,18). These *stoks-s* are a good example of mystic poetry. The orb of the sun is regarded as the supporting basis of both, the man in the sun and the light of the sun. The man in the sun is none other than Death and the glowing light is the immortal element. This same thought is couched in a *śloka* which says - Within Death is immortality; Death puts on the radiant; the self of Death is in the radiant?"<sup>19</sup> Another *stoks* states, "Hidden in food he, the immortal, shines at the flowing together of vital saps."<sup>20</sup> These two *stoke-«* are intended for meditation upon the sun. Hence the mystic style in which they are put, suits the thought which they give. Sayana also supports this view, when he comments on *Śat.Br.* (X.52.4),

The idea that Sarvātsara (year) is Man is pointed out by *Śat.Br.*, in the context of the yearly *ssttrs* through two *sloks-«*. The units of year are compared to various parts of Man (XII. 3.2.7,8).

An interesting *stoke* occurs in the *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa* (XXVII.1) in

the context of the Soma sacrifice on the tenth day of the Dasaratra (which ends the twelfth month of the yearly *sattra* I. It is said that Speech having borne the burden becomes, as it were, bearer of a dreaded thing. Hence the priest converts all the metres in the metre Anusiubh. for Anustubh is identified with Speech. At this place, the *Keus.Br.* states a *stok*», which translated by Keith runs as follows -

"Her I touch not as being a sudra:

Yet will I not let her go;

No where else do I go;

To a courtesan is my approaching."

Keith observes that Bloomfield in his *Vedic Concordance* has not recorded this verse and remarks that this must be a relic of the Old Indian NHi Literature<sup>2</sup> .

Dange has discussed this verse at a great length and has explained the epithets *sudm* and *pumsceli* in the case of Vac,<sup>22</sup> which occur in this verse.

A *stok*« in the *Jaiminiya Bshmsns* 011.385) speaks of the sun as the lord of all gods and as staying in the firm and lofty enclosure (*vimīa*) having thousand supporting columns. This enclosure is verily the year, seasons, months, half-months, days, nights and dawns. The *Jaim.Br.* not forgetting the ritual context, then identifies the sun with the Dvadasaha (twelve-day) sacrifice.<sup>23</sup>

The word *makha* which is one of the Sanskrit names of sacrifice is poetically explained by the *Gopafha Brahmana* (11.2.5) taking the help of etymology. It is said that *kha* means a hole i.e. shortcoming or defect of sacrifice and *ma*-meaning *mā* (a prohibitory indeclinable) denotes the prohibition of a sacrifice having a defect. The *Gop.Br.* at this place enumerates in prose as well as in *stoke-e*. the occasions and factors which make a sacrifice defective. The *stoks-e* are in a popular style which comes very near to that of the classical Sanskrit poetry.

Thus the *gāthā*-s, *yajñagāthā*-s and *stoks-e* though form part of the *arthavāda*-portions glorifying some rituals, contain some striking poetic ideas. It has to be admitted that the *gāthā*-s and *stoke-s* are not poetic compositions and they were never intended to be so, if we apply this term in their case, strictly. However, as their source was non-ritualistic, though certainly not non-Vedic,<sup>24</sup> they adopted the popular style and they could give many striking poetic ideas, which appear as the green iands in the otherwise dry deserts of rituals.

## Notes and References

1. Sayans on *Ait.Br.* (VII.8 = 32.7.1

एषा वक्ष्यमाणा यज्ञमभिलक्ष्य सर्वैर्गीयमाना यज्ञगाथा याज्ञिकैर्गीयते पठ्यते ।

2. Mrs. Dange, S S, "SCaparampara-eka cikitsa", (Marathi), *Vidarbha Ssmsbodnen Mandal, Annual No*, 1995.

3. Dandekar, R. N., "The Mahabharata Origin and Growth", *University of Ceylon Review*, 12, 1954, p. 65 ft.

4. Macdonell, A. A and Keith, A. B., *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*, the titles "Anusasana-s", "vidya-s" and "Vakovakya."

5. *Ibid* under the title "Gatha."

6. See Sayana's comm. on *SatBr.* XI. 5.6.8.

7. सखा ह जाया कृपणं ह दुहिता ।  
ज्योतिर्ह पुत्रः परमे व्योमन् ॥

8 *Ait.Br.* III 43 = 14.5

यदस्य पूर्वमपरं तदस्य  
यद्वस्यापरं तद्वस्य पूर्वम् ।  
अहेरिव सर्पणं शाकलस्य  
न विजानन्ति यतरत् परस्तात् ॥

9. *Ibid.* V,30 = 25.5

यथा ह वाऽऽथूरिणैकेन यायाद-  
कृत्वाऽन्यदप्योजनाय ।  
एवं यन्ति ते बहवो जनारः  
पुरोदयाजुह्वति येऽग्निहोत्रम् ॥

10 *Ibid.* V. 31 = 25.6

प्रातः प्रातरनुतं ते वदन्ति  
पुरोदयाजुह्वति येऽग्निहोत्रम् ।  
द्विवाकीर्त्यमदिवा कीर्तयन्त्यः  
सूर्यो ज्योतिर्न तदा ज्योतिरेषाम् ॥

11. *Ibid* VIII.21 = 39.7

आसन्दीवति धान्यादं रविमणं हरितस्रजम् ।  
अश्वं बबन्ध सारङ्गं देवेभ्यो जनमेजयः ॥

12. Macdonell, A A and Keith, A B. *op.cil.*, under the title "Sloka",

13. Sayana takes the word *penes mānavāh* as the four *veroe-s* and the fifth Nisada, Haug M. takes it to mean *pañcakṛṣṭi* or *pañcakṣiti* meaning the five tribes, often referred to in the Sarnhita-5, Vide Haug, M., *The Atareya Brāhmaṇam of the Rgveda* Allahabad, 1922, p. 362, f. n. 10

14. *M Br.* VIII 23 = 399

महाकर्म भरतस्य न पूर्वे नापरे जनाः ।  
दिवं मर्त्यं इव हस्ताभ्यां नोदापुः पञ्च मानवाः ॥

15. *Śat.Br.* XIII.7.1.15

न मा मर्त्यः कश्चन दातुमर्हति  
विश्वकर्मन् भौवन मन्दऽआसिथ ।  
उपमंक्ष्यति स्या ललितस्य मध्ये  
मृषैव ते संगरः कश्यपाय ॥

16. *Ibid.* XI. 5.4.12

आचार्यो गर्भीभवति हस्तमाधाय दक्षिणम् ।  
तृतीयस्यां स जायते सावित्र्या सह ब्राह्मणः ॥

17. *Ibid.* XI. 55. 12

चतुर्भिः सैन्धवैर्युक्तैर्घोरा व्यजहुस्तमः ।  
विद्वांसो ये शतक्रतु देवाः सत्रमतन्वत ॥

18. Ghurye, G S, *Vedic Indis*, Bombay, 1979, pp. 23-63.

19. *Śat.Br.* X. 5.2.4

अन्तरं मृत्योरमृतं मृत्यावमृतमाहितम् ।  
मृत्युर्विवस्वन्तं वस्ते मृत्योरात्मा विवस्वति ॥

20. *Ibid.* X. 5.2.18

अन्ने भात्यपश्रितो रसानां संक्षेरेऽमृतः ।

21. The *śloka* runs as -

तदेनान्वाहेवाभिमृशे शूद्रान्नो एनान् प्रससुक्षाणि ।  
नो त्वेवाऽन्यत्र यामक पुंश्चल्या अयनं मे अस्ति ॥

Vide *Rigveda Brahmanas.* tr, by Keith, A. 8., HOS Vol. 25, 2nd Reprint, Delhi 1981 (1920), p. 508, f. n. 5.

22. Dange, S. A, "Devī Śūdrā āni Purnscall", (Marathi), *Vidarbha Samshodhan Manda!*, Annual No., 1994, pp. 8-23.

Also by the same author, "The Goddess Speech - Purnscall" chapter XXIX, *Images from Vedic Hymns and Rituals*, New Delhi (in press).

23. *JaimBr* III.385

इतः परस्तात् पर उ परस्मात्  
परस्तृतीयाद् उत वा चतुर्थात् ।  
सहस्रस्थूणे विमिते दृढ उग्रे  
यत्र देवानाम् अधिदेव आस्ते ॥

and the explanation of the *JaimBr* of this *śloka*.

24. Horsch, Paul, *Die Vedische Gāthā und Sioka-Literatur*, Francke Verlage, Bern, 1966, III part of the book - Chapters on origin and development of the *gāthā*-s.



## THE VĀSTUŚĀSTRAS OF WESTERN INDIA

M. A. DHAKY

The early 11th century saw the culmination of the general Naqara form of northern Indian temple architecture with its various ramifications in eastern and central India, and in Rajasthan and Gujarat in the western part of the sub-continent. The *vestu* codes attributed to the schools of Garga', Kasyapa", Parasara', Manu', Markandeya<sup>5</sup> and other ancient preceptors became, at this stage, outmoded: their terminology, by and large, grew obsolete; their vocabulary proved inadequate, archaic, and insufficient to portray the manifold architectural elaborations and decorative embellishments of the far evolved buildings now erected in an unprecedented number in these territories. This eventful and active epoch witnessed the ascendancy of four dynasties in central India after the break up of the Pratihāra empire. The Kalacurl-Oeds or Haihayas in Cahala country, the Candellas in Jejakabhukti, the Kacchapaqhatas in Gopagiri area, and the Pararnaras in Malava by now grew powerful as also tended to be mutually hostile. Though engaged in interwars, at times prolonged and protractea they never found the conditions that would substantially discourage in patronizing architectural activities. In point of fact, each kingdom vied with its neighbour in erecting ornate edifices for the brahmanical divinities in a spirit that was as much religious as it sometimes was militant in motive and ruthless in determination. The pontiffs of the Saivaite MattamayOra sect as also the Jainas of the Acela-Ksapanaka sect, no less ambivalent, devotional, and missionary more than temporal in aims and ambitions, contributed a substantial share to the architectural undertakings in these provinces. In Rajasthan, the Caharnanas of Śākambhari and of Naddula, the Guhilas of Medapata and the abbots of the Pasupata Śaiva sect evinced strong passion for temple building during the tenth century. But the Caharnanas, together with the Pararnaras of Bhillarnala, Jabalipura, and of Candravatl and Vatapura were eventually forced on the defensive against the growing prowess of the Solarikis of Gujarat who were emerging fast to the forefront and who, together with their Svetarnbara Jaina ministers and merchant princes of the Slate, were to be hailed as the greatest patrons of architecture known to the mediaeval northern India. The catholicity of outlook of the Solariki monarchs and the opulence of their vast kingdom stood behind their great architectural projects - theistic, civic, and military - as endorsed by the countless ruined buildings of that age.

Saivism, more than Bhaqavatism (Vaisnavism), was at its climax in the medieval era; and Jainism never attained such heights before or after, particularly

in central and western India. Both faiths lost no time in giving material expression to their spiritual essence in the shape of temples they built. And they built with a premonition as though such good times shall never return. This was then an auspicious hour also for codifying the structural rules of architecture consolidated through intensive and unbroken building activity. The written rules, it possibly was hoped, may act as a regulator for the building processes and thus a useful guide to posterity; it could help keep the lamp of tradition burning, indeed with brilliance and assured continuance. Unfortunately, the medieval northern tradition of architecture could not survive except in Kaliriga in the east and Rajasthan and Gujarat in the west, this largely was due to vicissitudes of various kinds, political disasters in particular which by and large resulted in the disappearance of patronage. With the extinction of the tradition of sacred architecture in these regions, a second misfortune that concomitantly came down was the loss of the *ṛstusstrs* pertaining to several of these medieval schools. The *vestu* books relating to the splendid Khajuraho temples are so far unheard of. Those on Dahala and Gopadri temples are yet to be discovered. For the Malava territory, however, at least three works of considerable significance are now known, thanks to the preservation of their manuscripts in the Western Indian Jaina libraries and in the institutional and private collections, particularly those of the Silpīs of Gujarat and Rajasthan. The *Jayaprcchā*, probably, the oldest of the trio, is unfortunately available only in fragments." The work, as an explicit statement in the *Aparājitaprcchā* purports to indicate, dealt with domestic, civic, and military architecture." The available portions of the *Jayaprcchā* endorse this statement. The work next in date, unhesitatingly the most important *ṛstusstrs* ever written in northern India, is the *Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra* (SS) of Bhojadeva of Dhārā. Bhoja himself, albeit, could not have written it. It is foregone that some learned architect composed it and ascribed it to his master's name. The composition could have taken place sometime between A. O. 1035 - the date of the foundation called "Sarasvalī-sadana" by Bhoja at Dhārā - and the latter's passing away in 1055. The text of SS has been in recent years subjected to studies." It is, therefore, unessential to enlarge upon its details at this place. The third work is a booklet entitled the *Pramāṇamañjarī* by Sutradhara Malia, son of Silpī Nakula, who flourished during the regime of the Parmara potentate Udayaditya in late 11th century. The text comprises some 304 verses and, according to the author, it is in part the precis of a particular portion of the *Jayaprcchā* (and some similar work in a form of dialogue between Jaya and Viksa) that dealt with the wooden architecture connected with domestic dwellings. The largest number of *ṛstusstrs* works, however, are available from Gujarat and Rajasthan. The liberal and unbroken temple-building activities by the Jains in these two provinces has been instrumental in the survival, decadent though, of the western Indian or Maru-Gurjara tradition. And this continuity has been admittedly aided by the *ṛstusstrs* composed in the 'High medieval'

times with which Śilpīs had not lost touch so completely. Several of these works are still unpublished but otherwise accessible in manuscript form in the collections of various institutions, and Sompura Śilpīs.<sup>9</sup> At least four works attributable to the Solariki period are known from Gujarat.

## High Medieval

### 1. The *vsstusstre* of Visvakarna

This is the oldest available work on the Maru-Gurjara style of architecture which prevailed in Gujarat and southern and western Rajasthan from 11th century onwards. It has been noticed by I. Aufrescht in the *Calalogues Calalogorum*. The extracts and selected chapters from this work are found in a later compilation, *Srijñānaratnakośa*. These afford some insight into the nature of its contents. A fairly large portion of the famous western Indian work, the *Aparājitaprcchā*, particularly the one that deals with religious architecture, seems to have been based on this work.<sup>10</sup> The text is in a form of a dialogue between Visvakarna and his first 'mind-born' son Jaya in emulation perhaps of the *Jayaprcchā* and the *Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra*. The complete original work could have been fairly exhaustive in its treatment on almost all the aspects of temple architecture. And even as it is known in a truncated form, it still covers the most useful aspects, the total elevational details of the *prāsāda* and the *mandapa*. It is, moreover, replete with considerable originality; its injunctions, stated in the simplest Sanskrit, seem to be one of an assured authority. It ably reflects the particular stage of architectural development prevalent at the time of its composition. And this seems not later than the second half of the 11th century. This may be ascertained by the correspondence of mensural specifications and the associated detailed injunctions with the existing temples of that period in Gujarat. To quote only two instances, the formal specifications for the *pañcā* and the *śrīveśa vidhi* (construction of a belled stepped roof for the halls) prescribed in the text are, in their detailed aspects, applicable to the temples erected during the second quarter of 11th century.

### 2. The *Vāstuvīdyā* of Visvakarma

The work next in date appears to be this one. The complete manuscript of the work is still unknown. Stray chapters of the text nonetheless have been preserved in various collections.<sup>11</sup> The work goes by the title *Sūtrasantens* in some of the manuscripts in addition to the usual appellation *vsstuvīdyā*. A portion of the text is also traceable from later compilations ascribed to Jaya where it is referred to as *Jayamāla*, *Jayoktavidhāna*, or *Jayasāhilā*. Fortunately, the *Vāstuvīdyā* has been copiously used (both quoted and unquoted) in *Srijñānaratnakośa*. All this material put together gives a consistent and fairly full knowledge on the metrography and elevational details of the temple in its entirety. The text is in a dialogue form between Visvakarna and Jaya imitating possibly the aforementioned *Vāstusāstra*. Like the *vsstusstre*, this too

was an extensive work on the Maru-Gurjara style, It, however, embodies a tradition that is different in its mensural aspects, and, to a small extent in the nomenclature and in a few details, from the former text though perfectly within the ambit of the western Indian Style of architecture. It represents a slightly different tradition and recollects the experiences of a different guild. And it seems to have been composed at a date slightly later than the *vestussstre*. All the same, the influence of the latter work on the *vsstuidyā* is very slight in phraseology and format and is suspected only in a few subjects such as the *pilha* (*soc/e*) and the *d/wajadanda* (flag-staff).<sup>12</sup> The individualism of the *Vāstuidyā* in regard to diction and content is demonstrably in evidence.<sup>13</sup> Since Jaya appears as a character in both the works, the chances of confusing them were many. And for us the difficulties are aggravated when passages from both the works are incorporated in compilations without specifically referring to either. However, the main sources for the restoration (or rather re-assembling) of both these works are such compilations and omnibus manuscripts. The guiding factor in such cases is the style of expression which differs in mannerism and preferences in the two works under reference. The *vestosso* uses a more precise, simpler, but a masculine style of writing. The *Vāstuidyā* leans towards elegance, lyricism, wordiness, and expansivity. It luxuriates in a nasal style, frequently ending in *snusvem* in the opening verses of a chapter. In a reply to a question framed by Jaya, Visvakarma often starts with '*sedhu ssdbu vatsa..*' an address not found in the *Vāstusāstra*. The *Vāstuidyā* did know the existence of the *Vāstusāstra* but has largely preferred to remain independent of it in its treatment as well as exposition.

The *Vāstuidyā* furnished very useful information on the *vestu* rites, the installation ceremonies, the temple architecture, and iconography. Among the chapters on rites, those on *āya*, *vāstusalyoddhāra vidhi*, and the *msnasto-kundsts-vidhi* may be mentioned. As for temples, it deals with the structural rules and the general as well as special features of the *jagati* (terrace), *pilha* (base), *kati* (wall-face)<sup>14</sup>, the *sikhara* (spire), the *kapiā* (connecting vestibule), the 33 types of Prāggrivādi *mandapas*, the *karotaka* (large, central, domical ceiling), the *dhvejsdsrds*; the *garbhagrha* (cella), the *dvārasākhā* (door/frame) and the locii of the eye-levels of gods. It also deals with the specific species of temples such as the 25 types of Kesari series, the 21 types of Meru series, the 25 types of Siigaratilakiidi prasadas, and the 52 types of the Jaina temples. Lucid and detailed descriptions of *Kirtistarijbas* (pillars of fame), *pratolis* (gateways), and *mathas* and *vihāras* (monasteries) also find place in the *Vāstuidyā*. In iconography it treats the *linga* types, the 12 forms of Aditya, the nine Grahas or planets, the ten Dikpiilas (Regents of the Quarters), the Saptamiitriis (seven mother goddesses), the 24 forms of Pārvalī, the 12 forms of Sarasvati, the *saṅghāta-mūrtis* (composite images) of Siva with other gods, and finally the Vrsabha and the Garuda. What is more, it also furnishes a very valuable section on Jaina

iconography." The iconometry, too, of Brahmanical and Jaina deities has been well discussed in the VV. The later works, the *Dipāṛṇava* and the *DevalamDrtiprakara*(*ta*, particularly the former one, drew copiously from the *Vāstuvidyā*. By the analysis of its contents, the *Vāstuvidyā* seems to have been formulated in about the first half of 12th century, perhaps in lower southern Rajasthan. (The formal details of the *ssmvsrsne* of its visualization are known from early 12th century. And its mention of the figure of Karnadeva in the assembly of the bracket-figures for the *karolaka-ceiling* indicates lower Rajasthan as its provenance.)

### 3. The *Aparajilapṛcchā*

One of the most authentic works and the one which exercised considerable influence on a number of later works on *vsstu* is this comprehensive compendium cast in a dialogue form between Visvakarrna and his fourth, 'mind-born' son, Aparajita. The date of its composition seems, on the strength of a vast body of internal evidence, late 12th or early 13th century and probably the period of the Solariki monarch Bhimadeva II (1177-1240).<sup>17</sup> It covers a wider canvas in the selection of topics on architecture though not always exhaustive in its treatment. Besides the *Vāstusāstra* on which perhaps it depends heavily as alluded to previously, it has been appreciably influenced by the *Samarāṅganasūtradhāra*.<sup>18</sup> Possibly it also knew the *Vasluvidya*'<sup>9</sup> though seems to rely more on the *vestussstr* for treating the same subject. To some extent the *Jayapṛcchā* could be the source of extraction for the civic and domestic architecture in AP. And for the subject of *rekbs* or curvature of the *sikhara*, it also used the *Rekhānava* (c. late 10th or early 11th century), a brief text that may have been composed in the Malava country. Since the AP text is available in printed form, it will be superfluous to go into all its details save noticing its salient features. Besides devoting several chapters on the *vestu* rites, astronomical-astrological aspects, domestic, imperial, civic, and military architecture, it dwells on the origin of temples, their 14 classes and other sub-species, also the elevational aspects of the temples, various categories of the *mandapas*, the *vilanas* (ceilings), the *setiwsrsns*, the *rekns*, the doorframes, the *loranas* and the monasteries. It also provides for a large section on iconography, treating as it does the details of a variety of *irigas*, Ekādaśa Rudras, various forms of Visnu as well as of Parvali, the Dikpalas, the attendants/door-guardians of different gods, and finally the Jaina Tirtharikaras and their Yaksas and Yaksis. The original contribution of the *Aparājilapṛcchā* as distinct from the *Samarāṅganasūtradhāra*, the *Vāstusāstra* and the *Vāstuvidyā* is difficult to assess fully in the present slate of our knowledge. What appears to be independent in AP may, in reality, be summaries it drew from sources not known today. The approach and methodology of the author of AP are of course his own, logical and distinctly individual. From the internal evidence, the work seems to have been composed late in the period of the Solanki emperor Kurnarapala or Bhlrnadeva II, and thus not later than the last quarter

of the 12th century.

#### 4-5. The *Aparājītaprabhā* and the *Aparājītasamhitā*

The existence of these two works is known, but the details as to their contents are yet to come to light. The *Aparājītasamhitā* has been quoted in *Srijñānaratnakośa* in the context of the locii of the eye-levels of the images of gods in the cella in relation to the door aperture. The description of *kirtistarbhā* found in one omnibus manuscript ascribes it to *Aperejite*. It is not traceable in the *Aparājītaprcchā*. Perhaps it could be in the *Aparājītaprabhā*.<sup>20</sup>

#### 6. The *Jñānasāra-Aparājita*

While Jaya was popular with the writers of the 11th century, Aparajita figures as a favourite character with the *vestusestre-ksrss* of the latter part of the 12th and the subsequent century. In JA he emerges now from the status of a recipient to that of an exalted one of a preceptor where he is portrayed as answering questions framed by Acarya Viksa or Vaiksa. Sixteen chapters covering about 405 verses are known from its available manuscript in the collection of late Shri Prabhashankarbhāi. These pertain to *vestu* rites, domestic architecture, and construction of water tanks. In age it seems for certain to be younger than the *Aparājītaprcchā*.

#### 7. The *Viveka-viliisa*

This is, like the *Sukraniti*, a compendium on polity composed by the Svetambāra abbot Jinadatta suri of Vayada-gaccha who flourished during the early decades of 13th century. The work itself seems to have been completed by about 1209. As has been done by the author of the *Sukraniti*, Jinadalla suri, too, devoted a few chapters on astrology, building rites, iconography, and architecture. The information embodied in the *Viveka-viliisa* is relating to the plan and elevation of a classic Jaina temple. Though succinct, its significance is self-evident since it happens to be the work of a known date.

#### 8. *Sridevyāvīrasambhavamāhātmya*

About 255 verses covering five chapters of this otherwise fragmentary work are available. It deals with the *jagati*, the *mandovara*, the *presedepsstsrslayanimaya*, and the temples of the Kamalodbhava and the Vijaya series. The text is cast in the form of a conversation between Īsvara and Devī. The age of the work is difficult to determine accurately because of the meagreness of details. But it could not be later than the 13th century as the style of writing suggests. Its temples of the Vijaya series are found quoted in *Srijñānaratnakośa*. The temples of this series have been tabulated in a manuscript of 1629 from Sagwada in Mewar (copied therefrom by Prabhashankarbhāi). The work is important in that it gives some data on the layout of the western Indian Jaina temple and the *jagatis* for the Jaina temples.

## Late Medieval

### 9. The *Vatthusara payarana*

A Jaina scholar by name Pheru of Karnal near Delhi wrote this *Vastusara-prakarana* in Prakrit in A. D. 1326. The work comprises three chapters dealing respectively with the construction of dwelling houses (and the rites and astrological considerations), iconometry of Jaina images, and temple architecture. The text is too terse, furnishing only 68 verses à propos of temples. Its usefulness, like the *vtveke-vitase*, lies in its being a dated work providing some clues for fixing the age of the undated works. Although composed near Delhi, from the rules it enjoins and the terminology it uses, its theoretical position is very close to the tenets of the Maru-Gurjara school of the late Solanki-Cahamana-Guhila periods. Its prescription regarding the introduction of *sirhhathara* (lion-band) and *harhsathara* (gander-band) in the socle of the temple is, however, not upheld by western Indian texts, nor paralleled in any medieval temple in that vast region. This divergency notwithstanding, its allusion to the temples of the Kesarf series and the description of a characteristic *msndovera* (wall facel certainly leads to the conclusion of its probable acquaintance with the works from Gujarat such as perhaps the *Aperajlteprocbe*.

### 10. The *KsTranava*

Both Jaya and Aparajita had been established as authorities to whom Visvakarna imparted his knowledge. In fact their names were repeatedly put to use by earlier writers with a consequent hackney that prompted the search for new figures to replace them. The writers now selected Devarsi Narada and brought him on the stage to converse with Visvakarna who, by his stature and antiquity as the Primordial Architect, had still maintained his supreme position as the divine exponent and transmitter of the art and science of architecture. The *Ksirsneve* is also known as the *Nereaeptocbe*.

A number of manuscripts of this work are known, differing but little in contents from each other.<sup>22</sup> None of these seems to cover more than 400 verses which are divided into 18 cognate chapters. The very first chapter has been counted as 101, thus presupposing 100 chapters that preceded this. But this is rather intriguing in that none of these supposed preceding chapters is known from any source till now. The text sounds rather austere since it dispenses with all garnishments and in some cases even the descriptive details of architectural members. It strictly adheres to the metrography of elevational sections and the mouldings involved and then often does it with considerable precision and in detail as in the case of the *prtha* and the *mandovara*. In view of these tendencies, it is very likely that the author shunned the preliminaries otherwise so much relished and unnecessarily elaborated by some of the earlier writers. This very fact is a pointer to the non-existence of preceding one hundred chapters: the text in fact consistently begins with

the *kūrmaśilāmāna* (proportional measurements of the foundation stone of a temple) and next follows a regular cortege of other subjects. Among the topics that successively follow the first one are those pertaining to the base of the temple, the wall proper, the cella and the doorframe, the relative proportions of the image and the doorway, the locii of the eye-levels of gods, the *sikhara* and its details; next the temples of the Kesari series, the *mandapas* and pillar types, and the proportional measurements of the wall-face of a temple with or without an ambulatory. Its exposition of the relative proportions of different structures and the architectural members and mouldings, is often, unlike some earlier works, more explicit, detailed, and clear.

Owing to references to the 14 classes of temples, the temples of Kesari series, the types of the *sukenass* (antefix on the fronton of the spire), the Rucakādi pillars and the Mervādi *msndepss*, the text appears to be familiar with the *Aparājitaprcchā* or perhaps the *Vāstuśāstra* or both, although it does not borrow the phraseology of either. There are also slight indications that it was aware of the existence of the *Vāstuvidyā*. On the other hand, some of its verses have been utilized in works whose date, from internal evidences, seems 15th century. The work, therefore, had been composed sometime after the 13th and before the 15th century. In its treatment of the *mendovsre* it betrays advances over the specifications of the earlier works. All the same, some of the peculiarities of décor noticeable on the 15th century temples are not paralleled in the text. This, together with the general tenor of expression found in the text, suggests rather a late 13th or early 14th century as the probable date of its composition though possibility of its being still later cannot be entirely ruled out.

Unlike earlier works, Visvakārṇa does not adopt a patronizing altitude towards the interlocutor in the *Ksiremsve*. He addresses Narada with considerable respect using such epithets as *mahāmuni*, *muniṣve*, and *ṛsirāja*. This regard is reciprocated by Narada, who, though pictured here as a recipient, has been reckoned as one of the leading ancient preceptors on archneicure " The *Nāradya samhitā*, the *Nāradya psticerstrs*, and the *Nāradya śilpaśāstra*, southern works all, are ascribed to him.<sup>25</sup>

### 11. The *vrksemave*

One more work besides the *Ksīrārnava* where Narada appears with Visvakārṇa is the *Vrksārnava*. The later scribes were tricked by the suffix *amava* in the title as well as Narada's participation and were thus led to confusing both the works. Some of the chapters of VK have been mixed up unwarily with those of KS, so much so that the opening verses in several manuscripts allude simultaneously to the *Ksīrārnava* as the exposition by Hari and the *Vrksārnava* by Hara. This is obviously incorrect in as much as the exponent of both the works was Visvakārṇa: and what is more, the *Vrksārnava* is decidedly posterior to the *Ksīrārnava* as a bulk of internal evidence does



not fail to suggest.

The text is available now in some rare, and incomplete, manuscripts.F" Yet whatever is saved is at once an invaluable heritage and by the same token eminently significant to the study of the general western style of architecture in its late phase of its development. A later work though, VK is an ambitious product by virtue of its treatment of a number of topics not discussed by even the best among the earlier northern Indian *vestu* authorities. This is in fact the *raison d'être* of this composition. The author consciously chose such topics as the forms of the *vedlke* (balustrated dado), the types of *prshrs* (base of the *siknsm*), 32 *devāṅganās* (celestial damsels), great storied *mandapas* such as Meghanada, Harinada, Brahmanada, Ravināda, Sirnhanada, and Śivanāda, and *catumukha* (four-faced) temples not touched by earlier writers. Partly this may indicate an advanced stage or a new turning in architectural development at that hour of the epoch. (That, incidentally, reveals the date of the composition of the work as will be established soon.) Nevertheless, its originality in treatment is quite apparent. This merit apart, the hyperzeal of the ambition has been carried, it may be admitted, too far, almost to the point of megalomania when the author coins such temple series as Mahadnaradi, Napunsakadi, and Saktisambharadi, where, in some cases thousands of *enaekes* (turrets)<sup>27</sup> are involved in the make of the *sikhara*. The construction of such colossal, almost terrifying temples seems to transcend the practical limits of human efforts; at least such were never envisaged by the previous writers nor anywhere corresponded in actual examples. It unravels the transgression of the limit, the unpurposeful drive, to which the fancy of the composer ran.

The date of the composition of the work may be conjectured with the aid of its inner statements. While the author attempted to explore all possible corners of originality, he had not been able to obviate influences of the authoritative works of the past so completely. His chapter on *āya* is just an amplification of the same Subject treated in the *Vāstuvīdyā* and the *Aparājītapracchā*. The original verses of VV and AP are resonant with pristine purity. The attempt at their synthesis, modification, and sandwiching of insertions rendered in VK reveals the intention of the author to bring within the fold as many objects and places for applying *āya* as he could conceive; the results, however, are amusing in that the author has gone to the length of including even a mosque in its perview under the name of Haharnana prasada: Besides this, the description of the *caturmukha* temples for Jina and Śiva, *nsts-msndspes* (halls above the stairways), *simnedvsres* (gates crowned by *kirtimukha* masks), and *gavaksa* (projected balcony) with *madalas* (struts) substituted for the *sikhara*'s *rstmk*« (framed and pedimented divinity-bearing panel) referred to in the text conjure up the memories of the 15th century temples in Rajasthan and Gujarat. This is also true of the details of the *vealke* and the *kskssssne* it visualizes; these features are noticeable only in the

15th century *temples*. The new idioms they reflect belong to the renaissance and not to the classical Solarikf period. As usual with *vsstu* texts from western India, the Jaina deities have been accorded due place in the treatment in VK. The *parikara-laksana* (characters of an image-frame) and iconometry of Jina image, the *talacchanda* (ground plan) of Jaina temples possessing 24, 52, 72, 84 and 108 *devekutlkes* (chaplets) surrounding the main shrine, the directions for the construction of the symbolic Astapada, Nandisvaradvipa and Samavasarana render it the most valuable work for the study of Jaina art and architecture as well. The strong partiality of the author for the *caturmukha* temples and his nostalgic return to it time and again is leading to a suspicion whether he himself was not connected with the construction of such a temple. The author seems a learned and versatile architect though the Sanskrit he employs is very ordinary. Echoes of the *Vrkṣārṇava* are very audibly heard ill the far-famed Caturmukha Dharanavihara (began A. D. 1440) sacred to Adinatha at Hanakpur. Is it that illustrious designer and architect SĀradhara Dspaka of that grand temple, who, overwhelmed by his own creation, decided to compose the *Vrkṣārṇava* wherein his obsession for the *caturmukha* temple is showing? The contents of the text at least betray Rājasthānī accents at places. And one of the types of *caturmukha* Jaina temples mentioned in the VK is 'Trailokyadfpaka', which was the type followed (according to a contemporary epigraph and literary sources) at Hanakpur।

An extraneous chapter covering some 116 verses from some unknown work is found mixed up with the available text of the *vrkṣārṇava*. This intruder text deals with the temple, sacred to Bhaskara (Sun god) and the attendant shrines for the nine planets. It is framed in a form of dialogue between Visvakarna and Panna (Rājñidevī), the consort of SŌrya. The Divine Master addresses the goddess as daughter (*patrī tanaya, nandike*) during the conversation.

#### 12. The *Vāstuśāstrakārikā*

An incomplete work of uncertain date, it is available in the form of dialogues between *devas* (gods), Brahrṇa, and Visvakarna. Its known four chapters comprise such preliminary rites and other topics as the *bhūmi-parīkṣā* (testing of the soil or land), the *svspns-vidbi* the *ssmeyssudtu*, the *śilālaksana*, and the *grahakālanirṇaya* covering in all 405 verses.<sup>28</sup>

#### 13. The *Ratnatilaka*

This incompletely available work preserving about 125 verses starts with its third *palata* and advocates the rules for doorframes, temples, *śikāra* types, and the *smstessrek* Its injunctions regarding the *liṅgalakṣaṇādvāra* have been quoted in *Śrījñānaratnakośa*. It may have been composed in the 15th century.

#### 14. The *Diparnava*

The age of relatively original works had ended with *Ratnatilaka*. The

subsequent writers were interested in compilations since the older works had long been established as authoritative works; and there was nothing much left to add when the architecture had been on an advanced march towards decadence. The *Dipemsvs*, also known in a number of manuscripts as the *vsveksrsmveter* the 14 chapters of which are known from several manuscripts in private and institutional collections, is verily a fragment of the earlier work, *Vasluvidya*, modified at places and mixed with excerpts from the *vestussstre*, the *Aparājītaprcchā*, the *Ksirsrnsve*, and even the *vrkssmsvs*?. Its utility lies in the preservation of a part of the *vsstuvīdyā*, which can be collated with other sources for the restoration of the latter work. (The text of the published work also incorporates some recently composed passages.)

#### 15. *Srijñānarātnakośa*

This is another of the compilations which makes use of a number of older works, well concatenated in its earlier half but repetitive in subjects and confusing in contents in the latter part. The text does not run into regular chapters using though suitable pause-phrases to demarcate one topic from the other. At least two manuscripts of the work are known. The older one which is, on the strength of its characters, datable to 16th century, runs up to 1000 verses. The younger one is a recent copy of a manuscript in turn copied in 1890 from an older manuscript dated 1549.<sup>31</sup> The latter contains some 2752 verses. Stray portions of SRK are known from a number of short, or omnibus manuscripts. For such verses on rites as those concerning the Vastupurusa and related matters, the *ketesebhtmantrine*, the *śaṅkulakṣaṇa*, and the *kilakalaksana*, it has depended on the ancient Saivapamic work, the *Paramesvara mahātāntra* of the southern canon. On the other hand, for the *sthepeti-tekens* and the *hasla-laksana* which appear at the beginning of the text, it utilizes the *Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra*. The work in its last portion expresses its obligation to the *vsstusestm* of Visvakarma for such themes as the *jagali*, the *piṭhs*, the *mandovara*, the *garbhagrha*, the *avers*, the *rekhe*, and the 27 types of Puspakadi *mendpes*.

The verses on the *āya*, the *marmavedha*, the *jagali*, the *puns*, the *ksti tmsndovers* or wall proper), the *garbhamana*, the *dhvajadaṇḍa*, and the *dvaralaksa*(la of the temples; also the articulation, proportions, and elevation of the *kollk* (vestibular wall), the *mandapa*, and the *karotaka* as well as the *sartIVarana*-roof of the *mandapa*, the Prāgrīva series of 33 types of *mandapas*, the *līgalaksa*(la and the *lingāśrita devstss*; also the Sarvāngasundara prasada, the 12 forms of Sarasvatī, 24 forms of Uma, 12 forms of Aditya, the Dikpalas, the Grahas, and the Sapta-Matrkas have all been borrowed, with some lapses and omissions, from the *Vāstuvīdyā* specifically so acknowledged at a number of places. The differences between the *vsstusestrs* and the *vestuvīdyā*s where the prescriptions all the same topics have been incorporated in *Srijñānarātnakośa* are clearly conspicuous. The indebtedness

of the compilation to the *Aparājitaṭṭcchā* is likewise in evidence, at places openly acknowledged. Its verses on the topics such as the *vāpī* (step-well), the *cetubkunde vārānasī* (four types of tanks), the *teteka* (reservoir), the *mahārājaveśma* (palace), *psnc» torene*, and 14 classes of temples are derived from the *Aparajitaṭṭccha*.

Aside from these major incorporations from the standard earlier *veṣṭa* works, a number of large and small passages as quotations from the less known works are also found in this compilation. *Sridevysvirssembbsvs - mähātmya* and the *Rahnalilaka* have been already mentioned in the foregoing pages. In addition, the *Rekhāmava* and the *Vasluhrdaya* (for *rekhās* of the *sikharas*), the *Ahivataya* (for *sslyoddsr« vidhi*), the *Siddhartha svrsqrsrobens patata* of Visvakarna (for Gokuladi prasadas to be constructed as memorials after the dead), the *Pramāna-kośa*, the *Hindota palata* of Malaya (for *aotscekre* ; and the *Pralisṭhasara* of Āditya (for *pāsāna-parīkṣā*), and finally the *Iseneslvequrudevpeddheti* a wellknown South Indian work, has been utilized for the forms of Visnu. There are also quotations from works whose titles are unknown. As instances, the *yentre - vshens taksana* expositioned in a dialogue form between Bhairava and Devī and the *rathādhāra* presented as a conversation between Brahrna and Vīksa may be noted. The text begins to sprawl aimlessly in the latter half of the book; it almost becomes an agglomerate just as the grammatical errors are on the increase. All the same, it is very informative in its overall contents. Several older works, now lost or partially available, find their place in this collection. Some of the rarer kind of information furnished by *Śrijñānaratnakośa* pertains to the formal details of such important decorative motifs as the *vyāla* and the *makara*.

It is not quite easy to fix the precise date of this compilation. Most of the works quoted in its corpus are the wellknown works of the medieval period and several others the dates of which are not known; it is, therefore, very likely to be post-Solanki. Its very title sounds late. We are reminded of such work as the *Ntttemtnekose* and the *Pāthyaratnakośa*, the composition of both of which is ascribed to Maharana Kumbhakarna of Chitor. Of course, there is no indication in *Śrijñānaratnakośa* that could associate it with that great patron of art and letters, who flourished in the latter half of 15th century, nor works on *vsstu* definitely known of that century could be traced within the fabric of this compilation. But the parallelism in denomination would at least point to a prevailing fashion of the age. Its upper limit is fixed by the date of one of the two manuscripts and the characters of the other one, which would thus be not later than the 16th century. The age of *Śrijñānaratnakośa* could, therefore, be placed sometime in the 15th century or slightly earlier.

#### 16-24. Works of *Sūtradhāra* Mandana

The latter half of 15th century is symptomatic of a breakthrough in one

aspect; the authors and compilers of the *vestu* texts cast off the disguise of the dialogue form of writing and openly came forward with the admission of their own authorship as was in fact done in that period in southern India as exemplified by the *Tantrasamuccaya* of Nārāyaṇa (A. D. 1426). This bravado is, however, not matched by a creative originality, for most of the writers sought their inspiration from the fountainhead of the earlier authoritative works. The architectural style both in Rajasthan and Gujarat had passed the peak of perfection four centuries before and had by now entered the phase of relative senility. What purpose could these fresh compilations have served at this stage is a moot point. Whether apprehensive of the probable extinction of the tradition and hence the frantic drive by several authors to rescue it by fresh codifications, or expressive naturally of the mood of a renaissance period when the style, if it could not be revitalized, saw its further degeneration checked for a while, needs some inquiry. A peep into the historical setting of the time and a visit to the monumental remains of the period furnish explanation of the whole problem.

The end of the 13th century marked the advent of Muslims at first as invaders and next as rulers in Gujarat. A few Rajaputa centres spared at the time eventually became powerful till Sultan Mahammad II of Ahmedabad put an end to the Cudasarna rule at Junagarh in 1469 and subjugated the Pavalas of Champaner in 1484. The third centre, Idar, too was hard pressed by Mahammad's son Muzaffar Shah II between 1511-15, and although it managed to survive the adversities with difficulties, suffered heavily during the periods of sieges and dethronements of princes. It was precisely before these fatal times that these centres teemed with brisk architectural activities. The Sarnarasirha's temple (1438), the Melaka vasahi (c. 1438), the Purnasirha vasli (c.1438) and the so-called temple of Sarnprati Rājā (1453) on Mt. Gimar, next the seven Jaina temples on Pavagarh Hill near Champaner, the great temple of Gadādharma at Samalaji, Saranesvara temple near Abhapar together with the Jaina temples at Bhiloda, Raigadh, Pratapqadh, and Harna Valley at Polo and Oerol (to mention only the most notable) in Idar area are the erections of this general period in Gujarat. The neighbouring contemporaneous Rajasthan enjoyed even more stable peace and consequent cultural achievements. Among the noteworthy monuments of this age are the Krtistambha (1449), the *siktiara* and the *sartwarana* of the late Maurya temple of Viṣṇu (c. early 8th cent.) rechristened as Kumbhasvami (1449), and the so-called Mīrābāi's temple, the Mānastambha (1485) beside the Oigambara Jaina temple - all situated within the fort with Rāṇā pratoli (1459) at Chitor-, the Kumbhasvami temple at Achalgadh on Mt. Ābu, the fort of Kumbhalagadh with the temple of Kumbhasvami (1460), and Kurnbhamandapa at Eklirogil are edifices whose *ksrspeks* or builder is Maharana Kumbhā himself. Besides, the temple of Somnatha at Ungarpur, the NaliniquImavimana (1440) and the temples of Parsvanatha, Nerninaiha, and SOrya at Ranakpur, the *catumukha*

temple of Pārśvanātha (1459) on Mt. Abu, the Jaina temple near Mirpur or Harnirqaoh, the Ādinatha temple at Sirohi, the Parsvanatha temple at Varkana, the Adinatha and the Parsvanatha temples at Delvada near Ekalirigji, and the Jaina temple at Kelvada are other notable temples of this period in Rajasthan. In the distant Jesalmer, a number of highly embellished Jaina temples were built during this age. The temple of Cintamani Parsvanatha (1417) with its fine *torana* in front, the temple of Sarnbhanatha (1442), the temple of Rsabha (1453) and the temple of Śāntinātha (1480) there precisely fit in the times invoked in this context. Despite variations in regional inflexions, temples in all these territories betray certain fundamental oneness in expression along with the presence of a few typical, diagnostic features such as the *kūṭacchāḍya* (hood) supported by *madalas*, complex *prebsrs*, and the *gavāksas* with *madalas* in lieu of *rathikās* in the *sikhara* never known before this age in either Gujarat or Rajasthan. The replacement of the *bhDml-amalakas* or *ksmsrdekss* in the *venukoss* (segmented, curved corners) of the *sikhara* by a sort of a *ghatapallava* and at times by *śikharikā* motif which was to find greater favour in subsequent centuries, is also ubiquitous in this age at a number of centres. This then was a brief but a brilliant period of glory for the late medieval style of western Indian architecture. These favourable circumstances gave a philip to the composition, among other literary works, of those on *vestu* art as well. Happily, at the spur of the moment, the munificent and powerful royal patron was found in Maharana Kurnbha of Chilor. At his court flourished several men of letters at the behest of which stood scholarly Mandana, the Architect Royale who composed a number of works on iconography and architecture. Whether Mandana belonged to Gujarat and was invited by Maharana Kumbha at his court to compose the *vsstusestrss* as one tradition and a late copperplate inscription purport to say is true or not, cannot be ascertained conclusively. On the other hand, on the strength of several colophons of Mandana's works, R. C. Agrawal favours the view that Mandana and his father belonged to Mewar proper though the possibility of their forefathers having hailed from Gujarat cannot be altogether discounted. Be that it may, Mandana's works evidently show close acquaintance with the *vestu* works from Gujarat.

At least eight works of Mandana are known. These are by name the *Pmssdemendsre*, the *Vastumandana*, the *Vasturajavallabhamandana*, the *Vāstusāra*, the *vestussstre*, the *RDpamandana*, the *Rūpāvatāra*<sup>33</sup> and the *DevatamDrtiprakarana*. The exact date of none of these works is so far known; but a relative chronological position of a few can be ascertained by a comparative study. The *Vasturajavallabha*, for instance, seems a recast, and an abridged one, of the *Vāstumandana*; the *Vāstusāra* is just a summary of either the *Vasturajavallabha* or the *vsstumsraen*«

The *Vāstumandana* contains 865 verses divided into eight cognate chapters. Besides astrological considerations, subjects on the construction of mansions,

palaces, tanks, forts etc, have been treated. The earlier works such as *Malsyapurtina*, the *Mayamala*, the *Jsyeprectu*; the *Vivekaviltisa*, and the *Aparājītaprcchā* had been the basis for some of its material. The sister text, the *Visturtijavallabha*, consists of 14 chapters covering about 475 verses." A variety of meters have, however, been used in the versification in this booklet. The subjects of discussion are identical. The *vestosestre* pays more attention to treating the rites. The *Prīstidamandana* has freely borrowed material from the *Apartijlaprcchti*. The *Rīlpamandana* is a text on iconometry and iconography of Brahmanical and Jaina deities. It covers six chapters in 350 verses. The *Rūpāvatāra* which closely resembles the *Rīlpamandana*, comprises 500 verses and may be the earlier of the two. The *Devaltimīrlīprakarana* which in certain cases is more explicit than RV and RM, contains 500 verses cast into eight chapters. The work for the most part draws from the *Aparājītaprcchā* and another source not so far detected. Forms of Brahma, Brahmayatana and Brahma's attendants, Surya's *tiyalana* and his *pratihāras*, also Vaikuntha, Ananta, and Trailokyamohana forms of Visnu, Visnu's *aystena* and attendants, Asta-Dikpalas, 11 forms of Rudra, composite image as of Ardhanarisvara. Kṛṣṇa-Sankara, and Hari-Hara-Pitamaha, and besides them Urna-Mahesvara, also some of the liṅga types and their characteristics, 12 forms of Gaurī. Gaurī's *dvārapālikās*, Ganesayatana and *pratihāras* of Ganesa, Parica-Ulayadevis and Navadurga, 24 Tirthankaras, their colour complexions, banners, Yaksas and Yaksis, are clearly derived from the *Aparājītaprcchā*. On the other hand, slight influences of the *Vāstuvidyā* and the *Mayamala* are also detectable.<sup>35</sup>

#### 26. The *Vāstumāñjarī/Prāsādamañjarī*

Sutradhara Natha or Nathu, younger brother of Mandana, composed this relatively less known work consisting of 1100 verses divided into three sections (*ślabakas*). The first one deals, like the *Visturtijavallabha*, with *vestu* rites and the civic as well as military architecture. The second part sometimes available as a detached work, popularly called the *Prāsādamañjarī*, purports to deal with temple architecture as its denomination suggests and reminds the better known *Prāsādsmandans*. The third part of VM, like the *Rīlpamandana*, and the *Huṣevetere*, dwells on iconography. Natha mentions Maharaja Rajarajadeva as the contemporary ruler in Mevada. Hence his work seems to fall in the last quarter of 15th century.

#### 27-29. Works of Govinda

At least three works of Sutradhara Govinda, son of Mandana, are known to be in existence in manuscript form in several collections. His *Kāṭinidhi* comprising 251 verses divided into eight chapters (*ślabakās*) treats the elevational aspects of the *sikhara*. His *Dvāradīpikā* is still briefer and deals with the metrical and other features of the doorframe. The third work, the *Vāstoddhāradhoranī*, discusses the ways, means, and purport of renovating

temples, images, and palaces. In this work he has quoted Narada, Brahma, Manu, Sarvadeva, Jaya, Maya, and Aparajita. The work embodies some 305 verses.

The earlier half of the 16th century is a dark age; but influential ministers at the Court of the Sultans of Gujarat could persuade the rulers in permitting temple building. Karnasa's renovation of the great temple of Ādinātha (1531) on Satnmjaya Hills is one of such few wellknown examples. But it was from the last decades of that century to about the middle of the 17th century, a second phase of renaissance, though of less lustre, commenced. This was in the main promoted by the policy of tolerance adopted by the Mughal Emperor Akbar and to some extent by his son and successor Jahangir. The influential position held by the great Jaina pontiff Jagadguru Śrī HTravijaya suri of Tapa-gaccha and Jinacandra suri of Kharatara-gaccha at the Mughal court actuated the quick resumption of temple building activities in Gujarat and in Rajasthan. Vijaysena suri (the disciple of HTravijaya suri), and Vjyadeva suri, Upadhyaya Kalyanavijaya, and Kalyanasagara suri who followed Vijayasena suri, embarked on a long programme of preaching that led to some extensive projects of reconsecration and renovation of older fanes, the rehabilitation of Jaina centres, and construction of new Jaina temples.

Among the notable new temples that were built during this phase were the Caturmukha temple (1578) at Sirohi, Indravihara (1588) at Vaira], temple of Cintamani Parsvanatha (1588) and Tejapala SonT's temple (1590) at Kharbhat, the Caturmukha temple of Gandhārīya (1585), the Jaina temple (1598) at Kavl, the temple of Candraprabha (1606), and the Caturdvāra vihara of Manotamalla (1619), both again on Śatrurijaya, the Rājavihāra (1602) at Bhuj, the Parsvanatha temple (1606) at Bhinnarnal, the temple of Candraprabha (1610) at Prahasa, the Adinatha temple (1618) at Nagaur, the AnandajT Abji's temple (1633), the Nenasisa's temple, and the *temple* of Santinatha (1616-22) by Vardhamana-Padmasiraha, and the Caturmukha Sambhavanatha temple (1640) of Raiśīśā at Jamnagar, the Jaina temple (1628) by Sheth Santidasa at Ahmedabad, and finally the temple of Santinatha (1635) at Porbandar. Among the brahmanical temples of this period, the more notable are the Jagadisa temple (1652) at Udaipur and the temple of Jaqatsirornani at Amber near Jaipur (16th cent.), both in Rajasthan.

The fervent architectural activities of the period seem to be matched by a few compositions of *veśā* texts. Their merits are as worthy as the qualities of a decaying style of architecture could be. In all probability, the undernoted works form a group cognately attributable to this final phase.

### 30. The *Vāsturāja*

The work has been composed by Sutradhara Rājasiraha whose exact date is not known. One of the two known manuscripts of VR, however, bears



the date s. 1685 (A.D. 1629); Rajasirha should have flourished sometime before that date. The latter manuscript contains 509 verses and runs up to ten chapters." The second manuscript comprises 13 chapters covering 600 verses. The work deals with *vestu* rites, elevation of a temple, and temple types. Its main source of extraction is the *Aparājita-prcchā*; however, it also depends on the *Vāstuvīdyā* and the *Ksīrārṇava* as well. The *Vāsturāja* is sometimes mentioned in the later notes of the silpins as *iii sūtrās*.

### 31. The *Vāsturāja vestusestrs*

Only second and third chapters of this extensive compilation are known.<sup>38</sup> Its compiler's name is, however, uncertain. The available portion comprises as many as 1500 verses: it deals with *vsstu* rites, astronomical-astrological considerations, and civic and domestic architecture. It has quoted a number of previous authorities such as Manu, Vasistha, Garga, Visvakarma, Jaya, Maya, Aparajita, the *Matsyapurāna*, the *Viśvudharmottara*, the *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāna*, the *Varāhapurāna-saṁhitā*, the *Brhatsaṁhitā*, the *Krenetsrura*, the *Samarānganasūtradhāra*, the *Vāstuvīdyā*, the *Lskssnssemucceys*, the *vestumendso* and the *Vāsturātnākara*. Since *vsstumena* has been quoted in this work, the compilation must be post-Mandana. On the other hand, an omnibus manuscript of 1629 quotes it. Hence the compilation is bracketed between these limits.

### 32. The *Vāstukāmbāsūtra*

Sukhananda is the author of this work which covers some 600 verses in seven chapters (*bhOmikas*);<sup>39</sup> it resembles the *Vāsturājavallabha* in treatment and choice of subjects. It quotes the *Matsyapurāna*, the *Lilāvāṭī*, and Acarya Sridhara. Stylistically, it may be of late 15th or early 16th century.

### 33. The *Prāsādatilaka*

Sūtradhāra Vṛapala was the author of this small work, the four chapters of which covering 93 verses are available.<sup>40</sup> It discusses matters concerning temple, images, and astrology. Like the *Vāsturājavallabha*, in lieu of normal Anuślubha meter, it uses Sārdūlavikṛīḍita. The work seems post-Mandana.

### 34. The *Vilsluttaka*

The available portion of this work by one Kesava consists of 11 chapters (*paricchedas*) comprising 400 verses. It deals with *vsstu* rites and domestic architecture.

### 35. The *Vilstukautuka*

Gunesa is the author of this work which consists of six chapters covering 414 verses. It treats astrology and domestic architecture. It quotes Garga and Mandana.

### 36. The *Sitpadīpaka*

This work, ascribed to Silpi Gaṅgadhara treats astronomical-astrological

aspects of domestic architecture' 1 It comprises six chapters. It has depended on the *Samarānganasūtradhāra*, the *Aparājita-prcchā*, and the *Vasūraja vallabha*,

This survey points out 10 a fairly satisfactory position with regard to the availability of the Sanskrit works on the medieval and late medieval architecture of Gujarat and Rajasthan. Between the older northern works such as the *Ma/syapura(la* (older parts 5th cent), the *Brha/samhi/a* (mid 6th cent.) the *Ms(ludharmollara* (7th cent.), the *Hayasirsa-paricara/ra* (8th cent.), and such other early works known through quotations as the *Kāśyapasamhitā*, the *Gārgīsamhitā* and the *Kirana/an/ra* on one hand and the works on medieval architecture on the other, there is a lacuna of about three centuries which is yet 10 be filled in. Bhatta Utpala (9th cent.) who commented on the *Brha/samhila*, quotes a self-composed work entitled the *Vāstuvidyā*. This work possibly pertained to *vesta* rites and astronomical-astrological matters, and not to the detailed structural rules for buildings. The term *vestu* embraced a wider connotation in the medieval period only. The chapter 'Vasfu laksana' in the *Brha/samhi/a*, for instance, restricts its concern to ritual and allied considerations. Hence Utpala's work, even if it should some day see daylight, is not likely to add much to the knowledge on the constructional and structural aspects of architecture. In one case, however, a sort of continuity may be perceived. The *Hayasirsa-paricara/ra* and the *Agnipurāṇa*, composed as they were in eastern India, have left a descendent in the *Laksanasamuccaya* of Vairocana, a work perhaps of the 11th or 12th century and probably from the same general provenance. This is the impression gathered from the perusal of the work. In point of fact, the *Hayasirsa-pañcarātra* itself shows a little advance over earlier works in the syntax and fund of terms and the proportional measurements of the different parts of temples. The *Laksanasamuccaya* shows a distinct nexus with the latter text in terminology and mannerism of expression. It has a look, archaistic and atavistic, though much of its contents from its known portion are emblematic of medieval architecture of a region apparently bordering between Orissa and Bengal.

From the latter half of the eighth century, a number of mutually allied, cognate, well defined, and forceful architectural traditions began to prevail in definite centres and sectors of Rajasthan and northern Gujarat, and thus in western India. These eventually blossomed into various superb, ornate schools of the medieval period in these provinces. The oldest *vestu* works known from these territories embody the knowledge of a style which was then crossing its high watermark. They are elaborate compendia of a fully mature style, the works whose injunctions could be applied to the temples erected between eighth and tenth centuries are next to none. During this intervening period were created some of the finest masterpieces of temple architecture in north India. Having regard to the fact, it is difficult to assume that this interval could have been sterile in the production of corresponding written records on *vestu*. Some day, perhaps, the gap will be bridged, thanks to chance

discoveries of such works from the hitherto untrodden corners. And then what seems today a sharp contrast between the earlier and the medieval works, may disappear, and, instead, a gradual evolution in the textual tradition, also in the structural features and rules of proportions together with terminology may be perceived as a spasmodic response to the evolution in the field of architecture. The writings of the *Vāstusāstrakāras* of the 11th century then might not have been actuated by the need of replacing the codes of the Gupta and post-Gupta masters, but a logical carry over, a revision and an amplification of the knowledge gained and preserved possibly in the writings of the tenth century. Verily, the *Samarānganasūtradhāra*, and the *Laksanasamuccaya* as well, reveal, behind their apparent screen of homogeneous style, the presence of a few hidden nebulae whose archaism has been deliberately masked, even transformed to harmonize with the stage of evolution triumphant in the 11th century. These are interesting, indeed very interesting problems to be sure, but out of the scope of the present paper whose intention is to present a brief (and rapid) survey of the known material.<sup>42</sup>

## Notes and References

1. *Garga-or Gārgi-saṁhita* ?
2. Kasyapa as quoted by Bhalla Upala in his commentary on the *Brha/samhita*. This was different from, and earlier than, the Vatkhanaśa work, the *Kāśyapasamhita* (c. 10th cent. A. D.), and the *Kāśyapa-śilpaśāstra* (c. 13th cent) of southern India. Another lost work is the *Preselekseoe* ascribed to Nagnajita.
3. The later work, the *Viśvakarmāprakāśa*, seems to have been based on the original work ascribed to Parasara.
4. Manu converses with Matsya in the *Ma/syapurana*.
5. The *Visnudharmol/ara* (Trnya khandal).
6. One manuscript is preserved in the collection of the Oriental Institute, Baroda. Some portions of the work had been copied by Shri Prabhāshankarbhai from two different mss. of the 17th century. The author is deeply grateful to late Drs. B. J. Sandesara and U. P. Shah for permitting examination of the valuable collection of the Oriental Institute.
7. The *Jayaprocchā* was to be edited by Shri Prabhāshankarbhai and the present author. Shri Prabhāshankarbhai, unfortunately, passed away before we could prepare the final press-manuscript of this and those of the several other works we were jointly editing.
8. D. N. Shukla has published these studies in his *vestossstie*. Vol. I, *Hindu Science of Architecture*, Lucknow (196 j ?)
9. Shri Hemachandracharya Jnanabhandara at Patan, the Oriental Institute, Baroda,

the L. D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad, and the Asiatic Society of Bombay are foremost among the institutions that possess such manuscripts. Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, is also in possession of the mss. of the *vastu* works from western India. Among the hereditary architects, excellent collections were with Shri Prabhaskar O. Sompura (the editor of the *otpemsve* and the *Prāsādamañjarī*), late Shri Narmadashankar Sompura (The compiler of the *Śilparatnākara*), Shri Amritlal Trivedi (Sompura), Shri Mansukhlal Sompura, Champdalji Sompura of Sādri, Shri Bhanvarlalji of Udaipur, and a few other architects.

10. The *Aparājitapṛcchā* seems to have made condensations from this work.
11. An effort had been made by Shri Prabhaskarbhai and the present writer to re-assemble this valuable text as far as possible.
12. The sequence of mouldings in both the texts for the *piṭha* is the same. As for the *dtwsiedends*. the verse 24 in chapter CIL of AP closely resembles a corresponding verse in VV.
13. The detailed comparison of the two texts has been reserved for another occasion.
14. The term *keti* occurs in older texts. AP and a number of other works from western India use the term *mendovsre* instead.
15. The now wellknown 100 verses beginning with *erupem rūpamākāram*... describing the Jina image originally belonged to the *Vāstuvidyā*.
16. This work must not be confounded with the work of the same title from south India.
17. M. P. Vora and M. A. Dhaky, "The Date of *Aparājitapṛcchā*," *Journal of the Oriental Institute*. Vol. IX, No. 4, Baroda, 1960.
18. M. A. Dhaky, "The influence of *Samarāṅganasūtradhārā* on *Aparājitapṛcchā*". *Journal of the Orterust Institute*, Baroda, Vol. X, No. 3.
19. As evidenced by a verse in the chapter on flag staff. Besides, the description of the **Rucakādi-prāsādas** as well as the Tilakasqsradi-*presedes* in AP seems just the condensation, with a few alternations, of the same given in VV.
20. A manuscript of the work existed in the collection of Shri Prabhaskarbhai.
21. It is not certain whether the *Aparājitapṛcchā* and the *Aparājitaprabhā* are not identical. Possibly, this one is a lost chapter of the *Aparājitapṛcchā*. (The *Aparājitaprabhā* in the collection of the Asiatic society of Bengal seems to contain material from the *Aparājitapṛcchā*.)
22. I noticed these in the collection of Oriental Institute, Baroda, Shri Prabhaskarbhai, and a few other traditional architects.
23. It was examined by the author over three decades ago. The text since then has been published by Shri Prabhaskarbhai.
24. According to the list of the *Matsyapurāna*; the *Agnipurāna* refers to the *Naradiya-lantra*.
25. A manuscript of the *Nārādiyasamhitā* exists in the collection of Oriental Institute, Baroda.

26. Late Shri Prabhashankarbhai had plans to publish this valuable work.
27. The *eraekes* are of two types: one in the form of miniature Latina, the other is Anekandaka-Naqara, called *karma* in the medieval texts.
28. The manuscripts are preserved in the collection of Oriental Institute, Baroda.
29. The text has been recently edited and published by Late Shri Prabhashankarbhai
30. This I had noticed in the collection of Shri Prabhashankarbhai.
31. This is in the collection of Oriental Insutute.Baroda.
32. R. C. Agrawal, "Mevada ke kusala suiradhara evarn sllpi," (Hindi) *Semmetene-petrtke. Kala arika*.
33. Except perhaps three, all the rest are published.
34. Published by various agencies.
35. Haridas Mitra, in his introduction to the *DevalamOrliprakara(la*, writes: " For compiling his *DMP Sūtradhāra* Mandana seems either to have chiefly utilized the South Indian texts, or to have actually based his work on them " This observation is untenable; the text in the main depends on AP.
36. These works have not been published as far as known.
37. This work I had noticed in the collection of Shri Prabhashankarbhai.
38. Shri Prabhashankarbhai was in possession of a recent copy of the only known ms. of this work.
39. The work is also known as the *Sukhananda-viśu*
40. This, too, was noticed in the collection of Shri Prabhashankarbhai.
41. Published long back by *Mis* Mahadev Ramchandra Jaguste, Ahmedabad.
42. This short essay had been written some 28 years ago in the form of a prologue to my long 'Introduction" to the *Prāsādamañjarī* edited by late Shri Prabhashankarbhai. As the turn of events decreed, it could not be completed and incorporated in the published text of the *Prāsādamañjarī*. It is, therefore, published here, as it then was, for the first time with a few minor revisions. I am deeply indebted to late Shri Prabhashankarbhai for permitting me to examine his valuable collection of the manuscripts and transcripts of the *vāstu* works. With profound sadness, I have prefixed his name with the word 'late' as also before the names of Dr. B. J. Sandesara and Dr. U. P. Shah both of whom had been my well-wishers and supporters.

# ANCIENT TAMRALIPTA - MYTH AND REALITY

RANGAN KANTI JANA

Tamralipta, the ancient port city of Bengal, has been mentioned in the early Indian literature and in the foreign accounts. Presently there is a general trend to locate the ancient port city Tamralipta in the region of present Tamluk (which is one of the sub-divisional headquarters of the Midnapur district), because this area has yielded many archaeological antiquities of the period from *circa* 3rd century B. C. to *circa* 5th/6th century A. D. But the problem is that the archaeological identification of the site of Tamralipta does not tally with the literary references, whereas the port city is said to be located on the river Ganga. With the help of some new data, an attempt has been made here to solve the locational dispute as far as possible.

In the early Indian texts as well as in an epigraphic record, various forms of the name Tamralipta have been found. Among these are Tarnalitf<sup>1</sup>: Tamali<sup>2</sup>: Tamralipta": Darnalipta": Tamralipta": Tarnraliptaka, Tarnralipta, Tarnolipta": Tarnalipta, Darnalipta, Tarnalipti, Tarnalini, Stambapur, Visouqrha": Tamraliptika": Tamatiptaka": Tarnalipti'P: Velakula, Tarnalipta, Tarnalipti, Tamalika", Tarnalipta.<sup>2</sup>

Regarding its geographical location the Puranic tradition indicates that Tamralipta was on the river Bhagirath<sup>13</sup>. From the *Desskumsrecerlts* it has been understood that the city of Darnalipti (i.e. Tamralipta) controlled the entrance and the exit of the river Ganga!" which means that the city of Damahpi was situated at least on (or near) the river Ganga. The Greek geographer Ptolemy in his work *Geographike Huphegesis* on the authority of earlier or contemporary data describes the location of Tamalites on the river Ganga<sup>15</sup>. This is also corroborated by the *Dssekumsmcerim*, The Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Fa-hsien *circa* 4th century A. D. mentions that he spent two years in the country of Tan-rno-li-ti-, the capital of which was a sea port<sup>16</sup>. Yuan-chwang (in the first half of the 7th century A. D.) describes that its capital was situated near an inlet of the sea!" Towards the close of the 7th century A. D. another Chinese traveller I-tsing indicates that Tan-moli-ti was the port of embarkation and disembarkation between the route India and Ceylon (i.e. Srilanka}"!. The only epigraphic record, Dudhpani rock inscription<sup>19</sup> of 8th century A. D. refers to this city as a thriving commercial centre of a distant past.

From the above account, at least it can be suggested that Tamralipta, the thriving commercial centre, was certainly a port, not very far from the

sea, but on the river Ganga, which Yuan-chwang describes as 'an inlet of the sea.' A story occurs in the Ceylonese work *Mahāvamsā*<sup>20</sup>, which states about the sending of the Bodhi tree to Sirmhala from Tarnolitti by the Emperor Asoka. If the story is to be believed, then it can be inferred that as a port Tamralipta had come into existence by sometime of the *circa* 3rd century B. C. Presently the Tamruk town, which yielded many archaeological antiquities through excavations and explorations, is situated on the western bank of the Rupnarayana river. It is at least twenty km. from its junction with Hugli river (near Mahishadal area in Midnapur district) and from this junction the sea is far away.

Among the medieval European cartographers, Jao-des-Barros (1550 AD.) Gastaldi (1561 A.D.) and Blaeu (1650 A.D.) do label the Rupnarayana estuary as the river Ganga. Vallentin (1670 AD.) mentions the river as Patraghata. Though all other 17th century cartographers derived the name of the river on which the town was located as Tamalee, Tumberleen, Tumbolee etc. In this connection, a late 17th century Indian text *Desavalivivrti* indicates that Tamralipta was located on the western bank of the river Rupnarayana.<sup>21</sup> In the late 18th century Rennell indicates on his map that the Rupnarayana estuary is erroneously called the Ganga.<sup>22</sup> It is not feasible to believe that Rennell's description is correct and all his earlier descriptions in this connection are wrong. Though during Rennell's time certainly Tamruk was situated on the river Rupnarayana.

The present moribund channel of the river Sarasvati takes off from the river Bhagirathi-Ganga at Tribeni (in Hoogly district) passing through Saplagram, Shahnagar, Chaumaha, Sundari, and Amgachi and again joins the same at Sankrail (in Howrah district). This channel of Sarasvati is considered as the most ancient outlet of the river Bhagirathi. But the problem is that the Sarasvati did not flow towards the marked site of Tamruk. By field exploration it is revealed that below Kolaghat (in the Midnapur district) the portion of the river Rupnarayana becomes much wider than its upper half. This indicates the estuary of Rupnarayana below Kolaghat area once offered an outlet to a mighty river.

Now the question is, which river was it? In this connection the *Oesvalivivrti* describes<sup>23</sup> that the river Rupnarayana was situated on the east of Tamralipta and the 'Mandalghatta Pargana' was located to the north east of Tamralipta. It further states that the 'Ganqakhali' was to the north of 'Mandalghatta Pargana' and the 'Manankura Visaya' was in the 'Mandalghatta Pargana'. Presently the district map of Howrah shows that the 'Manankura' which can be identified with Mankur, is situated to the north of Panitras on the eastern bank of the river Rupnarayana. This indicates that the 'Mandalghatta pargana' was possibly stretched along the eastern side of the river Rupnarayana. The 'Ganqakhali' of the *Desvalivini* perhaps refers to a moribund channel of the

river Ganga. Later Rennell<sup>24</sup> in his map first labelled some elongated depression via Chanditala (in the Hoogly district), Amta (in the Howrah District), and Bagnan (in the Howrah District) from the moribund river Sarasvati to the river Rupnarayana. The LandSat image of 1975<sup>25</sup> also points out some dark elongated depressions through the same area. It suggests that once a channel of the river Ganga-Bhagirathi existed in this area and it was connected with the present river Rupnarayana near Bagnan area. It seems that the text *Desevetivivn!* describes this moribund channel as 'Ganqakhali'. It also reveals from the LandSat image that a certain migration of this moribund channel took place towards the east. Due to this eastward migration, the marked site of Tarnralipta was disconnected from the river Ganga and the particular estuary (i.e. the present Rupnarayana estuary) lost its identity as the estuary of the river Ganga. Later this estuary was variously named as - Patraghata, Tamalee, Tumberleen, Tumblee (as derived from the name of the river on which the town was situated), and ultimately Rupnarayana. On the basis of which, it can be at least inferred that the description of Ptolemy, Dandin and of the Puranic tradition were not wrong. Among the medieval European cartographers, Jao-des-Barros, Gastaldi and Blaeu also show the Rupnarayana estuary as the river Ganga. In this connection, as mentioned earlier, the late 17th century text *Desāvalivivrti* first names the river as Rupnarayana. Later Rennell opines that Rupnarayana estuary is wrongly called the Ganga.

The Archaeological Survey of India has done two excavations at Tamluk - one in 1954-55<sup>26</sup> and another in 1972-73<sup>27</sup>. These excavations have yielded archaeological materials of the period from the *circa* 3rd century B. C. to *circa* 5th/6th century A. D. The period IV<sup>26</sup> (i. e. *circa* 300 A. D. to 6th/7th century A. D.) does not indicate any impressive clues, which can corroborate with the descriptions of the three Chinese travellers such as Fa-hsien (A. D. 300), Yuan-chwang (A. D. 639) and I-tsing (A. D. 700).

Certainly a doubt can be raised about the present site of the town of Tamluk, whether it actually indicates the ancient site of the port city. Because, during the two excavations the material unearthed is not sufficient and significant in respect of a famous port city. In recent times, by explorations" a number of archaeologically potential sites have been located, along the western bank of the river Rupnarayana. The sites which are situated in the south of the present city (i. e. Tamluk) along the same river such as Ichapur, Bar Amritberiya, Kumbhachak Natshal, Natshal, Tetulberiya, Bhangagara, Badur, Natpatia yielded comparatively more antiquities" (through surface explorations) than the sites which are located in the north as well as in the west of the present city. Among the southern sites, apart from the present city of Tamluk, Ichapur, Bar Amritberiya, Kumbhachak Natshal and Natshal yielded large number of significant objects, which indicate a certain characteristic resemblance with those materials unearthed during the excavations at Tarnluk."



This strip of land between the present Tamluk and Natshal along the river Rupnarayana is perhaps the probable core territory of the ancient port city. A series of archaeological excavations particularly in this area only can unearth the solid clues, about the actual location of the ancient port city.

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29. The present author, as a senior Research Fellow in a Project of the CSIR-EMR-II, New Delhi has visited along the western side at the river Rupnarayana with the two senior members, Dr. Ranabir Chakravarti, Reader, Dept. Of AI.HC., Calcutta University, and Dr. Asok Dutta, Lecturer, Dept. of Archaeology, Calcutta University.
30. A Large nurnber of archaeological antiquities have been kept in the custody of the Tarnralipta Museurn and Research Centre, Tarnluk, Dist. Midnapur.
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## MAHIMABHATTA'S VIEWS ON HOW RASAS ARISE AND THEY ARE ENJOYED BY SAHRDAYAS\*

V. M. KULKARNI

Mahimabhattacha (MB) *Vyaktiviveka*<sup>1</sup> (W) which means A Critique of *Vyakti*, the same as *Vyañjanā* (Suggestion) severely criticises Ānandavardhana's definition of *dhvani*, the opening verse of *Dhvanyiloka*, "*kāvyaśyātmā 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 '*setae*': (word), his own conception of poetry, purpose of poetry, poetic language, his own views on how *rasas* arise and they are enjoyed by *sahrdayas* 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 *sahrdayas* on the strength of which] *rasas* are metaphorically described as *vyarigya* (suggested)? in fact, they are inferable (*anumeya*). In everyday life one does not feel even a trace of pleasure while inferring emotions like *soka* (sorrow) from their *lirigas* (or *hetus* or *stidhanas*, 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 *snubhsvss*, *vyabhicāribhāvas* and *sāttvikabhāvas*) which are nothing but *betvsdis* (the word *ādi* includes *kārya* and *sahaktiri* - *ktira(las)* ) of everyday life act as *liriga* or *gamaka* or *sādhana* i.e. mark or token; and the same *bhāvas* - *rsti*. 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 *rsti*, as *vyarigya*."<sup>2</sup>

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\* Owing to a regrettable oversight this article has appeared in an incomplete form in / olume 70 for 1995. Here it is being reprinted as it originally was for readers' convenience.  
- Editors

MB refutes this prima facie view as follows:

Wherever in poetry the permanent emotions (mental states), love and the like *trstysa*; the word *sat* includes '*tuise, soks, krodha, utssbe, Maya, jugupsti, and vismaya*' - in all the eight *sthāyibhāvas*) are inferred from their respective *vibhāvādīs*, there only arises *resssvsde*, which is apprehended (or perceived) by *sahridayas* 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, anubhīvas* and *vyabhicāribhāvas*." It has also been said : " *Rasa* manifests through a combination of various *bbeves (bhtiva-samyojana-vyarigyah)*, it is perceived by an extraordinary form of consciousness (*pere-sertwiui-qocetuh*), 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 (*kāvyaṛthah*)".<sup>3</sup>

In everyday life *vibhāvādīs* do not at all exist. *Helvtidīs* alone exist. Nobody should ever think that the *vibhāvādīs* and the *neivsdīs* are identical. The *betvedīs* are one thing and the *vibhāvādīs* 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 *rsti* love belong to, say Rāma, etc; a poet identifies himself with Rāma and his emotions and describes them in his *ksvys*. These emotions, when presented (on the stage with the four kinds of acting) give rise to (*bhtivayanī*) various *rasas* and therefore they are called *bhāvas*.

Sita, etc., who are the *betas* (causes) of the various emotions in our everyday life, when described in *kāvya* are called *vibhsvs* in accordance with the etymology '*vibhtivyanle bhāvā ebhir iii vibhsvst:*'; through them the various *bhāvas (sthāyins* and *vyebhicsrins* are understood (and appreciated) by the spectators. Incidentally, it may be noted that the *Nāṭyaśāstra* explains *vibhāva* as *vijrāna* and says that *vibhāva* is nothing but '*kāraṇa, nimilla, or betu*' and adds that many matters including *sthāyins* and *vyabhictirins* depending upon acting are specially understood from them (the prose passage preceding *Nāṭyaśāstra*, VIIA).

*Mukhaprastida* (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 *anubhīvas*.

The various *rasas* are regarded as only imitations of the *sthsvibhsvs*:

*Sthāyyanukaraṇātmano hi rasā isyanle* - p. 7 1. And the *rasas* are, beyond any shadow of doubt, of the supreme importance. The *sthāyibhāvas* and their corresponding *rasas* stand in the relation of *bimba* (the original) and

its *pralibimba* (reflection) ; *Tessm bimba-pratibimba-nyāyenāvasthānāt* - p. 72.

Ruyyaka in his commentary, called *Vyakliviveka - vyākhyāna*, thus explains the two terms - *bimba* and *pralibimba*: *anuktiryasya bimbaNam anukaranasya pratibimbatvam*. - p. 73.

In other words, the persons, their feelings and emotions, the events, conflicts, etc, which poets draw upon for their *kāvya* are *ekrtrims* (real), whereas their presentation and description in poetic language are *kttrims* (artistic, lit. artificial). For they are of the nature of *anukarana* (imitation). Thus, there is a difference between the two sets i.e., (i) the *vbhevsais* and (ii) the *hetvedis*, with regard to their nature (*svsrupe*): 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 (*visaya*). For one relates to the province of poetry (*kāvya*, both dramatic and non-dramatic), whereas the other, to the real and actual everyday world (*toke*). 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 (*pratiti*) in regard to the permanent emotions like love (*reti*), 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 (*pratiyantina*) or implied (*gamyā*). And the very experience of this apprehension or perception itself is what we call aesthetic pleasure or relish or enjoyment (*rs.s.s.svet.*)"

Or lei alone the case of love (*rsti*), etc., which is always beyond the range of sight (*paroksa*). Even a thing which is perceptible (*prstyekse*), when directly perceived does not give the *sehrśyēs* so much delight (*camatkiira*) as it gives when described by a true (gifted) poet. For it has been said ; "Things (*bhiivas*) 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 MS and the ideas which Shoja expresses in his *Srīgāraprakāśa* (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...5

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

MS, being a *naiyyika*, glorifies inference (*anumiina*) ; "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 *netveats*, in our real life does not delight us so much as it does when inferred from the *vibbsvss*, etc., that are described in *kāvya*. The expressed meaning does not delight us so much as when it is interred.:"

In support of his own statement he quotes a passage from Anandavardhana, the Dhvanikara : ..For an essential idea (*ssrsrupet: erthetl*. if it is revealed without stating it in so many words attains a far greater beauty.:" And perception of aesthetic beauty is the ar-in-all in *Kavya*. By that much only those who deserve to be instructed receive instruction as regards Dos (*vidhis*) and Don'ts (*oretseahs*)" 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 (*prsmst*: 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.<sup>10</sup>

Therefore in real life from real causes, etc., real love, etc. are apprehended. There these *ratytidis* (Jove 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 *ratytidī* (Jove and other emotions) which are inferable should alone be metaphorically called *vyarigya* (suggested) with aesthetic pleasure as the purpose (*prayojana*) one of the three conditions for resorting to *upacare* (metaphor)<sup>11</sup> (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 (*tsnumsns*) only. For the apprehension of the *vibhāvādis* is the means (*stidhana*) to the apprehension of *rasādi* (the *sādhyā*, the end). The *vibhāvādis* present themselves as the *hetvtidis* of the various permanent emotions (*ratytidī*) and as they cause the *sahridayas* to infer the *retysdis*, manifest *rastidis*. As the *rstysdis* are in the actual process of inference and reach the stage of aesthetic relish or enjoyment, they are called *rasas*<sup>12</sup> (p. 417). Therefore there is inevitably a sequence (*krama*) between the two *pratītis* - (the *vibhāvādi* - *pratīli* and the *rastidi*-*pratīti*). This sequence, however, is not perceived because

of the *āsubhāvītā* (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 Mahimabhata claimed that *dhvani* could always be reduced to inference (*anumāna*).<sup>13</sup>

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-bhava*.
- (ii) There is sequence between the *vibhāvādi-pratīti* and *rasādi-pratīti*.
- (iii) The *vibhāvādi-pratīti* is the *sādhana* (means) and *rasādi-pratīti*, the *sādhyā* (the end.)
- (iv) Although the *vibhāvādis* are *krtrims* (lit. artificial or not real) and the mental states *rati*, etc. they lead to, be unreal, the relishing or enjoyment (*svasā*) of *rasa* is very much real. It is admitted by great philosophers that even a mistaken cognition leads to *pramāṇa*- 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 *betvādis* in our everyday life, but when the *rati* (love) etc., are inferred from the *vibhāvādis* 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 *ratiyādis* as *vyaṅgya* (suggested).

Is Mahimabhata indebted to Sarikuka 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-nispatti* (how *rasas* arise) and *svasā* (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 Sarikuka and MS. Sankuka is

decidedly MB's predecessor. Sarikuka's commentary on the *Nāṭyaśāstra* is irretrievably lost, but his views on *rasa-nispatti* and *rssesvede* have been quoted at some length by Abhinavagupta in his own commentary, *Abhinavabharati*, on the *Nāṭyaśāstra*.

In a modern study of Mahimabhattacha's *Vyaktiviveka* however the author argues that Mahimabhattacha possibly could not have "seen" *Abhinavabhāratī* which contains Sarikuka's *anumitivāda* (theory of inference - *enumsne*). For there is no sign or indication in his *W* 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 (*eitratūraganyaya!*, described by Sarikuka, to demonstrate the relation between the actor and the character." 1.

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 *Dhṛvenystoke*. For MB has cited a passage from *Locana* to criticise Abhinavagupta for his defence of Ānandavardhana referring to him sarcastically as "*kecid vidvanmaninah.*"<sup>15</sup> Abhinavagupta records a number of views on *rasa* in his *Locana* in the course of his comments on *Dhṛvanyaloka* 1.4. One of these views is admittedly of Sankuka, although it is stated here without attributing it to him and simply adding at the end '*iti kectt*'. The relevant portion of this passage is reproduced here below (as translated by Masson and Patwardhan in their work *Śāntarasa*):<sup>16</sup>

Therefore, (here is Śankuka's view.) " when this *sthāyi bhāsve*, is combined with the *vibhāvas*, *anubhāvas* and *vyabhicāribhāvas*, there results an experience (*pratipatti*) of the *sthāyibhāva* (love, etc. which is inferred as existing in the actor... the nature of this experience is the enjoyment of the *sthāyibhāva* (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 Sankuka)."

It deserves our notice that in this passage the famous *eitra-turaga-nyaya* is absent, it is attributed to Śarikuka by Mammata in his *Kāvya prakāśa*. *Locana*, however, gives it after Sankuka's views have already been expounded with the opening words "*anye tv*"; "Others say.", As neither *Abhinavabhāratī* nor *Locana* attributes the *eitra-turaga-nyaya* to Sarikuka, we need not read any special significance if MB does not refer to it.

It is probably for the first time Mammata has attributed this *nyāya* to Sarikuka by combining the two views, one of '*iti kectt*' and another, '*anye tv*' which are set forth consecutively here in *Locana*.



It would therefore be reasonable to draw the inference that MS had read these various views about *rasanisipatti* and *rasssvsae* including the one which is admittedly that of Śarikuka. We are therefore justified in concluding that MS's claim to originality as far as his views on how *rasas* arise and they are enjoyed are concerned is not sustained.

If however, one were still to insist that MS is original in his views on how *rasas* arise and how they are enjoyed then we will have to rest contented with the thought that "great minds think alike."

Aesthetic experience in (non-dramatic) poetry :

According to MS, the *sthāyibhāva*, when inferred from the *liriga* or *sedbeoa* (mark. logical reason) viz. the combination of the *vibhāvādis*, becomes *rasa* and the *sthāyibhāva* thus inferred is the source of aesthetic pleasure for the spectators. He further asserts that the *sthāyibhāva*, when inferred from *betvedis* (real causes etc.) in everyday life does not delight us as it does when inferred from the *vibhāvādis* in poetry (including dramatic poetry) and that it is the very nature of things that the *vibbsvsdī* lead to a delightful apprehension of *rasa* and does not deserve to be called in question :

*So' pi ca tesām na tathā svadate yathā tairevanumeyatarij nite iti svsbhsve  
evyem na paryanuyogam arhati* — pp. 72-73.

When you appeal to *Svabhāva*, all debate, discussion and reasoning or argumentation ends !

It would not be out of place if we refer here to the views of literary thinkers who have touched this topic briefly in the course of their exposition of the *rasa* theory - although as a rule they discuss the problem keeping in view dramas, the stage, the actor and the spectator. From *Abhinavabhārati* we learn that Bhaṭṭa Tota in his *Kavyakautuka*, a work on poetics gave more importance to drama than to poetry. Abhinavagupta observes- "Our teacher (Bhaṭṭa Tota) says that *rasa* arises in a poem if we see things as if they were taking place before our eyes." As he has said in his *Kavyakautuka* "In a poem that is not enacted (on the stage of our mind), it is not possible to have a true aesthetic experience (*āsvāda*). When things *ibhewss*; such as gardens, lovely women, the moon etc., are well and elegantly described by a polished (?) imagination, then they appear as if they were actually taking place before our very eyes 0. e. as if we saw them acted OUU "'7

Immediately after this quotation Abhinavagupta quotes the view of some other literary thinker using the words "Anye to."

Others however say that there is aesthetic pleasure (*trssss-csrvsns*, aesthetic enjoyment or relish) even in poems, because of the greatest beauty produced by *gU(ias* (poetic qualities) and *alariJkaras* (figures of speech).<sup>18</sup>

This view agrees, partially though, with Bhaṭṭa Nayakas view of aesthetic

experience in poetry :

Rasa is manifested by a special power assumed by words in poetry and drama, the power of generalisation or universalization (*bhāvanā*) which power consists of the action of generalizing the *vibhsvs*, etc., it has the faculty of suppressing the thick layer of mental stupor (*moha*) obscuring our consciousness; in *poetry* it is marked by the absence of poetic defects (*dosas*) and the presence of *gunas* (poetic qualities) and *alamkāras* (figures of speech); in *drama* it is characterized by the fourfold *abhinaya* (acting or dramatic representation). *Rasa*, revealed by this special power, is then enjoyed with a particular *bhoga* (a special kind of enjoyment) different from *anubhava* (direct experience), *smṛti* (memory) and the like. This enjoyment is characterized by a resting (*viśrānti*) in one's own consciousness (*sarhvit*) which due to the exuberance (*udreka*) of the state of *sativa*, is pervaded by *snsnde* (delight or bliss) and light (*prakāśa*), and approximates the bliss that comes from realizing one's identity with the highest Brahman (*parabrahmiisvada-savīdha*).<sup>19</sup>

Abhinavagupta states his own view about aesthetic experience in poetry first in his commentary, *Locana*, on *Dhvanyaloka* and later on again in his commentary *Abhinavabharati* on *Nāṭyaśāstra*.

In *Locana* he says : " *Rasa* applies to non-dramatic poetry as well. In place of realism (*lokadharmi*) and dramatic conventions (*natyadharmi*) that apply to the theatre we have in poetry the two modes of description called Natural Description (*svabhāvokti*) and striking mode of speech (*vekrakth* which convey *rasa* by means of transcendental (*alaukika*) *vibhevss*, etc. which are presented by words possessing such poetic qualities as clarity or lucidity (*iprsssde*), sweetness (*mādhurya*) and vigour (*iojss*).

Or we admit that aesthetic experience in poetry is distinct from that which we experience in drama since the means (*upāyas*) whereby it is brought about in the two cases differ. This apprehension of *rasa* in drama is different from everyday cases of inference although it depends on inference in the initial stages. In poetry too the apprehension of *rasa* is different from other types of verbal cognition (like the wellknown *abhidhā* or *lakṣanā*) but in the initial stages it depends on *abhidhā* as a means of reaching the other suggested meaning...<sup>20</sup>

in his *Abhinavabharati* (on NS VI. 33) Abhinavagupta concludes : " *Rasas* come from drama, which is a combination of *vibbsvss*, *snuobsves*; etc. Or we can say that *rasas* are nothing other than drama. For a drama is only a collection of *rasas*. *Rasas* are only found in the drama (or if we read *na* : *rasas* are not only found in the drama). To the extent that poetry resembles drama, *rasa* is also found in poetry... Poetry is primarily after all only drama. Aesthetic experience is fully accomplished by means of appropriate language,

style, intonation, costume, etc. For in poems that consist of canto's etc. we often find such inappropriate things as the heroine speaking in Sanskrit only because the writer is limited in his capacity (? the reading '*śakti-rahitatvāt*' is rather doubtful. It has been said (by Vāmana) : 'Among the sustained larger works the ten types of drama are the most praiseworthy. All kinds of non-dramatic poetry beginning with ornate epic poems and ending with isolated stanzas, dispense with the orderly arrangement of the various constituents of drama such as the five *sandhis*. The subject matter of the ten types of drama is itself *nāṭya*... The impact of the subject matter of literature on spectators and readers is very diverse, since it can be either clear or unclear (i.e., powerful or not) depending on the degree of sympathetic response (elicited in the spectator)... Therefore *rasas* are only found in drama, and not in the everyday world. And poetry is nothing other than drama...<sup>21</sup>

Elsewhere too Abhinavagupta says ; "When all the three (*vibhavas*, *anubhāvas* and *vyabhicāribhāvas*) are described giving them equal prominence (or importance) we have a heightened effect of aesthetic experience. This is only possible in a long continuous work (*prabandha*). In fact, it is only possible in ten types of drama. As Vāmana has said : "Among long continuous works the ten types of drama are the best or the most praiseworthy, for it is variegated and hence complete or full and wonderful like a picture...<sup>22</sup>

*Muktakas* (isolated, independent stanzas) depend, Abhinavagupta feels, on drama. "When reading such stanzas the sensitive reader prepares (or better supplies) the context by considering what has taken place earlier, what later, who is the speaker, what is the occasion, etc." Because of this in the case of readers who are *śhrdsyss* through the force of their former (*praktana*) merit and study of (or practice in) poetry... even though the *Vibhāvādis* be very limited, the subject-matter of the poem (*kāvyaṛtha*) appears to them very clearly as if they were witnessing it before their very eyes... For such readers, poetry gives them both *priti* (pleasure) and *Vyutpatti* (moral instruction) although the poem is not acted out... When they witness a dramatic performance, there is an even greater effect (*nirmafikara* (i.e. - receptivity of the mind) according to the maxim that the bright rays of the moon, when they fall (on a bright object, say, mirror), make it all the more bright. For readers who are not *śruddev* drama helps them to achieve receptivity of the mind.<sup>23</sup>

Anandavardhana showers praise on the poet Amaru in these glorious words : "There are poets who are intent on producing *rasa* in *muktakas* as in *prabandhas*. For example, the poems of the poet Amaru are famous for their profusion in the *śrīgāra-rasa* and for being as good as larger works...<sup>24</sup>

Following Vāmana Abhinavagupta remarks that drama alone gives complete *ressveas* and adds that *muktakas* give delight only when the reader is able to supply appropriate context. A poet's powerful, graphic and picturesque

descriptions of the *vibhsvsdis* make the *muktaka* living like an enacted drama before the mind's eye of the *setrdey*« readers. That is why Abhinavagupta declares:

*'Ktivye 'pi nātyāyamāna eva resent'*  
And, *'Kāvyañca netyemevs)*

## Notes and References

1. Edition with the commentary called *MadhusOdanj* Kashi Sanskrit Series No. 12 1, Senares, 1936.
2. तत् कोऽतिशयः काव्यादौ यत् तत्रैव रसास्वादो न लोक इति प्रयोजनांशासंभवाद रत्यादिषु व्यङ्ग्यत्वोपचारोऽनुपपन्न एव ! - VV, p. 66.
3. भावसंयोजनव्यङ्ग्य (:7) परि (?पर) संवित्तिगोचरः ।  
आस्वादानात्मानुभवो रसः काव्यार्थ उच्यते ॥ *Ibid*, p. 67.
4. तदेवं विभावादीनां हेत्वादीनां च कृत्रिमाकृत्रिमतया काव्यलोकविषयतया च स्वरूपभेदे विषयभेदे चावस्थिते सत्येकत्वासिद्धेर्यदा विभावादिभिर्विषु रत्यादिष्वसत्येष्वेव प्रतीतिरूपजन्यते तदा तेषां तन्मात्रसारत्वात् प्रतीयमाना इति गम्या इति च व्यपदेशा मुख्यवृत्त्योपपद्यन्ते एव । तत्प्रतीतिपरामर्श एव च रसास्वादः स्वाभाविक इत्युक्तम् । - *Ibid*, p. 73.
5. कविशक्त्यर्पित भावास्तन्मयीभावयुक्तिः ।  
यथा स्फुरन्त्यमी काव्यान् तथाध्यक्षतः किल ॥ - *Ibid*, p. 73.
6. तत्र न तथा पदार्थः प्रत्यक्षेण प्रतीयमानाः स्वदन्ते, यथा वाग्मिनां वचोभिरावेद्यमानाः । तदाह -  
अत्थणिवेसा ण वि तह चित्तविआसं कुणांति सच्चविआ ।  
जह उण ते उम्मिलंति सुकविआहिं सुसीसंता ॥  
[अर्थनिवेशा नापि तथा चित्तविकासं कुर्वन्ति दृष्टाः ।  
यथा पुनस्ते उन्मीलन्ति सुकविचोभिः कथ्यमानाः ॥] - *Ibid*, p. 74.
7. सोऽपि च तेषां न तथा स्वदते, यथा तैरवानुमेयतां नीत इति स्वभाव एवायं न पर्यनुयोगमर्हति ।  
तदुक्तम् —  
नानुमितो हेत्वाद्यैः स्वदतेऽनुमितो यथा विभावाद्यैः ।  
न च सुखयति वाच्योऽर्थः प्रतीयमानः स एव यथा ॥ - *Ibid*, p. 74.
8. ध्वनिकृताप्युक्तम् - 'साररूपो ह्यर्थः स्वशब्दानभिधेयत्वेन प्रकाशितः सुतरां शोभाभावहति' । इति । - *Ibid*, P. 74.
9. प्रतीतिमात्रपरमार्थ च काव्यादि तावतैव विनेयेषु विधिनिषेधव्युत्पत्तिसिद्धेः । - *Ibid*, p. 74.
10. तदुक्तम् - : भ्रान्तिरपि संबन्धतः प्रमा' इति ।  
" मणिप्रदीपप्रभयोर्मणिबुद्ध्याभिधावतोः ।  
मिथ्याज्ञानाविशेषेऽपि विशेषोऽर्थक्रियां प्रति ॥" - *Pramāṇavārtika* ॥ 5. 7.

11. एष एव लोकतः काव्यादावतिशय इत्युपपद्यत एव रत्यादौ गम्ये सुखास्यादप्रयोजनो व्यङ्ग्यत्वोपचार इति ।  
-VV. p. 75.
12. यापि विभावादिभ्यो रसादीनां प्रतीतिः सानुमान एवान्तर्भावमर्हतीति ।  
“ विभावानुभावव्यभिचारिप्रतीतिर्हि रसादिप्रतीतेः साधनमिष्यते ।  
ते हि रत्यादीनां भावानां कारणकार्यसहकारिभूतास्ताननुमापयन्त एव रसादीन् निष्पादयन्ति । त एव प्रतीयमाना आस्यादपदपदवीं गताः सन्तो रसा इत्युच्यन्ते ।
13. इत्यवश्यंभावी तत्प्रतीतिक्रमः । केवलमाशुभावितयासौ न लक्ष्यते यतोऽयमद्याप्य (? मत्राप्य) भिव्यक्तिक्रमः । ”  
इत्युक्तम् । - *Ibid*, p. 4 17.
14. Read *A Study of MahimaMatta's Vākīvivēka* by Dr. C. Rajendran, Professor of Sanskrit, University of Calicut, 1991, p. 118.
15. अत्र *केचिद्विद्वन्मानिनो द्विवचनसमर्थनामनोरथाक्षिप्तचित्तया...* - W. pp. 90-91.
16. *Śāntarasa*, BORI edn., Pune 1969, p. 69, f. n. 4.
17. *Nāṭyaśāstra* Vol I GOS edn., Baroda, 1992, pp. 284-85.
18. *Ibid*, p. 285 अन्ये तु काव्येऽपि गुणालङ्कारसौन्दर्यातिशयकृतं रसचर्चणमाहुः ।
19. *Ibid*, p. 271, opening paragraph.
20. Based on the translation in *Śāntarasa* (pp. 70-73).
21. As translated in *Aes/haic Rap/ture* Vol. II, Notes by Masson and Patwardhan, Deccan College, Poona 1970, (pp. 71-72).
22. किन्तु समप्राधान्य एव रसास्वादस्योत्कर्षः । तच्च प्रबन्ध एव भवति । वस्तुतस्तु दशरूपक एव । यदाह वामनः - संदर्भेषु दशरूपकं श्रेयः । तद् विचित्रं चित्रपटवद् विशेषसाकल्यात् ।  
- A. Bh. Vol I, GOS edn. Vadodara, 1992, p. 28 1.
23. .... तदुपजीवनेन मुक्तके । तथा च तत्र सहृदयाः पूर्वापरमुचितं परिकल्प्य ईदृगत्र वक्ताऽस्मिन्नवसरे इत्यादि बहुतरं पीठबन्धरूपं विदधते । तेन ये काव्याभ्यासप्राक्तनपुण्यादिहेतुबलादिति(भिः) सहृदयास्तेषां परिमितविभावाद्युन्मीलनेऽपि परिस्फुट एव साक्षात्कारकल्पः काव्यार्थः स्फुरति ।  
- A Bh. Vol I, GOS edn., Vadodara, 1992, p. 28 1.
24. मुक्तकेषु प्रबन्धेष्विव रसबन्धाभिनिवेशिनः कवयो दृश्यन्ते । यथा ह्यमरुकरय कवेर्मुक्तकाः शुद्धगारसस्यन्दिनः प्रबन्धायमानाः प्रसिद्धा एव ।  
- *Dhvnyāloka* (III 7) *Vrtti* p. 325 (*Bālapriyā* - edn.).

## BHARATA'S CONCEPT OF BHAVA

V. M. KULKARNI

Bharata in his *saṅgraha-kārikā (Nāṭyaśāstrā,*<sup>1</sup> VI. 10) enumerates the main subjects of *Netyessstrs*, viz.. *reses*, *bbeves*, etc. After dealing with *rasas* he takes up for treatment *bheves*. He mainly deals with eight *stheyibhsvse*, thirty-three *vyabhicāribhāvas* and eight *sāttvikabhāvas* . in all forty-nine *bhāvas*.<sup>2</sup>

Incidentally he defines *vibhāvas* and *anubhāvas* which are absolutely *jada* or *acelana* that is insentient.

*Bhāva* : At the outset of the chapter he informs us that *bbeves* are so called as they suggest or manifest the *kāvyaṛtha* i.e. *rasa* connected with dramatic representation that is involuntary (*saliva*) and that which uses speech (*vs«*) and that which uses the body (*anga*) i.e.. gestures and bodily movements and that which uses costume. (*āhārya*) not clearly mentioned but implied. In this connection he then cites two traditional verses :

1. A *bbsvs* is so named as it brings to the consciousness of the spectators (or causes them to experience) the *kāvyaṛtha* . that is *rasa* brought forth by the *vibtuivss* (determinants) and manifested through *anubhāvas* (consequents) and *sāttvikabhāvas* (involuntary states). and by dramatic representation that uses speech (*vāk*) and that which uses the body (*anga*.)

2. A *bhāva* is so called because it manifests the emotions or internal feelings of the poet through acting of involuntary states (e.g. tears. perspiration. etc.) and through dramatic representation of words (*vāk*), gestures. bodily movements and facial changes (lit. colour of the face - *mukharagal*.)

Bharata derives the word *bhāva* ..from the causative of *bhū*, to be. which may be intended into different meanings. that is "to cause to be" (viz. bring about. create. etc.) and ..to pervade". According to the first meaning that which is brought about are the purposes of poetry. *kāvyaṛtha*, that is the *rasas* ". According to the second meaning these are so called because they pervade the minds of spectators as any smell does...<sup>3</sup>

As they cause the *rasas* relating to various kinds of dramatic representation (to pervade the minds of spectators) they are called *bhāvas* by those who produce a drama. (Ibid. VII.3)

"The word *vibbsve* has the meaning of distinct or clear knowledge. The words *vibhāva*, *kerens*, *nimilla* and *helu* are synonymous. As words. gestures

and bodily movements and the dramatic representation of involuntary states [connected with the manifestation of *kāvyaṛtha*, *rasas*) are clearly determined by this (*vibhāvyaṛte anena*) it is called *vibhāva*. *Vibhāvita* is synonymous with *vijīyata*." - (ibid. p.340)

*Anubhāva* : "Anubhāva is so called because the dramatic representation based on words (*vāk*) gestures and bodily movements (*ariga*) and involuntary states (*sattvikabhava*) causes (the spectators) to experience (the corresponding emotion)." In this regard there is a verse :

"Since the *kāvyaṛtha* (*rasa*) is made to be experienced by dramatic representation using speech (*vak*) and gestures and bodily movements (*ariga*), the term *enubbsve* (consequents) is therefore used. It is connected with the flourish of hand-gesture (*śākhā*) as well as the gestures of the major and minor limbs of the body." (ibid, p. 345)

Now, in everyday life *vibbsve* is not called *vibhāva* but *kāraṇa* (cause). In the same way in everyday life *anubhāva* is not called *enubbsvs* but *kārya* (effect). These designations, *vibhāva* and *anubhāva* which we do not use in everyday life, are indications of the *alaukika* nature of *rasa*.

In regard to *vibbsves* and *anubhāvas* Bharata remarks:

The *vibhāvas* and *anubhāvas* are well known [as *kāraṇa* and *kārya*]. They closely follow human nature. Hence their definitions are not given - not explained and this is for avoiding prolixity.

Incidentally, Bharata does not limit the number of *vibhāvas* - and *snubtuives* unlike that of *stheyi-vyebhiceri* - and *settviks-bhsvss* which are unalterably fixed as eight, thirty three and eight respectively.

yo *t* ho *hrdayasartwadi*... NS VI.7

This verse, especially its first *half*, is variously interpreted :

(i) M. Ghosh thus translates the first half :

"The State proceeding from the thing which is congenial to the heart is the source of the sentiment"....

(p.120)

(iii) *Bharata-Natitya-Maiijari* translates it as :

"The emotional state pertaining to the art-content (*artha*) which evokes a hearty communion is the source of *rasa*..." And adds a note :

'Rasodbhavaḥ' must be interpreted as '*rasasya udbhavaḥ, utpattisthānam, kereosm vā*' and as going with *bhsvst*; in keeping with Bharata's earlier

pronouncement that *rasas* arise from *braves*

-(p.10n)

(iii) The authors of *Śāntarasa*<sup>4</sup> translate it thus :

"The externalisation (*bhāva*) of that emotion (*artha*) which makes an appeal to the heart is the source (*udbhava*) of *rasa*

(p.78 fnA)

(iv) Abhinavagupta cites the verse in support of his definition of *sehrdeys*.

"Those people who are capable of identifying with the subject matter, as the mirror of their hearts has been polished through constant repetition and study of poetry, and who sympathetically respond in their hearts - those (people) are what are known as sensitive readers."

(v) Keeping in mind the comments of the commentary *Bālapriyā*<sup>5</sup> the verse may be translated as follows :-

Constant relishing (*bhāva* = *bhāvanā* - *nīrsrusre-cervens*) of the subject matter (viz., the *vibhāvas*, etc.) which makes an appeal to the heart is the source of *rasa* (*rasodbhava*). The body (of the *sshrdeys*) is pervaded by it (i.e., the *rasa*) as drywood by fire. That is why they are external manifestations of the *sāttvikabhāvas* (involuntary states) like *roms/ice* or *pu/aka* (horripilation) (or goose-flesh), *sveda* (sweat) and the like.

Dr. K.Krishnamoorthy differs with the author of the *Bālapriyā* commentary and for that matter even with Abhinavagupta. According to him, the connoisseur's appreciative response to poetry was not called *rasa* by Bharata or his early interpreters. They rightly termed it only as *hrdayasamvāda*. He cites Bharata's above verse and translates it in his own way, influenced, however by the *t.ocene-Keurnua?* and finally observes :

"It appears to me that the metaphor here need not be taken literally to refer to the body of the *sehrdeys*; , as it is usually done; but understood to refer to the body of a literary work as a whole. Bharata is not talking of the *ssbrdsy* at the commencement of his seventh chapter but of *bbevs* in drama. This context should not be ignored.<sup>7</sup>

A close look at the verse would reveal that its first half is concerned with the *rsse-ruspstti* whereas the second half with its enjoyment by a *sahrdaya*.

***Sthāyibhāva*** : In the 'authentic' text of Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*<sup>8</sup> we do not find the term *stheyibbsvs* defined. The following verse is generally accepted as the definition of *sthāyibhāva* :

बहूनां समवेतानां रूपं यस्य भवेद् बहु ।

स मन्तव्यो रसः स्थायी शेषाः संचारिणो मताः ॥





Now, Bharata lists eight *sthāyibhāvas* (permanent, abiding or dominant emotions). They are the basic and vital element in the production of *rasa* (*rasa-nispattij*). They dominate all other transient emotions or mental states and persist throughout the drama amid their variations. According to Bharata, the *sthāyibhāva* stands to the other *bhāvās* in the position of a king to his subjects<sup>11</sup> or a master to his pupils.<sup>12</sup>

Some neo-moderns (*nava-nāvināh*) have taken exception to Abhinavagupta's describing these *sthāyibhāvas* as worldly (*laukika*) permanent emotions when Bharata has used the term strictly in its technical meaning (a dominant emotion which persists throughout the drama amid the variations of the transient feelings. The criticism of '*na va-na vinas*' ignores Abhinavagupta's own view of aesthetic experience. For a clear exposition of his own view of *rasa* it was necessary for him to explain the worldly nature of the *sthāyibhāvas* like *retī. soke*, etc. The names of permanent emotions in life and literature (particularly dramatic literature) are the same and not different as in the case of *helu* or *kerene*, *kerye* and *sahakari* or *sebeceri* (*karana*) which are called *vibhsve*, *anubhava* and *webbicsri-bhsve* respectively in the field of the *rasa* theory. Possibly, this is responsible for the confusion of the neo-moderns.

In his *Locana* on *Dhvanyaloka* 11.4 Abhinavagupta observes :

("When Bhattanayaka) on his part says that extraordinary deeds of Rāma (such as building a bridge over the ocean, etc.) do not win sympathetic response from everybody, he is being very rash indeed. For minds are characterised as possessing a great variety of latent impressions (*vāsanā*). As has been said: "*vsssnss* are endless because desire is eternal" (*YogasŌra IV. 10*). Although separated by births (*jali*), place (*desa*) and time (*kala*) nonetheless there is a correspondence between memory and *semskeres* (i.e., though several lives intervene, *vāsanās* still give rise to instinctive reactions to external situations)." - (ibid IV.9)<sup>13</sup>

Again, in *Abhinavabhāratī Vol. I* p.276 (4th edn. 1992) Abhinavagupta examines each one of the nine *sthāyibhāvas* and shows how every living being, right from his birth is endowed with these nine forms of consciousness-mental states.) of permanent nature. For example, in accordance with the maxim - 'everyone seeks pleasure and avoids pain,' all beings are eager to taste or enjoy pleasure (*retī*) He concludes : "There exists no living being who is devoid of the *vāsanās* or *ssmskeress* (latent impressions of these nine mental states). All we can say is that in someone one of these mental states may predominate, in someone else it may not predominate to the same extent."

From these passages it would seem that according to Abhinavagupta, *vassras* or *ssmsksrress* are the same as *sthāyibhāvas*. Incidentally, it may

be noted that in Kalidasa's famous *subhāsita*-like *arthāntaranyāsa* 'bhs vssthīsr» *janantintara - seubrdeni bhtivasthira* is the same as *sthāyibhāva*.

Now, when one watches the performance of a play in which, say, the *sthayibhiva rati* predominates, one's corresponding *sthāyibhāva rati* lying latent is awakened or activated by the powerful impact of the *vibhivas*, etc. After it is activated there takes place *hrdayasamvāda* (sympathetic response). This *hrdayasarijvāda* represents the state just before *tādātmya*. or *tanmayibhiva*. This *tādātmya* is made possible through the process of *sādhāranikarana* (universalisation, idealisation) which makes all events in a play impersonal and universal. When all the events, *vibhevss*. etc, are made impersonal and universal *tādātmya* or *tanmayibhāva* or *tanmayibhavana* i. e. identification with the situation being portrayed takes place, and finally *rasa - csrvsns*. In this process of *rasa-carvanti* we can easily see how basic is the concept of *sthāyibhāva* lying latent or dormant in the spectator's mind. Abhinavagupta very emphatically tells us that the spectators do not enjoy the *sthāyibhāva* or (*rasa*) present in the character (*anukārya*) or the actor (*anukarta*) but the *sthāyibhāva* activated in their own minds by the *vibheves*, etc.

*Vyabhicaribhava* (transient or transitory feelings) Bharata lists thirty-three *vyabhicāri-bhāvas*, *nirveda* (world - weariness), *glāni* (physical weariness) etc., and remarks that they are defined or explained by their name, that is they are significant (Ch. VI vv. 18-21).

In the seventh chapter on *bbsvas* he describes them, one by one, along with directions as to how they should be represented or acted on the stage. He prefaces this description with an etymological explanation of the term *vyabhicāriṇah*. 'VI' and 'ebhi' are prefixes and the root is 'cers' meaning 'to move, 'to go', Hence the term *vyabhicāriṇah* means : "Those that move variously (*vi*) and favourably (*abhi*) in relation to the *rasas*." Incidentally, it may be noted that the *vysbhiceribheves* are also called or known as "*semcetibhevas*" transient or evanescent feelings which serve to strengthen the prevailing *rasa* intensely or greatly, These *bbsvas*. which are opposite of *sthāyibhāvas* , do not form substratum of any *rasa*: still they act or serve as feeders to the prevailing or governing *rasa*. The name *vyebhiceribheve* indicates that it may be in one context a part of one *sthāyibhāva* , in another context of another.

The number of *vyebhiceribhsves* When listing the thirty-three *vyebhicsrlbhsvss* Bharata clearly says : "These are the thirty-three *vysbhicerinst*)." It means that the number of *vyabhicāribhāvas* is fixed and that the list of *vyabhicāribhāvas* is exhaustive, Abhinavagupta remarks ."the number thirty-three is mentioned with a view to limiting their number on both sides that is, they are neither more nor less than [thirty three]" He, however, while commenting on the verse giving the list of *sthayibhavas* says : "Some

others say that Bharata has not given any fixed number for *sthāyins*. It means that these *sthāyins* too become *vyabhicirins*. This matter we will later discuss at length."

Here one such matter may be referred to. With reference to the *vyabhiciribhīvas* of *sambhoga-śṅgāra* Bharata says : the *vyabhiciribhīvas* of this *rasa* can be all of the thirty-three except laziness (*ilasya*), violence (*augrya*) and disgust (*jugupsā*). Now *juapse*, which is the *sthāyibhāva* of the *bibhatsa-rasa* is mentioned here as one of the *vyabhicsribhsvs* to be avoided when portraying the *sambhoga śṅgāra*. This statement of Bharata implies that the so-called *sthāyibhāvas* can or could come as *vvebhicui-bbevss* of some other *rasas*. As regards the eight *sattvikabhavas*, Bharata gives them, when defining individual *rasas* as *vysbhicsribhsvs*. These facts show that the categories of *bnsvs* as *sthayins*, *vvebhicsrns* and *ssttvlkss* are not very strict or binding.

There is, however, no such suggestion from Bharata's text that a *vyabharibhava* can become a *sthāyibhāva*, Abhinavagupta, however, in the context of the *sthāyibhāva* of *śānta* refers to *nirveda*, arisen from *tattvajñāna* (knowledge of the Truth or Reality) as its *sthāyibhāva*. This is why *nirveda* has been mentioned at the beginning of the *vyabharibhavas*, even though it is an inauspicious word (with which to begin a list), precisely in order to show that it depends on, that is, partakes of both characters, that is, it is both a *vvebhiceribhev* and a *stbsyibbsve*. Abhinavagupta, it may be noted, observes at one place : A *sthāyin* can become a *vysbhicsrir*: but a *vvebhicsrin* can never become a *sttsyin*.<sup>14</sup>

Again Bharata himself mentions quite a few new *vyabhicāribhāvas*, new in the sense that they are not given by Bharata in his list of thirty-three *vyabhicāribhāvas*. For example, under *hssys-rsss* he gives *tenors* (drowsiness) and under *bTbhatsa-rasa*, *udvega* (alarm). It is possible however to argue, in defence of Bharata, though that these new *vysbhicertbheves* are only synonymous with some of the *vyabhicāribhāvas* listed by him.

On a scrutiny, we find that the eight *sthāyibhāvas* listed by Bharata not only correspond to but are actually identical with the worldly emotions (*laukika vāsanās* or *semksres* or *semvttis* or *clttsvttlls*). But in the list of thirty-three *vyabhicāribhāvas* we find that a large majority of them correspond to, as well as are identical with *laukika* transitory feelings. Only a few like *nidr* (sleeping), *marana* (death), *alasya* (laziness) *vyādhi* (sickness), etc., are physical states,

Now a question arises : 'How is it that Bharata has included some insentient (*Oada*, *acetana*) and external (*bahya*) states in the list of *vyabharibhavas* which are sentient (*cetana*) and internal (*tsnters*) ?

No satisfactory answer is so far found to this baffling question, In Bharata's defence his admirers argue like this : Bharata's primary concern is the presentation of *bhavas* from the world of drama through fourfold dramatic presentation of acting, and enable *sahridayas* to experience and enjoy aesthetic pleasure, He is least concerned in psychology and psychoanalysis, This is equally applicable to "*stittvikabhavas*" which are nothing but bodily - physical manifestations and yet are called (*sattvika*)*bhavas*!

The category of thirty-three *vyabhiciribhavas* is seen to be not a very strict one. Many of them are considered even by Bharata himself as *vibhavas*. To cite one example : In defining *nidrā* (a *vyabhicāribhāva*) Bharata gives *srsma* (fatigue), *ālasya* (laziness), *cintā* (worry), which are listed as *vyabhiciribhavas* as its *vibhavas*. They are also considered as *anubhavas*. For example in defining *āvega* (panic) he gives *viśada* as an *anubhāva* and in defining *garva* (pride) he gives *asūyā* (envy), a *vyabhicāribhāva*, as its *anubhāva*.

Incidentally, it may be noted that Abhinavagupta did not accept the view that the *vyabhicāribhāvas* themselves would be attended by other *vyabhiciribhavas*.<sup>15</sup>

**Sattvikabhāvas** : Immediately after dealing with eight *sthāyibhāvas* and thirty-three *vyabhiciribhavas* Bharata goes on to consider *sattvikabhavas*. First he explains why they are called *sattvik* : *sativa* is something which arises from the mind. It emerges from the concentrated mind!" The *sattvikabhāva*, which is of the form of *romsiice* (horripilation or goose-flesh), tears *lśśra*: paleness or loss of colour (*vaivamyā*), etc., and is in accordance with us appropriate feeling, cannot be enacted, by an absent-minded actor. *Sativa* is essential in drama as it is an imitation or reproduction or re-enactment of what happens in everyday life or of human nature." To explain : Situations of happiness and misery that are to be reproduced on the stage should be properly presented on the strength of *sativa* so that they appear completely realistic. How can sorrow which needs for its expression weeping be enacted on the stage by anyone who is not himself unhappy ? (who has no experience of unhappiness ?) and joy be enacted on the stage by anyone who is not happy? This itself is the *sativa* in an actor : feigning to be in an unhappy or happy state, he has to shed tears or display goose-flesh.<sup>18</sup> And that is why these emotional or mental states are called *sattvikabhavas*

These are the eight *sattvikabhavas* : 1. *stambha* (paralysis) 2. *sveda* (perspiration) 3. *romsiice* (horripilation or goose - flesh) 4. *svārabheda* (faltering voice) 5. *vepathu* (trembling) 6. *vaivamyā* (paleness, loss of colour) 7. *śśra* (tears) and 8. *pralaya* (fainting).

A careful look at the above list of the eight *sattvikabhāvas* would reveal

that they are all external manifestations (*bāhya*) and physical attributes (*setire dharmā*) whereas *bhūtvss* are mental states and internal (*antaraḥ*). How is it then Bharata calls them *śāttvika-bhāvas* ? Bharata nowhere directly answers this question. A discerning reader of Bharata's treatment of *bhūsvs* would notice two significant things, One, immediately after dealing with the eight *sthāyibhāvas* (permanent emotions) and the thirty-three *vyabhicāribhāvas* (transitory feelings) and just before commencing the treatment of *enubhsvs* (consequents) Bharata treats of these eight *ssttvikebhūtvss* and thereby suggests that they have dual character - they partake of both characters, i.e.. they are both *vyabhicāribhāvas* and *enubhsvss*<sup>19</sup> The *vyabhicāribhāvas* are invariably of the nature of 'bhāva' - mental states, feelings, whereas the *anubhāvas* are without any exception *jada - scetsne*, mere bodily external<sup>1</sup> slates or attributes. Two, when defining the individual *rasas* Bharata gives some of the *ssnvlkss* as *vyabhicārinis*. For example, while defining *keruns* he gives *slambha*, *vepalhu*, *vaivar(1ya, esru* and *svarabheda* as some of its *vyabhicārinis*. Again, while defining *bhayanaka* he gives *puḷaka (romsnce)*, *mukhavaivarnya* and *svarabheda* as some of its *anubhāvas*, and *slambha. sveda, gadgada, romance, vepalhu, svarabheda* and *vaivarnya* as some of its *vyabhicāribhāvas*. Once again, while defining *adbhuta* he gives *rometica, esru. sveda* as some of its *snuhsvs*, and *slambha, ssru. svede, gadgada, romstice* and *prālaya* as some of its (*vyabhicāri*) *bhūsvs*.

This treatment of *bhūsvs* clearly indicates that the so-called *ssttvikebhūtvss* partake of both characters, i.e., they are both *vyabhicāribhāvas* and *anubhāvas*.

Bharata's commentator Abhinavagupta, in the course of his commentary on NŚ VII-2 explains the term *saliva* as follows:

*Satlvam cillaḷktigryam lajjani/am ca krtekam bāspādi-prāptyavasthātmakam ca...*

(p.340)

*Sativa* means 'concentration of the mind' and the slate of feigned tears, etc. produced by it.'

In another context Abhinavagupta explains it thus :

*Satlvā-samullhamilī settvsm manas-samādhānam lajanmakam ilī..* (Vol I.M. 7 1, P. 32 11

'*Saliva* means The equipoised slate of the mind and what results from it.'

Again, he says :

*Sattva-samullham prayalnakrlam...* (ibid. p.3221

*Satva-samuttha* means 'brought about with great effort' i.e. 'feigned (with reference to persons endowed with *sstve*);

In the 22nd chapter called *sallvabhinaya*, however Bharata uses *sa'tva* as meaning also the opposite of mind, namely the physical body and calls *bbevs. hāva, helā* etc., by the name *satvikabhinaya*. In the opening verse he declares '*nātyam setve pra/s/hi/am*' - *nātya* (drama) rests or is founded on *sativa*'; and that

'*Sstvs timao*' *bhinayo jyes/ha i/iyabhidhiyatel*' (Ch XXII v.z)

'The acting in which *sativa* preponderates is called most excellent — the best.'

In the next verse (Ch. XXII .3) Bharata says : "*Sativa* is something invisible but serves as the basis of mental states through *romsnce* (goose-flesh), tears perspiration and such other physiological signs displayed in accordance with the situations and sentiments."

Bharata and his great commentator Abhinavagupta hold that compared with *veclike* and *āṅgika abhinaya* (Dramatic representation - acting - using speech and gestures and bodily movements) the role of *settvk» abhinaya* in drama is of far greater importance : The *sāttvikabhāvas* and *ssttvk» abhinaya* forcefully and effectively suggest emotions (psychic states) such as *rali* (love), *tiirveda* (world-weariness), etc., and greatly facilitate the process of aesthetic experinnce on the part of *sahrdayas* (sensilive spectators).

To conclude: Abhinavagupta rightly understands the word *bbsvs* to mean special or particular states of mind-mental states (*ciue-vttti-visoss*). These mental states, depending on their propriety and context, take the form of *stbsy!* - (abiding) or *vyebticeri* - *bhsves* or *vibhāvas* or *anubhāvas*. But the *vibhāvas*, seasons, garlands or flowers, etc., and the *anubhāvas*, which are external and totally insentient (*ekan/a-jada!* are not to be called by the name *bnsve* (mental state), Therefore the *sthāyi* - *vysbbiceti* and *settvik»* - *bhavas* alone are *braves* (mental states). The definitions of *vibhāva* and *anubhāva* are only incidentally given in this *Bhāvādhyāya*.

## Notes and References

1. *Nātyasāstra* of Bharata Muni with *Abhinavabhāratī* by Abhinavagupta, Vol I, Fourth Edition, Oriental Instifule, Vadodara. 1992.
2. तत्राद्यौ भावाः स्थायिनः । त्रयस्त्रिंशद् व्यभिचारिणः । अष्टौ सान्त्विका इति भेदाः । एवमेते काव्यरसाभिव्यक्तिहेतवः एकोनोच्चशतभावाः प्रत्यगगन्तव्याः ।
3. भू इति (ष्यन्तः) करणे धातु । तथा च भावितं वाचितं कृतमित्यनर्थान्तरम् । लोकेऽपि च प्रतिशब्दम् । अहो ह्यनेन गन्धेन रसेन वा सर्वमेव भावितमिति । तच्च व्याप्त्यर्थम् । - Ibid, P 338

वागङ्गसत्त्वोपेतान् काव्यार्थान् भावयन्तीति भावा इति ।

- Ibid, p. 336.

4. *Śāntarasa* by J.L. Masson, M.v. Patwardhan, BORI, Poona, 1969, p. 78, t.n. 4.

5. योऽर्थ इति । यः हृदयसंवादी .... तद्विषयः सहृदयश्लाघ्यो विभावादिलक्षणोऽर्थः । तस्य भावः भावना निरन्तरचर्चणा । रसोद्भवः चर्चणाप्राणस्य रसस्याभिव्यक्तिहेतुः । शरीरमित्यादि । तेनार्थेन हृदयव्याप्तिपूर्वकम् सहृदयशरीरमपि व्याप्यते । अत एव पुलकाद्याविर्भावः ।

- *Dhvanyaloka* - *Locana* with "*Bālapriyā*" Commentary, Banaras, 1940, p.39.

6. *New Bearings of Indian Literary Theory and Criticism* by Dr. K. Krishnarnocorthy. B.J. Institute of Learning and Research Ahmedabad-9, p. 48.

7. Ibid, p.26.

8. Vide f.n 1 above.

9. Vide the edition of *Dhvanyaloka* referred to in f.n. 5 above.

10. *The Dhvanyaloka of Anandavardhana with the Locana of Abhinavagupta*, translated by D. Ingalls, J.L. Masson and M.v. Patwardhan, (HOS-491. 1990, pp. 5 11-5 15.

11-12. यथा नराणां नृपतिः शिष्याणां च यथा गुरुः।  
एवं हि सर्वभावानां भावः स्थायी महानिह ॥

*Nāṭyaśāstra*, VII.8

13. Vide *Śāntarasa* p.74.

14. *Abhinavabhāratī*, Vol. I.Ch 6, p 262.

(i) तत्त्वज्ञानजो निर्वेदोऽस्य स्थायी । एतदर्थमेवोभयधर्मोपजीवित्वरव्यापनायामङ्गलभूतोऽप्यसौ पूर्वं निर्दिष्टो ... स्थायिषु च सङ्ख्या नोक्तेत्यपरे । अत एव स्थायिन एते तु व्यभिचारिणोऽपि भवन्ति ।

(iii) स्थायिनो हि व्यभिचारिता भवति । न तु व्यभिचारिणां स्थायिता ।

- Ibid, p. 339.

15. अन्ये तु... व्यभिचारिणामपि च व्यभिचारिणो भवन्ति । यथा निर्वेदस्य चिन्ता श्रमस्य निर्वेद इत्यादि निरूपयन्ति । तच्चासत् ।

- Ibid, p. 339.

16. इह हि सत्त्वं नाम मनःप्रभवम् । तच्च समाहितमनस्त्वादुच्यते ।

- Ibid, p.373.

17. लोकस्वभावानुकरणात्वाच्च नाट्यस्य सत्त्वमीप्सितम् ।

- Ibid, p. 373.

18. एतदेवायस्य सत्त्वं यद् दुःखितेन सुखं च प्रहर्षात्मकमसुखितेन त्रिभनेयम् ।

- Ibid, p. 373.

19) सात्त्विका व्यभिचारिवृत्तमभिनयवृत्तं चोपजीवन्तीति पृथगभिनयादिभ्यो गणिता : ।

- Ibid, p.262.

20) नाट्यं सत्त्वे प्रतिष्ठितम्। *Nāṭyaśāstra* 11.1.d.

अभिनयनं हि चित्तवृत्तिसाधा(0)ता(4)त्तिप्र(0)साक्षात्कारकत्वाध्ववसायसंपादनमिति, अत एवोक्तं सत्त्वे नाट्यं प्रतिष्ठितमिति ।

- Ibid, *Abhinavabhāratī*, Vol. III, Ch, XXII, p. 150.



# THE SCIENCE OF POLITY AS REFLECTED IN THE BRĀHAT-TRAYĪ

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In the history of Sanskrit literature, the five *mahtiktivya-s* (literary epics) have their own importance. According to the rules and requirements of the *paiica - mahtiktivya-s*, all five reflect certain common features. The critics of poetry have formed two groups of these. One is *laghu-trayi*, including Kālidāsa's three poems, *Raghuvamśa*, *Kumsressmonsvs* and *MeghadTta*; while the other is *brbst-trsyf'* which includes Bharavi's *KirtittirjunTya (Ki)*, Magha's *Śisupālavadha (Śi)* and Srlharsa's *NaisadhTyacarta (Nail)*. This paper deals with the science of polity as reflected in these three great poems. *Ki* and *Śi* have heroic as the main sentiment. As such there are ample references of political intrigues, strategic policies, inspiring speeches, provocative arguments, counselling, fights, etc. whereas Harsa devotes his poem to the erotic, therefore references to the science of polity are comparatively few in this.

Polity is a form of civil administration. Politics is the art and science of government and policy means prudent conduct or the course of action adopted by the government. All three aspects are discussed in this paper. For easier understanding some sub-groups are formed.

1. *Ideal King* - Harsa depicts Nala as an ideal king, who takes his bath and meals in the third division of the day and performs evening ablutions at the closure of the day.<sup>1</sup> *Arthaśāstra (Aś)* of Kauilya gives a detailed break-up of day and night, each divided into eight parts, and ascribes different duties for the king in each of these.<sup>2</sup> Bharavi's Duryodhana too is an ideal administrator as narrated by the forester." Māgha gives a complete definition of an ideal king. Intellect is the weapon of such a person (*buddhIsestre*). Seven constituents viz. the ruler, minister, ally, treasury, subjects, fort and army form his limbs (*praklyatigal*. Secret counsel is like an armour, spies are his eyes and an ambassador his mouth." These are five essential requirements of a ruler who is desirous of victory.

2. *Rtjmandala - VijgTsu* forms the nucleus of the circle of kings. Kautilya, discusses this at length.<sup>3</sup> *Vijgisu* is a seat of good policy and is equipped with personal excellences. Then comes *sri* an enemy who encircles the king on all sides. This is a natural enemy (*prākṛta-śatru*), one of the three varieties, the other two being born (*sahaja*) and artificial or made (*krtrtmat*? These three can be either friends or foes. Children of aunts are born friends whereas those of uncles (*pitrvya*) are born enemies. The neighbouring king is a natural enemy and the king next to the boundaries of enemy is a natural friend

(*mitra*). If a person is won over by obligation, he becomes an artificial friend. By hurting, one can create a foe for oneself. Māgha has used this very cleverly." Balarāna says to Kṛṣṇa though Sisupala, being the son of an aunt was really *sahaja-mitra*, he turned into *katrims-setru* from the moment of Rukmiṇī-harana, when Kṛṣṇa insulted and incurred the wrath of Sisupala, And an artificial enemy is of a more serious type, more dangerous than the natural enemy."

The other kings in the circle of kings are not discussed because they are known to all. There are twelve kings, so are there twelve *āditya*-s; but only he, who makes a day (*dinak*), is called the sun, similarly, in the crowd of the twelve kings, only he, possessed of enthusiasm, is *vijigTsu* and he alone obtains the desired goal<sup>9</sup>

An enemy, whichever kind he may belong to, is like an ailment; before growing, curative measures are to be adopted. Even a minor negligence in this matter is as harmful as a disease, says Bharavi<sup>10</sup> For this the right type of policy, including the infliction of punishment, is to be adopted.

3. *Different Policies*- Harsa says a *vijigTsu* often adopts *sadgunyadi-naya* ". These are peaceful negotiations (*sandhi*), war (*vigraha*), marching against (*yana*), waiting for the right opportunity (*asana*), spilling one's army in two parts or making treaty with one and war with the other (*dvaidhībhāva*) and total surrender i. e. (*samsraya*).<sup>12</sup> In the *Ki* both Draupadi and Bhīmasena, advise *yāna* attacking Duryodhana; but Yudhisthira feels it is not proper time and so waits or prefers *esene*. For implementation of these political measures, a king needs something; and that is three-fold potentials. One is *prsbhu-sskti* which consists of *kose* and *danda*, second is good ministry, good counsel - *mentis-sekti* and third is *utsshe-sskti*. king's enthusiasm and energetic nature.<sup>13</sup> Draupadi in *Ki* accuses Yudhisthira that he lacks *utsehe* which is the root cause of the other two. In her fiery and sarcastic speech she has stressed this point a number of times. If the king himself is unenthusiastic and inert, no amount of counsel and other royal aid would be useful to lead him to success.

Of these six policies, there are five constituent parts, called as *aṅgapañcaka* by Māgha. He says, as in the Buddhist philosophy, there is no such thing as *Ātman* besides the five *skandha*-s, in a similar way, for kings there is no better counsel than *aṅga-pañcaka*.<sup>14</sup> These five are -

- i) *ārambhopāya* or *seheye*- to start any operation, first of all one has to secure means, i. e. allies etc.
- ii) *sādhana*- includes *puruse* - an efficient army and *dravya* - sufficient money.
- iii) *deśakālañāna*- proper discrimination of favourable time and place.

- iv) *vinipāta-pratikāra*-means to meet emergencies or to avert dangers.
- v) *karya-siddhi* - accomplishment of the goal. In fact any of the six policies mentioned above, should be decided and finalised on the basis of the five constituents called *pañcāṅga-naya* by Bharavi.<sup>5</sup>

Besides the six *aurā*-«, four other divisions of strategic policy are given by the ancient law-makers. They are *sems* (conciliation), *dāna* (bribery), *bheda* (sowing dissensions) and *danda* (punishment). Every successive measure is to be taken at the failure of the preceding one. As far as possible one should avoid war, says Manu<sup>16</sup>, and therefore a discerning king should negotiate with peaceful talks at the outset. Though broadly speaking, these are royal policies, one can adopt these in one's day-to-day behaviour with others. Peaceful talks don't work with some, such people can be won over by fabulous gifts. One can oblige others and avoid strife. Obligation need not be only in the form of money. There are a number of ways of obliging others. If this fails, *bhedanli* comes to help. This is helpful especially in the conspiracies against the ruler. The tactful behaviour of the leader can break apart the unified forces and then there is no room for rebel. Danda or any strict judicial action comes only in the last. In *Ki* one finds a detailed description of how ably Duryodhana had managed to rule over the Kuru-kingdom employing these four strategic policies.<sup>17</sup>

#### 4. *Imparlance of good counsel. ambassadors. spies etc. -*

Mantra or good counsel should be a secret one; then it serves like a protective shield for the king. It is like an armour. Manu says : one whose counsel is kept secret, rules the entire universe, though devoid of wealth.<sup>18</sup> Kautilya says, all undertakings should be preceded by consultation.<sup>19</sup> He further says that one single man i.e. king cannot decide any issue, for that he should take opinions of his wise ministers."?

In the *Sf* when Nīrada departs having reminded Kṛṣṇa of his duty, Kṛṣṇa calls for a secret meeting with Balāriima and Uddhava, and asks their opinion regarding the priority to be given to the issues under consideration." One was, attacking the oppressing king Sisupala and the other was to attend the Rājāsūya sacrifice of king Yudhisthira. Balāriima, befitting his nature, opines that Sisupala is to be vanquished first as it is improper and dangerous to neglect such a strong enemy. The wise and farsighted Uddhava, however, warns them against the king of Cedi, who was the unopposed leader of all those who hated Kṛṣṇa for one thing or the other. Secondly, it was the most improper time, said Uddhava, as it would have created a major obstacle in the sacrifice of Yudhisthira who had deep faith in Kṛṣṇa.<sup>22</sup> He further warned Kṛṣṇa, if a person is brave, he can conquer his enemy any time; but if a friend like Yudhisthira is hurl and turns adverse, it is very difficult to please him.<sup>23</sup> He also reminded Kṛṣṇa of the promise given to Srutasrava,

the aunt, that he would forgive hundred offences of Śiśupāla. His counsel was to attend the sacrifice and utilise the time for collecting all the required information and find loop-holes in the administration of Śiśupāla, by spreading a network of spies in his kingdom?<sup>4</sup> The entire speech of Uddhava illustrates Magha's deep and detailed knowledge of the art of implementing policies.

The importance of envoys and spies is unavoidable in any political structure. In *Ki* we find a forester appointed by Yudhisthira, to know the details of Duryodhana's administration" This exactly tallies with the *gūḍha-puruṣa* spoken of by Kaulilya.<sup>26</sup> Kings are rightly said to be *csrs-ceksuss*. Harsa gives a beautiful example of *virodhābhāsa* when he says that Nala, though *vicsm-drk* was *csrs-drk* as well. The apparent contradiction is removed when the word *vicsrs-drk* is split as one who has a discriminative eye.<sup>27</sup>

There are many envoys in *brhal-Irayi*. Some are political ambassadors while some are merely messengers. Nala, who advocates Indra's mission is an ideal *aots*. Choosing Nala as a *date*, of course reveals the strategy of Indra. The crafty Indra sent a female messenger also to Damayanli, not trusting Nala fully.<sup>28</sup>

At the beginning of *Si*, we have a divine messenger in the form of Narada, who is sent by the gods. In the sixteenth canto, there is a political ambassador sent by Śisupala himself. A king is said to be *dDta-mukha*. Whatever Sisupala wanted to speak was told to Kṛṣṇa by his *dots* in equally harsh words.?? In *Ki* hunter Śiva sends a messenger to Arjuna and deliberately insults him.<sup>30</sup> Third type is a person coming in disguise to test someone, he is neither an envoy nor a spy, Such person is in reality the benefactor. Indra comes to test Arjuna in disguise of an old man in *Ki*.<sup>31</sup>

### Concluding Remarks

The science of polity is an intricate topic, of which a few details could be covered here. Ideal king for Kautilya and others is *vijiglsu*. To me, Yudhisthira, though not the hero of *Ki*, seems to be an ideal king. Nala of Harsa is more of a lover than an administrator. Kṛṣṇa is more human than earthly kings. Moreover, Sisupala was destined to die at his hands. Yudhisthira, however, is a good manipulator. He never leaps in the dark. In spite of having utmost confidence in the valour of his mighty brothers, he does not want to stake it in a fit of rage. The victorious king has to overcome the impulses of anger. Balarama, Draupadi, Bhimasena are all full of response, pulsate with forceful reaction and appeal to the reader, but great administrators have to think, rethink and then proceed.

### Notes and References

1. *Nai* 2.1.163.

2. AS. I. 19.6-24.
3. *Ki* 1.9.
4. Ś: 2.82. बुद्धिवात्तः प्रकृत्यङ्गो धनसंवृतिकञ्चुकः ।  
चरिक्षणो दूतमुखः पुरुषः कोऽपि पार्थिवः ॥
5. AS. VI. 2. 13-29.
6. *Ibid.* VI. 2.19,20.
7. Ś: 2.41.
8. *Ibid.* 2.36.
9. *Ibid.* 2.81.
10. *ta* 16.24, also Ś: 2.10.
11. *Nai* 27.38.
12. *Manusm(I (Ms.)* 7.160-177.
13. Ś: 2.26, also *Ki* 2.10. c.t. AS. VI. 30 fl.
14. Ś: 2.28. सर्वकार्यदारीषु मुक्त्वाङ्गस्वकन्धपञ्चकम् ।  
सौगतानामिवात्मान्यो नास्ति मन्त्रो महीभृताम् ॥
15. *Ki* 2.12.
16. *Ms.* 7.198-200.
17. *Ki* 1.7. '... समीहते नयेन जेतुं जगतीं...'
18. *Ms.* 7.148.
19. AS. I. 15.2. मन्त्रपूर्वाः सर्वाग्भाः ।
20. *Ibid.* I. 15.18,21.
21. Ś: 2.12.
22. *Ibid.* 2.98-102.
23. *Ibid.* 2.105.
24. *Ibid.* 2.111-117.
25. *ta* 1.1.
26. AS. I. 12.23 वने वनचराः कार्याः श्रमणाटविकादयः ।  
also *Ms.* 7.154.
27. *Nai* 1.13.
28. *Ibid.* 5th Canto
29. Ś: 16th canto ct. AS. I. 16.11,16.
30. *Ki* 13th and 14th canto.
31. *Ibid.* 11.2-6.

# EPIGRAPHY AND THE LAW COURTS

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## 1. Introduction:

All epigraphs are written legal documents called *lekhyā pramsnes*. Over 80% of the epigraphs found in South India are written documents conferring proprietary rights, privileges and duties, on temples or individuals and were meant to be produced as documentary evidences, to claim ownership and in the event of dispute, to be relied upon as primary evidences by the courts of justice. So they conform to the ancient legal treatises (*dharma sestrss*) in total, and are legal documents employing legal terminology prevalent in the country to be interpreted from that angle. The primary purpose of the epigraphs is the legal function and so without a knowledge of the *dharma sestrss*, the epigraphs cannot be fully comprehended.<sup>1</sup> It is the Sanskrit thoughts and codification that are followed and expressed verbally or through literal translations in Tamil epigraphs for the past 2000 years. So the entire Tamil legal system is based on Sanskrit legal systems. This paper attempts to justify this statement through some illustrations.

## 2. Lekhya Prarnana :

Since the *lekhyā prsmenss* are primarily concerned with courts - the village courts or the royal courts - they are discussed under the section *vyavahāra nirṇaya* in the *dharma sstres*.

There are many Tamil inscriptions in which we get the phrase - "*Paṭip-paniyal panilā eluttu*...<sup>2</sup> Here the term *eluttu*' means "document" in its technical sense, and is an exact Tamil translation of the word "*lekhyā*."<sup>3</sup>

According to Brhaspati, the author of one of the *dharma sstres*. *tekhya* is of three categories - *rajakiya*, *stbsnekrte*, and *svebsste likhita*; that is royal document, institutional document, and documents written with one's own hand." Vasistha, another authority, classifies them into two categories, the *tsukiks*. i. e. public documents, and *rajakiya* i. e. royal documents."

लौकिकं राजकीयं च लेख्यम् विद्यात् द्विलक्षणम् ।

All these categories - the *rājakiya*, the *laukika*, the *stbenekrts* (the *sabhā* documents) and *svahasta likhita* - are available in plenty in our corpus of Tamil epigraphs. Again, the public documents are divided into seven categories and the royal documents into three, thus making a total of ten categories." They are the *bhāga* (partition), *dāna* (gift), *kraya* (sale), *ādāna* (gift), *semvi*:

(enslavement), *asse* and *me* (loan). These are the public documents. The royal documents are 1) *Rājasāsana*, the royal decree, 2) *Jaya patre* (favourable verdict), and 3) *Prasada palra* (deed of pleasantries).

I have given in my book, *Studies in Ancient Law and Society*, published in 1978, different<sup>7</sup> categories of epigraphical documents, like *vyavahāra nimaya patras*, *visDdhipalras*, *stM i palras*, *kraya petres*, *sandhipalras* etc. Commenting on my book Prof. J. Duncan M. Derrett," Professor of Oriental Law in the University of London, wrote, "Dr. R. Nagaswamy has done a signal service about inscriptions and palm leaves... Dr. R. Nagaswamy enables us to see that not only Sanskrit form and the Sanskrit language at times, but even the outlook and methods of judicial procedure, reflected in the *dharma sestre* sources wsre alive and functioning in an important area of India. It is after all no light mailer to attempt to establish the status and actuality of the *dharma ssstre*. The *dharma ssstre* was the only jurisprudence of the Hindus until Muslims introduced their own criminal law and evidence in some regions."

### 3. Importance of the Lekhya Prarnanas :

The *dharma ssstres* deal with four kinds of evidences to be produced by the parties.

- 1) Documentary evidence (*lekhyā premeoe*)
- 2) Oral evidence of witnesses (*sskst*)
- 3) Proof of possession (*bhukti*) and
- 4) Proof through ordeals (*daiviki*).

प्रमाणं लिखितं भुक्तिः साक्षिणः चेति कीर्तितम्  
एषां अन्यतमाभावे दिव्यान्यतममुच्यते 1'

The *lekhyā*, *sskst* and *bhukti* are called *msnus*: i. e. human evidences and the ordeal is called divine, *daiviki*.

Of all the kinds of evidences, the documentary evidence cannot be overruled by witness or ordeal.

न जातु हीयते लेख्यं साक्षिभिः शपथेन वा<sup>10</sup>

The *dharma sastras* give foremost importance to written documents in preference to other proofs.<sup>1</sup> For example, if a disputant challenges through a divine ordeal *daiviki*, and the other through *menusi*. i. e. man-made written document, the *dharma ssstrss* declare, the *msnusi* (man-made) evidence should be accepted in preference to *daiviki*. Kātyāyana for example says

यद्येको मानुषीं ब्रूयात् अन्यो ब्रूयात् तु देविकीम्  
मानुषीं तत्र गृहीयात् न देवीं क्रियां नृपः<sup>12</sup>

It is also stressed from another angle by Katyayana, When there are evidences before the court - the witness (*sāksī*), the divine ordeal (*daiiki*), and the written documents (*lekhyai* – the *lekhyā pramāṇa* alone should be accepted and the other two rejected.

क्रिया तु दैविकी प्राप्ता विद्यमानेषु साक्षिषु  
लेख्ये च प्रतिवादिषु न दिव्यं न च साक्षिणः<sup>13</sup>

Thus, great importance was given to written documents, in other words to epigraphs. There are about 25,000 epigraphs in the South alone, which shows that the South attached very great importance to the tenets of the *dharma sstres*.

#### 4) Epigraphical terms are Technical :

I have mentioned earlier that epigraphs are legal documents and their terminology is to be interpreted in their technical sense, for, words have different meanings in different situations or contexts. A few terms occurring in epigraphs are examined here in their technical sense as illustrations.

##### **Vyavahāra :**

The word *vyavahāra*, in its ordinary sense means transactions; but in the *lekhyā premsns*; or in the context of the *dharma sstms* it means, "the disputation between the plaintiff and defendant in the establishment of justice." <sup>14</sup>

वि नानार्थेन सन्देहे हरणं हार उच्यते  
नाना सन्देह हरणात् व्यवहार इति स्मृतिः

"When doubt arises due to various causes, the removal of the doubts is called *tiers*. Since various kinds of doubts are extinguished, it is called *vyavahtira*" says the *smrti* "

तस्मिन् न्यायविस्तरे विषयीभूते सति  
तत्प्रवर्तकः अर्थ प्रत्यर्थिनोः यः विवादः सः व्यवहारः<sup>15</sup>

When the truth is made the subject matter of enquiry, the disputation between the plaintiff and defendant, is called *vyavahāra*.

##### **Nyāya :**

Take another word *nyāya*, We get this word in the Tanjore inscription of Rājārāja Chola I as *awava nyāyaṅ ka/itire*. *Nyāya* is not logic, but the observances of just men of the world.

शिष्टप्रतिपन्नं लौकिकं आचरणं न्यायः<sup>16</sup>

Tanjore inscription should be interpreted in the light of the *dharma sstres*.



*Lekhyam* :

So is the word *lekhyam* || means document.

धनसद्व्यावृद्धि विशेषादि युक्तं  
पत्रं लेख्यम्<sup>17</sup>

Written document is one which contains, in writing, the amount, interest, etc.

This *smṛti* makes it explicit that the words *lekhyā* and *palra* are synonyms. I have mentioned *etuttu*, a Tamil equivalent of *lekhyā*, which stands for document.

*Adhikarala* :

In a number of inscriptions we get the word *adbikeren* or *adhikarara dsrde*, etc. *Adhikarana* actually stands for the *dharmādhikarana* in the *dharmasāstras*. It means the place - *sthāna* - where (the truth in dispute) is investigated according to the *dharmasāstra*.

धर्मशास्त्रविचारेण मूलसार विवेचनम्  
यत्र अधिक्रियते स्थाने धर्माधिकरणम् हि तत्<sup>18</sup>

says Kātyāyana. It is the *sthāna* of Justice - or in other words, the court.

*Nibandha* :

The word *nibandha* occurs in several hundred epigraphical records; the *Yajñavalkya Smṛti* states,

दत्त्वा भूमिं निबन्धं वा कृत्वा लेख्यं तु कारयेत्  
आगामि भद्रं नृपतिं परिज्ञानाय पार्थिवः<sup>19</sup>

Either the land gift or the *nibandha* is committed to writing for the use of future rulers. Parasara Mādhava defines *nibandha* as the amount in cash, or kind, to be paid by the officials or recipients to the temple or Brahmins, periodically either monthly or annually, as stipulated.

तत्र निबन्धः वाणिज्य अधिकारिभिः प्रतिवर्षं प्रतिमासं च किञ्चित् धनम् अस्मै ब्राह्मणाय अस्यै देवतायै वा देयं इत्यादि प्रभु समयं लेख्यः अर्थः ।

अत्र यद्यपि धनघातृत्वं वाणिज्यादिकर्तुः तथाऽपि निबन्धकर्तुः एव पुण्यं तत् उपदेशेनैव तत्प्रवृत्तेः<sup>20</sup>

So the word *nibandha* found in hundreds of epigraphs deserves to be interpreted in the terms of *dharmasāstras*.

5) *Epigraphs conform to Dharma Śāstras* :

Several thousand epigraphs are seen appearing in a fixed format. A careful study reveals that they conform to the format prescribed by the *dharmasāstras*. An illustration is examined here. There is an inscription from Tribhuvani, near Pondichery, dated in the reign of Rājādhirāja Chola I, (1051 A. D.).<sup>22</sup> It relates

to the creation of a *nibandha* and is a long inscription. We will examine here that part of the record which deals with the signatories. It is a royal order reading :

*ippati ceyka enru molintaruli, Tirumukam prsssdem ceytaruli, Vantamaiyil.*

This order, with the royal seal stamped on it with the king's statement, "Do as ordered by us", was received.

The end part reads:

1. *Ipparicu panip paniyal panittu Sabhā vyavastai ceytu tiruvay molintaruli Kankāniyāy vanta Sri Nārāyaṇa Bhattanum.*

This resolution, as ordered in hierarchical succession, was passed as the resolution of the *sabhā* and pronounced, Nārāyaṇa Bhatia, who served as *ksnksn:* '

2. *Puravu varit tinaikkalattu Kanakku Tiran Vikrama Ootenum.*

Dhīran Vikramacolan who served as the accountant (*kanakku*) of *Puravi vari tinaik kalam.*

Then the record gives the names of the assembly members.

3. We the members of the Mahasabha got this stone document engraved.

*Sile lekhai ceyvittom Perumkuri Perumskketom.*

Then the record mentions the name of the writer who was a *madhyastha*. "This is the signature of mine, Thiruvarangadevan of KurukṚ, a *madhyastha* of Singalantakaceri."

4. *Paniyal Singalantakac-ceri madhyasthan Śrī KurukṚ Thiruvarangadevanen, ivai en eluttu* and finally we get the name of the royal officer, one Mūvēnd velan. "This is the signature of naraloka Mūvēnda velan."

5. *Ivai Nerstoks muveode veter: eluttu.*

In this record we get the king, the royal officer, the members of the *sabhā* (assembly), a *kankāni*, a *ksriskku.*, and the writer as participants of the transactions in this record. Brhaspati in his text mentions the king, the *adhikāri*, the *sabhyas*, the *smṛti*, the *oeneke*, the *lekhaka*, and four others who are to be in charge of the materials for divine ordeals and enforcement. They constitute the ten parts - *arigas* of the *sedhsne*.

नृपः अधिकृतः सभ्यः स्मृतिः गणकलेखकौ  
सहेम अग्नि अम्बु पुरुषाः साधनाङ्गा निवेदश

We get in the above document the king (*rupe*), the official (*adhikāri*) and the members of the assembly (*sabtiyes*). The term *smṛti* refers to one

who declares, that the favourable verdict (*jeṃ*), *dāna* (gift), *dhana* (money) etc. mentioned, are correct. In other words, he is the supervisor, *kankarī*. We note that in the inscriptional record mentioned above: the king, the official (*adhikārī*), the assembly members, the supervisor (*kaṅkāṇī*), the accountant (*ksnskks*), and the scribe (*lekhaḥa*) appear exactly as mentioned in the *dharma sstrs*. The entire draft of this inscription so totally conforms to the *dharma sstrs*'s stipulation, it may be cited as the clear evidence of the legal nature of the epigraph.

*Share holders:*

Another clear evidence of the *dharma sstrs* in the role of epigraphs may be seen in the famous Manur-Epigraph of Pandya Māran Cadiayan. I have already shown that the Manur record, relates to the constitution of the village judiciary.<sup>23</sup> We are looking at the record from a different angle here. One of the important stipulations of this record is that only a person who owns an immovable property in the village was declared fit to serve in the court. It essentially deals with the share holders of the village and their descendants. It states only those who have acquired immovable property by purchase, gift or as *strīdhana* (dowry) can serve in the court:

*Vilaiyum pratigrahamum, strīdhanam utaiyār, oru dhanmamum utpste Mantra Brahmar;am vallaṛāy, Suvrittaray Iruppsre menrsduvstsksvum*

Here the words used are *vilai*, *pratigraha* and *strīdhana*. The *dharma sstrs* mention seven modes of acquiring immovable properties (*sthevsrsm*) by 1) scholarship, 2) purchase, 3) valour, 4) through wife, 5) inheritance from the father and 6) a part of *sapinda*'s property when he dies without a heir and probably, 7) a *nibandha*, a total of seven kinds.

विद्यया क्रयबन्धेन भार्या अन्वयागतम्

सपिण्डस्य अप्रजस्यांशं स्थावरं सप्तधा उच्यते ।<sup>24</sup>

However, the main modes of acquisition are : purchase - *kṛaya*, dowry-*bhāryā agatam*; Narada calls it *vsivshlkem*, acquired through marriage. The same author mentions that the term *pratigraha* means *dāna* (gift), which is obtained by scholarship, *vidyā* or valour, *śaurya*. This is exactly what the Manur record mentions as *vilaiyum, pratigrahar;am, and strīdhanam*. It also mentions one more qualification - "*Ivvur Pankutaiyar makkal*." It means the descendants of the share holders. It is mentioned in the *dharma sstrs* as *anvayagata*. As mentioned earlier, the terms found in epigraphs are derived from the *dharma sstrs* and are employed in their technical connotation. Unless one has an adequate knowledge of the *dharma sstrs*, it is difficult to fully interpret inscriptions, for they are meant to be taken to the court in the event of disputes.

## Notes and References

The paper incorporates the revised version of my paper presented before the Epigraphical Society of India at Trichy on 12th February, 1993

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19. *Yājñavalkya Smṛti, Acāra* Adh, Vol. 318, Calcutta, 1973.
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## SACRIFICE AND FULFILMENT OF HUMAN DESIRES

N. B. PATIL

The study of human history reveals that there has been enormous development in human psyche from the early days of the primitive man. Among the living creatures man alone has the faculty of ideation. He can visualise things and it is not necessary for him to have a sensual contact with the objects to know them. He can comprehend the cause-effect relationship. He can systematise his observations and thus can build up a body of knowledge which he can transfer to subsequent generations either through verbal or written communication.

The sacrificial lore is one such body of knowledge. This lore is traceable in many parts of the world among various societies. The one traceable in the Vedas and allied compilations is quite extensive. It sheds light on different aspects of social and religious life in ancient India.

It was a matter of observation for the primitive man that a tree in a forest blossoms. The flowers give place to tiny fruits. They ripen and seeds fall to the ground, disintegrate in the soil and sprout up again into mighty trees. If the seed won't lose itself, there cannot be a plant or a tree. The primitive man, therefore, generalised that the seeds must be lost to gain the trees. That perhaps changed his mode of life and from a hunting man, he became an agrarian man. Thus civilisation was on the march. It took thousands of years to come upto the Vedic age. But the fact that nothing can be gained without losing something essential, remained in the core of the heart of man. This belief was at the root of the evolution of the theory of sacrifice.

The use of fire by the human beings formed an early step to civilisation. The primitive man valued fire as it made life comfortable in the cold dark nights. It also could cook food and make it more palatable. As the social organisation developed, fire came to be venerated, so much so that it almost became a divinity in the Vedic period. It had an important place in the Vedic ritual. Sacrifice was originally a way of worship in a family. It, however, developed subsequently as a social institution. The History of Dharmasastra mentions that the original worship of fire might have been individualistic as well as communal or tribal.<sup>1</sup> The daily *agnihotra* was an individual affair.<sup>2</sup> Those who desired heaven should perform *agnihotra*.<sup>3</sup> The usual *agnihotra* can be performed by the oblation of milk, but if one wishes to have villages, food, fame or brightness one has to throw oblations (in fire) of ghee, flesh, rice, curds etc.' Simple *istis* like *darsapūṃmāsa* required four priests, and

some sacrifices of this sort required sixteen priests and other expensive preparations. These sacrifices assumed a congregational character. *īstīk* are primary sacrifices and are performed on full-moon day or a new-moon day. This type of sacrifice later developed into *ekaratra*, *dvimtre*, *trīstrs*, *eketu*: *dvādasāha* etc. sacrifices. Such sacrifices of long duration were known as *satras*. These were highly social functions. The duration of the *satras* used to be very long, say from one year to twelve years. These *satras* could not be carried out without the help of various artisans such as a carpenter, an iron-smith, a goldsmith, a potter, a cobbler, a weaver. All these artisans viewed the sacrifices as opportunities to exhibit their skills in their trades. In sacrifices like *Rājasūya* and *Vājapeya*, races and games used to be played.

The ritual of *soma* sacrifice indicates that it was symbolic of the march in an uninhabited land. The host of the sacrifice was supposed to solicit a piece of uninhabited land from the king. He then used to clear this land of trees, bushes etc. and used to plough it and make it even. A big sacrificial pandal used to be constructed, the one known as *prācīnā vedi* and the other as *uttara vedi*. A *yDpa* or a sacrificial pole used to be fixed beyond the *attīris vedi*. The entire area was called as *devayajanabhDmi*. The distance between the *prācīnā vedi* and the *uttīris vedi* was symbolic of the land to be traversed by the host. The ritual which was to be performed in the beginning was *praya(Ilya*. It was symbolic of the fact that the host leaves his original abode and goes to a new home. The positions of *prācīnā vedi* and *uttara vedi* were respectively 'in the eastern and the western directions. These corresponded with the positions of the rising and setting sun. The ritual of drinking *soma* from a single pot was symbolic of brotherhood. It is not improbable that this sacrifice might have been an effort to assimilate the tribal folks who resided in forests.

Each type of sacrifice has a separate significance. Thus *agnistoma* which was one of the many *soma* sacrifices was performed for better harvests. In this sacrifice *soma* was symbolic of the semen of a horse, who was symbolic of the Sun. The offering of the *soma* in the sacrifice was, therefore, supposed to ensure good harvest. The other varieties of *agnistoma* were *atyagnistoma*, *ukthya*, *sodesin*, *stīstr*» and *aptoryems*. Even the *Vājapeya* sacrifice is a kind of *agnistoma*.

*Dīksā* was one of the main rituals In such sacrifices. Both the hosts viz. the husband and the wife were required to undergo this ritual. The husband was symbolically supposed to get a new birth after the ritual and the wife was supposed to be the recipient of the divine grace and was supposed to bring prosperity to the performer of the sacrifice.

In the *Mahābhārata* and the *purens* we often come across the descriptions of *Rājasūya* and *Vājapeya* sacrifices. The *Rājasūya* sacrifice was mostly

performed by kings. Literally, *Rājasūya* means the birth of a king. A king performing *Rājasūya* was supposed to take a new birth and to have become a good king. Thereafter, the king could perform *Vajapeya* to become a *śmṛet* i.e. emperor. The king cannot be given *dikṣā* of this sacrifice unless he performs all the four *parvans* viz. *veśvadeva*, *varuṇapraghāsa*, *śākamedha* and *śunāsirīya*. The *Vajapeya* sacrifice is a category of *soma yāga* and is supposed to be performed for obtaining and retaining strength and power. It is mentioned in the *Taittiriya-brahmana* that gods also obtained vigour by performing this sacrifice. The number seventeen is closely associated with various rituals of this sacrifice. All the *rtvijas* and also the host and his wife have to wear gold-beaded necklaces. The *hou* has to wear a gold-beaded necklace studded with many precious stones. These necklaces are to be given to the priests after the sacrifice is over. As this sacrifice is to bring glory to the performer, it is natural that the rituals here are gorgeous.

I do not want to elaborate here on the ritualistic side of various sacrifices. Meticulously accurate and detailed descriptions of several sacrifices are given in the various *śruti* & *smṛti*s. I want to show that the institution of sacrifice was deeply rooted in the religious life of Vedic India. In the Vedas, the deities invoked for sacrifices were eulogised henolheistically. That is to say, one deity was praised as the supreme deity at that particular time. Sacrificial rituals were the core of the religious life. In later Vedic and Brahmana period, the literary eulogy used to be concretely accompanied by sacrificial rituals. There developed a dependent relationship between the deity and the sacrificer. It was strongly believed that the deity would be granting boons to the worshipper. The sacrificial offerings were a means to win a divine favour. If we are to believe the modern concepts of individual mind and the universal mind, we cannot say that sacrificial activity in those days was fruitless. The elaborate sacrifices were the expressions of the will of the people and perhaps did produce the expected results.

Another idea on which the concept of sacrifice was based was that the worshipper offered himself physically to the deity. But as this was too arduous a thing to be performed, the sacrificer vicariously offered a beast or any other offering such as milk, ghee, grain, *soma* etc. The R̥gvedic texts do not indicate the existence of such sacrifices on a large scale. The elaborate sacrificial ritual was surely a later development. Only *soma* sacrifices were frequent in early Vedic period. The ritual element in the sacrifices became so elaborate in the later Vedic period that it was almost impossible for ordinary men to indulge in sacrifices. This brought in the concept of *panca-yajnas*. These were the *nīya karma* a *brshmsns* was enjoined to perform. This could be regarded as the old elaborate sacrifice brought down to a personal level.

While the sacrifices did not lose their prestige in the Post-Vedic period, there was surely a weakening of their significance. In the *Mahābhārata*, we

find that the various *tirths* or holy waterplaces are associated with the fruits or merits of various sacrifices; for example, it is mentioned that benefits of the performance of sacrifices viz. *esvsmedns*, *rajasilya*, *naramedha*, *atiratra*, *vajapeya*, *agnistoma*, *stlrstre pundarika*, *gavamayana* could be had by visiting certain holy places mentioned in the *Vanaparva*, (*Āranyakaparva*) of the *Mahābhārata*. Some of the holy places of pilgrimage i. e. *tirths* are so efficacious that a dip in them is worth the merit of ten or one hundred *ssvsmeabs* sacrifices. The significance of such a statement is that the elaborate ritualistic element in the religion had given place to merely subjective feelings of devotion and faith. A mere dip in such *tirths* would amount to the performance of big sacrifices. Thus the symbolic ideation in the Vedas of the various Vedic deities (water, fire etc.) played an important part in formulating the belief that the *tirths* were as holy as the sacrificial *vedis*.

Another important aspect of the sacrificial lore is its association with creation. The sacrifices ensured not only good harvests but also the general well-being of the community. The creation of fire by chanting the *mantra* over the *srsn*: is symbolic of procreation. Agni is often praised as *yaviṣṭhya* i. e. very youthful and, therefore, quite potent. The Agni is to be invoked with the *mantra*; *bhūḥ bbuvsh svst*: This *mantra* is efficacious in getting power over all living creatures residing on the earth, in the space and in the heavens.

Sacrifice and birth are associated in the *Rāmāyaṇa* also. Dasaratha performs *ssvemedhs* followed by *putresti*. The sage, Ṛṣyaśrṅga performs this sacrifice. A great being comes out of the sacrificial fire and asks Dasaratha to take the pot of *pāyasa*. He bades the king to feed the queens with this potion. Dasaratha takes the pot to the queens and distributes the *psysso* among them. All the three queens thereafter conceive."

In the *Mahābhārata*, we know that Dhṛstadyurnna and Draupadi arise out of the sacrificial fire. The description occurs in the *Adiparvan*.<sup>6</sup> Here the *havya* was sanctified by the *mantras* sung by *Yāja* and *Upsysj* and it was quite potent to produce sparkling full-grown human beings out of fire. The birth, particularly of a son, was sought by Drupada to vanquish Orona. This is a separate story of settling mutual insults. What is important from our point of view is the relationship of sacrifice with the birth of human beings. As both these beings were born out of sacrificial fire, they were called *yajriasuva* or Yajriasena and Yajnaseni. Yajriasena or Dhṛstadyurnna is said to have merged in *agni* in the heaven."

Here in this story, we find that any wish whatsoever, could be fulfilled by the performance of a sacrifice under the supervision of selfless *brshmsns*. The son and the daughter could have been born in the normal way had the queen appeared in the sacrificial pandal when called. She was supposed to eat the sacrificial morsel. She asked Yāja to wait, but he did not. He



put the sacrificial morsel in the fire and full-grown twins—a male and a female—came out of it. The story indicates the belief that the fire altar is the source of creation and that sacrifice is a wish-fulfilling way of worship.

In the story of Jantu in the *Mahābhārata*, *Vanaparva* 127, we again come across the belief that human sacrifice is potent enough to cause birth.<sup>8</sup> This belief later on trickled down in the ways of Tantric worship. In the story of Jantu, it is mentioned that the *ṛtvija* killed Jantu and offered his *vapā* to the sacrificial fire. The smoke which issued therefrom entered into the nostrils of queens of the king Somaka and they conceived. Jantu was also reborn. The story further states that the *ṛtvija* subsequently underwent a punishment in hell for he persuaded the king to perform human sacrifice. The king Somaka came to his rescue and suffered punishment with him.

The belief in child sacrifice for begetting children is still prevalent in various communities. We often hear the news of child murders both by men and women to have children of their own.

Human and animal sacrifices were in vogue in other societies of the world for fructification and for plenty. Thus Frazer in his 'Golden Bough' mentions that in ancient Greece, an ox used to be sacrificed to procure cessation of drought and dearth in the land. Barley mixed with wheat or cakes made of them, used to be laid upon the bronze altar of Zeus Polieus. Oxen were driven round the altar and the ox which used to go to the altar and eat the offering on it used to be sacrificed." There is also a mention of sacrifice of animals at sowing or reaping. This was known as the rite of renewal. This was designed to convey the slain animal's strength and other properties to the community at the beginning of a new lease of life. Again, sacrifices used to be offered to avert the wrath or win the favour of gods. Anything of value could be offered in sacrifice. While gods could not make any use of these articles, the priests could.<sup>10</sup>

Frazer also mentions another society, the Incas of Peru (South America) who celebrated the festival called Raymi. This festival was in honour of the Sun at the solstice in June. For three days before the festival, the people fast, men do not sleep with their wives and no fires are lighted. The sacred new fire is obtained by collecting Sun's rays on a highly polished concave plate and pulling the concentrated reflection on a little cotton wool. With this fire, sheep and lambs are roasted and offered to the Sun God. In Mexico, the new fire is created by the priest by rubbing two sticks against each other, before the image of the fire-god.<sup>11</sup>

Thus it will be seen that sacrificial customs are almost similar all over the world. These are the traces of the sacrificial cults of the Indo-Iranian and Vedic and Post-Vedic periods.

As I mentioned earlier, the sacrificial cult later gave place to easy-to-perform-worships and rituals. Visits to holy places and dips into holy waters became the order of the day. The same merit, as could be had by performance of sacrifices could be obtained by such simple rituals. In the *Aranyakas* and the *Upanisads*, sacrifices on the material plane do not occur often. In the *Kalhopanisad*, although there is the mention of a sacrifice, in which the father of Nachiketas is said to have given all his wealth, we know from the subsequent description that, that was not the fact. It is said that Yama taught *agnividya* to Nachiketas, but the main stress of this *upeotssa* is on the philosophy or the teaching of the *stmen*.

In the *Bhagvad-Gita* we see the word sacrifice or *yajna* in a number of contexts. It is mentioned there, that beings live on food, food is possible due to rains, rains are possible due to *yajnas* and *yajnas* require a number of activities. (*Gita* 3- 14.) Here it is a direct statement that the *yajnas* satisfy our basic need, that of food. Further it is mentioned that the Brahman which abides in all is always present in *yajna* (*Gita* 3-15). Men who desire fulfilment of their desires perform sacrifices to Indra, Agni and other deities. A man who has practised detachment and whose mind has become steady in Brahman, whose activities are only for *yajna* - all the acts of such a person will melt away and they will not bind him. And then there is a fine description of how oblation, the fire, the offering all merge into one and the man becomes one with Brahman which is the final abode of everyone (*Gita* 4.24).

Sri Aurobindo, in his essays on *Gita* had pointed out the purpose of sacrifice. According to him, sacrifice is not a negative aspect of life, that is, of giving up everything. *Yajna* according to him is giving up the things on the mundane plane and gaining of *higher* truths. This is a journey from lower truth to higher truth - from material plane to emotional and later to intellectual planes and ultimately to the *Ātmic* plane. Man has to give up activities pertaining to each plane and ultimately he reaches a plane where he has nothing to give up. This is the *ganawya brahma* mentioned in *Gita* 4.24. This journey involves considerable struggle and is easily said about, than done. But this is really the ultimate goal of everyone.

Svami Vivekananda's thoughts on the *Gita* are in no way different. Svami Vivekananda preached practical *vedants* and the two words which he gave us as a legacy are 'sacrifice' and 'service.' He, through his writings inspired a number of freedom fighters to sacrifice themselves at the altar of our motherland. Our political freedom is the outcome of their sacrifices. Many more sacrifices are yet necessary to have real freedom. Without sacrifices there is no fulfilment of desires.

## Notes and References

- 1) Kane, *History of Dnermesestre*. Vol II. pt. II. 179, Pune 1941.
- 2) सर्वैः ह वा एतस्य यज्ञक्रतुभिरिष्टं भवति । य एवं विद्वान् अग्निहोत्रं जुहोति । - षड्विंश ब्राह्मण. 5.1.16
- 3) अग्निहोत्रं जुहुयात् स्वर्गकामो दध्ना इन्द्रियकामो जुहुयात् । - (अश्व. गृ. 2)
- 4) यवागूरोदने दधि सर्पिग्रामकामान्धकामेन्द्रियकामस्तेजस् कामानाम् । - (अश्व 232.1)
- 5) प्राजापत्यं नरं विद्धि मामिहाभ्यागतं नृप । 16.16

इदं तु नृपशार्दूल पायसं देवनिर्मितम् ।  
 प्रजाकरं गृहाण त्वं धन्यमारोग्यवर्धनम् ॥  
 भार्याणामनुरूपाणामश्रीतेति प्रयच्छ वै ।  
 तासु त्वं लप्स्यसे पुत्रान् यदर्थं यजसे नृप ॥  
 ततस्तु ताः प्राश्य तमुत्तमस्त्रियो भहीपतेरुत्तमपायसं पृथक् ।  
 हुताशनादित्यसमानतेजसोऽचिरेण गर्भान् प्रतिपेदिरे तदा ॥

- बालकाण्ड ( 16.16-201

- 6) याजस्तु हवनस्यान्ते देवीमाज्ञापयत् तदा  
 प्रेहि मां राज्ञि पृषति मिथुनं त्वामुपस्थितम् ॥  
 राज्ञी उवाच-  
 अवलिसं मुखं ब्रह्मन् दिव्यान्गंधान् बिभर्मि च  
 सुतार्थे नोपलब्धारिस्मि तिष्ठ याज मम प्रिये ॥  
 याजेन श्रपितं हव्यमुपयाजाभिमन्त्रितम्  
 कथं कामं न संदध्यात् सा त्वं विप्रेहि तिष्ठ वा ॥  
 एवमुक्त्वा तु याजेन हुते हविषि संस्कृते ॥  
 उत्तस्थु पावकात् तस्मात् कुमारो देवसंनिभः ॥  
 कुमारी चापि पाञ्चाली वेदिमध्यात् समुत्थिता ॥ आदि. 166.36.44.
- 7) स्वर्गारोहणपर्व, 5-20.

81 For human sacrifices - see भंडारी-पुरुषमेध आणि नरबळी, विदर्भ संशोधन मंडळ वार्षिक 1976 p. 30

9) Frazer-The New Golden Bough, New York 1964, p. 523.

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# IDENTIFICATION OF "SIVA-GURU" OR ..BHATARA-GURU" IMAGES OF JAVA-A DISCUSSION

K. R. RAJAGOPALAN

## I. Introduction

1.1 In an article published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay* (Vol. 67-68 - New Series 1992-93), by the present writer on "Agastya Cult and Iconography", mention has been made about the existence of images in Java which are said to be conforming to the iconographic description of *śiva* as found in the *Matsya Purana*, Agamas and Puranas, and which are identified (i) by the Dutch scholars, notably F. D. K. Bosch, N. J. Krom and J. Ph. Vogel as Siva-Guru or Bhatara - Guru images and (ii) by other scholars, notably Lesya Poerbatjaraka, A.C. Gangoly and T. N. Ramachandran as Agastya images.<sup>1</sup> K. A. Nilakanta Sastri has drawn attention to the fact that it was Poerbatjaraka who for the first time argued that the so-called Siva-Guru images were representation neither of the highest god of the Indonesians nor of Śiva as a teacher, nor yet of a mixture of these ideas, but in reality of a *śiva* and that the *śiva* was Agastya." On the other hand, A.C. Gangoly argued that Agastya came in reality to be accepted in the Javanese islands as the highest god and explained the word "Siva - Guru" as a teacher of Saivism and thus identified the images in question as those of Agastya.<sup>3</sup>

Currently not much further examination of the question of identification of these images seems to have been done. Hence it is proposed to make an attempt in the following paragraphs at evaluating the views of scholars as aforesaid and seeing whether a different line of interpretation is possible.

1.2 Before, however, taking up for discussion the issue, it is pertinent to keep in mind the prevalence of the cult of Agastya in Java. Apart from literary allusions, the indisputable evidence for the existence of Agastya cult in Java is provided by epigraphical sources. The Dinaja stone inscription, dated 682 Śaka (A.D. 760), narrates in particular the making and consecration of a stone image of Agastya in the place of a wooden (*sumasru*) image and the endowments made in its favour." Thus there is a clear evidence, as accepted by all scholars, regarding the existence of the cult of Agastya, and the antiquity of the cult could be inferred from the reference that

images of Agastya were being made earlier in sandalwood. Agastya is also credited with having started an era ..Aqastyah Sakabadha" in Java as is mentioned in this inscription. It is also worth noting that the term "*walaing*" appearing in the Perang inscription and in the oath formula of Java and Bali has been identified as star Canopus (Agastya)s Further, in an old Kawi inscription, Agastya is hailed as " Great sage of *harichandana* " (yellow sandalwood) lending evidence to the making of Agastya images in that wood and worshipped as such." Sivaramamurti observes that as a patron deity of mariners, Agastya is present on the deck of the ship in one of the panels of Borobudur." Vogel says that it was in all probability, through the agency of the sea-faring population of South India that the cult of Agastya was carried to Java.

- 1.3 Apart from the existence of the cult of Agastya, the epigraphical sources also refer to the association of Agastya with the worship of Śiva in Java and other places in Indonesia. From the details mentioned in the stone inscription - the Changal inscription dated 654 Śaka (A.D. 732) - it is established that the erection of a Śiva *liriga* on the hillock in the plateau of Wukir, by King Sarijaya is ostensibly connected to Agastya by virtue of reference to the region of the Podiyil hill in South India, where according to traditions, Agastya resides. To explain further, the place *Kuñjarakuñjadeśa*, mentioned in the inscription, is identified by Krom as a place in South India - in the mountain range dividing the modern districts of Tirunelveli and Madurai from the Kerala state." In fact, Nilakanta Sastri avers that the *Kuñjarakuñjadeśa* undoubtedly signifies the *Pāndya* country and the *ismss* established in that country, i.e. the royal line of the *panyas*. B.Ch. Chhabra also inclines to this view." Krom concludes that the Śiva temple mentioned in the inscription was not literally imported from *Kuñjarakuñjadeśa* in South India but was modelled upon the one then existing in that land. Bosch sees an analogy between the Devaraja cult of Kambhoja, a similar tradition in Campā and the present instance in Java. He thinks there is a close connection between Śiva, his *liriga*, the ruling dynasty and the priest. The King represents Śiva, and his emblem is the *liriga*, while the priest plays the part of a mediator who receives the primeval *liriga* and hands it over to the founder of the dynasty as a palladium. Bosch supposes Agastya to be the priest in the case of King Sanjaya." Nilakanta Sastri explains this further and says that "the connection of the State with Siva and Agastya was long remembered in South India and is seen recurring in Campā and Kambhoja in the East."<sup>11</sup> Apart from these references, connecting Agastya with Śiva and Śiva worship, traditions abound in India crediting the installation of the *Siva-liriga*

in a number of places to Agastya, thus accounting for the temples to be known as Agastyesvara temples.<sup>12</sup>

## 2. The Appellation "Siva-Guru or Bhatāra-Guru"

2.1 The appellation "Bhatara-Guru" is often found in the Javanese literary works.<sup>13</sup> In fact, Bhatara-Guru is regarded as the highest god of the Javanese. The Dutch scholars like Krom and Kern see in the reference the form of Siva as known in the Indian pantheon. Vogel says that Śiva was worshipped in Java under different forms but preferably as Bhatara-Guru. J. Gonda in his work *Sanskrit in Indonesia* writes, "A remarkable and important figure is Bhatara-Guru who was to become a very famous divinity in later Javanese and other Indonesian beliefs and literatures. He is unmistakably related to the Indian Śiva in his aspects of the King of the gods, teacher (Guru), and ascetic Uma's husband and father of Ganesa or Ganesvara and Kartikeya."<sup>14</sup> Poerbatjaraka also accepts that Bhatara-Guru is the highest god of the Javanese and that he is no other than Śiva or Mahadeva, He further confirms that this identification should be according to the Indonesian authorities and that there is no dispute about the same. It is thus understood that Bhatāra-Guru or Siva-Guru refers only to Siva and no other divinity in the Javanese Hindu pantheon.

2.2 O.C. Gangoly takes Siva-Guru to mean the preacher of the cult of Śiva; Siva-Guru and Bhatara-Guru are synonymous and that in old Javanese inscriptions "Bhatara" is frequently applied to a god.<sup>15</sup> He also points out that "Bhattāraka" is an appellation peculiarly applied to kings and other respected personages. He further explains that "in his role as the spiritual preceptor of many kings, Agastya may have come to be known as "Bhattaraka-Guru" or the respected guru himself.<sup>16</sup> At the same time, Gangoly admits that the explanation is not satisfactory but yet one can assume the equation to Agastya. T. N. Ramachandran is another scholar holding a similar view. He says "as a proverbial devotee of Śiva, Agastya got identified with Śiva, attaining thereby *stJupya* or same form with him as is evident in the Siva-Guru conception, which only means that he is the guru of Saivism, in as much as he is the preacher of that cult-Bhattaraka or Bhatara - Guru would mean the good or revered guru."<sup>16</sup> However, according to us, these statements would appear to be subjective, and the majority of opinion equating "Siva-Guru" or "Bhatara-Guru" with Śiva as the highest god of the Javanese seems more acceptable.

## 3, Views of Scholars on Identification of Images

3.1 It is reported that a number of images have been recovered in Java which are presently preserved in the Leiden Museum in Holland and

in the Javanese Museum and which have the iconographic characteristics usually associated with the representation of (*sis* in India.!" Based on local traditions, the pioneering Dutch archaeologists have identified these images as Siva-Guru of Bhatara-Guru images. Poerbatjaraka has argued in favour of identification of these images with Agastya, which in the opinion of R.C. Majumdar is quite reasonable.<sup>18</sup> By applying the appellation "Siva-Guru" itself to Agastya. A.C. Gangoly and T.N. Ramachandran have assumed that the images represent only Agastya. T. N. Ramachandran points out further, ..it is a mistake to identify the images of Agastya with Siva simply because of the name ..Siva-Guru" as some writers have done, for we know of no form of Siva corpulent, bearded and fat in the stomach - such a representation is iconographically an error."<sup>19</sup>

3.2 Nilakanta Sastri appears to be in a predicament to reconcile himself with the identifications. At one place, he says, ..it will be noticed. however. that both Gangoly and Poerbatjaraka are agreed that the images generally conform to the type of (*sis* laid down in the manuals of Indian iconography and to the particular specifications laid down for Agastya in the *Menassra*. This is a just conclusion and we may accept it at once..<sup>20</sup> After a further examination of the problem, in a subsequent para, Sastri avers, ..why the Banon image of Agastya departs from the canon in the stature of the image and whether this and other images reproduced by Gangoly are Agastyas or must be identified otherwise, I am unable to say. But I feel that it is better to reserve one's opinion on a matter like this rather than accept theories put forward without sufficient evidence to support them."<sup>21</sup>

#### 4. Presentation of **Our Study**

4.1 The divergent views expressed by scholars as explained above would warrant a fresh line of approach to the problem. The present writer has been able to obtain from the Leiden Museum the photo-prints of the 13 images kept in that Museum. These have been catalogued by the Leiden Museum authorities as Hindu Javanese Siva-Guru sculptures, alongwith the place of origin and the possible date to which these belonged. The Director of the Museum points out that almost all these sculptures in the Leiden Museum came from private collections and have no pedigree. A.C. Gangoly has published eight photos out of the Leiden Museum collection in his article in the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* as referred to above.

4.2 We feel that it would be appropriate to publish details on all the thirteen images from the Leiden Museum. their Catalogue number, size and probable date. For our purpose, the images are classified

as under, by having relevance to the features noticed therein, to facilitate a proper discussion:

AI *Bronze Image* :

- 1) Bronze (No. 1403-2268) 23 cm, probable date 11th century A.D. (Fig. I, A).

BI *Stone Images with trident and with reasonable clarity:*

- 2) Stone (No. 1403- 1583), 107cm, date not known (Fig.I,B).
- 3) Stone (No. 1403 - 3444), 50 cm. 13th century AD.
- 4) Stone (No. 1403-2543), 52 cm, 12th 13th century A.D. (Fig.II,A).
- 5) Stone (No. 1403 - 2811) 57 cm, 13th century A.D.

CI *Stone Image with disciples:*

- (6) (No. 1403-1625) 135cm - circa 9th century A.D. (Fig.II,B).

O1 *Stone Images, somewhat non-conforming to canons and showing decadence:*

- 7) Stone No. (1403 - 2812), 69.5 cm, 14th century A.D.
- 8) Stone (No. 1403-2915) 60cm, 14th century AD.
- 9) Stone (No. 1403 - 2914) size not given, 11th century A.D. (Fig.III,A).
- 10) Stone (No. 1403 - 3443), 30cm, 14th century AD.
- 11) Stone (No. 1403 - 2813), 30cm, 14th century AD.
- 12) Stone (No. 1403 - 2063) 62cm, 13th century A.D.
- 13) Stone (No. 1354-28), 48cm, 13th century AD. (Fig.III,B)

4.3 As mentioned in the previous paragraphs, these images have been identified by one set of scholars as 'Siva-Guru' or 'Bhatara-Guru' and by another group as Agastya. We are here more concerned with the opinion of scholars identifying the images with Agastya. For this purpose, it is relevant to summarise the essential characteristics of the images of Agastya as laid down in the *Mānasāra*, Āgamas and the Puranas and they are : (i) dwarfish in size. (ii) crooked (*kubjākāra*), (iii) protuberant belly (*brhat kuṣṣih*), (iv) matted locks of hair (*jatā-jūta*), (v) long and flowing beard, (vi) wearing *yajñopavīta*, (vii) holding a *ksmsruislu* in one hand and rosary (*ruarskss*) in the other or a book, (viii) wearing a garland of rosary beads (*rudrākṣamālā*), (ix) *upsdese* or *jñānamudrā* pose, (x) two ears and



two eyes. Besides, according to the *Msnasere*, the limbs of Agastya should be measured in the seven *tāla* system, in which the whole length of the image is seven times the height of the face, which is generally twelve *arigulas*. This length is divided into  $12 \times 7 = 84$  equal parts of which the proportional distribution among the different limbs is explained at great length.<sup>22</sup> According to the *SUkranlti* (ChVI-sect. iv), the image of dwarf is to be seven *tālas* in height, that of men eight *tālas*, that of god nine *tālas*, and that of *rsksssss* ten *tālas*.<sup>23</sup> The *Menssers* prescribes that sage Kasyapa and Brgu should be measured in the eight *tāla* system and all other sages in the nine *tāla* system.<sup>24</sup>

4.4 If the above description is applied, it would be seen that none of the images, reproduced herein and identified by some scholars as Agastya, conforms to the same. We may, by way of contrast, draw attention to the image of Agastya in the temple of Nataraja at Chidambaram in South India (see Fig. IV, A) where all the rules of iconography are so faithfully followed. In the circumstance, acceptance of the identification of the images in question with Agastya is vitiated. We may note that in order to justify his argument, Poerbatjaraka makes an observation that Agastya images were at first normal representations of a sage and the dwarfish stature and pot belly concepts are later introductions into the iconography of Agastya. Nilakanta Sastri meets this argument squarely and rightly dismisses the same."

4.5 O.C. Gangoly would however take into account only the *jatā*, *ksmsndstu* and *rudrskse* as adequate indications for identifying the images as Agastya, ignoring the more important characteristics such as dwarfish stature, protuberant belly and crookedness in representation. He would also rely on depiction of *trisuta* and equate Siva-Guru as Śiva and correspondingly the images as Agastya images on the assumption that Siva-Guru stands for Agastya. These assumptions are not tenable and the depiction of *trisoie* may only highlight the concept of Saivism. In fact, another scholar has drawn attention to the association of Skanda or Murugan cult through the representation of *triśūla*.<sup>26</sup> To quote this scholar, ..it will be of interest to compare the image of Svaminatha, represented in Svamimalai (South India) as an elderly sage with a beard and two arms with the peculiar iconographic Javanese concept of Bhatara - Guru sometimes called Śiva - Guru, identified by some scholars as Agastya. Could it be that the concept combines the Murugan and Agastya cults which are two distinct Tamil contributions to Javanese Art and religion.. "

4.6 Before we critically analyse the images under consideration it is relevant

to take note of the importance given to the majestic image from Tjandi Banon, South Kedoe, Java<sup>27</sup> (now in the Batavian Museum). This image is approximately dated 9th century A.D. and in fact, no book on Javanese art misses this representation. (A photoprint of the image is published herewith so as to appreciate the discussion - vide Fig. IV, B) Scholars take this image as Siva-Guru or Agastya. The image is in a mutilated form - especially the forearms and the portions below the knees. Yet the image is represented in all its majesty and is tall in appearance. Besides, we can see the ornamental style of *jatā mukuta*, long ear lobes apparently adorned with *kundeles*, the wearing of ornaments round the bicep muscles on the right hand, the ornamental girdle holding the lower garment - all suggestive of a royal personage. As Nilakanta Sastri has pointed out, this image does not conform to the specifications relating to Agastya images.<sup>28</sup>

We could venture to draw a parallel by referring to the discussions centring round the identification of the image at Polonnaruva in Ceylon, which according to popular belief is a representation of King Parakramabahu.

S. Paranavitana<sup>29</sup> and later on P.C. Sestieri<sup>30</sup> have dealt with this problem at great length. Paranavitana summarises the views of various scholars identifying the said image as King Parakramabahu or as an ascetic or a *rsi* or Agastya or even as a court pandit and says, "there is general agreement that the statue does not represent a king but an ascetic or a *rsi*. The two authorities, however, do not exclude the possibility of the king having had himself depicted in the garb of an ascetic. There is a suggestion from some experts that it might represent Agastya; but equally authoritative opinion is against this mainly on iconographical grounds." Sestieri, after a detailed study, thinks "that the statue does not represent a king but an Indian (*si* who is reading a book and that it is the work of a south Indian sculptor belonging to the Brahmanic tradition."

Can we not in a similar vein, find the identification of the Tjandi Banon image as Agastya quite inappropriate? As a contrast to the Polonnaruva statue, the Tjandi Banon image is well ornamented and looks much more regal and majestic. Probably the image is that of a royal personage. Incidentally, the concept of pot belly can also be explained as denoting wisdom" or as relating to the advanced age of the person."

4.7 Now let us take the Bronze image (Fig. I, A). It is a good piece of workmanship. *Kamendelu* is held in the left hand, what is held in the right hand is not clear - perhaps it may be a *mudra* pose.



A. Bronze image from Java, now in the Leiden Museum



B. Image possibly of Siva-Guru, holding a trident, now in the Leiden Museum



A. Image, possibly of Siva-Guru, now in the Leiden Museum



B. Figure with disciples from Java, now in the Leiden Museum



A. Image, possibly representing Śiva, now in the Leiden Museum



B. Image from Java now in the Leiden Museum



A. Agatsya, Nataraja temple at Chidambaram. South India

B. Image front Tjandi Banon, Java. now in the Batavian Museum



There is a circular aura covering the back of the head and the face, which may suggest some sort of divinity. The image is profusely ornamented. However, the accepted iconographic features relating to Agastya are absent. Hence identification of the image with Agastya is open to doubt. We may perhaps regard this as an important Javanese deity.

- 4.8 Taking into account the images with trident (Figs. I,B;II,A) we notice on a close look that apart from trident being common, there is also circular halo at the back of head and face, which again is suggestive of some divine status of figures. Fig. I, B is a better representation. It is not possible to be quite at ease, if we accept these images as representing Agastya. The views of the Dutch scholars identifying these as Siva-Guru images would be found more acceptable.
- 4.9 As regards the image represented in Fig. II, B there is a similarity with the Tjandi Banon image in so far as the majestic stature, ornamentation, etc. are concerned. Since the Tjandi Banon image is in a mutilated form, we do not know whether any disciples were also depicted along with it. However, in Fig. II, B we find that the two figures on either side have a childlike face. They also have a peculiar hair style and wear something like a necklace round their necks. The manner of presentation is one of obeisance. Usually disciples are represented as elderly persons with *jatā* and beard. Probably this image may be identified as that of a royal personage as in the case of Tjandi Banon or even as a *Rājaguru* or *purohita*, but not in any case Agastya.
- 4.10 Regarding the remaining images (Fig. III, B) one could see the decadence in art. Excepting the figure portrayed in Fig. III, A which may be a deity - Śiva himself, the other images may probably be identified as images of ascetics or sages but not Agastya. The Dutch scholars have assigned 13th or 14th century AD. to most of these specimens and probably entertaining any ideas about the prominence of Agastya cult later in such times would also be doubtful.

## 5. Conclusion :

Although the prevalence of the cult of Agastya from early times and making of images of Agastya initially in sandalwood and later in stone in Java is attested by inscriptional evidence, the examples which have been discussed do not suggest on the basis of their iconographic features that they can be classified as Agastya images.

## Notes and References

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- Institute, Leiden, pp. 25-26; Lesya Poerbatjaraka *Agastya in den Archipel* (Dutch) Leiden 1926; O.C. Gangoly "The Cull of Agastya And the Origin of Indian Colonial Art", *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society (QJMS)* Vol. XVII, Jan. 1927, No. 3, pp. 169-191; T. N. Ramachandran, *The Golden Age of Hindu Javanese Art* (Madras); N. J. Krom, *runau Javansche Geschiedenis* (Dutch), (The Hague, 1926) translation appearing in the *Journal of the Greater India Society (JGIS)* Vols. XIII & XVI; F.DK Bosch, "A Hypothesis as to the Origin of Hindu Javanese Art," *Rupam*, 17, Jan 1924 pp 6-4 1; J. Ph. Vogel, *The Relation between the Art of India and Java*, (London, 1925).
2. Prof. K. A. Nilakantha Sastri, "Agastya", *Tijdschrift Voor Ind Taal Land en Volkenkunde* (TBGC Vol LXXVI 1936 p. 539.
  3. *Ibid* p. 182.
  4. Poerbatjaraka, *Ibid* pp. 52-55, Prof. Nilakanta Sastri, *Ibid* pp. 5 12-5 15, T. N. Ramachandran, *Ibid* pp. 19-22.
  5. *Taittiriya Aranyaka* (1.11.27) *The Brhatsamhitā* (XII) *Raghuvamśa* (IV. 2 1) - refer to Agastya as star Canopus.
  6. T. N. Ramachandran, *op.cit* p. 19, Prof. Nilakanta Sastri, "The Tamil land and Eastern Colonies," *JGIS* Vol XI p. 27. The *Mānasāra* also mentions that idols of sages like Agastya are made through casting in wax (*karsana*) for worship. Ch. LX. VIII (Ref. PK Acharya's edition) (Oxford University Press, 1933), pp. 408-410.
  7. Sivaramamurti, *Royal Conquests and Cultural Migration in South India and Deccan*, Calcutta (1955) pp. 37-38.
  8. Quoted by Nilakanta Sastri, Agastya, *op. cit* pp, 50 1-502; Also his work *South Indian Influences In The Far East*, Bombay, (1949), p. 129.
  9. Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra: "Kunjarakunjadesa of the Changal inscription". *JGIS*, Vol. III pp. 171-172; also his article "Expansion of Indo-Aryan Culture during Pallava - Rule as evidenced by Inscription," *Journal and proceeding of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Leiter)*, I. 1935, no.1.
  10. Quoted by Dr. B.Ch. Chhabra. *JGIS* Vol III pp. 171-172.
  11. *Op. cit* p. 504.
  12. The present writer has noticed as many as 97 Agastyesvara Temples referred to in the various inscriptions and Gazetteers mostly in South India. D.C. Sircar, Govt. Epigraphist for India, in one of his communications has confirmed that the deities called Agastyesvara are Śiva *lingas*.
  13. Poerbatjaraka, *op.cit* p. 83.
  14. J. Gonda, *Sanskrit in Indonesia* p. 130.
  15. *Op.cit* p. 182.
  16. *Op.cit* p.23.
  17. O.C. Gargoly mentions that as many as 13 examples are in the Leiden Museum and 17 in the Museum of Batavia, *op.cit*. fn. on p. 183.



18. *Ancient Indian Colonies in the Far East* (Dacca 1937) Vol. II, p. 105.
19. *OS. Ct* p. 23.
20. *Op.cit.*, p. 540.
21. *Op. cit.*, p. 544.
22. *Mānasāra* ed. by P. K. Acharya (1933) Ch. 57 pp 567 - 571; Also in the Chapter dealing with *Munilakṣaṇa Vidhāna*, in the same text edited by P.K. Acharya p. 79.
23. *Śukranīti*, translated by B.K Sarkar (The Sacred Books of the Hindus, 1923, Vol. XIII).
24. *Mānasāra*, translation by P.K. Acharya, pp. 633-636.
25. *Op. cit* pp. 543-544.
26. K. R. Venkataraman "Skanda cull in South India", *The Cultural Heritage of India* (old series), Vol. IV, p. 311
- It may be of interest to note here that Rev. Fr. Heras has defined 'Velir' as men of the trident and the Tamil word 'vel' (trident) is associated with Subrahmanya in South India. "The Velalas of Mohenjodaro", *Indian Historical Quarterly* (IHQ) Vol. XXIV (1939) pp. 46-47.
27. Refer A. K. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, Plate CXVIII, No. 359, p. 252; Reginald May, *The Culture of South East Asia* (The Heritage of India], (London 1934), Figure 70, p. 101, N.J. Krom, *Arts Asiatica*. Vol. VIII. 1926, "Lart Javanais Dans Les Musees de Holiande et de Java," plates VIII & X; O. C. Gangoly, *op. cit* p. 169.
28. Nilakanta Sastri observes on Gangoly's remarks that the Banon figure faithfully follows the formula of the Icon (Agaslya) *Rupam*, 1926, p. 10. The photographs do not produce this impression, *op. cit.*, p. 542 fn. 1.
29. The statue of the PotgulVehera in Polonnaruva *Ceylon Journal of Science fGI Archaeology, Ethnology, etc* Vol. II, (Oct 1933) pp. 234-239. Also see *Artibus Asiee*. Vol. XV. pp. 209-218
30. Note on the statue of Potgul Vehera at Potonnaruva, *East & West* Vol. 9, No. 3 (Sept. 1958), New Series, pp. 233-237.
- The figure is also reproduced in the *Archaeological Survey of Ceylon*, Annual Reports, 1906, in the *Arts and Crafts of Ceylon* by Dr. A.K. Coomaraswamy (1913) figure 34, p. 78. Dr. C. Sivaramamurti says that the Polonnaruva image is interpreted by different scholars as Agaslya, Tiruvaliuvār and Parakarnāhu, a king of Ceylon. However, it may be, it is undoubtedly an early representation of a great scholar. *Ct. Indian Epigraphy and South Indian Scripts* (1952) p. 18.
31. Opinion expressed by J. Ph. Vogel "Note on a Stone Image of Agni, the God of Fire in the possession of Sir Eric Geddes," *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. LXII (1933) p. 228.
32. Opinion expressed by P. C. Sestieri, *Ibid* p. 234.

**Acknowledgements**

1. RIJKS Museum Voor Volkenkunde (National Museum of Ethnology) Leiden, Holland. for Figs. I, A to III, B.
2. Office of the Gov!. Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund, South India, for Fig. IV, A.

## THE POSITION OF VIṢṆU, NĀRĀYAṆA, VASUDEVA AND KṚṢṆA IN EARLY VAIṢṆAVISM

HARIPRIYA RANGARAJAN

Vaisnavism is one of the most popular cults in India which emerged at the early stage of the evolutionary and formative period of the religious systems in the country. It evidently derives its name from Viṣṇu, the protector of the world and one of the principal gods of the Hindu trinity. Along with the name of Viṣṇu, the names of Nārāyaṇa, Vasudeva and Kṛṣṇa are also prominently used in the chore of Vaiṣṇavism. In this paper we will try to find out who are these gods and what was their position in the early Vaisnavism.

### Viṣṇu :

The origin of visnu goes back to the *Vedic* times though he became popular only in the later *Vedic* period. Visnu is represented as one of the great gods in some sections of the *Rg Veda*, but he was not regarded as the greatest god in early *Vedic* times. The *Rg Veda* conceived Visnu as one of the manifestations of the Sun (I, 155,6). At the same time *Rg Veda* had not failed to refer to Visnu as having the epithets 'Urugaya' and 'Urukarna' and added that he takes three strides with three steps." two of which are visible to man," the third or 'the highest step' is beyond the flight of the birds or mortal man. In another passage in the *Rg Veda*, Visnu is called the germ of the sacrifice, *Rtasya garbham* (1, 156,3).

However, the position of Visnu became very prominent in the later *Vedic* period. The *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* represented Viṣṇu as the personification of Yajña or Sacrifice." A passage in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* revealed the highest place that Viṣṇu had occupied among the gods. It also described Viṣṇu as one of the two guardians of the *dīkṣā* or initiation.<sup>5</sup>

In the Upanisad period his position became very strong. The *Mailri Upaniṣad* described Viṣṇu as the food that sustains the Universe and called him 'Bhagavat Visnu' (VI, 13). In the *Katha Upanisad* (iii, 9) the progress of the human soul is compared to a journey and the goal of it is said to be *visnu's Pacamapada*: the abode of eternal bliss (*Rg Veda*, I, 22,20). According to the *Apaslamba*, *Hiranyakeśin* and *Paraskara Grhya Sutrās* at the time of taking seven steps in the marriage the bridegroom is asked to say it to the bride 'May Visnu be with you !' It means Viṣṇu is the protector of embryos and promoter of conception which idea had been already indicated in the *Rg Veda* (I, 156, 3; VII, 36, 9; X, 184, 1). This shows that Visnu was regarded as

the greatest god in the later Vedic times,"

### Nārāyaṇa :

Narayana is neither a historical figure nor a mythological individual. He is a cosmic god and he is unborn from whose navel Brahma has sprung. Narayana means resting place or goal of Naras or collection of Naras (नारं ज्ञानं तस्य अयनं नारायणम्).<sup>7</sup>

The idea of Narayana was developed in the period of later Brahmanas and Āraṇyakas when God was recognised as the Supreme Soul. A passage in the *Satapatha Brahma* (la XII,3,4, refers to a Purusa named Narayana who is stated to have thrice *offered* sacrifice at the instance of Prajapati Here the word Purusa is used in the sense of Supreme Spirit. The same text, XIII, 6, 1, mentions Purusa Narayana as the performer of *pāñcarātra Sallra* who *obtained* superiority over 'all beings and became all beings'<sup>8</sup> In the *Taittirīya Ārsnyak* Nārāyaṇa is described as 'Supreme Soul: He appears as 'the Deity eternal', 'Supreme and Lord' and receives the name 'Hari'.<sup>9</sup>

In the *Mahābhārata*<sup>10</sup> and in the Puranas<sup>11</sup> he is described as a Supreme Soul connected with the creation and represented as lying on the body of a huge sesanaqa in the ocean of milk and an object of worship. In the *Mahābhārata*, he is called a Ṛṣi or Seer, the son of Dharma and was associated with another Ṛṣi called Nara. In the same Epic, Narayana, son of Dharma, is stated to have practised austerities in the Himalayas and thus become Brahman. This place appears to be Badari in the Himalayas. He is said to have become invincible by propitiating Śiva. The Narayanīya section of the Śāntiparvan states that in the Kṛta Yuga, Nārāyaṇa, the eternal and universal soul, was born as the son of Dharma in quadruple form of Nara, Nārāyaṇa, Hari and Kṛṣṇa (*Mahābhārata*, xii, 334,9-10).<sup>12</sup>

According to the *Mahābhārata*, "Narayana" is older than the oldest ones. For some purpose that creator of the Universe took his birth as the son of Dharma. On Himavat he underwent austerities for sixty-six thousand years, and then for twice that period, and thus he became a Brahmana and beheld the Supreme deity Śiva. The lotus-eyed Narayana recited a hymn to Mahādeva. Śiva then granted him boons that neither gods, nor the Asuras, the Mahoragas, the Pisacas, the Gandharvas, men, the Haksasas, the birds, the Nāgas nor any creatures should ever be able to withstand his prowess, thou shall be superior to myself if thou ever goest to battle with me ! That God walked over the earth as Kṛṣṇa Vasudeva, beguiling the Universe by his illusive power. From the austerities of Narayana was born a great muni Nara, who was equal to Narayana himself. Arjuna was none other than Nara. The two Ṛṣis who are said to be older than the oldest gods take their births in every *yuga* for the benefit of the world (*Mahābhārata*, vii, 200, 57-58):<sup>13</sup> Narayana is described as a thousand rayed deity residing in his abode, the white island

'*Svetadvipa*', where Narada learnt the monotheistic religion called *Pāñcarātra*. The above description of Nārāyaṇa indicates that Nārāyaṇa is the cosmic god and Vasudeva Kṛṣṇa or Kṛṣṇa Vasudeva is his form on the earth.

**Vasudeva :**

Vasudeva is said to have been a scion of the Vrsn' family of Yadava clan. He is the fountainhead of the Bhagavata movement. In the *Mahābhārata* and in the *Purānas* the name Vasudeva refers to as the son of Vasudeva (Mahabharata, iii, 15, 8). In one of the passages, the *Mahābhārata* gives the etymology of the name Vasudeva. Accordingly, he is called Vasudeva in consequence of his enveloping all creatures with the screen of illusion or of his glorious splendour, or of his being the support and resting place of the gods.

वसनात्सर्वभूतानां वसुत्वाद्देवयोनितः  
वासुदेवस्ततो वेद्यो वृषत्वाद्दृष्णिरुच्यते ।

(*Mahābhārata*, v, 68,3)

In another passage Vasudeva himself says, "Assuming the form of the Sun I cover the universe with my rays. And because I am the home of all creatures, therefore, am i called by the name Vasudeva."

ऋदयामि जगद्विश्वं भूत्या सूर्य इवांशुभिः  
सर्वभूताभिवासश्च वासुदेवस्ततो ह्यहम् ॥

(*Mahābhārata*, xii, 328,36)

The earliest reference to the name Vasudeva is found in the Astadhyayi of Panini In the S0tra IV, 3,95, Pāṇini states that an affix comes after a word in the first case in construction giving the meaning of "this is his object of Bhakti." Then in the succeeding *Sutr*« IV,3,98 Pāṇini says that the affix '*vun*' comes in the sense of "this is his object of Bhakti" after the words of Vasudeva and Arjuna. Thus Vasudevaka means a person the object of whose Bhakti is Vasudeva.<sup>14</sup>

According to H. C. Raychaudhuri, if Panini had lived in the fifth century B. C., then Vasudeva must have lived even before his time.

**Kṛṣṇa :**

Kṛṣṇa is represented in the *Chāndogya Upanisad* as the son of Devakī and the pupil of Ghora Angirasa. It gives an account of the doctrines that were taught by Āngirasa to Kṛṣṇa, This Upanisad is one of the oldest Upanisads and belongs to pre-Buddhistic period. Patañjali in his *Mahābhāṣya* refers to Kṛṣṇa as the slayer of Karīṣa. He says that the event of the death of Karīṣa at the hands of Kṛṣṇa was in his age believed to have occurred at a very remote time. *Cirahate Karḥsa* means Kamsa's death occurred at a very remote time. In the *Mahābhāṣya* the following statement proves that Kṛṣṇa was the

slayer of Karnsa,

प्रहाराद्रिभ्यन्ते कंसस्यच कृष्णस्यच  
असाधुरमातुले कृष्णः<sup>15</sup>

Regarding the identification of Vasudeva with Kṛṣṇa scholars have different opinions. But from Patanjali we learn that the names of Kṛṣṇa and Vasudeva belong to one and the same individual. As it is mentioned above at one place, Patanjali mentions the event of death of Kāṁsa happened in the hands of Kṛṣṇa. In another place in the same text the same event has been attributed to Vasudeva. It is said that "in the days of yore Vasudeva killed Kāṁsa.!"

This proves that at the time of Patanjali, Kṛṣṇa and Vasudeva were considered to be the names of one and the same individual - the slayer of Kāṁsa.

In the *Mahābhārata*, Vasudeva is called Kṛṣṇa Vasudeva, who was the famous prince of the Yadava Vṛṣṇi or Sattvata family of Mathura, A passage in the sanuparvan (*Mahābhārata* XII,348, 6-8) states that the Sattvata or Bhagavata dharma was first taught by Kṛṣṇa Vasudeva to Arjuna.

In the Ghata Jataka the names of Vasudeva and Kṛṣṇa are mentioned in (the sense of Vasudeva belonging to the Kāṁsnayana (Kāṁsnayana) gotra. R. G. Bhandarkar says that Kāṁsnayana is a Brahmana *gotra* belonging to the Vasistha group. In the *Mātsya Purāna* (ch. 200), this *gotra* has been mentioned as belonging to the Parasara subdivision. According to R. G. Bhandarkar, though this was a Brahmana and Parasara *gotra* it could be assumed by a Kṣatriya for sacrificial purpose, In that sense, Vasudeva belonged to the Kāṁsnayana *gotra* and therefore he could be called Kṛṣṇa by name. Thus, Vasudeva is not a patronymic but the proper name of a person while Kṛṣṇa shows the *gotra* name.<sup>17</sup>

The Greek Ambassador Megasthenes was the Macedonian Ambassador at the court of Candragupta Maurya who reigned in the last quarter of the fourth century B. C. In his work *Indica*, Megasthenes refers to Vasudeva Kṛṣṇa and the cities of Mathura and Kṛṣṇapura and the river Yamuna flows between them. He uses the name Herakles for Vasudeva, Sauraseni for Sattvatas, Methora for Mathura, Kleisobora for Kṛṣṇapura and Jobras for Jamuna. From the work of Megasthenes we understand that sauvatas of Mathura region must have been worshipping Kṛṣṇa Vasudeva. R. G. Bhandarkar says that if the Vasudeva Kṛṣṇa worship prevailed in the time of the first Maurya, it must have originated long before the establishment of the Maurya dynasty. He opines that it owes its origin to the stream of thought which began with the Upanisads and culminated in the east in Buddhism and Jainism and arose about the time of the latter.<sup>18</sup>

In this context, some questions may come to our mind regarding Kṛṣṇa Vasudeva. One may ask, 'was Kṛṣṇa Vasudeva a hero who gradually rose

Up to the rank of a divine being?' If so, when was he deified by his people? In the first place he was a famous prince and a warrior belonging to the Sātvata race. He was a disciple of Ghora Angirasa of the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*. He learnt several doctrines from his Guru and they were transmitted to Arjuna. He preached the fundamental doctrine of 'Ekāntikā Bhakti' (monotheistic devotion) to his tribesmen who were called Bhāgavatas. The new Bhakti (faith) which he taught to his tribesmen came to be known as 'Bhāgavata dharma.' On this basis we can say that Kṛṣṇa Vasudeva was a hero, warrior, teacher and a founder of the Bhāgavata religion, which later became the parent of modern Vaiṣṇavism. Regarding his deification it is very difficult to say whether he was recognised by his people as a divine being even during his lifetime.

The reasons are :

- 1) We do not have any other evidence except the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* from which we learn that Kṛṣṇa Vasudeva might have lived even before 600 B.C. and learnt the doctrines from his Guru Ghora Angirasa.
- 2) Panini's *Sillra*, Patanjali's *Mahābhāṣya* and Megasthenes's *Indica* contain important hints regarding the divinity of Kṛṣṇa Vasudeva, but they in no way give any clue of his followers accepting Kṛṣṇa Vasudeva as god in his lifetime.
- 3) The Jataka and Jaina Sutra do not refer to the deification of Kṛṣṇa during his lifetime. However, there may be references to the worship of Vasudeva in these texts probably in the periods after his demise. For example, from the Pāli Buddhist canon called *Niddesa* datable to the fourth century B. C., we understand only this much that the worship of hero gods Vasudeva and Baladeva was already existent in the fourth century B.C., and the cult was developed under the fountainhead of Vasudeva. It means Vasudeva was regarded as the highest deity in that period. However, it does not say whether he was alive at that time or not.<sup>19</sup>
- 4) Lastly, the *Bhagavad-Gītā* which is the kernel of the Epic expounds the doctrines of Bhāgavata religion. From the *Bhagavad-Gītā* we understand that while transmitting the doctrines, Kṛṣṇa revealed himself to Arjuna as the Supreme deity by taking the form of Viṣṇurūpa. On this basis one can presume that the deification of Kṛṣṇa could have begun from that time. However, scholars are not fully agreeable on the date of the *Bhagavad-Gītā*,

Regarding the identification of Narayana and Visnu with Kṛṣṇa, the *Viṣṇu Gāyatrī* and the *Mahānārāyaṇa Upaniṣad* emphasize the fullness of the divinity of Vasudeva, "Om Nārāyaṇa Vidmahe, Vāsudevāya dhimsb; tenno Viṣṇuh Precodeṣṭ." This means the cosmic god Nārāyaṇa of the late Samhita and Brahmna periods and the Vedic Viṣṇu (solar deity) were merged with Vasudeva

in the course of his deincation."? The deification of Narayana with Krsna Vasudeva is recorded in the whole of Narayaniya section in the Epic.

So far we have tried to analyse the origin of Visnu, Nārāyaṇa, Vasudeva and Krsna in the light of the Vedic literature, SŪtras, Epics and the Puranas. In the foregoing pages we shall analyse the position of these deities in the origin of Vaisnavism. Vaisnavism is the name given to the Bhakti religion which recognises Visnu as Supreme deity. He is called by other names like Bhagavat, Janardana, Hari, Nārāyaṇa, etc. He is the embodiment of immortality and the eternal preceptor of the Universe. As a protector of the Universe, He himself becomes incarnate to relieve the world from sin and protect the virtue of the good people.

In the Vedic literature Visnu was not given a prominent place among the gods of worship. Even the Brahmanas treated Visnu in the form of sacrifice. In fact, they identified Visnu with 'Yajna' (Sacrifice). They could neither show that he was "on his way to his place as the God of the worship of men's hearts, nor was recognised in his aspect of grace as a saviour." In fact, the fundamental aspects of Vaisnavism (a) grace of God and (b) doctrine of Ekantika Bhakti were not found in the worship of visnu of the Vedic and Brahmanic period. The Brahmanic texts explained more related to the Yajna rather than Bhakti in the worship of Visnu.

The Upanisads explained the doctrine of immanence of God with his transcendence as stated in the Vedanta SŪtra. They also taught that God is the protector of all beings, dwells in the heart of man, seeing him as he is and everywhere is eternal bliss. In the blissful condition the individual soul attains a perfect similarity with the Supreme SOUL<sup>22</sup> However, the theistic portions of the Upanisads also could not satisfy the ordinary people as the philosophic speculators of the Upanisads could not answer many of the practical needs of the ordinary people. The ordinary people wanted to worship an adorable object with a more distinct personality that was attributed to God which Upanisads could not explain. This resulted in the rise of 'Bhakti' and the rise of a theistic system with a god who had come to dwell among men.

This Bhakti element and the worship of a personal god was first taught by Krsna Vasudeva to his tribesmen in Mathura region under the name of Sattvata dharma. This religion became popular as Bhagavata dharma. According to the *Mahābhārata*, (xii, 346, 10-11), this religion was obtained by Narada from Narayana himself. The same Bhakti religion was taught by Vasudeva Krsna to his tribesmen in Mathura.

The synonymous names of the Bhāgavata cult are referred to in the Śāntiparvan and Visvopakhyaṇa of Bhisma Parvan of the *Mahābhārata*. The names mentioned are Bhaṅgavata, Sattvata, Ekantika and Pancaratra.



सात्त्वतं विधिमास्ताय प्राक्सूर्यमुखानिःसृतम्

*Mahābhārata*, xii, 322, 19"

नूनमेकान्तधर्मोऽयं श्रेष्ठो नारायणप्रियः

*Mahābhārata*, xii, 336, 4"

पञ्चरात्रविदो मुख्यास्तस्य गेहे महात्मनः

*Mahābhārata*, xii, 322, 24"

द्वापरस्य युगस्यान्ते आदौ कलियुगस्य च

सात्त्वतं विधिमास्थाय गीतः संकर्षणेन च ॥

*Mahābhārata*, VI, 62, 39

The Bhakti religion of Sanvatas was identical with that taught in the *Bhagavad-Gīta*. It is said to have been promulgated by Narayana himself to Narada. According to R. G. Bhandarkar, "It thus appears that the idea of a religion of devotion arose in earlier times, but it received a definite shape when Vasudeva revealed *Gītā* to Arjuna and led to the formation of an independent sect when his brother, son and grandson were associated with him as his forms presiding over certain psychological categories or as persons created by him for the purpose. That sect became conterminous with the race of the sattvatas."<sup>13</sup>

The epigraphical evidences found in the Mathura region, Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh prove that the worship of Vasudeva Kṛṣṇa was prevalent in the second century B. C.. But these inscriptions do not mention the name of Viṣṇu. Again, though the Vasudeva worship was very much prevalent in the pre-Christian times, no image of him had been found. Therefore, it is not known how Vasudeva Kṛṣṇa was worshipped during this period.

The earliest image of Viṣṇu datable to first century A. D. has been found at Burhikar near Malhar in the Bilaspur district in Madhya Pradesh. At present the image is called 'Caturbhujā Bhagavan.'<sup>24</sup> This reminds us of the identification of Vasudeva with Viṣṇu that took place between the periods of *Bhagavad-Gīta* and *Anu-Gīta*. The *Anu-Gīta* narrates the story of a sage of Bhṛgu race called Utlarika to whom Kṛṣṇa explained the philosophy of the soul and also showed his universal form '*Virāṭa Svarōpa*' as shown to Arjuna in the *Bhagavad-Gīta*. This form was called Vaisnava form which name was not given in the other passage in the *Gītā*. This is given only in the *Anu Gītā*.

ततः स तस्मै प्रीतात्मा दर्शयामास तद्वपुः

शाश्वतं वैष्णवं धीमान्दृष्टो युद्धनजयः ॥

स ददर्श महात्मानं विश्वरूपं महाभुजम् ।

विस्मयं च ययौ विप्रस्तदृष्ट्वा रूपमैश्वरम् ॥

*Mahābhārata*, Aśvamedhika Parvan, adh.54, 4 and 5.

The Bhāgavata dharma of Vasudeva Kṛṣṇa maintained the theory of *ester*

but not the concept of *vyuha*. On the other hand the Pancaratra system of Nārāyaṇa laid stress on the worship of *vyūnes* and also maintained the theory of *evstere* which is based on the doctrine of the *Bhagavad-Gīta*. According to the *vyub* doctrine Lord Vasudeva in his *Para* aspect is the highest object of *bhakti*. He created himself the *vyuru*: of Sankarsana and *Prakṛti*. From them arose the *vyuha* of Pradyumna and *manas*. From the association of Pradyumna and *manas* sprang the *vyuha* of Aniruddha and *aharikara*. Therefore, the Pancaratra text *Ahīrbudhnyā Saṁhitā* says that the Lord Vasudeva himself framed out the original *śāstra*. "the system called Pancaratra describing his *fivefold* nature known as *Para*, *Vyuha*, *Vibhava* (*evstere*), *Antsryemin* and *Area* and that highest will of Visnu called Sudarsana through which he split into five, appearing five mouthed."<sup>25</sup> It is to be noted that in the historic period the *vyons* doctrine was absorbed in the Bhaṅgavata religion and the doctrine of *svstere* took a stronghold in the development of Visnuism named after Visnu. In the words of Raychaudhuri, "Bhaṅgavatism had now lost itself in Visnuism."<sup>26</sup>

In this context it can be said that the word 'Vaisnava' was not generally used till the fifth century A. D. During the early Gupta period Kṛṣṇa and Visnu were regarded as identical, but the name of Visnu was frequently used to denote the Supreme God of the Sattvata cult. Visnu was the cult God, Kṛṣṇa was his most perfect incarnation and all the three elements of Kṛṣṇa Vasudeva, Nārāyaṇa and Janardana helped to develop this God concept. In spite of this, they described themselves as 'Parama Bhagavatas' in their coins which indicates that the word 'Bhaṅgavata' was being used rather than *vaisnava*.<sup>27</sup> The coins of the Traikōṭaka kings (feudatory of Imperial Guptas) in South Gujarat who flourished in 456 A. D. supply the first numismatic evidence in their legends wherein 'Parama Vaisnava Śrī Mahārāja Dharasena' and 'Parama Vaisnava Śrī Mahārāja Vyaghrasena' are mentioned.<sup>28</sup> While referring to the installation of images, Varahamihira in the *Brhatsaṁhitā* says that the images of Visnu should be installed by Bhaṅgavatas, The Eran Stone Boar inscription of Torarnana, the Eran Stone pillar inscription of Budha Gupta<sup>30</sup> and the Mandasor Stone inscription of Naravarman<sup>31</sup> evidently prove that Bhagavatism is merged in Vaisnavism.

Thus the group of three deities (a) Vedic Visnu, (b) cosmic Nārāyaṇa and (c) Vasudeva Kṛṣṇa gave a significant shape to the origin and development of Bhagavatism-Vaisnavism in India. These gods helped the cult to originate and develop under four fundamental doctrines. They are (a) Bhakti, (b) solar worship, (c) doctrine of Yoga philosophy (Pāñcarātra) and (d) doctrine of *svsure* (*Bhagavad-Gīta*).

## Notes and References

1. A. A. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 37
  2. इदं विष्णुर्वि चक्रमे त्रेधा निदधे पदम् समूहकमस्य पांसुरे *Rg Veda* I, 22, 17.
  3. *Rg Veda* I, 22, 20, I, 154, I, 155,5.
  4. *Śatapatha Brāhmana*, I, 9, 3, 9 (tr. by) Julius Eggling, Book I and II, Oxford, 1BB2
  5. अग्निर्वै देवानामवमो विष्णुः परम स्वदंतरेण सर्वा अन्या देवता । आग्नेयैष्णवुं पुरोडाशं निर्वपति दीक्षणीय एकादशकपालं । सर्वाभ्य एवैनं तद्देवताभ्योऽनंतरायं निर्वपत्यग्निर्वै सर्वा देवता विष्णुः सर्वा देवता एते वै यज्ञस्यांत्ये तन्वौ यदग्निश्च विष्णुश्च । I, I.
- It means Agni among the gods has the lowest, visnu the highest place, and between them stand all other deities. They after the Agni Visnu cake *Purodāśa* which belongs to the *Dikṣaniya ist!* and put its several parts on eleven potsherds (*kapala*). They after it really to all the deities of this *ist!* without foregoing anyone. For Agni is all the deities and Visnu is all the deities. They are the two ends of the Sacrifice. *Ai/areya Brahma(1a of the Rg Veda. I, 1* (Eng tr.) by Martin Haug, Bombay, 1863.
6. *The Cultural Heritage of India*, Vol. tv (Religions), p. 111.
  7. R. G. Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems*, Strassburg 1913, pp. 42ff.
  8. *The Cultural Heritage of India*, Vol. IV. p. 119
  9. *Taittiriya Aranyaka*, X, 11, 1
  10. E. W. Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*. p. 213.
  11. *Marka(1(ieya Purāna*, Ch 47, Sl. 1-13 *Viṣṇu Pura(1a*, Part I, Ch. 4.
  12. *Cultural Heritage of India*, p. 120
  13. H. C. Raychaudhuri, *Materials for the Study of the Early History of the Vā(1ava sect*. p. 67, second edition 1975.
  14. *Ibid*, p. 14.
  15. *Ibid*, p. 22.
  16. *Ibid*, p. 22.
  17. R. G. Bhandarkar, *op. cit*, pp. 10ff.
  18. *Ibid*, p. 9.
  19. *Ibid*, p. 3
  20. J. N. Banerjea, *Psorsrvc and Tan/ric Religion*, Calcutta, 1966., p. 23.
  21. H. C. Raychaudhuri, *op.Cit*, p. 11
  22. R. G. Bhandarkar, *op. cit*: p. 2
  23. *Ibid*, pp. 4ff.

24. D. C. Sircar, *Studies in the Religious Life of Ancient and Medieval India*, p. 21, 2n.
25. F. Otto Schrader, *Introduction to Pāñcarātra and the Ahirbudhnya Samhitā*, the Adyar Library and Research centre, 1916, p. 26.
26. H. C. Raychaudhuri, *op.cit.*, p. 104, second edition, 1975.
27. J. N. Banerjea, *Peurenka: and Tantric Religion*, p. 12.
28. V. V. Mirashi, Surat Plates of Vyaghrasena, *CU*, Vol. IV, Part I, ins. NO. 9. PL. IVB, p. 265.
29. J. F. Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III, ins. No. 36.
30. *Ibid*, Vol. III, ins. No. 19.
31. D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*. Part 1, Book II, ins. No. 51.

# DEVOTION AND TANTRA

KALPAKAM SANKARNARAYAN

## Introduction

Myth has parallels in philosophy and in cult. Whereas philosophy expresses ideas on an intellectual level, cult does so on that of emotion. Myth combines the two. Myth infuses life simultaneously into both concept and image. In this way the process of thought receives a peculiar colour and character. The image will come alive in action. Whereas philosophy may justifiably stay indoors without losing its edge, myth must go out into the streets onto the scene. There it provides in images the action to the plot which philosophy conceived - particular contradictions which could otherwise be resolved only on an abstract level by the myth. To clarify problems which cannot be solved rationally with full satisfaction, like the very problem of man's existential situation, myth uses the "resolve" of irrational cult. Emotion achieves what reason cannot.

It is often said that philosophy begins with wonder. Would it be equally valid to say that philosophy starts with suffering? The suffering which man experiences in the complexity of existence makes him wonder why. Such suffering creates a catharsis. That purification may, in its turn, through analysis, reach a solution. In Indian thought this is called "nirnuksa," an intense desire for liberation.

One irrational but not unreasonable answer to the complexity of existence is an explicit form it receives in myth. It is "bhakti," mutual relationship between the worshipper and the (his) God. It is a compelling love which overcomes all rational barriers. It would seem as if 'bhakti' is a late solution in the sense that man is inclined first to reason his existence and its significance. Then, finding himself at a loose end, man makes explicit a tendency which has been there from the beginning. He appeals to emotion to satisfy his cry for understanding. 'Bhakti' seen in this way, is almost an excuse.

Classical Hindu bhakti makes its entry with the appearance of the *Bhagavad Gītā* revealing Kṛṣṇa as viṣṇu incarnate in human form. The *Gītā's* revelation emphasizes the personal self-surrender of man to God whom he is able to love and adore in spite of all vicissitudes of life.

## Mahāyānism and Hinduism

Image-worship and bhakti became common features of Mahayanism and

Hinduism. While Puranas and Dharmasastras started a process of modifying and transforming old Brahmanical doctrines and practices with a view to countering the power and popularity of Buddhism, the Mahāyāna Sūtras also popularized devotional and liturgical texts and rituals. The popularity of *stōtes*, *dhāraṇīs* and *mantras* among the Buddhists is attested to by early Mahāyāna Sūtras.

The Bodhisattvas, such as Manjuśrī and Avalokiteśvara and goddesses like Tārā and Haritī appeared for all practical purposes as did Viṣṇu, Śiva, Lakṣmī and Parvatī, etc. From the standpoint of the common people there were no important differences between Buddhism of the Mahāyāna Sūtras and Hinduism of the Puranas. There are remarkable parallels between the *Bhagavad Gītā* and *Śaddharmapundarīka Sūtra*; the absolutistic and idealistic ideas of Mahāyāna philosophers were soon echoed in the writings of Advaita philosophers belonging to the Vedic tradition. The Buddha was accepted as the ninth *avatāra* of God and basic Buddhist moral ideals and ideas came to be assimilated by the Brahmanical Hindus.

A large number of Jātaka stories illustrative of high altruistic ideals of the Bodhisattva found their way into the didactic poetry of the *Mahābhārata* and the Puranas. There is a "Buddhism of Faith" in which *śraddhā* and *bhakti* play the prominent part.

"When the necessities of *bhakti* determined the appearance of all deities in visible forms," the old Yakṣa figures became the model for cult images of Buddha, Bodhisattvas and other Brahmanical deities." *Śraddhā* and *bhakti* play a prominent role in Buddhism. The *Dhammapada* clearly mentions "worship" (*upāsāre*) of Buddha and of his noble pupils.<sup>3</sup> The cult of the relic worship is one of the oldest traits of the doctrine."

#### Tantric Tradition in Traditional Texture

An awareness that Tantrism is an integral part of Indian religious history has been growing for some time in eastern scholarship. The time may even be near at which one will be able to dispense with all apologetic remarks in approaching the subject of Tantra.

The reasons why new and more positive appreciation of Tantric symbolism and thought has been so slow in growing are complex and the task of spelling them out certainly belongs to the study of Indian cultural history. However, it requires no great insight to enumerate the most salient features of this bygone and yet still somewhat lingering period.

With the notable exception of Sir Arthur Avalon almost all works on Indian religion were pre-occupied with ideas, with philosophical expositions and preferably with those ideas which seemed to allow a reproachment. This preoccupation with philosophical forms excluded the possibility of taking ritual,

cultic and liturgical expressions, acts and objects very seriously. It implied the study of the traditional writings of an elite, hence, hardly any attention was given to popular religious forms of the villages and those prevalent among the tribal peoples.

If attention was given at all to popular religious notions, the acquired knowledge was in no way brought to bear on the data from the elite. The first glimpses of the concept of "acculturation," which is common currency among anthropologists today, were not yet envisaged. Consequently much of Tantrism, if not everything, remained closed to the scholarly imagination. How could one seriously deal with a text which mentioned and even prescribed bloody sacrifices and meat eating? Many understood, rather misunderstood, Tantra with reference to *pañca meksres* alone. Even if it was known that such practices occurred regularly in popular cults, it was hard to imagine that such customs played a role and had a meaning on a "higher" social level.

Even in those rare instances in which scholars did not concentrate on philosophical terminologies and expositions, it is remarkable how little attention was given to iconography and architecture, that is to say, to the very scene of cultic life. When G. Oppert, a notable Sanskrit scholar, published his book *The Original Inhabitants of Bharata Varṣa or India* in 1893, he devoted a brief discussion to the famous rock temples at Mamallapuram near Madras. In this discussion he simply accepts the widespread oral tradition which associates these temples with the great epic heroine Draupadi and her five heroic husbands, the Pandava brothers, evidently without any awareness of the iconographic evidence itself. It is not necessary to reproach scholars of this period for their omissions and to say, for instance, that Oppert should have noted that the Draupadi figure was really a form of Durgā and the temple reputed to be that of the eldest Pandava brother (Oḥarrnarāja or Yudhisthira) a Siva temple. The fact of the matter is that scholars on the whole had very little awareness of what could be seen rather than read. Although some books were written earlier, the study of Indian religion did not take temple architecture and iconography seriously into account- least of all the iconography of popular village shrines - until I. A. Gopinath Rao, Sivaramamurti, N. Bhattasali and others wrote on Hindu iconography as much as the old authentic works like *Niṣpannayogavali* on Buddhist iconography.

An understanding of the world of Tantrism requires an open eye for the interpretation of various cultural, cultic, social and artistic patterns. The devotee may not need to track down the origin and texture of the various elements which make up the pattern, but for the scholar this is the only way. The historian of religions, following this way may perhaps even come to discern the peculiar religious quality of what is presented in Tantric writings.

In the few pages of the present essay I shall try to show in what manner popular and generally accepted types of devotion and Tantric tendencies can be seen as complementary. More than that, we might come to see how their coalescence is religiously comprehensible through the notion of *bhakti*, that is through one of the central religious forms by which the main religious traditions of both Hinduism and Buddhism, have made their imprint on India. An elaborate exposition of Tāntric textual evidence is outside the scope of this article. I take as our orientation concerning Tantra that which is generally known among its characteristics ; Tantras are writings of philosophical and cultic character; their greatest emphasis is on methods to break through the conditionings of " profane " human existence and enter the highest realm, beyond *SSMSSP*» and in these methods on concrete experience of the devotee.

### **Bhakti**

Relationship between *bhakti* and more or less esoteric Sadhanas on the one hand and relationship between *bhakti* and popular religion on the other hand cannot cause any surprise. One of the earliest texts which gives unmistakable information about *yoga* practices is *Svetasvatara Upanisad* . In the same text we have the first evidence of the word *bhakti* in the sense of " devotion ". The object of devotion here is the *guru* or more precisely, the supreme devotion which the pupil should have to God should be matched by the pupils's devotion to his spiritual guide. To him who has such devotion,<sup>7</sup> the meaning of upanisd's teaching's should be clear, according to the text. The importance of devotion to the teacher in *yoga* and Tantra instruction is too well known to demand further elaboration. All Tantras make this point abundantly clear. Moreover, a good part of Tantric literature consists of devotional hymns. The devotion to a deity does not stand all by itself, but is the prototype of or is even identical with the devotee's relation to his *guru*.<sup>8</sup> Thus Tantric literature continues and expands a structure such as that which is visible in the *Svetasvatara Upanisad*

However, something more needs to be said to understand that variety of *bhakti* which is accepted and continued in the Tantras. In the early Medieval popular *bhakti* movements, especially in South India, a new form appears. There is not only the fact that this movement is popular and many of the devotional singers inspire the crowds and people of humble origin; there is specially the fact that the hymns of these worshippers of *vishnu* and *Śiva* sing of the immediate presence of a deity in a specific place. We should not be too hasty in arriving at a philosophical determination of the concept of God held by the Tamil saints as " immanent, " their praise of God is abundant and leaves no doubt at all that their God, even if close by supercedes man's knowledge and experience by far and hence is also "transcendent." No, the presence of the god of their hymns is less philosophical in intent. *Bookti* for them is love, and it is this love that individuates the object of devotion.



The Lord of the devotee is an object of exclusive interest to him, and is supposed to be specially connected with him by a particular tie of relationship, and to be always looking after his welfare and saving him from all sorts of sufferings and downfall. The very thought that the Lord is his master or *his beloved* and *his alone* in a peculiar sense, fills the mind of the devotee with an overflow of joy. ..This intimate tie of relationship between the Lord (Bhaṅavan) and the devotee (*bhakta*) established through *pure love* is Bhakti (*sambands-sambands*):" By "immediate presence in a specific place" we only want to draw attention to the frequent statements by which the singers with great warmth call on God, as represented, for instance, in a shrine known to the devotee;

"..." How long can I be parted  
from my pearl, my mighty jewel,  
my diamond, Lord of the Shrine of Ārūr?<sup>9</sup>

In a hymn to Visnu, a refrain with only slight variations calls on Visnu as Lord of Srīraṅgam, the famous South Indian temple :

"Longing, the refuge of thy feet I seize,  
Lord of Srīraṅgam with its beautiful trees." <sup>10</sup>

Even the name of the place Śrīraṅgam, shortened to "Paṅgam" is uttered to address the Lord :

"No kinship with this world have I  
which takes for true the life that is not true."  
"For thee alone my passion burns". I cry,  
"Rangan, my Lord!" <sup>11</sup>

This calling on the Lord of a place or even on the place of the Lord is not a mere metaphor or a matter of ornate style. It is in its very nature, part of the devotee's experience and vision of God. One of these places eulogized by the devotees is Tiruveṅṅadam or Tirumalai, the "holy hill" at Tirupati. Kulasekaran sings out his hope to find in his next birth, no matter how lowly, a place in or near this residence of Viṣṇu :

..... May the birth  
That is my lot be as a fish within the springs  
of Tiruveṅṅadam, with groves of honeyed flowers :

If 'neath that canopy which rules above  
I might attain the love  
of Urvashi with girdle of fine gold.  
To it I'm cold.  
Oh to be anything at all on Veṅṅadam,  
The golden hill of him with lips of coral red!<sup>12</sup>

The deity's presence in which the devotee finds himself is to be taken quite literally. One might think that such heights of devotion were attained only by few and that is probably correct. But it is worth noticing that the form of this devotion with all the importance it attaches to specific places of divine presence is an essential part of Indian popular religiosity for most of its history. Both in Buddhist and Hindu writings we find many references to the cults of local deities and *yeksis*. The fact that many of these references are presented almost casually, without the intention to describe these devotional customs in detail to the listener, only confirms their prevalence.<sup>13</sup>

In the *Mahābhārata*,<sup>14</sup> a story is narrated in which the protagonist is a bird-catcher. In his wanderings through the forest, the bird-catcher is suddenly caught in a severe thunderstorm. With the greatest difficulty he makes his way to the foot of a huge tree where he will have to spend the night. But before lying down he addresses the tree, joining his palms and bowing down before this "lord of the forest" : "I take my refuge with the divine beings which are in this great tree."

*Serensm yanyasmīn dsivstsn! vsr espeteu."*

This evil bird-catcher's speech may be a far cry from the devotion of the Tamil saints. Nevertheless, both agree on the immediate presence which finds a clear, formal expression, in conformity with popular tradition.

We should not take this experience of divine presence and the formal expression conjoined with it for granted nor dismiss it too soon from our learned discussions.

An inclination to do so is given with our academic investigations. For these investigations lead easily to a sociological or psychological registration of the facts : "there is after all this type of cultic behaviour around rather crude idols in small, rather primitive communities and an emotional upsurge which seems quite distinct from the discussions concerning *bbskti* in the philosophical elite of Buddhism and Hinduism." But such registration of historical data would remain too much on the surface to account for the religious force in the very texts written and safeguarded by the elite. Rather we should say that the popular devotion to a truly divine presence in this and that village formed building blocks of the Buddhist and Hindu "systems." At any rate, it is quite clear that the Hinduism of the Epics, Puranas and Tantras and the Buddhism of the Mahāyanasūtras and Vajrayana writings did not grow at the expense of local devotional forms, but continued and were strengthened through philosophical interpretations.

The 11th chapter of *Seddherma-Pundsttk*''' narrates how at the exposition of the Lotus of the True Law a *stope* arises miraculously over the assembled congregation like a meteor in the sky. As a result of a former Tathāgatas

wish this *stupa* arises whenever this sutra's teaching is set forth, Granted that this narrative is part of one of the most subtle, beautiful and influential Mahāyāna texts, the idea of such a miraculous *stupa* is not separated from earlier forms of devotion. This "architectural presence" shares the immediacy of the divine presence in popular tradition and in saintly hymns, Of course, the miraculous *stupa* presupposes the devotional and cultic approach of real *stupa*s in the whole Buddhist cultic tradition.!? Śāntideva (7th century) speaks about *stupa*s in a manner which reveals quite clearly the underlying popular sense for the immediacy of the divine presence and the efficacy of the right reverential act. In Conze's translation :

"Verily, for countless aeons he is not reborn  
 blind or lame,  
 If, after he has decided to win enlightenment, he  
 venerates a *stupa* of the Teacher,  
 Firm in strength and vigour, a hero, firm in courage,  
 Speedily he wins fortune after he has circumambulated  
 a *stupa*.  
 One who in this last age, this dreadful age, reveres  
 a *stupa*, greater is his merit,  
 Than if for hundreds of thousands of Niyutas of Koṭis  
 of aeons he had honoured  
 a similar number of Buddhas,"<sup>18</sup>

Although a miraculous *stupa* in *Saddharmas-Puṇḍarikā* seems to appear as the result of the right teaching and is not the place at which a devotee calls on his God, it is nevertheless characteristic in its expression of the devotional tradition, What we can describe at a distance as "divine presence" has as its crucial religious moment on the part of the devoted Subject the immediate vision of and access to the divine reality itself, This is what is expressed widely and in various ways in Indian texts on architecture which, in the discussion of temple buildings, so often reveal the common convictions of people : the devotee does not just see the *bera* i.e. the image of the God, but God himself at all times, This is the world of *bhakti* , On the one hand, there is the clearly visible imagery; the local divine presence, or the architectural presence. On the other hand and at the same time, on a higher level, there is the seeing of the devotee which does not depend on any intermediary,

For an understanding of Tantric symbolism our findings are of importance, It is wellknown and has often been stated that in Tantric teachings specific deities, known from tribal and local cults, play a significant role, Now we can see that this is not an external fact, a mere historical coincidence, or a strange play of fate, but transforming of some "crude" idol worship into symbols of the great traditions, The very nature of *bhakti* interrelated as it was from the beginning with *yoga* traditions, makes its acceptance in Tantric

circles comprehensible. The urge for concrete experience which characterizes Tantric forms of *yoga* and worship is akin to popular devotion and the great medieval *bhakti* movement with their emotional immediate grasp of a divine presence.

It will be clear that our discussion is not meant to gloss over distinctions between popular religion's emotionality and the subtle, often very subtle, philosophical expositions of *bhakti*. However, what is said by philosophers and theologians like Ramanuja about *bhakti* is quite relevant to the essential features which we have seen in the best representatives of popular devotion. In both cases there is emphasis on what may be called pure emotion; the devotee's heart opens up for God.

TirumQar, the Saiva Siddhāntin, equates the known experience of pure emotion (i.e.) love with the unknown experience of Sivam :

*"enpun civamum lrsmenper arivilar  
anpē civam āvatārum arikilar  
anpē civam sveterum arin/apin  
anpē civamay emsrntinnsre "*

The ignorant think that love and Sivam are two. They do not know that love is Sivam. After knowing that love is Sivam (hey abide in the love which is Sivam.)<sup>9</sup>

The emotional element of *bhakti* can be translated as "piety", "devotion" which not only conveys the attitude of the heart but also the obedience to the will of God. In Hindu and Buddhist devotion, thus, the divine presence comes first, together with the immediate accessibility.<sup>10</sup>

The notion of accessibility, or as we have said before, the immediate presence is greatly defined in Ramanuja - "the means of attaining Brahman is a superior *bhakti* in the form of remembrance staggered to a state of extremely lucid perception, which is immeasurably and overwhelmingly dear to the devotee."<sup>11</sup>

This lucid perception is of course not just seeing "with the eye of flesh;" it is obviously not a method of empiricism. The end to be attained is *moksa*, which is by nature above the worldly state and order of seeing and thinking yet it is noteworthy that on this philosophical level the notion of seeing, perception, comes back. On the lowest level one sees merely the *bera*, the image, that which is before one's eyes (*pratyaksa*). There is another level which is beyond the merely empirical realm (*paroksa*) ; it is the level of the *devas* <sup>22</sup> which is not subject to the astounding pluriformity of the human world. On the highest level terms suggesting the immediate accessibility recur : "extremely lucid perception." This level is decisively higher than that of the *devas* who may not be subject to the multifariousness of human profane existence, but

who are in their more than empirical existence still subject to the "many". The immediate access to the divine presence is open to man. This access is *bhekt!* in its most refined form. It is immediate in that it makes all inference superfluous. It is as if the devotee engages in the acts of knowing, seeing and participating simultaneously. This is exactly how the *Bhagaval Gītā* 23 expresses it when Arjuna has experienced his vision of God :

" In this form, by unswerving devotion I can be  
known and seen as I really am and entered into...24

### Implications and Conclusions

It may seem strange to limit a discussion concerning non-Tannic texts and especially to conclude the discussion with quotations from Rāmānuja and the *Bhagavad Gītā*. However, the quoted texts indicated the main features of the one complex phenomenon called *bhakti*. It has been our intention to show how these main features reveal a kinship to, or, if one will, a natural propensity to Tantra. We reminded ourselves of the old and well-known tradition of devotion to the *guru* in all more or less esoteric circles. We tried to clarify the equally well-known subject of the emotional aspect of *bhakti*. Above all, we have tried to emphasize the immediate presence of the deity or "the divine" as major characteristic of the devotional forms which could be accepted in Tantric circles. These devotional forms presented themselves for Tannic usage in an almost self-evident manner because of their experiential concreteness. Finally, the immediacy of popular *bhskt!* lent itself to a philosophical articulation and flexibility which could only be welcomed by the Tantric followers. Tantra, of course, is part of Indian religious history; yet Tantrism as a religious movement has had its liveliest contact with the broad stream of Indian spirituality through *bhakli Bhakti* provided a permanent source on which the *Tantrika* could draw in his most specific symbolisms.

Even the very core of Tantric symbolism, the relation of the Lord to his power, of *īśa* to *Sakti*, is essentially related to widespread forms of *bhakti*. What we have in mind is the numerous cults of the goddess as devoted wife. The great temple of Tirumōrti of Suchendram, owes its origin to the merits of a devoted wife according to its legendary history (*stnsteporens*). Many village temples throughout South India have as their principal deity such a goddess. She is of type which in Sanskrit literature is called *palivrala*, she who is devoted to her husband;" the most famous "*pslvrates*" are Draupadī and Sītā, The "Patni Cult...25 is also quite famous in Indian villages. The form of divine presence expressed in this symbolism not only survives but is forcefully expressed in the Tantric *īśa-Śakti* relationship. The poet of *Saundaryalahari* speaks of the end of the world age, in which even the chief gods perish. But great Lord *Śiva* remains somehow. The poem associates this continuity with the devotion of the Goddess :

".... in that great dissolution, a devoted wife (Safi)  
that husband of yours alone is visible," 26

What particular symbol but that of the devoted wife could express the concrete and immediate presence more accurately ?

It would not be right to omit one concluding remark. The peculiar importance of *bhakti* lies in the *emotional experience* of a *revelatory presence*.

## Notes and References

1. The *Matsya Purāna* (285, 6-7)  
*Matsya karmo varāhaśca nārasimho tathā* vsmenen I *Rāmo* rsmssce krsnesco  
*Buddhaḥ* Kalki iii ca *Kramāt* II *Varaha Purāna*, 1V2.
2. A K Coomaraswamy, *Yekses*. I, p. 29.
3. *Dhammapada*. W. 195-196.
4. *Mahāparinibbāna* Sūtra. *Diggha Nikāya* V. pp. 126-128.
5. *The Original Inhabitants of Bhārata Varṣa* pp. 97-98.
6. *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad*, VI. 23.
7. "Yasya deva *parā bhaktir yathā* deva *tathā gurau* "
8. Bolle, *The Persistence of Religion* (Leiden : Brill, 1965) pp. 46-47.
9. Hymn to *Śiva*, by Sundarar, in F. Kingsbury and G.E. Philips (trans.) *Hymns of the Tamil Saivaites saints* (Calcutta : A.U.P. 1921) pA8.
10. Hymn to Visṛju, by Tirumangai, J.S.M. Hooper, *Hymns of Alvars* (Calcutta : Otf.P. 1929) pp. 41-44.
11. Hooper, *Hymns to Visnu*, by *Kulaśekaran*, p. 44.
12. Hooper, pp. 45-47.
13. *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections*, Vol. LXXX. No. 6, Washington, 1928.
14. *Mahābhārata* 12, 143-149.
15. *Ibid* 12, 143-33.
16. *Saddharmapufkfarika* XI. pg. 241 (Bibliotheca Buddhica 10).  
"mama khalu *bhikṣavaḥ parinirvṛtasyāsyā tathāgatamabhāvavigrahas* aiko  
*mahāratnastūpaḥ* kartavyaḥ I sessn *punaḥ stūpā* mamoddṣya kartavyaḥ I  
ayam mama stopo *daśasu* diksu ssvetoksdetusu yesu buadbeksetresveyism  
*saddharmapu(u;Jarikoddharmaparyaya*"  
*samprakasyela tesu tesveyem mamātmabhāvavigrahasstūpaḥ* msmsbbyudrcnet II  
tesm ca *buddhānām bhagavalamimam ssddnerme-ptmdenkem*  
*dharmaparyāyam bhāṣamānānāmayaḥ* .... *Sādhuḥkaram dadhyāt* II p. 24 I.
17. A. Bareau, *The History of Stope*. pp. 229-274.

18. Edward Conze, *Buddhist Texts Through the Ages*, p. 186.

"na *jñātu* sondhah khanjo *vā kalpānām* api kolibhih |  
*utpādya* bodhicilam yah *Śāstu* stupem hi venaete |  
 drdhaviryō aranastnemo vtresc» drdhavikramah |  
*kaśālyam* gacchali ksipram *kṛtvā stūpapradakṣiṇam* ||  
 yo *buddhakoṭinīyutaśatasahasrān* kalpan kolī ca lūliya salkaraya |  
 yescene kalpe caramaka *ghorakāle* vandeya benuters lasya punyem. || "

19. M. S. Visvanatha Pillai, *Tiṣṭamanliram*, (Ed.) Madras. 191 1, V, 270

20. Remarks on 'Bhakti,' *Adayar Library Bulletin* XXIV, pp. 112-124.

21. *Vedārtha Samgraha of Śrī Rāmānuja* 141. Ed. and translated by JA B. Van Buitenan (Poona : Deccan college, 1956).

22." Paroksa" discussion by AK. Coomaraswamy; Chapter - V in the *Transformation of Nature in Art*, New York, Dover, 1956.

23. *Bhagavad Gītā*, XI. 54.

24. *Ibid* "bhaktya lu ananya *śakya* aham evsmvido'rjune | *jñātum* drsstum ca tettvens *pre vestum* ca paramlapa. "

25. Gananath Obeyesekere, *The Cull of the Goddess Pallini*, (1987) XI. p. 553.

26. W. N. Brown, (Ed. and trans.) Harvard Oriental Series, 1958, Vol 43, p.58.

## ROCK-SHELTERS OF AHMADPUR AND THEIR INSCRIPTIONS

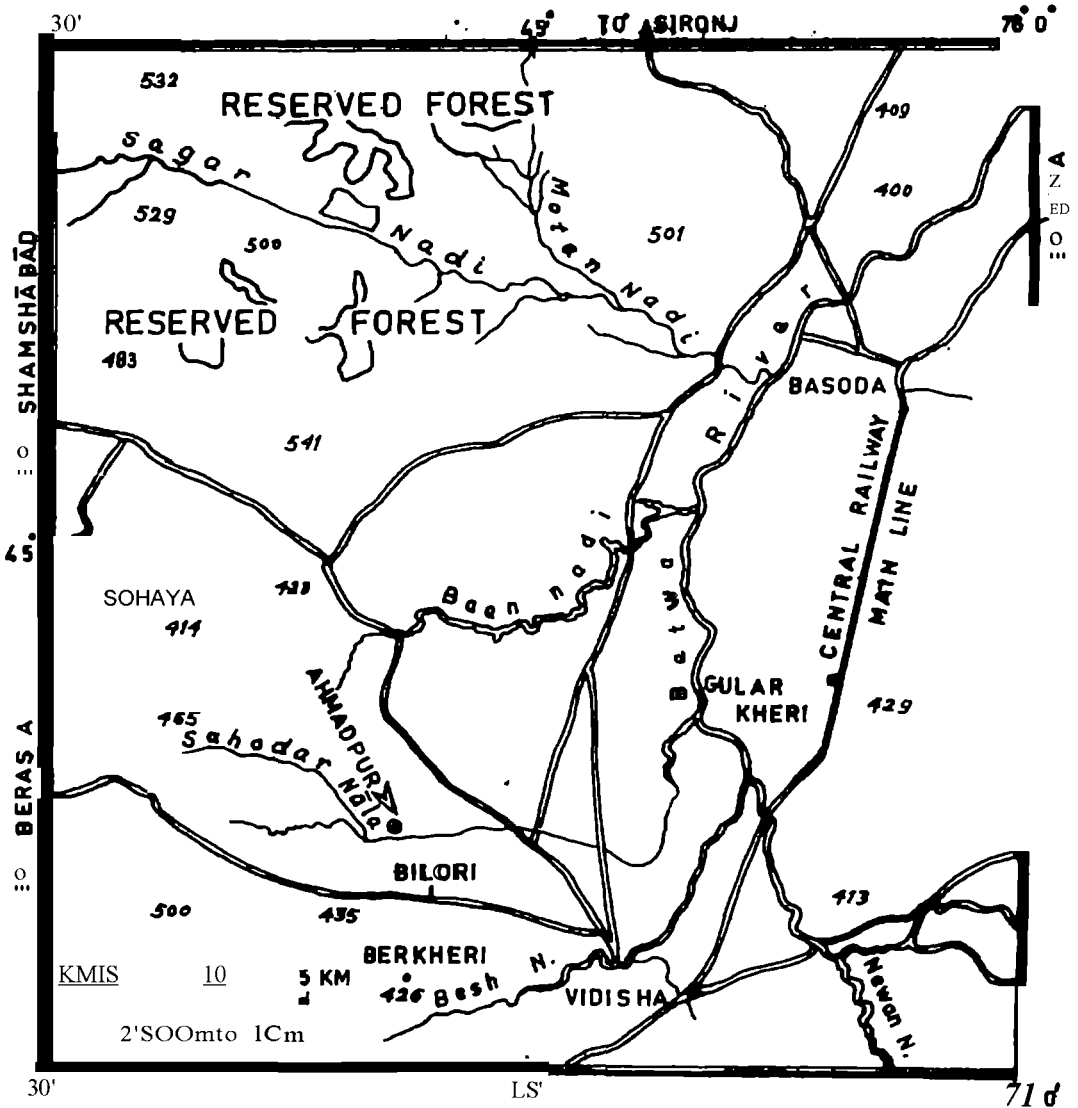
ARVIND K. SINGH

The rock-shelters under discussion, lying on the left bank of Sahodara nala (a tributary of the Betwa river), are situated about 1.5 km. south east from the village Ahmadpur and 4 k.m. from the village Bilori which is at a distance of 19 km. from Vidisha district headquarter, on Vidisha-Berasia road (map). The hill range, covering an area of about 1.2 k.m. long 550 metres wide with an elevation of 570 metre AMSL, contains more than forty rock-shelters having an orientation from east to west. Some of them are double storeyed. The majority of the rock-shelters of Ahmadpur bear paintings datable between Mesolithic times and the historic period. A possibility of Lower Palaeolithic and Mesolithic industry around the rock-shelters strengthens the inference that the area was inhabited from the pre-historic times.<sup>1</sup> About the activities of historical period information can be deduced from some paintings and several inscriptions written in Brahmi and so-called Shell scripts."

The paintings of Ahmadpur are in a good state of preservation. The walls and ceilings of about twenty-eight rock-shelters have paintings in black, ochre, white, green, yellow and red colours. It appears from superimposition that the figures of animals and human beings are painted at least in five successive phases. The depiction of animals outnumbers the human figures. Animals are, in general, shown in groups while the human figures are mostly performing day-to-day activities. Some socio-religious scenes may also be identified. At early stages, the paintings were made simply in black or ochre colours and depict only the outline of stick-like figure drawn with single stroke, but in the subsequent period they became stylized and colours were filled in the figures.

The rock-shelters contain several inscriptions painted in different colours and some of them are superimposed on the other. From the viewpoint of inscriptions in so-called Shell script, the site of Ahmadpur is considered the richest one. R. K. Sharma counted ninety-two inscriptions painted in seven rock-shelters located at this site", while he has not reported the inscriptions of the rock-shelters Nos. A-2 and A-15. Other sites of Madhya Pradesh like Arang, Bahoriband, Baphel, Dharampuri, Eran, Gupha-maser, Kanwar, Karitalai, Lal Ghati, Madkughat, Makoria, Manua-Bhan-Ki-Teri, Rajim, Sanchi, Tigowa, Umraodulla's garden and others bear inscriptions written in this peculiar script.' The number of such known inscriptions is impressively large and they have been noticed in different places of the Indian subcontinent (from Akhnur in Jammu and Kashmir to Sandur in Bellary district of Karnataka and from Susunia in Bankura district of Bengal to Junagarh in Gujarat) and also in South-east Asia."





Location Map of Ahmadpur. District Vidisha 1M. P.1

The discoveries and analysis of Brandes. CM Pleyte. H. Kern. A. Cunningham, M. Kiltoe, J. D. Beglar, J. Ph. Vogel, K. P. Jayaswal, B. Ch. Chabra, C. Sivaramamurli, D. C. Sircar, R. Salomon and others established that the marks engraved or painted on different objects" are the characters concerned as belonging to a distinct form and style of writing and not merely a series of ill-drawn *satikha* or *sneus*." The credit of their decipherment goes to B. N. Mukherjee.<sup>9</sup> In 1983

he deciphered two inscriptions on a replica in stone of the horse killed at the horse sacrifice performed by Kurnara-qupta I, a ruler of Gupta dynasty. He also successfully presented the mode of writing and method to decipher these characters. Following that method many other inscriptions have been read.

The peculiar characters concerned are based on Brahmi letters and their internal structure developed with the evolution of the Brahmi letters.<sup>10</sup> It is realized that the letters turned at various angles, the ends have been extended, the vowel signs and diacritical marks connected with flourishing curves to make the script deliberately obscure. The degree of re-orientation and distortion of letters depended on the personal skill and whim of the scribes, painters and engravers concerned. As for the deliberate shrouding with veils of obscurity and mystifying style, it is believed that to sanctify the related objects it might have been added. In this way the so-called shell inscriptions may be looked upon as a sort of hieratic version of the Brahmi script. In a view their message was not meant to be read easily by everybody because indiscriminate recognition of these cryptic messages would diminish their mysterious power and potency.<sup>11</sup> Such a hypothesis reminds us a script mentioned as Sastravarta, "turning round or towards Sastra." in a list of scripts.<sup>12</sup> However, the inscriptions deciphered so far indicate a possibility that they contain information of politico-religious significance. For instance, the inscription *Śrī Mahendradīya* (on the back of the stone horse) and *Śrī Govinda* (on a Deogarh temple pillar) concerned with a name or title of the ruler. Sometimes, it could consist of a short description of an object as *vtcumlts sriputrs*; "a goat with auspicious marks," (by the side of the forepart of a goat engraved on the hip of stone horse). The inscription *Vālapyādīya* "one who is a protector of the child and who is also the Sun" (on a Lalabhagat pillar) concerned with religious and iconographic significance. The reading of *Vasrathā-tantramayī* (Lauriya Araraja pillar) may allude to a lady Vasrathā connected with the Tantra. Likewise, the inscription *savachare 90 phuva phuchavo* "in the year 90, the Eastern Festival" (Bharhut railing pillar) suggests a possibility that it commemorates a religious festival held near the eastern gate in the year ninety.<sup>13</sup> Thus the results of decipherments are encouraging but much has to be done. The authorship of the script and other related problems can be resolved only after the inscriptions in various parts of the country are read. The work of documentation, decipherment and publication has been taken up by scholars and different organisations like the Archaeological Survey of India, and Epigraphical Society of India. It is hoped that efforts in regard to the work on this script and inscriptions will yield fruitful results.

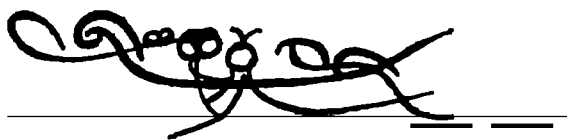
The author got an opportunity to visit the site of Ahmadpur in 1992, with his colleague R. P. Pandey, and noted several inscriptions besides preparing eye-copies of some of them. He noticed that the size of the characters in some of the inscriptions is large. Due to the cursive style of writing the characters are slanted clockwise or anti-clockwise by an angle of about 45° to 90° and

Shell Inscriptions From Ahmadpur

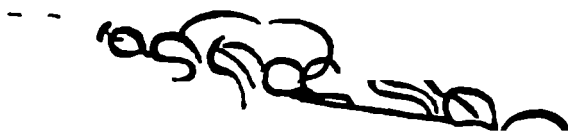
SHEITER  
AND  
S. NO.

INSCRIPTION

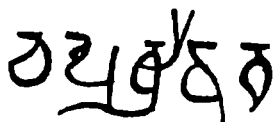
A2. 1



A2. 2



A2. 3



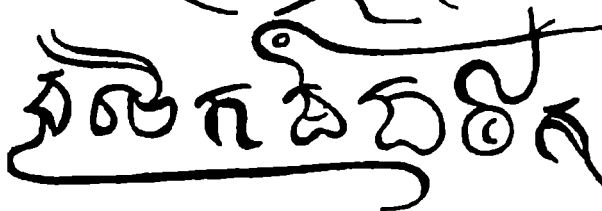
A2. 4



A2. 5



A3. 6



A3. 7

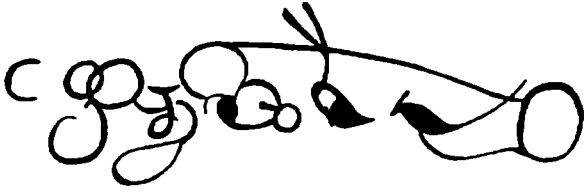


A3. 8





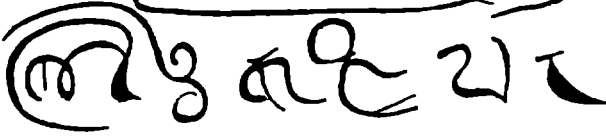
A7.17

A single line of handwritten text in a cursive script, possibly a form of Brahmi or Kharosthi. It begins with a small 'C' and contains several characters that are difficult to decipher due to the cursive style.

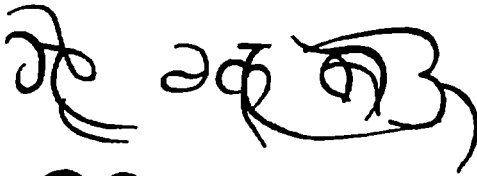
A7. 18

A line of handwritten text in a cursive script. It starts with a small 'C' and contains several characters. A horizontal line is drawn below the text.

A7.19

A line of handwritten text in a cursive script, consisting of several characters.

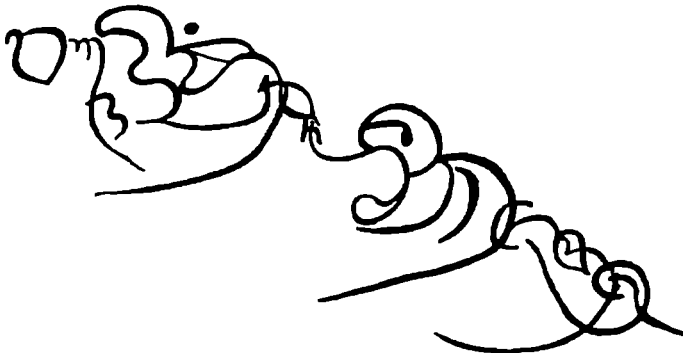
A7. 20

A line of handwritten text in a cursive script, consisting of several characters.

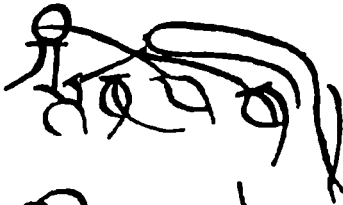
A7. 21

A vertical line of handwritten text in a cursive script, consisting of several characters.

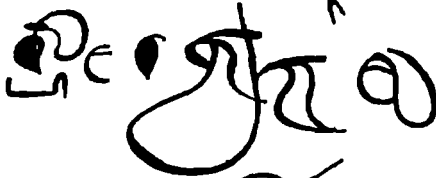
A7. Z2

A line of handwritten text in a cursive script, consisting of several characters.

A7.23



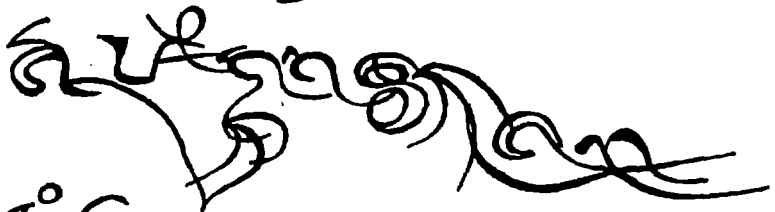
A7. 24



A7.25



A7. 26



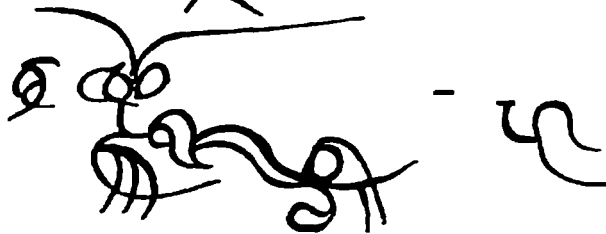
A7.27



A7. 28



A7.29





A8 se - कनक अग

A8.39 कृष्ण कृष्ण कृष्ण

A8.40 कृष्ण कृष्ण

A8.41 कृष्ण कृष्ण •

AB.42 कृष्ण कृष्ण

A8.43 कृष्ण कृष्ण

AB.44 कृष्ण कृष्ण e

A8.45 कृष्ण कृष्ण 0 -



A8.46

ନିମିତ୍ତେ --- ସି

A8.47

ଶ୍ରୀ ମହାଶୟନୀ ---

A8.48

ନିମିତ୍ତେ

A9.49

ନିମିତ୍ତେ

A9.50

ନିମିତ୍ତେ

A9.51

ଶ୍ରୀ ମହାଶୟନୀ ୦

A9.52

ନିମିତ୍ତେ

A9.53

ନିମିତ୍ତେ

A9. 54

२ ३ ४ ० ५

A 15. 55

५ ३ १ ० ५

56

२ ३ ५

57

० ३ ०

58

३ ५

A16. 59

० १ २ ३ ४ ५ ६ ७ ८ ९

A16. 60

० १ २ ३ ४ ५ ६ ७ ८ ९

A16. 6

२ ३ ५ ७ ९



for that reason one has to be very careful and will have to look at the inscriptions from different and all possible angles. The writing of one inscription over the other and artistic or non-artistic flourishes obscured the basic letters and made the reading of the records quite difficult and strenuous job. A detailed analysis and study of these inscriptions is underway, a tentative reading of seventy inscriptions from Ahmadpur and preliminary analysis of the data are being presented here.

In the hill range, moving south from the northern end, the first set of six inscriptions may be seen painted in rock-shelter No. A-2 which faces east. Out of six inscriptions it is now difficult to identify one while others are written in red and orange colours. The text of the inscriptions has been deciphered as *Gajachachuvoraja*, *Majamijachu*, *Cacyurthaicura*, *Jaṣāthyā* and *Jack-bhala*. Rock-shelter No. 3 has four inscriptions. Of these, two are painted in circular cavity to the left end of the ceiling. Both the inscriptions are written in red colour one over the other and read as *Rakhaitivirhvalhilla*, *Iyaurkhadiradhariidhya*. The reading of the next inscription is *Sainutarā* while seven characters of the fourth inscription may be read as *Sahlilavyarusa*. To the further south, an inscription of nine characters may be located in rock-shelter No. A-5. Inscription painted on the ceiling in red colour may be read as *Vasaujjathāyatajatata*. The adjacent shelter No. A-6 inscriptions are painted in black and red colours on the ceiling and on the wall. Only two letters of an inscription in black colour may be recognized as *Jiga*. The second inscription is *Teksskitsts*. The next inscription has long flourishes and six characters of it are *Tekserenasrēthsrii*. Seven characters of an inscription may be identified as *Cahatasāyijākṣa*. Only five letters of another inscription are legible which may be read as *caja uvikṣa*.

Twenty six inscriptions had been noticed by Sharma in rock-shelter No. A-7 (twelve on the wall and fourteen on the ceiling). They are in black, red and ochre colours and some of them are written one over the other. Eye-copy and a tentative reading of twenty inscriptions are tried out. The inscription of extreme left is painted vertically in red colour and may be read as *Sasavairavyajagala*. The five characters of the next inscription are *Śrinavariilya*. Third inscription is *Ohsthotrimcsrs*. The two characters *Ja* and *yi* of another inscription *Jariyikalipara* are slanted clockwise and anti-clockwise. The text of other inscriptions has been deciphered as *kbecskenoo*, *Soulhthajagakha*, *Carugamdhāyatājaraja*, *Acharava*, *Riṭādhakyarathya*, *Caruvaravolha*, *Gihelalachakagata*, *bhaila*, *Dhiga/da*, *Chachojagarusa-ha* and *Dhanalahu*. The five inscriptions of ceiling are painted in black colour and may be read sequentially from right as *Tavavanavararavojalkarakhi*, *pākhanā*, *Ssretbsk*, *Va,sapave* and *Sagillasa*. The adjoining rock-shelter No. A-8 contains twentyfive inscriptions in black and red colour. The eye-copies of the thirteen inscriptions are given

here in a sequential order from left to right. They are, *Utharañiuthavya*, *Jrsrqo*, *Vibhaiśāvīgya*, *Rithirāghavāya*, *Chakarakheka*, *nabhathaigutari/ha*, *Vidhathiśogāsetā*, *Śri thai*, *Giravatha*, *Ssddhysremv« (ts)*, *Khisonī dhivāta*, and *Vakhākhēgīta*, *tajavatakha*. There are eleven inscriptions written in so-called Shell script and one five-lines' inscription in Brahmi script painted in rock-shelter no. A-g. Of these, six shell inscriptions may be read as *RakataṽyaSana*, *Vaiśākhatā*, *Vavāgaikyatiṭha*, *Śatāsrivāja*, *mtbtv«* and *Sigaravaksa*. The inscription of rock-shelter A-15 is recognized as *nethirsvivs*. Three inscriptions are written in yellow colour in the upper storey of a rock-shelter between A-15 and A-16. The first inscription from right reads *Garaka* while only the last letter *kha* of the second and *vā* of the third inscription may be identified. Rock-shelter No. A-16, situated in the southern part of the hill range, is the last shelter at Ahmadpur which contains inscriptions. Out of twenty-two inscriptions, eye-copies of twelve inscriptions are with us and a preliminary reading of these is presented here in order of their position from left to right in the rock-shelters. They are, *lhaga ca na chavaravaite*, *Vāradhivenurabha*, *ra rakavaite*, *Khathakhukhuraḥya*, *Jase ce-trs*, *Carethivara*, *KhichahiJharadhavya*, *Bhikhorava*, *Bāhumūla*, *RaksavidhetiJsuta*, *Vakharata* and *Vmatuja*.

Thus, information is now available which can help us not only to reveal the names and achievements of individual artists who painted the figures of Ahmadpur rock-shelters, but also help us to identify some activities performed. More studies on the point may help in erasing the myth about authorship and other related problems to the inscriptions in so-called Shell script more conclusively.

#### Notes and References

1. R.P. Pandey. " Geomorphic setting of Landscape around Ahmadpur Rock Shelters," KK Chakravarty and others (ec.) *Vidisha Through the Ages*, Agam Kala Prakashan, Delhi, 1990, pp. 1-10.
2. The name Shell script or " Sankha-hpi " is attributed to a script whose characters sometimes have apparent similarity to the shape of ' Sankha ' or conch-shell. However, the conch-shell like appearance of its characters probably did not make its appearance in the pre-Gupta or Gupta age and even in the post-Gupta period. Such appearances did not form an essential characteristic of the script. About other names suggested so far, there is a difficulty in accepting the appellation ' Śāstrāvartā.' KP. Jayaswal was of the opinion that the script concerned was known as ' Puskarasadya ' i.e. ' Puskarasari-lipi ' (E.I. XX,4) which may perhaps literally mean " having the course of lotuses ". This suggestion can not be applicable to the Shell script because its characters do not generally look like lotus. As for the name ' Avarnurdha-lipi ' " a script the heads of the letters of which hang down " (*Lalilavistara*, 10th Adhyaya), or ' Vyatyasta-lipi ' " inverted script " (*Mahavastu Avadana*, 7th ShOmī) tallies well with the style of writing in question but this very style defies any attempt to make a standard

chart of letters of this script

3. M. D. Khare, "Painted Rock-Shelters". *Madhya Pradesh lihas Parishad*, No.9, pp. 11-12, and "Rock-Shelters of Ahmadpur hills, Vidisha District", *Madhya Pradesh lihas Perlsbed*. No. 10, pp. 18-20.
4. R.K. Sharma, "Locations of Shelt Inscriptions In Central India". RK Sharma (ed). *Studies In The Shell Script*, Agam Kala Prakashan, Delhi, 1990, pp. 90-94.
5. For detailed description see R Salomon's *Shell Inscriptions*. Calcutta. 1980; "Sankhalipi (Shell Character) Inscriptions in Madhya Pradesh". M.DKhare (ec.) *Mstws Through The Ages*, Indore, 1981, pp. 244-246; and the papers of RK Sharma, V.S. Wakankar. SKPandey and Shankar Tiwari in *Studies in the Shell Script*.
6. R. Salomon, "Undeciphered Scripts of South Asia". J. Chakravarti and others (ed.) *Aspects of Indian Art and Culture*, (SK Saraswati Commemoration Volume), Calcutta. 1983, p. 201.
7. The so-called Shell inscriptions are reported on stone surface, rock in caves. structural walls, pillars, columns, stairways, sculptures, seals etc.
8. Considering it a "rude style of writing" J. Princep had described the strange characters as a series of ill drawn 'Sankhas' or shells presumably because the florid flourishes of the script reminded him of the shape of conch-shells.
9. B. N. Mukherjee, "Decipherment of the Shell Script," *Bulletin of Museums and Archaeology in UP* No. 31, Lucknow, 1983, 'The so-called Shell Script: "*Studies in The Shell Script*." pp. 21-43, "Present Slate of Research of the Shell Script", *Journal of Ancient Indian History*. XV, 42-44, "Some Aspects of Hieratic, Hybrid and Mixed Scripts of Early India", *Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India*, XXI, Presidential Address; For other reference see Amina Kar "The Story of Unravelling the secret of the Shell Script", *Studies In The Shell Script*. pp. 73-81.
10. The brush like writing tool used in the painted inscription changed the form of the letters' because it was not easy to draw fine tip, fine pointed edge or so fine ornate letters with the aid of brush as it was done by the twisting of the pen in usual writing. For detailed analysis see AK Singh. "Impact of Writing Materials on the Evolution of Brahmi Script" a.p. Tandon and T.P. Verma (ed) *Studies In Indian History and Culture*. Varanasi, 1986, pp. 133- 140.
11. Pratapaditya Pal, "A Sacrificial Horse and a Mysterious Script", *Studies In the Shelt Script*. p. 87.
12. PL Vaidya (ed.) *Lalitavistara*, Darabhanga, 1958. 10th Adhyaya.
13. B.N.Mukherjee, "The So-called Shell Script," *Studies In the Shell Script*, pp. 25-27

## METAPHORS OF INDIAN ART

KAPILA VATSYAYAN

The Members of the Asiatic Society, Dr. Sardesai, Mrs. Vimal Shah, specially Dr. and Mrs. Banerjee, Fellows, Honorary Fellows of the Asiatic Society and many beloved friends, young and old who have come here this afternoon. I am honoured, overwhelmed, and embarrassed beyond measure. I would specially like to thank Dr. and Mrs. Banerjee for their generosity in instituting the Nabadurga Banerjee Memorial Lecture.'

As I unveiled the statue of that great scholar Mahamahopadhyaya P. V. Kane and as I have walked many years in the corridors of this institution and sat at desks, perusing manuscripts and books, I have been filled with a sense of inadequacy as I am undeserving. I have always felt that both the building and the scholarship that it represents of those great savants who began to unearth, rediscover, re-interpret this vast cultural heritage with all its complexities, are the great human monuments of scholarship, be it Mahamahopadhyaya P. V. Kane or that other great monument, the editor of the Dharmasastrakosa Mahamahopadhyaya Laxman Shastri Joshi who was here when we were made honorary fellows. For this and for much else Maharashtra is fertile *bhūmi*. It represents a distinctive rigour which results from discipline, concentration and a structured mind. For example, Mahamahopadhyaya P. V. Kane brings to his scholarship, whether he is looking at the *Sāhityadarpana* or writing on the Sanskrit poetics or writing on *Ullararamacaritra* the incision of a lawyer. Often that incisiveness has all the arguments that could possibly be put forth in arguing a case from a certain fixed position with intention and purpose. He employs one discipline to examine a more fundamental area than resolving mundane matters of everyday life. This was a generation which combined disciplines and which investigated diverse fields both horizontally, and vertically. Alas this generation is becoming rarer and rarer. We have many specialists of particular aspects, but few who can identify the over-arching universal principles.

I make these remarks before I present my lecture, because what I have to present before you, is, at one level, from a different perspective and yet the questions I ask are the same fundamental questions regarding the tradition. In short, how does one look at a tradition, a tradition which has so far been

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- This is the text of the Sixth Smt. Nabadurga Banerjee Endowment Lecture, delivered at the Asiatic Society of Bombay, on March 2, 1996.

looked at by adopting yardsticks, paradigms of investigation which have largely been internalised by the Indian himself through borrowed eyes and borrowed arguments. This borrowing and derivativeness is evident in many disciplines in India. This is as true in the discipline of the social sciences as it is in the disciplines of Indian art history. There is no doubt that India has always borrowed, it has assimilated and it has always been open. However, there is a problem at the critical evaluative level because the moment we begin to have either derived models or borrowed eyes we also begin to have a sensibility which begins to look at phenomena differently. These are not uncomplimentary remarks on the history of what we considered to be either Indian art in the singular or Indian arts in the particular. Theories of art have been discussed from the point of view of chronology or history of Indian art, setting them up in linear framework of progressive development or decline. The questions asked are what happened when and who did what? The models adopted have been either those of nineteenth century models of arrow lime, evolution or the modern paradigms of analysis, Max Weber or application of Levi Strauss' structuralism. Today I will not mention them. My endeavour has been not to investigate or dissect particular art forms in historical time and in a linear progressive order. Instead it is an attempt to go under the surface to explore the underlying unity behind all this very complex multiplicity and plurality in time and space, at the level of theory and practice. Is there an integral vision which radiates through multiplicity? Is there a network and a web-like structure of fundamental principles which holds the parts together? Naturally we are reminded of the *Rigveda* and the adage *Ekam satya bahudhā vadariti*, the one truth and expressed in many ways. How is this reflected in the field of creativity? We ask the more pointed question, is there a one consciousness or a collective consciousness which looks at the entire macrocosm as a single unified field?

Without elaborating further, we know that the universe is a macrocosm in which man is but an infinitesimally micro-small being, one amongst all sentient beings. The globe or our earth itself is one small speck in a much larger cosmic universe comprising many galaxies and systems. The solar system is only one amongst these several systems we learn of in astronomy and on which there is much meaningful debate in astrophysics. The question to be asked is whether the microcosm (Man) is aware of the macrocosm? Does the culture, its traditions and its art demand or reflect a continuous awareness that there is the larger expansiveness of a macrocosm which is in constant flux, and that renewed configurations are the rule and not the exception? Is this consciousness of Man's place in the macrocosm and the dynamics of flux? Configuration, dissipation and renewal is at the core of the speculative thought. How does it permeate the processes of creativity?

Artistic creation as we know is itself the expression of a deep experience



of both external phenomena and internal reflection. Man having been given the one special and distinctive attribute of both mind and reflection articulates itself through speech, viz. *Vāk*. This faculty obviously alludes to the processing in the micromind of man, something which is macrocosmic. All this happens before and during the act of artistic expression. This relationship of the macrocosm and the microcosm, the great universe and the tiniest speck is the ability of the human mind to look at the world with a telescope and microscope. The microscope of the mind of man has many faculties for looking at single units or comprehend through analogues of the whole. Creativity is the sudden luminous spark which makes the familiar unfamiliar or unfamiliar familiar each time giving it a new significance. As we know we look up at the dawn, evening comes, some of you go to the ocean, other people go to the mountains, sunset happens, night happens, you sleep, you get up, and everyday this routine goes on. It is an everyday happening and we give it not much thought. However this experience, taken for granted, is imbued with meaning and significance when the Vedic seer sees the dawn as *Usas*. Then the most familiar becomes a revelation. The experience of everyday of billions of years is uplifted to a higher plane of consciousness. Now it is a one-time wonder of all times through the words of the 8gvedic seer. When we examine further we find that the power of revelation lies in the use of metaphorical language. *Usas* is compared to a dancer who walks on the stage and unveils herself before commencing her constant and perennial dance. It is the language of metaphor and not descriptive language of discursive thought which ignites the creative and the imaginative. Had he said that the sun comes and you see the sun first slightly red and then you see it yellow and there is noon and it goes to the west and then sets on account of the rotation of the earth, we would have information and knowledge but the sense of wonder would not be evoked. Thus the experience of each Dawn can be a moment of elation and awareness of the cosmos. One may go further and say that the metaphorical language in which something happens is acausal which emerges from what we may call the intuitive right side of the brain and not the left side of the brain. This sparking off ignition in a flash is the metaphor.

Now let us try and overview the Indian tradition with the help of these spark lamps. First we look at the Vedas and the Upanisads which have been read and reread and commented upon. However, by and large these have been looked at as either religion or philosophy or theology or if we continue to use those goggles or borrowed eyes then they represent a pantheistic anthropomorphic world view. If we look at these hymns and reread, we see, that (whoever these peoples were, wherever they lived, whether they were the descendants and continuations of the peoples of Mohenjo-daro, whether they were the nomads from Central Asia) we know that we remember their poetry and not them. We are struck by their illuminating perceptions without

the aid of either the physical microscope or telescope. The entire corpus of this literature repeatedly reflects the awareness of the relationship of the macrocosm and the microcosm. In turn through the articulated word and through the word sparked as revelation we begin to get a series of metaphors which I believe govern the Indian artistic traditions. The metaphorical language becomes a structure. In fact the metaphors have a validity at the level of understanding matter as we understand in science. This is another seminal reason for their continuous efficacy.

The seminal concepts, or call them metaphors, provide the network and web-like structure of the Indian arts at both the implicit and explicit levels.

We began first with what I said macrocosm and the very first awareness or *Usas*, *Usas* as we know is an aspect of *SOrya* and *SOrya* is *Agni* as the first principle. While we shall return to this first principle as the last principle, (keeping in mind this movement, which engages us every moment) let us move to this earth, our earth, and what is it? At the astral plane, 'sun (*agni*) is primary and seminal. It is called the seed of the universe. Elsewhere at the terrestrial plane whether it is the arts or philosophy or metaphysics or the Upanisads or the *Brahmranas* or the *Nāṭyaśāstra* or the *Silpaśāstra* or the *Vāstuśāstra* or the *Sangītaśāstra*, the metaphor is the most ordinary, familiar and obvious.

From the discipline of organic botany and chemistry the germ of life is the all too familiar seed or *bija*. Its very familiarity and ordinariness like the phenomenon of Dawn is elevated and imbued with profound significance of extraordinary dimensions. It is seminal and primary. The metaphor of the seed alludes to organic growth of any life, aquatic, terrestrial, human. *Bija* is not just seed embedded on earth. It is also *SOrya* in the sky. The metaphor and related metaphors permeate the tradition for thousands of years. This *bija* itself naturally, what in normal experience, gives rise to trees, the trees to flowers, flowers decay, but give rise to seeds (*bija*). So *bija* emerges from *bija*. This is as simple and as complex. Can you arrest in exact measurable time the moment of sprouting growth of trees flowering, fruiting and seeding and renewal? The answer is Yes and No. The enchantment is in the process of continuous movement from a single source. The plant, the tree, the flowers and the fruit are the multiple expressions of an embedded and governing unity. Decay and rejuvenation are both its aspects. The seed is invisible and its invisibility is one of its greatest attributes. Organic growth is its concomitant attribute. The familiar terms that we use in common parlance of the *bija mantra*, the *bija ganita* and many others point at the core of the concept, the seminal and the primary which gives rise to secondary form.

From the *bija* then there is a tree. The tree, now is seen as the trunk, the trunk is solid, has an axis, it is vertical and some trees give roots, which

again make trees, specially the *Aśvattha*. From the *bija*, the *Asvattha* becomes a symbol and a metaphor which is used at multiple planes and levels in the Indian tradition. Volumes have been written on the tree in Indian art and we will recall the famous title *Tree and Serpent worship*. However we are concerned here with the pervasive use of the metaphor and the series of metaphors which are employed for comprehending process and organic growth. The metaphor of the *bija* is consistently and constantly employed at the level of theory and practice, (*śāstra*) and (*prayoga*). It is concretised in architecture and sculpture, becomes a term of reference in music and fills the verses of poetry. Crucial and central to the awareness of both bio-diversity and biological process is the conception of the 'seed', the *bija*. We had seen that in *Rgveda* hymns, 'Sun' Agni was centre and seed. In the biological world, the 'germ', the 'seed', is the 'bija.' it is seminal. The 'seed' also corresponds to the 'egg', the golden germ (*hira(lya-garbha)*). It is the 'seed' of the vegetative world, the foetus of the animal world, and 'womb' of the human world. The seed, '*bija*'; is the beginning of the plant and the tree and its final flowering returns to seed and the '*bija*.' The multiple levels at which this conception of seed, *bija*, *garbha* and *śrī* is comprehended is a unifying principle of Indian philosophy, thought, the many schools (Buddhist, Hindu and Jain) of *tantra* and is basic to Indian art. The bio-metaphor is primary. Discussions on the nature of *bija* permeate discussions in all schools of Indian speculative thought, disciplines of linguistics, enunciation systems and provide the bio-metaphor of Indian art. It is the seed, *bija*, which is unmanifest centre of the *stūpa* or temple. It is in the ground and rises up to the finial as the seed again after multiple flowering. The *āmalā* tree becomes a symbol of the tree and in architecture we see it as an *amalaka* on the *sikhara* (Figs. V, A & B). There is an organic integral inter-relationship of the diverse parts but not replication of the different parts to make a whole. Instead, it is the multiplicity of form which gives rise to a *oneness*.

The seed (*bija*) thus is the source of the primary principle from which all other principles proceed.

Seed is the germ of life, unique as primary cause. Though remaining one, is made manifold by the mere Will of the Lord (*ekam bijam, bahudhā yat karoti* (*Svetasvatara Upanisad* 6. 12), *Bija* is the basic dynamic energising principle: according to some texts the entire universe is its manifestation and expansion. The conception of seed guides as movement and growth in the Indian arts.

The *stope* and temple in architecture in (Indian arts on the) dramatic theory and movement of the plot is likened to the germination of a "seed as plant;" tree, fruit and again seed. We may also remember that the *Rgveda* had spoken of the coming together of the 'seed' (*bija*) and 'breath' (*prāṇa*),

"When breath with thunder roars upon the herbs", impregnated they conceive "fruits in the wombs", then many are they born, and all around,

In the Upanisads as also later Tantra it becomes the seed syllable (*ham* and *seb*). In dramatic theory, seed *bija* is the play of involution and evolution. Bharata in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* says: "As from the seed the tree is born and from the tree flowers and fruits are born, in the same way all sorts of *breves* have their firm root in *rasa* (aesthetic pleasure)". *Nāṭyaśāstra*, VI. 38.

Abhinava Gupta commenting on this says,

"Thus the root representing the seed lies embedded as aesthetic pleasure (*rasa*) in the poet. The poet, indeed, is an aesthete. Poetry or any artistic creation represents the tree. The action of the dramatis personae and others (*abhinayadi*) stand for flowers and others (of the tree). The enjoyment of *rasa* (aesthetic pleasure) by the aesthetes stands for the fruit." *Abhinava Bhāratī*, VI. 38.

When we move from *bija* to tree or *Asvattha* we are concerned not only with organic growth but also with form and structure. The *Asvattha* has a verticality; it rises above and yet it throws its branches down (Fig. VI, A). Thus continuation from organic growth to metaphors which deal with structure. The tree in turn facilitates the evolution of the metaphor in built form of the *skambha*, *slambha* (Fig. VI, B). The concept of the *skambha* is overlaid on the tree, *vrkss*. This is also the *tbenu* or *sthsnu*. The further refinement of a pillar arising from the earth, undoubtedly related to the tree as the *axis mundi*. It is that which makes a connection between the earth and the sky, heaven and earth. It is universal and not restricted to only Indian culture. The notion of the *axis mundi* gradually emerges as something which we know and encounter constantly in the Indian landscape. We know that the pillar of the earth is also the mountain, the *Mebemeru* of great structures.

Let us move on now to another discipline or field, namely from botany to anatomy, specially the body of man. This body of Man (woman) is also a tree. I am also a tree with verticality with my feet on the ground and my head metaphorically reaches the sky. The moment I stand and I stretch my arms I encompass the whole world, both space and time and the five primal elements. It is the anatomy of Man which sparks off the most potent metaphor of *Purusa* again as the micro and macrocosmic Man. We are all familiar with the famous *Puruse SDk/as* of the *Rg Veda*. *Purusa* is a term of reference of both verticality as also of structure. We are also aware that it is a term of reference of explicating social organisation, i. e. the caste system. We should make clear that this term which has been interpreted as a metaphor of hierarchy indeed refers not to hierarchy, instead to interdependence. It points at the intrinsic relationship of the head, chest, pelvis,

the upper and lower limbs and the feet. At no point the metaphor alludes to absolute domination and subordination. Indeed one commentary asks the question: can a man or society walk without feet? You can give all the orders from the mind or the Brahmins (empowered) but can action take place without feet or motor action in the individual and without community participation in a society? Also it is evident that the metaphor alludes both to the individual self as also the cosmic self, the socio-economic and political self, as also the members and parts. It is stressing the notion of parts and whole in structures. Thus the repeated reference to dismemberment and rememberment of Prajapati,

However, to return to anatomy and physiology, the body of Man physically and notionally has a centre. This centre is the navel. In Indian and Tibetan medicine it is crucial. Now the *niiibhi* (navel) is the *bija*. From the *bija* you get to verticity of the tree and the tree gives you the *Purusa*. This is one dimension. The *Puruse* in turn centres around the navel (*niiibhi*) from where all energies and veins converge and emerge. This *nebht* (navel) is centred horizontally and vertically and also moves in three-dimensional space. The metaphor of the navel (*niiibhi*) in the body of man is extended to the *niiibhi* (navel) in the built form. Logically it leads to the nave of the wheel and that gives you the powerful metaphor of the chariot. Thus in each case one basic metaphor leads to a series, in each case alluding to the two attributes of inter-relatedness and structure, the parts and the whole. The structure(s) are not static but dynamic, capable of different configurations. Thus when reduced to a set of verticals and horizontals in Indian sculptures, we have the language of the *sutres* and *bhangas*. However, *Purusa* is not just body, *ssstirs*. Indeed the word *ssstrs* should not be understood as just physical in terms what we understand as body. It is also *etman* (spirit). Besides there is overlaying, and the body itself comprises the five sheaths, i. e. *koses*. These layers have mass, volume and dimensions. The body, *śarīra*, can be looked at from the outside and it can be looked at from the inside. It can be looked at from lowest psychical centres to the highest psychical centres because in turn then it leads to that great metaphorical hymn, or poetry of the *Kalha Upaniṣad*.

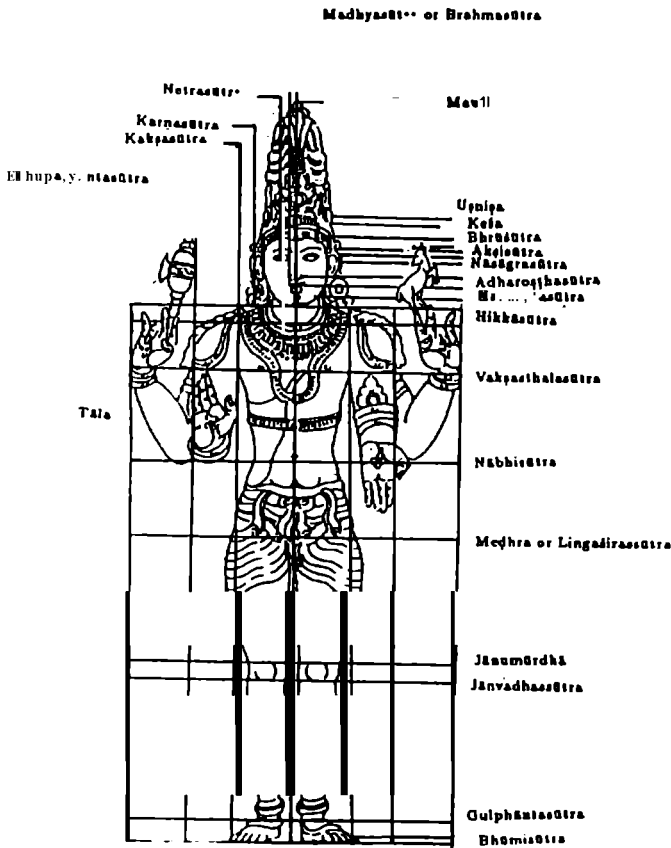
*"Know thou the soul (iilman) as riding in a chariot;  
The body as the chariot.  
Know thou the intelleci (buddhi) as the chariot-driver.  
And the mind (manas) as the reins.  
The senses (indriyas), they say, are the horses;  
The objects of senses. whst they range over.  
The self combined with senses and mind  
Wise men call 'the enjoyer' (bboktr)."*

and again,

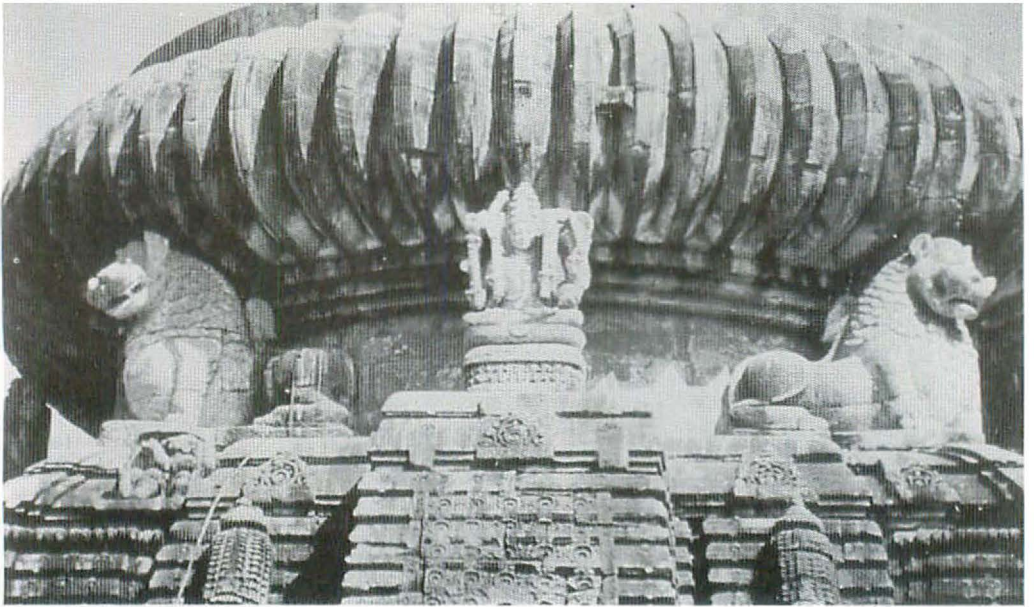
*"Higher than the sense are the objects of sense,*

*Higher than the objects of sense is the mind (manas) :  
 And higher than the mind is the intellect (buddhi)  
 Higher than the intellect is the Great Self (stman)."*

The anatomical, physiological metaphor provides the Indian arts with the steel frame of structure. Be it the Vedic sacrifice which is considered the enactment of the dismemberment or remembering of Prajapati, of the parts and the whole, or the architectural ground plan and elevation plan of stupas or temples, or armatures for sculpture, the systems of dance technique or musical system. Fundamental to the structure of each art is the paradigm of Purusa (Man) with 'navel' as the centre, spine as the axis and feet and heads as poles and upper limbs as branches or horizontal axis (Drawing 1). Both the texts and the builders of the structure of their particular art and practice follow the paradigm. Architecture has the *Vāstu Puruse*, drama *Nṣtya Purusa*, sculpture the *Śilpe pañjara* (cage) and music the *Saṅgha Purusa*. The one form is broken up into its smallest constituents of many parts and reassembled in multiple configurations in space and time to evoke a whole.



**Drawing 1** *Purusa the system of śāstras and bhāngas*



A. The *Jambhaka* tree, fruit and seed

B. The *Jambhaka*, Lingaraja temple. Bhubaneswar

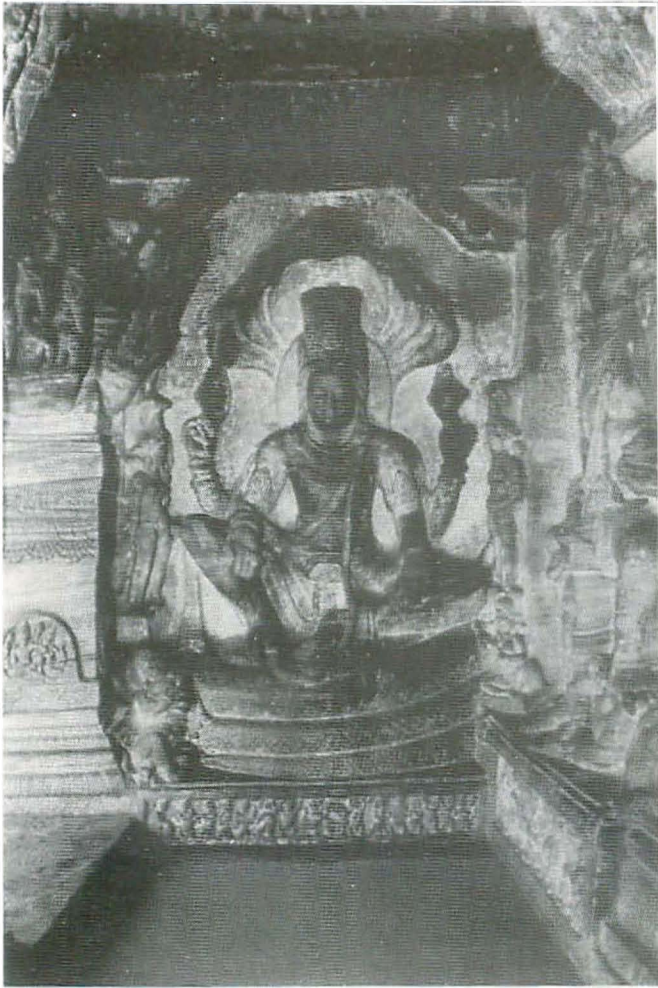


A. The *asvatu* tree

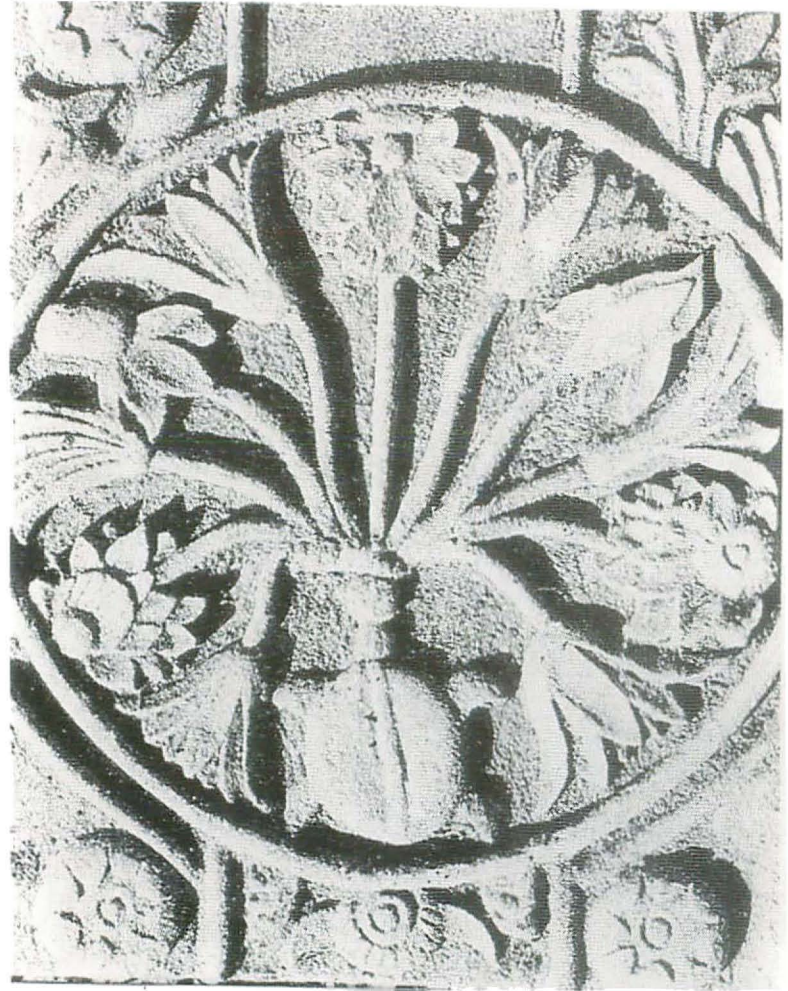


B. The *skettbha*, Kailasanatha temple. Ellora.

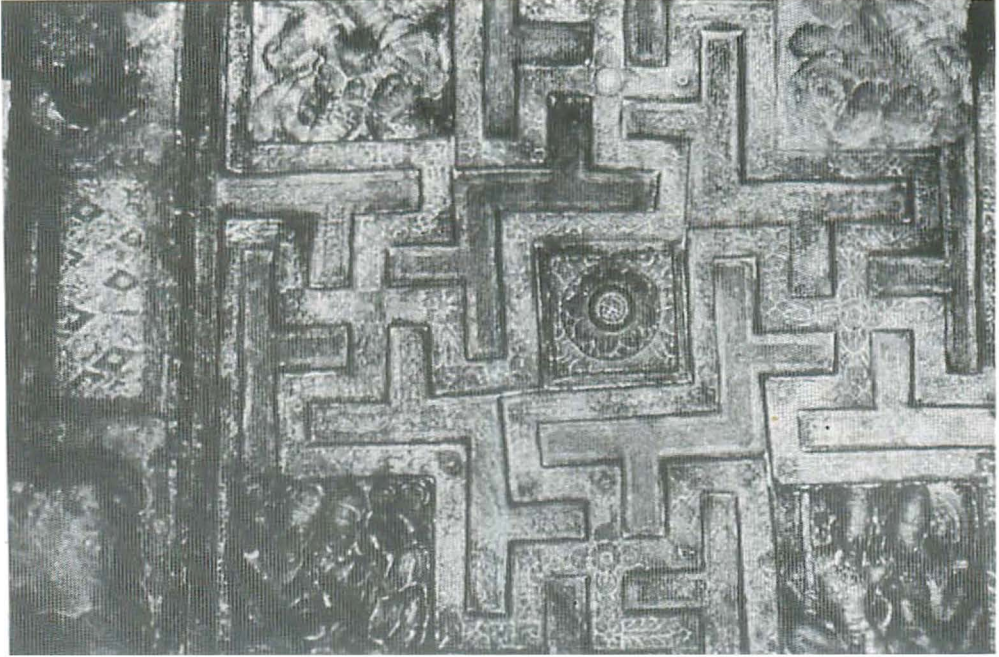




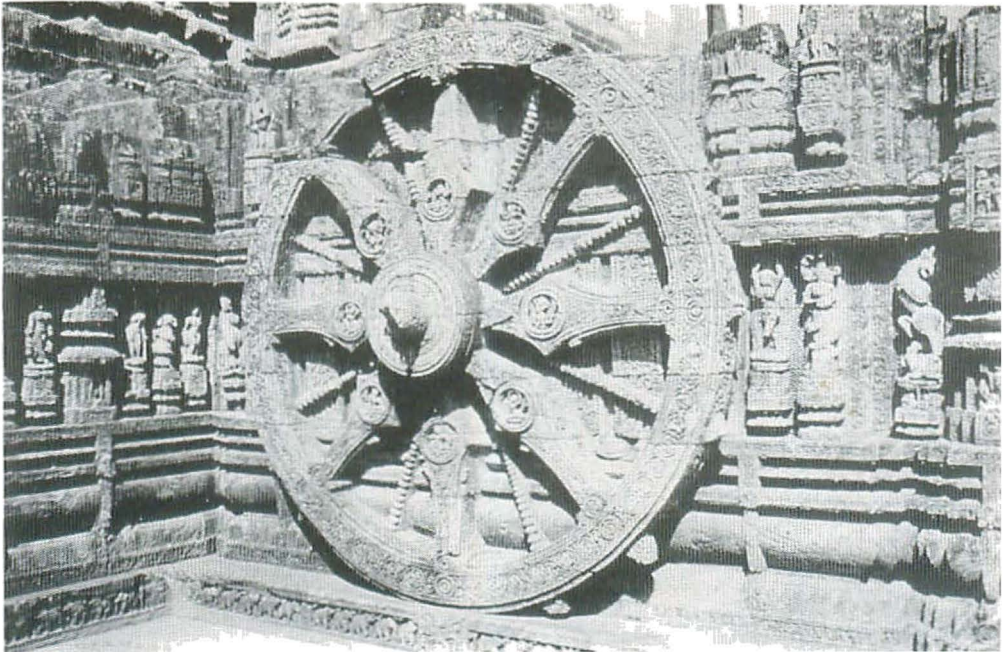
A. The *nāga* as *āsana*, Badami cave



B. *Pūrṇaghaṭa ghaṭa* in the shape of a tortoise



A. The line of eternity ceiling of Hadramut cave

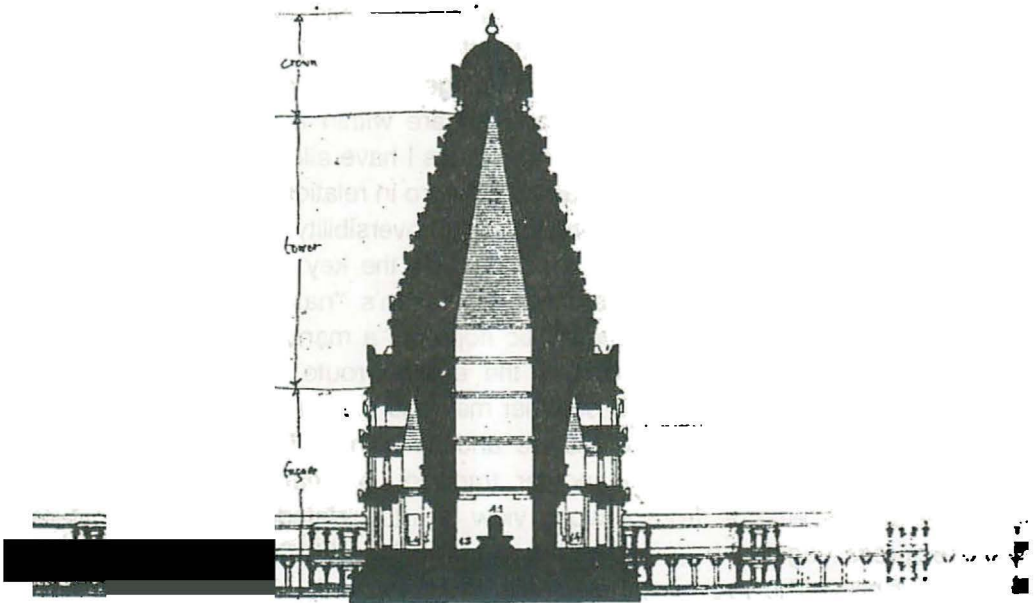


B. Cakre, the wheel of Konarka

If anatomy provides structure as distinct from process of the vegetative world and of bio-organic life and animal life, the physiological awareness of interdependent and mutually complementary diverse systems of the body provide Indian speculative thought, myth and art with the rigorous but flexible metaphor of the relationship of sense perceptions, body, mind, and intellect and consciousness, i.e. of the physical, intellectual, emotive and experiential. Differentiation is considered and accepted but all within an intrinsic unity. Botany and anatomy can not be dissociated from the related field of zoology and physiology. The perception of this inter-relatedness is not confined to the different parts of Man but is extended to all life, animate and inanimate. Here water and aquatic life is primary. The sun is primary in the sky. On earth, *bija* and seed, but neither can be sustained without water, one amongst the five primal elements. The notion of life emerging from the waters flowers as the water cosmology of the Indian tradition. A mighty metaphorical system of aquatic, terrestrial, and celestial fauna is developed. It crystallises in the symbolism of the Matsya, Kṛma, Varaha, Narasimha, etc., Fundamental to the image is the metaphor of the *nāga*. At the primary level it is calling attention to the level of undifferentiation of the waters, the first moment of differentiation is the *nāga* and the next is the amphibian tortoise *kurme*. which is inside and outside. It is the great connecting link and therefore upholds that *skambha*. It is the tortoise which holds the cosmic order when the Devas and Asuras fight. From these notions we are aware of that underlying and over-arching commonality. Man and Nature, inorganic and organic matter, non-living and living forms, the five primal elements, water, earth, air, fire and ether, are all interpenetrative. Without the recognition of this underlying and all-enveloping world view, this language of metaphor loses power and edge. The metaphors of language and art are within a cultural context and comprehension of phenomena. The metaphors I have alluded to emerge within a world view which saw the micro and the macro in relationship, and recognised transubstantiation, transmutation, reversibility, irreversibility, flux as fundamental principles. Complementarity, and not conflict, is the key notion in Man-Nature relationship. These metaphors are not Tennyson's "nature red in tooth and claw" or Shelley's flight into an idealistic hope of "a many splendoured dome" through the flight of the Skylark or the escape route of temporary solace of Keat's Ode to Nightingale. These other metaphors emerge from a relationship of dissociation of otherness of nature and its beings. Thus snake becomes a snake of temptation in another tradition, In clear distinction in India the metaphors emerge from a world view of inter-relatedness of man-nature as reciprocal, again not in hierarchy and with the possibility and probability of reversibility. The five primal elements encompass all, as all beings contain and embody the five primal elements,

To return however to the *nebni* and navel and to the physiology of some life forms, particularly the humans is everyday knowledge and without

which there could be no human life. The one cell, the micro cell, which makes us today as big or small, DNA or otherwise, genes of otherwise. It all begins with a germ and we recognise it as the womb (*garbha*). It lies not exactly but metaphorically under the navel (*nabhi*). It is the invisible, dynamic, potent secret. The womb and wombhouse is the creative force. All art historians have to physically and conceptually enter the *garbhagrha* of their monuments, specially temples. From the outside it is not visible and yet it is the potency of the entire structure. It is the latent and potent, the beginning and culmination, the unmanifest which manifests itself. Perhaps no other culture has used the womb as a metaphor as pervasively, and as powerfully. In all its multiplicity of usage as a metaphor, of what constitutes not physically a woman's body, but metaphorically it alludes to potency and now fire in its attributes, the first principle of energy as much as *pra*(la and air. Now it is water and fire, which ignite growth. Naturally, this metaphor takes us to everything that we know in terms of a process, because life is a process within, life is a process inside, life is unseen but is the energising principle



Drawing II : The *garbha* and the *purusa*. Indian architecture standard of the *Brhadisvara* temple.

at the physical and the metaphysical levels. The (*garbha*) womb and wombhouse gives rise to a most important concept of Indian philosophy and art. This is the concept of the unmanifest and the manifest which is its outer form. The unseen and unmanifest is dynamic and potent. The manifest has form, is diverse but can be static unless in constant touch with the dynamic but unseen source. Understandably the beginning of all performances, the beginnings of all temple or sacred buildings and the inside of the temples is *Guhā* (Drawing II). India recalls this metaphor not only in speculative thought, philosophy and great cave art, *stūpa* and temple architecture but in countless annual and seasonal festivals. Here in Maharashtra and Gujarat you install the *garbī*. What are you doing? Besides the fact that it is the women who in secrecy of the night plant the seed in their homes which is taken out on Navarātra is not without great significance. Through a single symbol of the *garbī*, its installation, the metaphors of seed (*bija*) and *garbha*, earth, water and fire are being energised.

From the seed (*bija*), navel (*niibhi*), womb (*garbha*), all situated in the lower hemisphere, although centred, we move to the faculty of the brain and the mind. Now is the level of reflection. This first gives rise to the power of abstraction but also verticality in the body of man. We are now in the mind of man and the functions of the brain. Seed, navel, *garbha*, all centres, lead us to the geometrical notion of the point - that geometrical point not exactly which is dimensionless. However, it is also the combination of the two. It is known as *bindu*, spark, it is also a drop which falls on an absorbant surface and permeates. It enlarges into shapes. From the *R̥g Veda* to Abhinavagupta, the artistic experience is always spoken of as the dropping of a fluid such as oil on an absorbant surface. It spreads and permeates. The *bindu* itself is made up of a unity of two, one static and one dynamic principle. In contradistinction to *garbha* now while it remains static it initiates a dynamic process of multiform. It has a still centre and sets in motion fluidly. It has great possibility and probability of enlargement. Thus there is the point, the drop and the consequent periphery. As geometrical form we understand and know the primacy of the point, the circle, the square, the triangle, the crescent. In turn these geometrical forms begin to denote the five primal elements which we know in the Tantric system. And all this comes out of *bindu*. Just as Tantra takes over *bija mantra*, the concept of *bindu* also develops it into a distinctive system. The point *bindu* is the source, the base, abode of rest. It is also pure illumination, vibratory sound, ever expressing itself in forms of concepts or objects (*bhūte*) while it remains in its pristine state of unconditional consciousness, the point (*bindu*) can become dual and after becoming dual it breaks into plurality. The *R̥g Veda* had spoken of the Sun as the point. In geometry the point (*bindu*) is the sun, i. e. centre with a circumference. There is a centre and a periphery, diameters and radii. The circle is a point expanded: the meeting of two equal lines forms a square

and three lines come together to form a triangle. These primary forms are fundamental. They provide an incredible continuity and coherence to all basic compositional principles of Indian art.

In art *bindu* develops into a great system of form because all the formal elements of Indian art are contained in the three primary geometrical forms of the square, circle and triangle. All primary forms, in architecture to sculpture to painting to music to dance, can be analysed in terms of the primary geometrical abstractions. Often Indian art has been looked as figurative art or abstract art. Indeed the abstract and the figurative are overlaid on each other. To set up oppositions between figurative and abstraction in Indian art is one glaring example of application of derived paradigms and borrowed eyes. Within the tradition there is a most refined and sophisticated discussion on the nature (*svabhāva*) of the *bindu*, the *rekhā*, the *vṛtte* and the *msndele*. Logically and naturally all this coalesces into and is overlaid on a geometrical form with a point on centre. The *nsbhi grabhagrha* and the point are coordinates. From Vedic altars to *stūpe* and temple architecture to iconometry of Indian sculpture, structure of the Indian musical system, both modal and *tets* and the evolution of basic geometrical patterns in Indian dance, move on the concurrent plane of basic geometrical configurations and the figurative. In short, the abstract and concrete are two layers of the same. Also cyclicity and spiral movement and not linearity is the norm. Hence the *nāga* comes back here because the *nāga* coils and recoils (Fig. VI, A). The innumerable depictions of the *nāga* as concentric circles within squares are neither animistic nor decorative. They are the concretisation in visual terms of the concept and metaphor of the cyclicity of time. We will recall that the chariot and the charioteer was the metaphor which the *Katha Upaniṣad* used for describing the relationship of the body, senses, mind, intellect and consciousness. The wheel, the *cakra*, becomes the principal geometrical motif of Indian art. It denotes both stillness and movement, centripetal and centrifugal forces, Buddha is *cakravartin*, Visnu holds a discus and the moral and ethical order is upheld with the perfect balance of the point and the circumference.

The Nagarjunakonda *stūpa* as also Sanchi and Borobudur are architectural edifices based on this geometry, so are temples specially in Kerala. Most circular temples are constructed on the geometrical motif of the point and circumference and concretisation of the metaphor of the nave hub-spokes and wheel. In Indian art from the metaphor of the *bindu* develops the near pervasive metaphor of the chariot and *cakra*. Its depictions ranging from early Buddhist art to the great temple of Konaraka need no arguments for proof (Fig. VIII, B).

From this let us pass onto something else and this may perhaps surprise you or not surprise you. From the faculty of abstraction, geometrical form

and from process growth structure, stasis and dynamics we reach the faculty of numbers, equations and all that in mathematical terms we know as algebra, algorithms and the rest. Obviously what comes to mind instantly is the notion of zero (*sanyu*). Whether it is an Indian contribution or not there is no doubt that the discovery or invention of the decimal point value brought about major changes. Jawaharlal Nehru sums it up eloquently in the *Discovery of India*

"The adoption of zero and the decimal place-value system unbarred the gates of the mind. Fractions come in and the multiplication and the division of fractions: the rule of three is discovered and perfected; squares and square-roots (together with the sign of the square-root,  $\sqrt{\phantom{x}}$ ): cubes and cube-roots; the minus sign; tables of signs; is evaluated as 3.1416; letters of the alphabet are used in algebra to denote unknown; simple and quadratic equations are considered; the mathematics of zero are investigated. Zero is defined as  $a-a=0$ ;  $a+0=a$ ;  $a-0 = a$ ,  $a \times 0 =0$ ;  $a \div 0$  becomes infinity. The conception of negative quantities also comes in thus  $=\sqrt{4} = +2$ ."

All this, it must be noted, takes place from roughly the 5th century B. C., Baudhayana, Apastambha, Kātyāyana to Bhaskara (6th century A. D.) and Bhaskara II (1114 A. D.) - the later period coinciding with some of India's greatest architectural and sculptural achievements, composing of innumerable texts on dance, music, architecture, sculpture and painting. The diagrammatic and paradigmatic quality of Indian art normally termed as *yantras* and even *tantras* has much to do with the notion of the infinite and finite and  $1+0$  divided by three give rise to the multiple forms of Indian art, usually called the *Trinsetkoti* (.333) infinite number of *devatas* and *aevis*. Zero and fractions as the principle of the one and microclassificatory system is basic to all the Indian arts. Perhaps it is pertinent to mention that the zero is called *śūnya*, a word in Buddhist philosophy. It is also the word for 'void' and fullness. It is the fifth primal element equated to *khem*, '*ākāśa*', 'ether'. The complex system of establishing 'correspondence' 'homologos' in the Indian arts has a direct relationship with this mathematical principle. Again, in this field from Ananda Coomaraswamy to Christopher Byrski, art historians have attempted to *decode* the system and some very valuable and meaningful work has been done in recent years.

The simple equation:  $\frac{1 + 0}{3} = .333$ -Le.  $\frac{0.333}{0}$

$$\begin{array}{r} \frac{1.3}{0} \\ -10 \\ -9 \\ \hline -10 \text{ etc.} \end{array}$$

gives rise to a vast network of fractions. It is the bedrock of the principle

of unity and diversity, one and multiple, one and fractions, the one and many improvisations, one body and many arms, the one body and many faces, the one omniscient, omnipresent, unmanifest and the multiple manifest. The algebraic principle whether understood intellectually or consciously or merely internalised unconsciously provided early medieval mythology and the Indian arts with the most powerful potent tool of stating the one truth in many ways, of using freedom, innovation, improvisation and infinite variations all within the principle of *zero* and its place value. The multiple gods, the multiple arms, the multiple faces and the micro-fractions of sound, speech, musical frequency, sculptural measure as unit and proportion can be attributed to this, at least explained.

The algebraic system zero and place value give all genres, schools and styles a system of *proportion* and ratios by accepting an individual *measure*. Recent work on evolving computerised databases on sculptural images and architectural plans has proved that perhaps there was not an objective yardstick of inches or cms of single measure; instead it was the selection by volition of a particular unit, finger, face, feet, even hair and its proportion and ratio. Thereafter possibilities of permutation and combinations as algebraic equations were explored. Having adopted a measure, it gave the artist freedom to develop forms which could be enlarged, dwarfed, expanded and contracted. This gave the artist room for both innovation as also adherence to core principles. We may in passing mention the word *Māyā*. The word comes from *rna*, measure, measure which is playful and illusory. The most obvious example of this method is the mighty and highly complex *tsṣ* system of Indian music. It emerges from zero and one and creates a rhythmic universe of fractions and infinite multiplicity. Thus we see that the seed (*bija*), navel, womb (*nābhi*, *aerobe*), point (*bindu*), nave of wheel and the zero (*śūnya*) are all overlaid on each other and coalesce.

The conception of the zero (*śūnya*) both mathematically as also philosophically as void and fullness is both implicit and explicit. While the zero and *simys* ultimately are related to both nothing, no space as also fullness and wholeness and completeness (*pūrṇa*), the fractions provide Indian thought and art with a dextrous instrument of evolving a macro and micro classificatory system of 112, 113, 115, 117, etc. There is the conception of three orders of space from No Space i. e. (*triloka*) and the three orders of time (*trikṣṣ*], the three qualities (*triguāa*), the three Vedas, the three castes (*trivems*), the three phases of life, *esrsm*s, etc. The fraction of  $\frac{1+3}{3}$  gives

3

the Indian mythology and arts another vehicle for dividing phenomena and composition to a series of three from space and time to trinity of Brahma, Visnu and Śiva to the emblem of Śiva, the trident.



Indian sculpture, monumental or miniature, exemplifies this in diverse ways, while following the mathematical principle of division by three.

The Devi in Ellora is an outstanding example of the incorporation of the geometrical motif of square, circle and triangle as also the three orders of space time. She sits within a circle with her navel corresponding to the point her head the apex. Below is the aquatic world and lotus pond, above the flying figures.

While the fraction of .333 is fundamental, the multiplication by nine as constant and invariable with one gives us a fascinating tree which looks like this:

$$\begin{aligned}
 1 \times 9 + 2 &= 11 \\
 12 \times 9 + 3 &= 111 \\
 123 \times 9 + 4 &= 1111 \\
 1234 \times 9 + 5 &= 11111 \\
 12345 \times 9 + 6 &= 111111 \\
 123456 \times 9 + 7 &= 1111111 \\
 1234567 \times 9 + 8 &= 11111111 \\
 1234567 \times 9 + 9 &= 111111111
 \end{aligned}$$

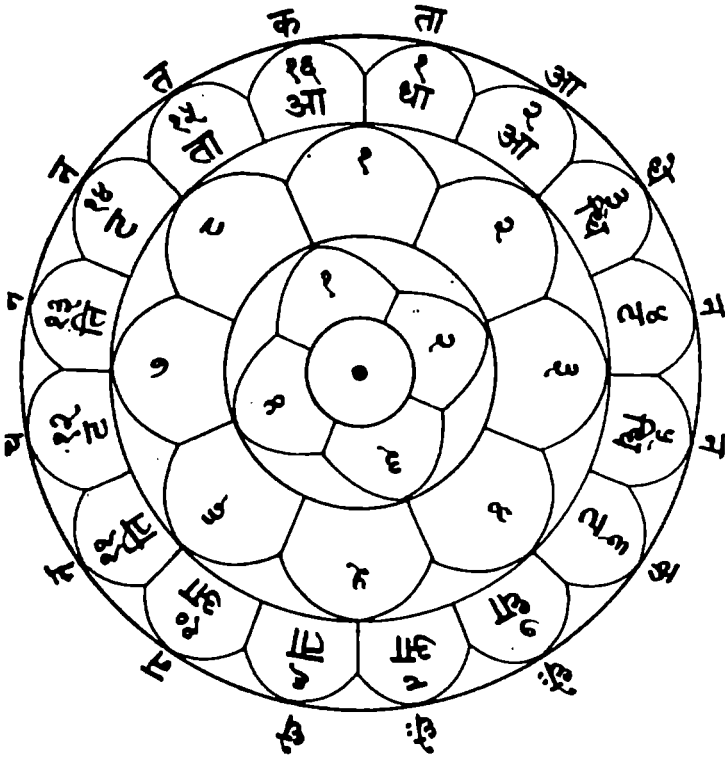
An even more interesting tree is with  $1 \times 8 + 1 = 9$  and treats the following numbers in a way which makes the last line look like this:

$$123456789 \times 8 + 9 = 987654321$$

These equations provide the Indian artist with a most powerful technique or compositional design whether in sculptural relief or painting. These must not be read either as sequential linear time narrations nor as foreground or background or perceptive of vanishing point. They are an attempt to incorporate the three layers. The three spaces, the three orders of time, the vegetative, animal, bird, human and divine all in one single composition to be read and comprehended together by the connoisseur and to each at his level by the others. Each point can be broken up into fractions, both geometrically and algebraically. Musical compositions of micro-intervals are based on it and all that we understand by improvisation in the Indian *tāla* system is in fact a multiplication game of overlaying one series upon another. The *tālas* are also visually designed as the many petalled lotus on concentric circles (Drawing III). Mathematics provides the principles of invariable and variables and gives room for constant change and flux within a given order.

If algebra and the mathematical zero and the metaphysical *śūnyā* provide paradoxically the principles of both infinite multiplicity, fractions and unity, wholeness and void, astronomy and the movement of galaxies, the earth, moon and the sun provide Indian thought, mythology, and the arts with the notion and metaphor again of the centre and the circle or elliptical at a

## ॥ चक्र तीनताल ॥



Drawing III : cskrs. *The Indian tāla system*

macro level. Now the sun is the point. or centre and the planets and points in the circumference, within an orbit, all in incessant movement.

The sun, in short, is the first and the last. It is the seed (*bija*) of the heavens. It is also the last of the astra-metaphors of the Indian arts. Most traditional Indian art can be reduced diagrammatically to this dimension of astronomy of the sun and the moon, planets and the zodiac signs, whether figurative or abstract art.

We have come almost 10 where we began with 'Agni' and the 'Sun' for he is 'one' and the 'many', the 'point' and the 'rays' and appears as day or night, inert, sterile or fertile, dead matter or energy.

And finally *bija*, *nābhi*, *garbha*, *puruse*, *bindu*, *śūnya* and *surya* all lead to that physical and psychical state of the void and fullness, the *śūnyatā* and *puma*. We cannot go into discussions of these concepts and the many

deep and intricate arguments in the diverse schools of philosophy but it is necessary to state that all these notions, principles, and metaphors culminate in that one metaphor of the *purne* (full) and the *śūnyatā* is also *pomete* and therefore *pomemasm* because *śūnyatā* then is *ptune*. This fullness is an abundance. It is an abundance but it is not abundance of indisciplined luxury. From the *Rg Veda* to the late medieval texts of many disciplines the metaphor and the symbol of the *pūrma* is pervasive. The *Bṛhadaranyaka upenesa* V. 1.1. sums it up in four lines :

"The Yon is fullness; fullness, this.  
From fullness, fullness doth proceed.  
Withdrawing fullness's fullness off,  
Even fullness then itself remains."

Modern scholars from A. K. Coomaraswamy to Gopinath Kaviraj to Vasudeva Saran Agarawala and Govinda Chandra Pande have written eloquently on the concept. The metaphor refers to the integral whole (*paripDMA*) which, as such is beyond finite comprehension. It is always full itself.

Indian art employs the metaphor over many centuries. It is concretised as symbol and motif from early Śūṅga art to contemporary practice. We recognise this as the full vase of abundance, the familiar and ordinary *marigalakalaSa* or the *pūṛnakalaśa* (Fig. VII, B).

By habit and convention we just put a pot outside the door with some mango leaves and coconut. Indeed it represents the fertility which is within and without. The *pūṛnakalaśa*, *marigalakalasa*, is the luminosity of *tejas*. And it is the *teṃs* which comes out again as those branches. And from that we are back to where we began: the sun, back to the sky, *agni*, because unless *agni* and water come together there can be no life; no life and thus *agni* and *sarye*, *sDrya* as *bija* of the sky is the seminal metaphor that we return to and then ritualise it in that great Vedic ritual which we call the Agnistoma. Because it is the mixture of *agni* and *soma*.

Whatever I have said is but a bare bone outline of the seminal metaphors of the Indian arts. The symbolism of the lotus, *nāga*, and lines of eternity (Fig. VIII, A) permeate the language of form in the Indian arts like a well understood code of communication.

What I have endeavoured to do is to lay here the many interconnected and multilayered systems within a distinctive world view.

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## KRṢNADEVARAYA'S MONUMENT OF VICTORY : THE KRṢNA TEMPLE AT VIJAYANAGARA

AN/LA VERGHESE

Krsnadevaraya (reign A. D. 1509-1529) was the greatest ruler of the Vijayanagara kingdom, the medieval Hindu kingdom that extended over a large part of peninsular India from the mid-fourteenth century to the mid-seventeenth century. He was a successful general, who won a series of remarkable victories, a good administrator, as well as a generous patron of religion, art and culture. Krsnadevaraya made extensive benefactions to religious men and institutions. New temples were built by him and elaborate additions were made to existing temples in the capital city of Vijayanagara and elsewhere within his vast kingdom. One such temple, a new construction of this king, was the Krsna temple, built as a memorial to commemorate one of his most significant military achievements, in a new suburb at Vijayanagara.

Vijayanagara city, the present-day 'Hampi', is situated on the south bank of the river Tungabhadra in the Hospet *taluka* of Bellary district, Karnataka. The remains of the erstwhile capital are spread over an extensive area of about twenty-five square kilometres from the river and the modern village of Hampi southwards. However, the outer lines of its fortifications and the suburban areas include a much vaster area, from the village of Anegondi in the north to the modern town of Hospet in the south. For the sake of convenience, the site has been divided into four functional zones: the 'sacred centre', the 'irrigated valley', the 'urban core' and the suburban centres. The 'sacred centre' is located to the south of the river. Here in the confined areas of flat lands or on the summits of rocky outcrops are located some of the largest temple complexes of the city, numerous small shrines and sculptures. To the south of the 'sacred centre' is the 'irrigated valley', an agricultural zone. Further south is the 'urban core' of the city, where once lived a dense population. This zone is surrounded by a complete circuit of fortification walls. In the south-west end of the 'urban core' is the palace zone or the 'royal centre.' Further south and west of the urban zone, as far as the modern town of Hospet, were laid out the great residential suburbs; each of these was built around a temple, some of which still survive.<sup>1</sup>

The half century prior to Krsnadevaraya's accession in A. D. 1509 had been characterised by sizeable territorial losses for the Vijayanagara kingdom. The Bahmanī sultans, the traditional enemies of this state to the north, and the Gajapati rulers of Orissa in the north-east had seized a considerable area

formerly belonging to Vijayanagara. Thus, to the Gajapatis the kingdom had lost a significant part of its Telugu speaking territory. Just prior to Krsnadevaraya's reign there was also the outbreak of a serious rebellion in the south-western part of the kingdom, led by Ganqaraja the UmmallOr chief. Krsnadevaraya was one of the most brilliant monarchs of medieval India. His armies were successful everywhere. An invasion from the north was severely beaten back; the revolt of the UmmallOr chief was crushed. Then the king proceeded on his greatest military venture, namely, the war against Prataparudra, the Gajapati ruler, in order to regain control of the Telugu areas that had been captured by Orissa Krsnadevarayas Orissan war (*AD.* 1513- 1517) was waged in five stages, namely, the seizure of the hill-fort of Udayagiri (in modern Nellore district, Andhra Pradesh), the regaining of Kondavidu, the conquest of Kondapalli and other places, the victory at SImhadri and the selling up of a pillar of victory there, and finally the attack on Cuttack, the Gajapati capital. Each triumphant stage in this war was marked by the king making lavish grants to temples as well as undertaking various constructional activities in honour of the gods, both in his capital and in other holy places of the kingdom. The conclusion of the fourth stage, that saw the completion of the reconquest of the lost Telugu territories, was followed by Krsnadevaraya embarking on an extensive tour of pilgrimage through his kingdom, during the course of which he indulged in generous building and endowment activities.

If the remarkable success in the war against the Gajapati ruler was the most important military achievement of Krsnadevaraya, the first phase was the most memorable in the long course of this war. The Vijayanagara siege of Udayagiri fort commenced at the beginning of A. D. 1513<sup>2</sup>, and the fort fell to Vijayanagara arms about the end of June 1514<sup>3</sup>, after a protracted siege of a year and a half. So important was the Udayagiri campaign that every stage in it was marked by the king giving generous grants to the gods. Thus, at the beginning of the Udayagiri campaign the king, along with his two queens Chinna-devi and Tirumala-devi, visited the shrine of his favourite deity, the Vaisnava god Venkatesvara of Tirumalai-Tirupati, that was on the route from the capital to Udayagiri. Both the king and his queens presented the temple divinity with a variety of costly items of gold, silver and precious stones on February 10, A. D. 1513<sup>4</sup>. From Tirumalai, the king proceeded to the nearby famous Saiva temple at Kalahasti to pray to Kalanastesvara for success in his war; valuable ornaments and golden and silver objects were also offered to this deity.<sup>5</sup>

In March A. D. 1513 the king was back in his capital. Here, on March 12, 1513, on the "auspicious occasion of a solar eclipse", Krsnadevaraya gave substantial grants of land to the four principal Salva and Vaisnava gods of the city at that time : Virupaksa, Prasanna Virupaksa, Vilthala and Ramachandra;

while his two queens had constructed the *gopuras* (gateways) in the Vitthala temple."

Krsnadevaraya paid more visits to Tirumalai-Tirupati during the siege of Udayagiri fort. In view of the proximity of Tirumalai to Udayagiri, he snatched a few days from the scene of warfare to pray to his favourite god to whom he gave lavish gifts. Thus, on May 2, 1513, the king presented the god with ornaments, crowns and two swords.<sup>7</sup> On the same day Krsnadevaraya visited Kiilahasti for the second time and donated a golden aureole and some villages to the temple." The king visited Tirumalai for the third time on June 13, 1513, when precious objects and three villages were granted to the temple." These spectacular grants, made by Krsnadevaraya to the great Vaisnava and Śaiva temples in his capital and those en route to Udayagiri from Vijayanagara, highlight the great significance of the Udayagiri campaign for the king.

After the capture of the Udayagiri hill-fort, Krsnadevaraya visited the Tirumalai temple once again on July 6, 1514, in thanksgiving for his great success. On this occasion, the king performed the ceremony of ritually bathing the deity with gold, 30,000 gold coins being used. He also gifted other valuable ornaments and a village to the god. On this occasion, the king was accompanied by the queens, who each presented a costly item of jewellery and a village to the god.<sup>10</sup>

From Udayagiri the king brought an *idoli* of the child Krsna. This war-trophy was taken to Vijayanagara city and a magnificent temple was built to house the deity. Thus, the Krsna (or Balakrsna) temple, consecrated on February 16, A. D. 1515, was a war memorial, commemorating the king's spectacular victory. The temple was erected in a new suburb, built by the king, named Krsnapura. The memory of the conquest of Udayagiri was, thus, kept alive in the city through this temple, one of the largest at Vijayanagara, as well as a new suburb. This was the first major shrine dedicated to Krsna at Vijayanagara and it remained the only significant temple to this god in the city.<sup>11</sup>

The Krsna temple at Vijayanagara (Figs. IX, A, B) is unique in the annals of temple construction in India as being, perhaps, the only large temple built specifically in commemoration of a spectacular military victory and housing a deity brought from the conquered territory to the capital of the victorious monarch as a war-trophy. This aspect is highlighted in two features peculiar to the Krsna temple : a stucco frieze of a war scene and the presence in this Vaisnava temple of a shrine to the Śaivite deity Kīrtlikeya, the god of war.

On the principal east *gopura* of the temple, on the west side of the now badly dilapidated brick and mortar superstructure, is prominently displayed

an array of warriors, with swords and shields, horses and elephants and a noble personage, possibly the king himself. All these figures are executed in stucco. This warlike scene is the only one of its kind in any Vijayanagara temple. Most probably it symbolises a scene of the Udayagiri campaign.

Around the principal shrine of the Kṛṣṇa temple complex there are a number of sub-shrines. One of these, to the south-west of the main shrine, has on its brick and mortar superstructure three stucco figures of a deity on a peacock. These images are damaged and, therefore, the iconographic details are not extant. However, since Karttikeya, son of Śiva, rides on a peacock, these sculptures could be presumed to be representations of him. Possibly, the shrine itself, on which Karttikeya is so prominently portrayed, was dedicated to him (Fig. X, A). If so, it would appear that by selling up a shrine to the god of war in this commemorative monument the king was proclaiming his gratitude to Karttikeya for the military success at Udayagiri. The consecration of a Śaiva shrine in an otherwise entirely Vaiṣṇava temple complex is a departure from the traditional practice in large Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava temples in southern India, where the main shrine of the principal deity is often surrounded by minor shrines to the *parivāra-devatā* ('family deities') connected with that god.

Kṛṣṇadevaraya seems to have been conscious that he was incorporating a practically new deity and cult in a big way into his capital through the construction of the Kṛṣṇa temple. Of this there is some iconographic evidence within the temple itself. In the outer pillared hall of the principal shrine there is an unusual porch-like projection in the middle of the front, or eastern, side in which there are four pillars with extremely fine reliefs. The south-east pillar of this porch has a number of reliefs of the exploits of Balakṛṣṇa. On the west face of it (i.e. the side facing the sanctum) is the carving of a standing royal devotee, with his hands joined in adoration, before the crawling baby Kṛṣṇa (Fig. XI). It is likely that this is meant to represent Kṛṣṇadevaraya himself worshipping the god Kṛṣṇa. Of special interest is the presence, on the opposite, north-west, pillar of the porch, on its south face of a similar noble person seen worshipping a Śiva-linga (Rg. XII). This is the only representation of a *liriga* in the entire temple complex. The representation of a courtly devotee and the prominent location of the reliefs depicting him hints at the significance of these two pillar reliefs. The *liriga*, probably, symbolises the Virupakṣa-linga. Virupakṣa, a form of Śiva, the patron deity of Vijayanagara city and its rulers, was worshipped only in the aniconic form of a *liriga*. It is possible that this relief depicts Kṛṣṇadevaraya adoring the tutelary deity of the city, while in the opposite relief he is seen worshipping the deity of the new cult that he was incorporating among the earlier existing ones at Vijayanagara. The juxtaposition of these two reliefs and their prime location seems to indicate that the king was asserting that despite his patronage of



a new cult of Kṛṣṇa in the capital city he had no intention of relinquishing his links to the principal deity at Vijayanagara, Virupakṣa.

The splendid temple built to house the statue of Kṛṣṇa brought by Kṛṣṇadēvarāya from Udayagiri was situated in the new quarter of the city named Kṛṣṇapura.<sup>13</sup> An inscription, dated A. D. 1543, reveals that Kṛṣṇapura was an *agrahāra*<sup>13</sup> (village donated to brahmins). In it was a bazaar, Kṛṣṇapura-pele.<sup>14</sup> which had a grain market (*davasada-aijgadi*).<sup>15</sup>

The idol that was installed in the temple is referred to in the dedicatory epigraphs both as Kṛṣṇa and as Sri-Balakṛṣṇa. At present the sanctum is empty, but in A. D. 1916, during some clearance work conducted within its precincts by the Archaeological Survey of India, the original idol was found; it can today be seen in the Government Museum at Madras (Fig. X, B). It was lying in a corner of the cella, where it had been thrown either by the victorious troops of the Deccan Sultanates when the city was sacked in A. D. 1565, or by later treasure seekers. Like most statues found in the city, it is severely mutilated. It is a stone statue of the child Kṛṣṇa. The deity is shown as a chubby boy seated on a pedestal with his right foot resting on a lotus, which serves as his footstool. The arms are missing, but, in all probability, the right hand held a ball of buller and the left hand rested on the *left* thigh. The image, including the pedestal, is about a metre in height. The figure is depicted nude, but is profusely decorated with jewellery.

The Kṛṣṇa temple complex (see Figure 2) is one of the largest in the city. it has two courtyards, each surrounded by high enclosure walls. Within the inner courtyard is the main shrine and subsidiary structures. The main, east-facing shrine consists of a sanctum, two ante-chambers, an enclosed circumambulatory passage, an enclosed hall which has porches on the north and south sides, and an open pillared hall with a four-pillared porch-like projection in front. To the north-west of the principal shrine is a fairly large subsidiary shrine comprising an east-facing cella and antechamber, an open pillared hall, and a small, south-facing cella that opens on to the hall. An unusual feature of this temple complex is the presence of four small shrines, one each in the north-east and south-east sides and two in the south-west. These were, probably, for minor deities.

Along the inner enclosure wall there is a pillared gallery. In the north-east and south-east corners of this gallery there is an enclosed pillared structure; possibly these were either storerooms or kitchens. There is a *gopura* in the middle of the east, north and south walls. The east *gopura* is the largest; originally it must have been an imposing structure.

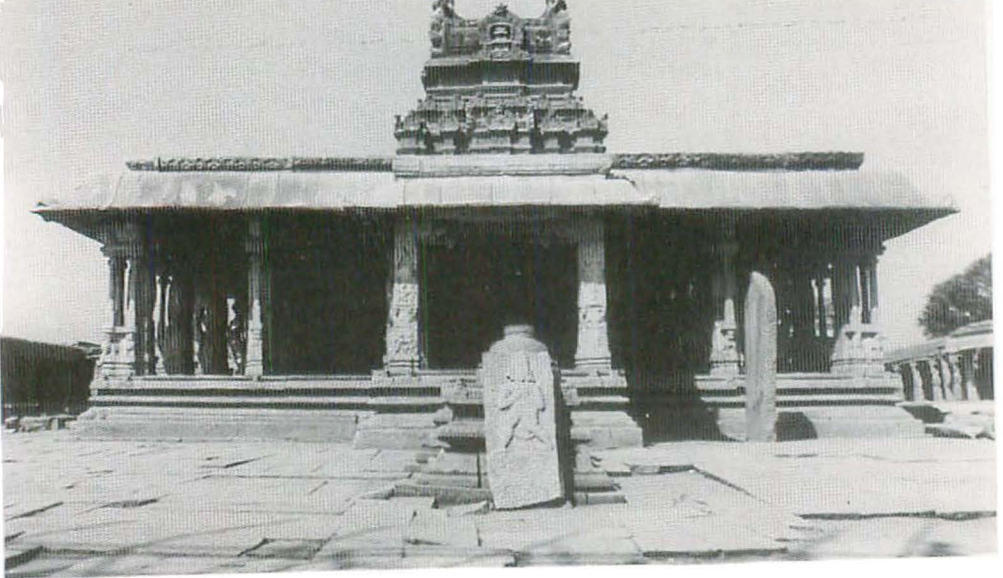
The outer enclosure has simple gateways, without superstructures. In the north-west corner of this courtyard is a sixteen-pillared open pavilion and a small tank. On the south-west side is a unique six-domed monument, the

only example of an 'Islamic style' building within a temple complex in the city. This building has a small entrance positioned in the middle of its eastern side. steps lead up to the roof from the west. The lack of openings in this building and the holes in three of the domes suggest that this was some sort of a storehouse, perhaps a granary.<sup>6</sup>

On the eastern side of the outer courtyard there are some small structures. Adjoining the inner enclosure wall, to the south of the eastern *gopura*, is a pillared pavilion (which had been recently dismantled for conservation purposes). To the north-east of it is a tall four-pillared pavilion. Near the eastern gateway of the outer courtyard, to its north-west is a six-pillared open structure. Between this structure and the east gateway there is another, partially collapsed, columned pavilion. From the east gate (also dismantled) steps lead down to the long chariot-street (not in the Figure), which is now under cultivation. The Kṛṣṇa temple is one of the four temple complexes at Vijayanagara that have a chariot-street. There are pillared galleries on either side of the chariot-street. About half-way down the north side of the street is a small gateway into the large temple tank. The tank, too, is surrounded by pillared galleries; in the centre of the tank is a small four-pillared pavilion and on its western side a pillared hall.

Thus, the Kṛṣṇa temple was an immense complex enshrining the principal divinity and subsidiary and attendant deities, with provision made for storing grain and other supplies, for cooking the daily food offerings, with pillared structures as well as a chariot-street and tanks to serve on various festive occasions.

Kṛṣṇadevaraya's foundational epigraphs are prominently displayed in the temple. One is inscribed on a slab positioned in front of the principal shrine.<sup>17</sup> On this stone slab, above the lines of the inscription, are engraved the Vaisnava sectarian marks, flanked by Viṣṇu's conch and discus. The second is engraved on the outer walls of the small shrine to the north-east of the principal shrine.<sup>18</sup> Both are in Kannada script; however, the records are partly in Sanskrit and partly in Kannada. They are both dated February 16, A. D. 1515. They begin with verses praising Kṛṣṇadevaraya and his brilliant military exploits. The two epigraphs give the same information, varying only in minor details. They mention not only the construction of the temple and the installation of the deity brought from Udayagiri in it by the king, but also his munificent gifts and endowments made on the occasion of the consecration. Kṛṣṇadevaraya offered the deity valuable ornaments set with gems, golden and silver articles for the temple services, eleven villages to meet the expenses of the different food offerings and festivals and additional lands for the maintenance of the temple brahmins. Thirty-seven brahmins, individually named in the epigraphs, were appointed for various services in the Kṛṣṇa temple; these included the priests for the temple rituals, the reciters of the scriptures, astrologers,



A. Krsna temple, principal shrine, front view



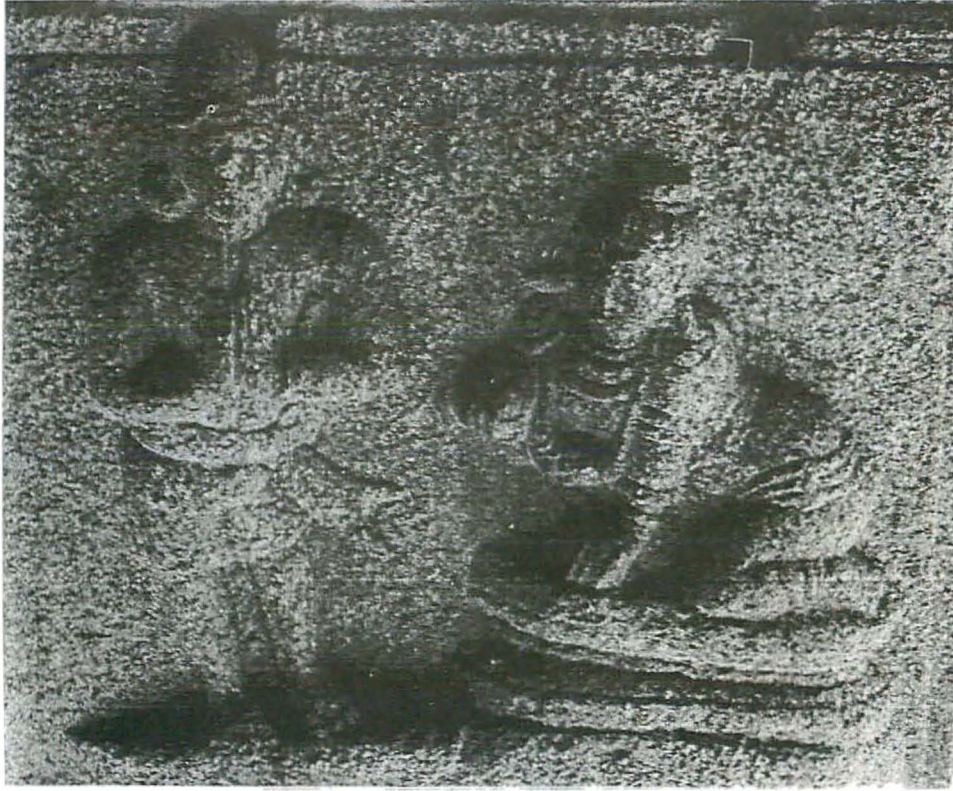
B. Krsna temple, side view of the principal shrine and sub-shrines.



A. Sub shrine, probably dedicated to Karuikcya



B. Statue of Krsna found in the sanctum  
(Courtesy Government Museum, Madras)



Royal devotee worshipping Kṛṣṇa



**Royal devotee** worshipping the *linga*

accountants, managers and so on.

These two inscriptions make clear that this was a royal temple : the king not only built it and installed the deity therein, but also made elaborate arrangements for the conduct in perpetuity of the rituals and festivals in it with full pomp and splendour. To no other temple at Vijayanagara did Kṛṣnadevaraya make such an extensive endowment on one single occasion. This points to the importance for Kṛṣnadevaraya of this temple and of his military success at Udayagiri which it commemorates.

Besides the extremely generous benefactions of Kṛṣnadevaraya at the time of the temple's foundation, two other grants in the Kṛṣṇa temple record endowments made to it. These reveal the continuing importance of this temple in the life of the city even after the reign of Kṛṣṇadevarāya. One of these, dated A. D. 1532, is of King Acyuta and his queen VaradajJ-*devi*.<sup>9</sup> The second, dated A. D. 1544-45, is of an endowment made by a private donor.<sup>F?</sup>

Thus, the Kṛṣṇa temple became one of the large temple complexes at Vijayanagara in the sixteenth century and Kṛṣṇapura was the first of a number of new suburbs laid out by Kṛṣnadevaraya and Acyutaraya in and around Vijayanagara city.

Besides serving as a place of worship and piety, the Kṛṣṇa temple also served as a political statement. It was a war-memorial, commemorating a significant military success of the Vijayanagara state. It proclaimed that this kingdom had undone the reverses it had suffered at the hands of enemy neighbouring states in the latter half of the fifteenth century. Other conquerors, in ancient as well as medieval times, had resorted to commemorating victories through elaborate monuments such as triumphal arches or gateways, pillars of victory and so on. Kṛṣnadevaraya had the novel idea of constructing an entire temple complex in his capital to celebrate his victory and to house in it a deity brought from the conquered territory as a trophy of war. The capture of the Udayagiri hill-fort, after a protracted siege, was no doubt considered such a great achievement by Kṛṣnadevaraya that he thought that this success needed a special memorial.

The Kṛṣṇa temple was also a symbol of the king's power and wealth. On the occasion of his coronation, this king had made additions of a pillared hall and a *gopura* to the great Vinrpkṣa temple at Vijayanagara.<sup>2</sup> As seen earlier, in A. D. 1513 his two queens had built the *gopuras* in the *Vithala* temple in the capital. But, the Kṛṣṇa temple was the first and the greatest of the temples that were entirely built by Kṛṣnadevaraya. Thus, this temple served as a statement of the king's wealth, power and glory after he had repelled an invasion from the north, crushed a serious rebellion in the south-west and launched a successful war against the enemy to the north-east.

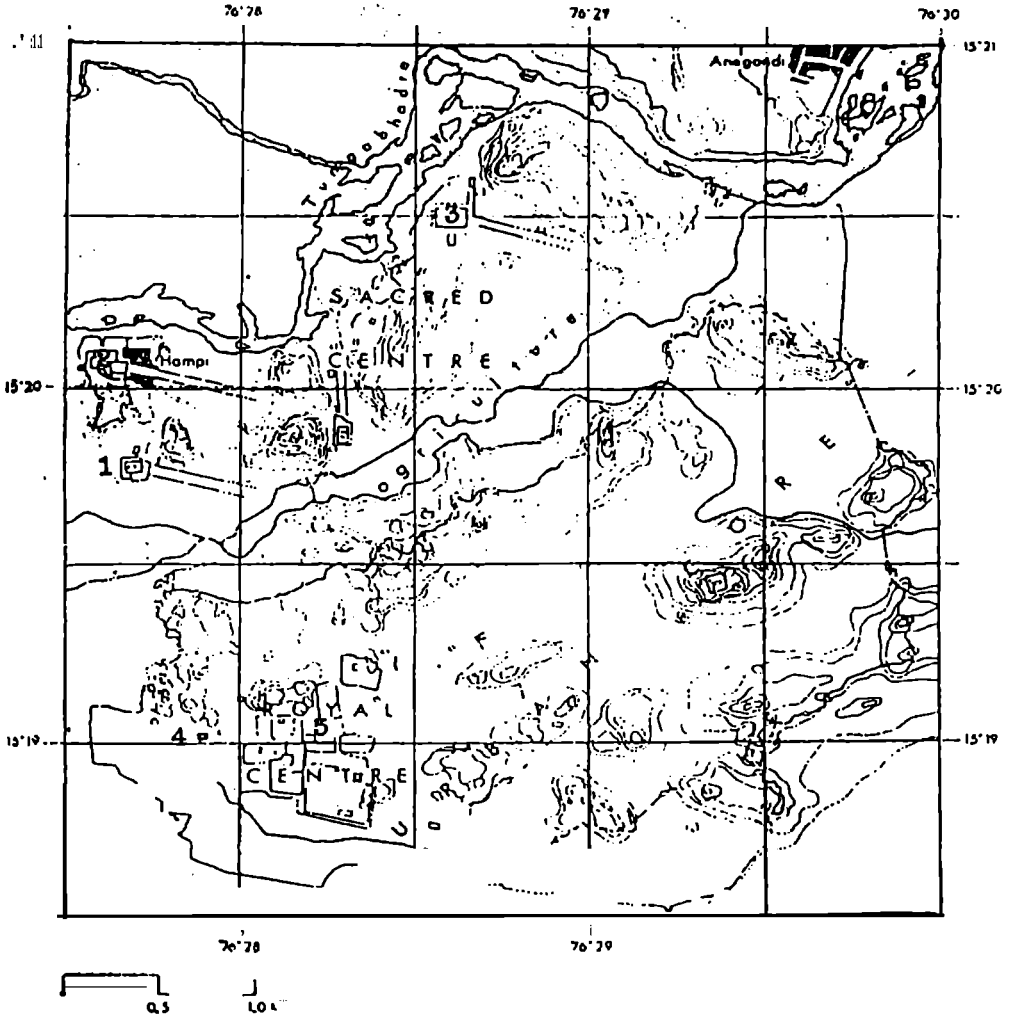


Figure 1 Map of Vijayanagara City

1. **Kṛṣṇa** temple
2. Vinipaksa temple
3. **Viṭṭhala** temple
4. Prasanna **Virūpākṣa** temple
5. Ramacandra temple



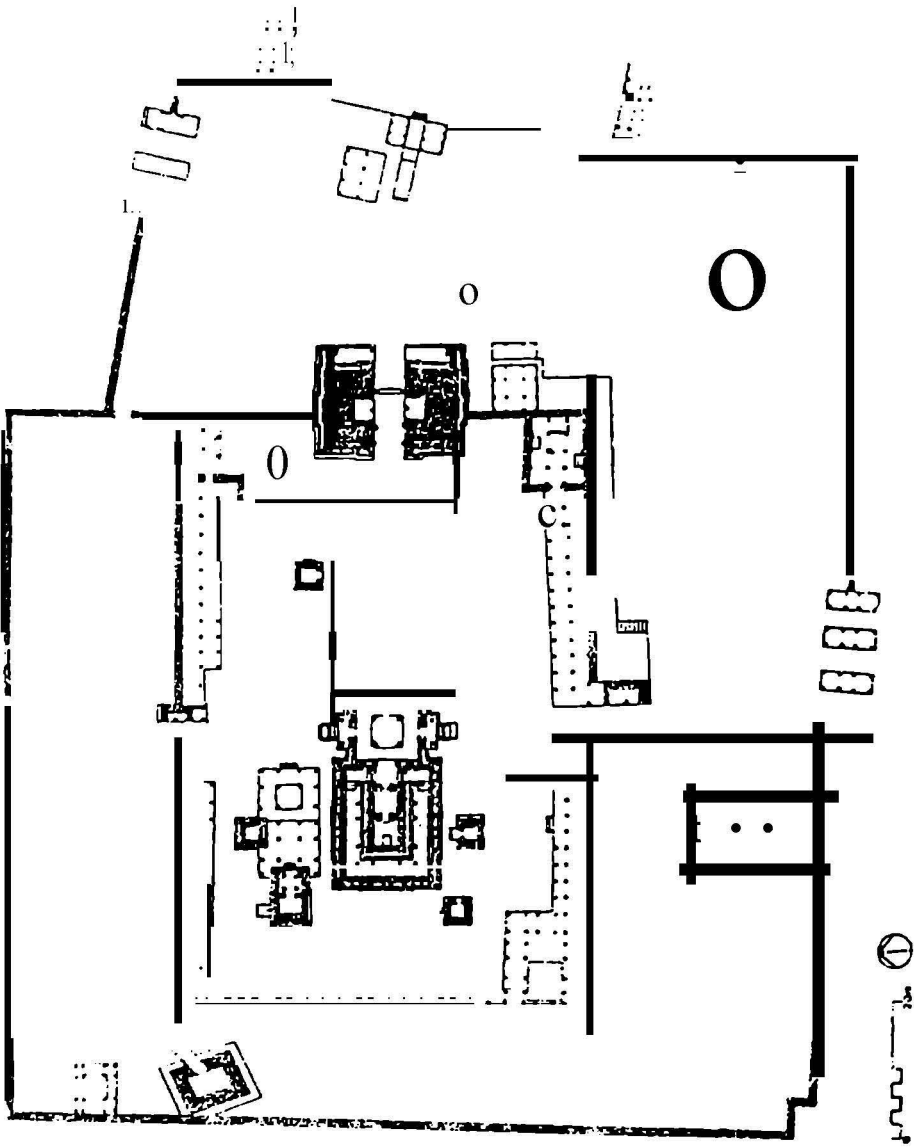


Figure 2 Plan of the Kṛṣṇa temple

Prior to the building of the Kṛṣṇa temple, Vijayanagara already had temples to a variety of deities, both Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava. However, although there might have been a couple of small shrines dedicated to Kṛṣṇa, there was no sizeable temple to this deity, the popular incarnation of Viṣṇu, in the city prior to Kṛṣṇadevarāya's construction." The king was himself named after the god Kṛṣṇa. Thus, as a thanksgiving to the deity whose name he bore, Kṛṣṇadevarāya signalled his Udayagiri victory by boosting the Kṛṣṇa cult in his capital in a big way by the erection of a temple complex to this god. If the king, thereby, was honouring the deity whose name he proudly claimed, he was at the same time also glorifying himself indirectly; for the king could be considered as the earthly counterpart of the god. A deliberate homology was often drawn between the Vijayanagara rulers and the gods. For example, in the annual spring-festival of Virupakṣa, in which the king played a key role, there was both the conscious divinising of the king and the royalising of the god.<sup>23</sup> Similarly, a parallel was drawn between the god Rāma, the ideal of kingship in the Indian tradition, and the Vijayanagara rulers.<sup>24</sup> The area in and around Hampi has a pre-Vijayanagara association with the Śaiva deity Virupakṣa and with certain exploits of god Rama of the great epic *Rāmāyaṇa*.<sup>25</sup> The Vijayanagara rulers deliberately drew a parallel between these gods and themselves, thereby securing both legitimacy and sanctity for their rule. Possibly, in a similar fashion to the homology already drawn between the kings and the gods Virupakṣa and Rama, Kṛṣṇadevarāya could have been establishing a parallel between himself and the god Kṛṣṇa.

Lastly, if the king was celebrating one significant victory by building the Kṛṣṇa temple, this act of piety and generosity was also perhaps an insurance towards the continuing of divine assistance in the remaining stages of the Orissan war. One great victory had been won, but much still remained to be done before the Gajapatis could be driven out of the territory in dispute between the two kingdoms. Benefactions to the gods at the end of the Udayagiri campaign, at Tirumalai and Vijayanagara, could thus be seen both as an act of thanksgiving as well as an insurance towards the continuance of divine blessings for the rest of the war against Orissa.

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15. *Ibid.*, No. 262.
16. G. Michell, " Architectural Traditions at Vijayanagara : Islamic Styles". in *Vijayanagara - City and Empire : New Currents of Research*. 2 vols edited by A. L. Dallapiccola (Stuttgart Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden GMBH, 1985), Vol. 1, p. 285.
17. *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. IV, No. 254.
18. *Ibid.*, No. 255
19. *Ibid.* No. 262.
20. *Ibid.*, No. 263.
21. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, pp. 361-371.
22. Anila Verghese, *op.cit.*; pp. 55-56.
23. Leona M. Anderson, *Vasantotsava : The Spring Festivals of India, Text and Traditions* (New Delhi : D. K. Printworld P. Ltd., 1993), pp. 172, 180-181
24. A. L. Dallapiccola, J. M. Fritz, G. Michell and S. Rajasekhara, *The Ramachandra Temple at Vijayanagara* (New Delhi Manohar Publishers and American Institute of Indian Studies, 1992), pp. 5, 7.
25. Anila Verghese, *op.cit.*. pp. 10, 43-44.

*Acknowledgements:* : The map (Figure 1) is based on the site map prepared by the Vijayanagara Research Project. The temple plan (Figure 2) has been provided by the Vijayanagara Research Project. We thank the Directors of this Project, Dr. John M. Fritz and Dr. George Michell, for their kind permission to use these in this paper.

## REVIEWS

**VIDYAṢṬAKAM**, MUNISHRI NIYAM SAGARJI, Shri Pradeep Jain, Pradeep Cutpiece, Ashok Nagar (PH. 22462, 22746) MP. 1994, pp. XXXVII + 200, Rs. 100.

*Vdyiis.bkam* belongs to the type of *Kāvya* called *Citra-Kāvya* (Pictorial Poetry, Poetry with the pictorial figures). In this kind of poetry the letters are arranged in particular ways in the form of a sword (*khadga*) or a drum (*muraja*) or a lotus (*padma*) and so forth. This type of poetry is extremely difficult. It is therefore called *kaṣṭa-kāvya*, a sort of acrobatics in poetry. Generally speaking, it exhibits the poet's *estat* - *prstibhs* or rather the flexibility of his *pratibhā* only; and is of no use for instruction in the means to the achievement of the four ends of human life *tpunsssnhss*].

Ancient Sanskrit poets like Bharavi, Magha, etc., took delight in composing such *cīrabandhas*. There is a sort of *vaicitrya* (strikingness) in them but they are, with rare exceptions, devoid of *rasa*. The pundits of those days used to appreciate this kind of *kāvya*. And to win their applause and admiration the poets used to write such laboured poetry.

Niyam Sagarji has composed this work with the avowed purpose of expressing his deep devotion to his own revered guru. He deserves praise for successfully carrying out his strenuous undertaking.

Being fully aware how difficult laboured *kāvya*s are, the poet has himself added a Sanskrit commentary as well as a Hindi commentary to his *kāvya*. For the benefit and easy understanding of his readers he has also added pictures of the different *bandhas*.

At the end he has added two useful appendixes : 1. dealing with the technical terms and 2. another describing the way of life (*scsra*) of a Digambara *muni* (monk). The work is prefaced with an Introduction (named *Saripādakīya*) by the renowned Sanskrit scholar, Dr. P. N. Kavthekar. It mainly deals with the two topics of *gurubhak/i* and *cīrakiivya*.

This work is unique in the sense that it represents an attempt to revive the old tradition of *cītm*-*ksvyss*.

It would not be out of place if we express here our wish that the poet undertakes a Sanskrit *mahākāvya* mainly portraying *śānta-rasa*.

V. M. Kulkarni

*A TRANSCULTURAL APPROACH TO SANSKRIT POETICS*, C. RAJENDRAN, Dr. C. Rajendran, Professor of Sanskrit, University of Calicut, 1994, pp. i-iv + 109, Rs. 60.

Our creative writing in Modern Indian Languages during the last one hundred and fifty years or so has been under the influence of the West. We have freely borrowed genres, models, techniques from Western Literature. Similarly, the literary works too have been judged by Western critical norms and standards. As a consequence, the study of our Ancient Sanskrit Poetics has been almost neglected and our ancient principles of literary criticism are hardly used in evaluating the literary works.

Quite a few scholars have however made earnest efforts in the direction of comparative study of the Western and Ancient Indian critical traditions and succeeded in locating points of close similarity between them.

Dr. Rajendran's work under review undertakes such a comparative study. I wonder how it can be called trans-cultural. His book is, to use his own words, "an attempt to analyse some aspects of Sanskrit Poetics from an essentially Western angle with a view to identifying its critical assumptions and major concerns." His work, he informs us, "is largely inspired by the approach to Literary Theory as reflected in K. K. Ruthve's Critical Assumptions."

The author of this book divides his work into the following nine chapters :

1. The Inner World of Poetry, (pp. 1-6); 2. The Creative Process (pp. 7-14); 3. Poetic Form - Problems and Approaches (pp. 15-25); 4. The Problem of Originality and Literary Influences (pp. 26-32); 5. Style and Stylistics (pp. 33-42); 6. Literature As Experience (pp. 43-60); 7. The Suggestive Art (pp. 61-77); 8. Axiology and Evaluation (pp. 78-84); 9. Sanskrit Poetics in the Post-Structuralist Scenario (pp. 85-91).

He then adds two useful Appendixes :

Appendix A on Sanskrit Verses quoted in the text (p. 92); Appendix B on Vakrokti As Poetic Art : A Study in Macbeth (pp. 93-99). At the end are added Bibliography (pp. 100-105) and Index (pp. 106-109).

The author has identified significant parallels of *rasa*, *dhvani* and *vakrokti* (which form the greatest contribution of India to world literary criticism), in the Western critical tradition. This comparative study is bound to excite keen interest in the discerning students of both the traditions. We express here our sincere wish that the author pursues this comparative study on a more extensive scale and in greater depth and presents his findings for the benefit of keen students of both the traditions. Such a study "might lend support to the view that there is a Universal human mind which responds to similar situations in similar ways irrespective of age and country."

In his Preface the author states that "due to some technical constraints, it has not been possible to add diacritical marks for the transliterated Sanskrit words."

On the whole the book is surprisingly free from errors of printing; the author has added one page Errata at the end giving corrections. Incidentally, one correction may be given here.

P. 59. I. 2 Read : 'top-heavy; one is wary:

We congratulate Dr. Rajendran for his valuable contribution in the field of Sanskrit Poetics and Aesthetics.

V. M. Kulkarni

**ŚIVASŪTRA (ŚIVA-SŪTRAS OF VASUGUPTA) WITH TRANSLATION AND EXPOSITION IN MARATHI**, G. V. TAGARE, Impressions Publishing House, G-1, "Aksara Arkheda", Gondhli Galli, Belgaum - 590 002, 1995, pp. 123, Rs. 40.

There is a lot of literature in Marathi on the various *dsrssns* (systems of philosophy,) but we hardly come across books which deal with the Śaiva-darsana. Jnanadeva's *Bhāvārtha-dīpikā*, a commentary on *Bhagavad-gītā* popularly known as *Jñāneśvarī* and his independent work, *Amṣṇubbsvs* reveal the influence of Kashmir Śaivism. This fact may have prompted Dr. Tagare to undertake the translation with exposition in Marathi of the two important treatises on Kashmir Śaivism, namely the *Spandakārikās* and *SivasŌras*. His *Spandakārikā* (with a short essay on Kashmir Śaivism, discussing, among other things, the differences between *Kevaljdvaila-vfJda* and *Īsvarādvayavāda*) and *SivasŌra* taken together, immensely help the Marathi reader in understanding correctly Kashmir Śaivism.

In his learned Introduction, Dr. Tagare deals with a number of topics, e.g., the difference between the concepts of *dvaila* and *advaya*, age of *Siva-SŌra*. commentaries on it, the thirty-six basic principles beginning with 1. Śiva 2. Śakti 3. Sadasiva 4. Īsvara --- 11. *niyalī* 12. *puruse* 13. *prakrli* 14. *budhī* 15. *ahamkāra* 16. *manas* 17-21. five organs of perception 22-26. five organs of action, 27-31. five *tanmātras* and 32-36. five elements. Many of these *laltvas* show clearly the influence of the Sarnkhya *dersens*.

The author then treats of *pāśa*, *bandha* or *mala* (impurity). This impurity is threefold (1. *āṇava* 2. *kārma* 3. *mfJyīya*). He then briefly discusses the concept of *mokse* (release), *anugraha* or *śaktipāta* (Divine Grace) and four means of self-realisation.

After this brief exposition Dr. Tagare translates and explains in lucid Marathi

each one of the *Siva-stūtras*.

At the end he adds two useful appendixes :

1. An alphabetical index to *Sūtras*, and
2. Bibliography.

Dr. Tagare deserves warm congratulations for his faithful and very useful exposition of Kashmir Saivism in Marathi by his editions of *Spandakārikās* and *Siva-stūtras*.

V. M. Kulkarni

*A STUDY OF JAYANTA BHATTA'S NYAYAMANJARĪ ON INDIAN LOGIC*  
Part II, NAGIN J. SHAH; Jagruti Dilip Sheth, Ahmedabad; 1995, pp. 224,  
Rs. 225.

Modern pioneering studies in the field of Indian philosophy in general and of branches like ontology, epistemology and logic in particular, followed the Western models mostly and gave lop-sided importance to controversial issues of chronology, mutual influence and text-related issues to the neglect of the core patterns of thought and reasoning. A scholar like Satish Chandra Vidyabhushana could state unhesitatingly that Aristotle's influence is seen on the Indian syllogism. Even in textbook writers like Hiriyanna, S. N. Dasgupta and S. Radhakrishnan, we have the evidence of a comparative and critical outlook which is satisfied with a summary statement of the essentials of each system. On the other hand, classical texts pose their own problems to translators and most of them are still unattempted. The translations available of a few texts are not enough to give us an inside picture of the complete thought of any system since it reaches out to a vast body of exegetical literature, and creative, comprehensive classics are rare. However, such outstanding and star works are there in every branch of Indian thought like Anandavardhana's *Dhvanytiloka* in Poetics and Jayantabhatta's *Nyāyamañjarī* in Logic and Epistemology whose value to us is all the more. They require in-depth studies by academics who command the expertise required; and such studies alone can prove fruitful in our endeavour to understand the spirit of the original system in its genuine form, uncoloured by Western prejudice. Such studies will reveal that though the different systems like Nyaya, Buddhist schools, Mīmāṃsā, Sankhya-Yoga, etc. had all diverse tenets relating to *vyavahāra*, they had a modicum of commonality in regard to their respectful attitude towards *Āgamas* or religious scriptures of each school. Thus the ethos of moral and spiritual values was maintained by all of them and they carried on endless intellectual debates in the courts of kings and religious pontiffs.

The rise and growth of the Nyaya system becomes evident only against the background of a clash of doctrines, theological as well as logical. The participants were all veteran dialecticians, subscribing to a set of rules of debate.

Jayanta Bhaita, the Kashmiri spokesman of Nyaya lived in the court of King Sarikaravarman (885-902 A. D.), and he wrote *Āgamādambara*, a drama lively with contending schoolmen of different sects. The key problems discussed relate to perception and inference in the first chapter of the *Nyayamañjarī*. The second chapter covers the *Pramañña* of *śabda* or verbal testimony. Both these chapters are fully subjected to a close analysis and descriptive account with a modicum of critical and historical perspective in this book.

It will be seen that Jayanta Bhatta has substantially contributed to the germs of thought already present in the *Nyayasūtra* and its *bhāṣya*. The topics of *Khyātivāda* (theories of error), existence of God, validity of cognition—intrinsic or extrinsic, cognition of time and space are also fully presented in a lucid and masterly style.

In a truly Indian manner, the different ideas of thinkers on the said questions are presented in a lively dialogue form. The chief debaters are the Naiyayika, the Buddhist, and the Mīmāṃsaka. Each of the views is presented at length accurately and authentically.

The two appendices - one on Dharmakīrti's theory of knowledge and the other on the conception of Isvara in the early Nyaya-Vaisesika School - given at the end enhance the value of the work as they critically expound two important and basic topics.

Dr. Nagin J. Shah is a scholar of eminence in the field of Indian thought with several celebrated works to his credit by way of text-editions as well as critical-analytical studies. He deserves the thanks of scholars for having chosen a great work as Jayanta's *Nyayamañjarī* for such a detailed and illuminating exposition which bids fair to set the Nyaya tenets in proper perspective and their validity vis-a-vis rival theories on some of the intriguing problems of Indian philosophy.

K Krishnamoorthy

**BHARATA 'S NĀṬYAŚĀSTRA**, Chapter VI with the Commentary *Abhinavabhāratī* and Chapters XVI, XVIII and XIX (Volume II) : Text in Devanāgarī Script accompanied with translation in Gujarati by I. S. Nandi; Saraswālī Puṣṭak Bhaṅḍar, Ahmedabad - 380001, 1995, pp. 4 + 214 + 793; Rs. 400.



The four chapters deal with 1. *Rasas* 2. *Kāvya-lakṣaṇas*, *Kāvya-lamkāras*, *Ktivyadosas* and *Ktivyagunas* 3. the ten types of drama and 4. *Sandhis* and *Sandhytirigas*. Of these four chapters the VI *Rasādhyāya*, in fact of all the chapters in the enormous *Nāṭyaśāstra* which treats of architecture, musicology, metrics, grammar, dialects, dance, fourfold representation (*calurvidha abhinaya*), poetics, etc. is perhaps the most important.

Volume I which treats of the three chapters (1. *Nṭityoṭpatli* 2. *Maṇḍapa-vidhāna* and 3. *Rasādhyāya*) and this Volume II are chiefly intended, it would seem, to meet the needs of post-graduate students offering *Alamkāra-śāstra* as their special *Śāstra* in the various Universities in Gujarat. But a perusal of the two volumes would show that Dr. Nandi's work on *Nāṭya-śāstra* is not just textbook-type publication but meets the needs of scholarly work as well.

Dr. Nandi prefaces his study of the four chapters of *Nāṭya-śāstra* with a long and learned introduction. Some of the important topics discussed in the introduction are Bharata's date, noteworthy editions of *Nāṭya-śāstra*, main subjects or topics of dramatic theory, Bharata's predecessors, successors, commentators among whom Abhinavagupta is the most noteworthy, the writers on dramaturgy who succeeded Bharata and their treatises, the significance of *nṣtye*, the nature of *rasa*, the different interpretations of '*rṣss-nṣpṣṭti*' and the problem of *Sṣnte-rṣss* and Bharata's views on *kṣvye-doss. gūṇas*, *alamkāras* and *ṣkṣṣṣṣ*.

The text of *Abhinavabhtirati* is at many places highly corrupt and in quite a few places it defies all attempts at restoration. The translations and explanations of such corrupt and obscure passages by eminent Sanskrit Pandits are very often unsatisfactory. Dr. Nandi has made use of the translations and expositions of *Nāṭyaśāstra* in modern Indian languages, especially Hindi; and also of translations in English in preparing this volume. He has utilised all the available material, he quotes their translations and explanations. He critically examines them and accepts only such interpretations as suit the context and are satisfactory. In getting at the correct readings he has made use of the passages which have been taken over in Hernacandra's *Kāvyaṇuśāsana* and the *Kalpalativiveka* (of Arnbaprasada?). But he seems not to have fully utilised them.

This volume is a brilliant achievement of which Professor Nandi can be justly proud. His translation is, generally speaking faithful, lucid and readable. His notes are exhaustive. He has done his best to explain the almost unintelligible technical terms and the knotty and very difficult passages in the *Abhinavabhtirali*. He has fully utilised the critical literature and translations in English and modern Indian Languages in writing his very learned and informative Introduction and critical notes. Prof. Nandi is a voluminous writer having several works in

Gujarati and English and original research papers to his credit. His profuse notes attest to his wide reading on the subject of *Netyesestra*, judicious use of the critical literature available to him and his critical insight into the subject of *Alamkāra-śāstra*.

Prof. Nandi deserves all praise for his excellent work. We earnestly hope it would be warmly received by the scholarly world of Gujarat, more especially by the advanced students and teachers of Sanskrit poetics and general well-informed readers alike.

V. M. Kulkarni

**THE DIVINE AND THE DEMONIC : MAHISA'S HEROIC STRUGGLE WITH DURGA**, CARMEL BERKSON, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1995, pp. xiv plus 318, Rs. 475.

Devi and her cults have always been popular subjects of study and writing. The Indological genre encompassing texts, ritual, iconography, philosophy, has been prolific and scholarly but quite coy about making links with social reality, or indeed with any other sphere beyond disciplinary confines. The recently burgeoning feminist writings on the goddess have brought in many new and rich insights, but occasionally one does feel a twinge of doubt at sweeping and far-fetched reading into the material. Berkson's book on the mythology of *Durgā-mahisāmardinī* combines meticulous scholarship and copious referencing with a bold psychoanalytical framework, into which she further unhesitatingly brings personal insights, experiences and feelings. As such the book is not only an eminently readable one but also gives the more scholarly inclined reader a feeling of satisfaction that here is a perspective that attempts to do justice to the sheer richness of the material without avoiding its implications by taking recourse to bland chronology or evolution of artistic styles or esoteric interpretations or spiritual sublimation however justified such approaches may be in themselves. Psychoanalytical interpretations can also sound esoteric to outsiders, but Berkson has tapped a range of sources in painstaking detail to substantiate her thesis convincingly: texts including *Vāmana pursne*, *Devi Bhtigavata purāna*, *Devimehetmys*, *Kālikā purens*, iconic representations of Ourqa and Mahisa in the various periods from the 1st-2nd centuries AD; Kushana icons to contemporary Durqa statues in the puja pandals of Bengal; anthropological accounts of rituals and rites observed during *navaratri* in contemporary India : in Tuljapur, Amaravati, Nasik, Calcutta, etc.

Briefly put, her thesis is as follows: The quintessential prehistoric divinity-half-human, half-animal (buffalo or lion) embodiment of the controlling forces of nature - was endowed with absolute power and an insatiable appetite for flesh and blood offerings. In later times, this composite being split into

two distinct, separately worshipped components. The Indian Durqa is the descendant of this warrior-protector, mistress of animals who confronts Mahisa as descendant of her primordial partner. The two popularly conceived as opposed to each other, are in fact analogous in many aspects. These conceptions, originally paleolithic, got passed on to the agricultural societies that followed, where the female deity reigned supreme not merely symbolic of the fertility of the earth but as the all pervading symbol of the phenomena of human, animal and vegetative birth, death and regeneration. Her animal counterpart was relegated to an inferior position. In the west, Indo-European and Semitic influences led to the dominance of male divinities, and the goddess was slowly subordinated and marginalised. In India the Indo-Aryan immigrants were confronted with the indigenous mother goddess and strove to control her awesome and terrifying powers, contain her sexuality and convert her into a benign and graceful wife of the gods of the male pantheon. Religion and worship grew increasingly male-centered. But, despite the efforts of brahmanic sacrificial ritualists to make worship male-centred, the Upanishadic philosopher-poets in developing the idea of an Absolute immanent in the self, and Buddhism towards an atheistic ethical system, the goddess as virgin, independent, atavistic force continued to dominate the consciousness of the masses. The religious need for intimate sensory experience was best served by the goddess who from puranic times has resurfaced and been a continuous, ubiquitous and powerful presence in mythology, folklore, worship, art, icon, ritual and text. At one level, Mahisa's slaying by Durqa is the equivalent of the ancient royal sacrificed bull-hero whose spill blood fertilizes the earth and renews vegetative, animal and human life. When Durqa and Mahisa contemplate marital union, they are echoing the archaic rites of sacred marriage which guaranteed rain, fruitful produce from the earth and animal and human progeny. Echoes from Sumer, Akkad, Babylonia, Egypt, Canaan, Crete and Greece and Christian tradition are documented in Appendices and lend weight to the interpretation.

Thus far, the argument is in broad agreement with a number of significant writings on goddess history, mythology and symbolism. But this is only a point of departure for Berkson who draws considerable meat for her thesis from the fact that in contemporary India, rituals and myths are enduring and vigorous symbolic structures. They play, she says, a therapeutic role in the lives of millions of devotees, reenergising them through periodic reenactment. Specifically the Durga-Mahisa mythology and its multifarious manifestations touch off chords in areas that for the most part lie hidden in the unconscious. They have a critical role in the integration of the self of the devotee. Mahisa's role shows how myth functions as an effective mediator between unconscious animal impulses and the behavioral requirements of ordered society. How can such unconscious forces be dealt with in societies denuded of myth and rite, she asks. She disagrees with popular approaches which relegate the

buffalo demon Mahisa to the dark and irrational realm as a symbol of evil whom the goddess representing light, reason and order battles with and is victorious over. Following Max Weber, Coomaraswamy (and the majority of devotees) she positions demon and god on equivalent levels, as 'consubstantial' forming an inseparable dyad. Rather than see them as fixed categories, she focusses on the relationship between Durgā and Mahisa, and sees the latter as a complex symbol reflecting human foibles and flaws but also the courage to struggle for survival and growth, an attempt in fact to come to terms with the human condition. Mahisa is symbolic of the psychic struggles and fantasies of the mythmaker, the devotee and the artist. Mahisa is part animal, part child and part god (as his origin myth suggests) : a fluid, everchanging creature. Even though Berkson grants that Durqa and Mahisa cannot be detached from the immediate context i.e. the entire body of Hindu mythology and rite, she still isolates a bare narrative - of the circumstances of Mahiṣa's birth, his labours and penances to achieve power over the gods, his desire to possess Durqa, his encounters with her, the battle between Durqa and Mahisa and the slaying and sacrifice of Mahisa - which is constant amidst the abundant versions of the particular myth. At its core, she sees the fear and adoration of the Mother goddess undergirded by incestual desires and castration anxieties which are part of the universal Oedipal complex. They are embedded in a complex cultural articulation of unconscious impulses : cow worship and cow and widow sacrifice, birth, purification and death in fire, sibling rivalries, matricidal and patricidal wishes, the struggle for survival, punishment by beheading. The myth as narrated, expressed in art and enacted in rites and performances, codes primal drives which are operative in India even today. Mahisa is both son and lover/husband of the goddess (and Berkson substantiates this point carefully through detailed examples from text, iconography and rituals.) Psychoanalytically speaking, he is the mother's son who longs to merge with her, but simultaneously strives to differentiate himself from the original matrix, extricating himself from infantile dependencies, moving in the direction of autonomy. But if he is to achieve wholeness, he also needs to stay in touch with the feminine roots of the unconscious. This is the central paradox of the myth : mother goddess is at once the magnet and the force against which the hero must pit himself. Mother goddess and personal mother blur and merge into each other. The guilt of incestual love as well as betrayal by desiring separation has to be punished and Mahisa is stayed. Thus his struggle does not end in a triumphant breaking free, individuating. He never manages to sever his relations with the unconscious. Nevertheless, despite his death, ambiguity pervades the finale, for as sacrifice, Mahiṣa is resurrected, cyclically reborn, and the struggle renewed the next year. In a brief chapter, Berkson sharply examines current orientations in family life in India with special focus on the mother-son relationship. Drawing on work by psychologists like Sudhir Kakar, she connects the modal personality of the Indian male to the

specific content of his relationship with his mother within a patriarchal ethos which discriminates against, marginalises and oppresses women. The elaboration of the myth draws upon these cultural realities. Yet, argues Berkson in her concluding chapter, despite the inevitability of death and reunion in death with the conquering goddess, to those (mythmakers, artistes, devotees) who can internalise the imagery of the struggle, and recognise and accept the male and female aspects of one's own self, freedom with all its perils might possibly be achieved.

Berkson's interpretation is heavily and almost exclusively based on the Oedipal complex and the workings of the unconscious. Goddess mythology is indeed mindblowing in its complexity and provides an embarrassment of riches for psychoanalysis. Nowhere does Berkson's analysis ring false. Yet, one needs to keep in mind that the mythology functions at multiplex levels and is amenable to other kinds of inquiries as well. More than one interpretation can be simultaneously valid. To give one example, though the bare narrative is constant, there is rich variation in different periods, and different regions and also between folk and classicalised narratives. Focus on variations rather than on constants would enable one to historicise the myth and read off changing social mores and cultural milieus from it. Even with the Oedipal interpretation there is one major lacuna. The mythmaker artist/devotee is implicitly, for Berkson, male. Mahisa's struggle with Durqa is a symbol of his own unconscious struggle to be free from and yet regress back into his personal mother. What of the female devotee? Even assuming, for argument's sake, that the mythmaker and artist were male, devotees include many females; perhaps they even constitute the majority today. What is their relationship with the mother? One criticism of Freud has indeed been that the 'Electra' complex has not been worked out as cogently as the Oedipus. How far is such foregrounding of one set of relations (mother-son) a product of the cultural and psychological baggage of our own times? Patriline and patriarchy are not only our current contexts but that of the psychoanalytical tradition as well. But there is a good chance that paleolithic or neolithic societies were not organised in the same way. Do contemporary women devotees identify with the slain hero or with the goddess? What is the process through which women from Chipko movement or for that matter, women who keep fasts for Santoshi ma, appropriate the energy - *śakti* - of the female principle, and find the courage to act positively to change their lives? Goddess mythology constitutes a dense forest of symbols, open to universalising but also open to very particular and individual meanings. Berkson's book takes us on one thrilling journey.

***BHUBANESWAR : FROM A TEMPLE TOWN TO A CAPITAL CITY***, RAVI KALIA, Oxford University Press, Bombay, 1994, pp. 236, Rs. 375.

Bhubaneswar derives its name from the temple city's main deity, the Lirigaraja : the Lord of the Three Worlds, TribhuvaneSvara, known in ancient Sanskrit literature as Ekamraksetra (Mango forest), named after the mango groves in the area. Bhubaneswar, which first witnessed the prolific activity of temple building in the seventh century A.D. experienced several changes from century to century. The city's character alternated with the prevalence there of Buddhism, Jainism, Saivism and Vaisnavism, with the changing dynasties of Kaliriga, the ancient Orissa. The same religious character of Bhubaneswar ultimately became responsible for its selection as the new capital of Orissa, although the city had never been the political capital of the region.

On April 1, 1936, the new province of Orissa was created under the Government of India Act of 1935. The paramount problem facing the Orissa Administration Committee was where to place the capital city of the new province. After much deliberations in 1948 it was finally decided to have the capital at Bhubaneswar, and rejecting Cuttack and Puri. Bhubaneswar contained large tracts of undeveloped land and the Oriyas at last agreed, viewing the city as a symbol of past pride that could preserve oriya unification, while offering hope for a modern future.

The German architect and town-planner Otlo Koenigsberger was hired to design the new capital city. There were disagreements between Koenigsberger and the Oriyas broadly in concept. Koenigsberger saw a flourishing city with political autonomy, organised commercial relationships, and brave new architecture that could accommodate the requirements of modern life. In contrast, the Oriyas wanted the city to retain its close relationship to its religious past.

At last, even though Koenigsberger provided a master plan, the architectural developments were carried out by Indians eager to find their own identity. The final outcome and style of Bhubaneswar bear the imprint of Indian religion as much as that of Western rationalism.

In this narration, Ravi Kalia brilliantly shows the interaction of regional traditional forces and Western secular ideas in the context of twentieth - century international architecture and planning movements.

Ravi Kalia the urban historian has specialized in the building of Indian post-independence new towns. His story of new Bhubaneswar gives a fair picture of the conflict between reformists and traditionalists over the location and character of this historically important city.

This book will prove extremely useful to historians, architects, planners,

sociologists and scholars as well as those interested in urban planning in developing countries. We eagerly await his forthcoming publication on Gandhinagar, the capital of Gujarat State. The author has provided ample notes, adequate bibliography and useful index. The paper used for this publication, printing, illustrations and the binding are of standard quality.

B. V. Sheai

*ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF INDIAN TEMPLE ARCHITECTURE, SOUTH INDIA.* Upper Dravidadesa, Later Phase, Vol. I, Part 3, M. A. DHAKY. American Institute of Indian Studies, and Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts, New Delhi. 1996, in 2 Volumes. Text xxix + 598 pages, 315 drawings, 16 maps, 1674 photographs. Rs. 4000 for the set.

The American Institute of Indian studies has, since 1983, brought out learned and massive volumes of Encyclopaedia of Indian temple architecture. They present systematic analyses of monuments all over India, arranged according to region, and within region by dynastic patronage. The present set in two volumes is the fifth in the series covering the medieval or Later Phase of temples and associated buildings in the Upper Dravidadesa, particularly Karnataka and Telingana region of Andhra Pradesh. It surveys more than 400 monuments which were built in the period between A.D. 973 and 1326 in the territories of the Calukyas of Kalyana, Hoysalas of Dorasamudra, Kakaliyas of Vararigal, and also those of the other related dynasties such as the Kadambas, Rattas, Seunas, Telugu Codas, Reddis, Ālupas and others.

Dr. Kapila Vatsyayan in her Foreword to the Volume draws attention to the two groups of scholars who earlier studied temple art—one group through the methodological tools of other cultures, while the Sanskritists who compiled glossaries but did not have technical background of actual monuments. The American Institute's Encyclopaedia volumes, she points out, have bridged the gap between the textual scholars and archaeologists.

Prof. MA Dhaky has edited the present Volume and contributed all the chapters except the last one which was written by late H. Sarkar. The material presented is vast and truly encyclopaedic, in a text of 598 pages, along with 315 architectural drawings, 16 maps of temple sites, and a separate massive volume of nicely printed 1674 photographs. Each chapter follows a well laid down schema and presents a genealogical table of the dynasty, a map of the region, historical introduction, formal and stylistic aspects, architectural features of the temples and an intensive documentation of each individual temple site of the region.

Prof. Dhaky in his Introduction observes that medievalism had dawned in northern India at the beginning of the 10th century. whereas for the upper south India. it was manifest after 975. He points out some parallel developments in northern and southern regions in having externally and internally decorated closed or semi-open columnar halls. but points out some differences ..in the outlook of and attitude towards how the exterior of the halls as well as of the *vimtinās* should be formulated and finished.' He clarifies that the Karnataka and Telingana regions do not have medieval vastu texts pertaining to building tradition. Hence in the Encyclopaedia Volume the terms used are drawn from the relevant Sanskrit textual sources of Tamil Nadu and central and western India, as well as from inscriptions of these temples.

While going through the text and photographs of this set of volumes, one cannot but be engrossed in the exquisite architectural and sculptural wealth of these temples, their integrated plans, and a rich repertoire of motifs in their art. We see the splendid temples not only of the famous sites of Selur, Halebid and Somanathapur, but also of equally important, though not so well-known, temple sites of Amritapur, Nagulpadu, Panagal, Lakkundi, Salligamve, Sagali, and hundreds of others. From time to time Dhaky draws our attention to significant features while discussing the temples. For instance, mentioning the 125 panels on *kaksāsana* of the Amritapur temple which depict episodes of the *Rāmāyana*, *Mahābhārata* and the *Bhāgavata Purāna*, Dhaky remarks (p. 354), "While they cannot vie with those world-famous panels from the Tripurusa temple at Prambanam in central Java (c early 10th century A.D.) in the Indian context they at least are unique and remarkable for their graphic portrayal." The author provides religious background of the temples and also inscriptional material, where available.

We are grateful to Prof. Dhaky and the American Institute of Indian Studies for this comprehensive work on the subject making accessible the rich architecture and sculpture to scholars, researchers and students of art through hundreds of photographs, architectural drawings and well-organised text. Rightly the Volume is dedicated to the memory of Prof. Stella Kramrisch, the great seer of the Indian temple.

*Devangana Desai*

**DUNHUANG ART ; THROUGH THE EYES OF DUAN WENJIE**, Foreword by KAPILA VATSYAYAN, Edited and Introduction by TAN CHUNG. Text by DUAN WENJIE, Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts and Abhinav Publications, New Delhi, 1994, pp. 456, Colour illus. 64, Half-tone illus. 78, Lines illus. 52, Rs. 1500.

It is difficult to conceive of a more fortuitous series of circumstances



than those leading to this extremely important publishing venture. In the beginning there was the Buddha, whose message, with art as its handmaiden, was spread in all directions, towards China too. An early Chinese (Han : 2nd c.B.C.) fortification, located in the present Gansi district, a section of the ancient Hexi corridor of the Gobi desert and critically situated along the ancient Silk Route had, by the fourth century A.D., been transformed; it had become a centre of Buddhist life, teaching and art as well as a garrison. East met West, resulting in a unique hybridization - a universe of densely covered wall, floor and ceiling paintings and stucco sculptures of Buddha in Dunhuang's 492 rock cut grottoes, imagery in the service of the metaphysical ideology. Into this milieu enter a contemporary painter/scholar, Duan Wenjie, who has devoted his entire working life to the study of documentation of the art here and our own Kapila Vatsyayan, who came to see the caves in 1990. From this confluence of separate events, the volume : *Dunhuang Art : Through the Eyes of Duan Wenjie* came into being.

Others were also involved in the project. Editor Tan Chung introduces the subject; Duan's Chinese text was translated by members of IGCA staff, thus providing the English speaking world with the first Chinese interpretation of the Mogao caves, as the grottoes are also named. 64 colour plates reveal the variety of work, and small black and white photographs and lovely line drawings enliven every page. Finally, Abhinav Publications, already in the forefront of Indian publishing, co-operated with IGCA to produce this storehouse of artistic riches and encyclopaedic information.

What this really is is an enormous guide book. One would wish to carry it to the caves and to stay there under the erudite tutelage of Duan Wenjie, for everything pertaining to this famous (now tourist) site is here. Having spent fifty years there and, in his own right, being a fine painter, he presents a holistic multi-dimensional tableaux. The chronological scheme is the grid within which he offers detailed descriptions of the contents of the caves from the perspective : of an artist sensitive to composition, iconography and style; of the political and economic historian and of the interpreter of religion and theological and literary texts.

There is so much to be learned here about the interpenetration of cultures, about the global nature of contacts and about a civilization so interconnected to ours. From an Indian standpoint, the book is of great interest. The Buddhist religion followed in the wake of trade, and the art of Buddhist India, already five centuries old, now sifted and merging with transformations in the art of Rome, Iran, the Hellenized Orient and Central Asia became the foundational structure of the cave art. In turn, Sinicization created the original style traits and moods of the uncountable myriad paintings of Buddha, bodhisattvas, donors, celestials and daily life; of illustration of the sutras: of decorative patterns; of tales of the life of the Buddha and other mythological themes. There are

evidences of direct Indian influence in the Jataka tales, the iconography, the Buddha figure and some of the structures of the caves, especially the circumambulatory paths around the Buddhas or stupas.

In leisurely fashion, each reader can ferret out from the enormous amount of information what is interesting to her/him. I myself am fascinated by the photography and wonder how it could have been accomplished sometimes revealing even more than what can be seen at the site.

The second half of the book provides essential facts about each of the 492 caves for those who are not fortunate enough to have the opportunity to travel to the Dunhuang area but have imagination. With the aid of the colour plates, some notion of the intensity of the experience can be gleaned. The plates also instruct about the enormous amount of variation in individual expressions. In only one of many instances, for example, Cave 285, (535 Western Wei : 556), the walls are crowded with many small, isolated individual motifs, literally dotting the space. There are people in houses painted in perspective, crowds of devotees, athletes, all of differing sizes, decorative elements, a ceiling filled with flying *gandharvas* of elegant grace, exotic birds flying in space, all in rapt attention to the Buddha and bodhisattvas in the central niche. There are empty meditation niches, the ovoid shape of the frames add a rhythm to the entirety. Lapis lazuli blue dominates in relation to the white background. But turn the pages and find a different scheme, as though from an entirely other style or culture, even though this cave 220 (Early Tang: 618 - 712) is separated from the above by less than a century. Here we see the audience for a lute player, boldly volumetric, frontally oriented seated figures, similar in size, clustered, with no background space whatsoever, only somewhat reminiscent of Ajanta. Serious study is required even for the start of this adventure in order to absorb the many transformations in style. It really is thrilling, and we must thank all concerned for giving us this feast of imagery.

There is an interesting glossary, a bibliography and index, but unfortunately no map of the area.

*Carmel Berkson*

**GĪTĀRTHA-DARŚANA** (in Marathi, Text of *Bhagavad-Gītā*, translation from Sanskrit into Marathi, Comprehensive introduction and various indexes by Krishna S. Arjunwadkar, Anandashram Sanstha, Pune 411 002, 1995, pp. 048 + 199, Rs. 120/-

Tradition metaphorically describes Gita as "the milk" of the cows of *Upentssds*. It is the very essence of all the *Upanisads*. "The Gita could be considered an *Upanised*, and at the end of each chapter we find a note

added in later times which begins with the words : 'Here in the *Upanisads* of the glorious *Bhagavad Gita*' - J. Mascaro. Professor K. S. Arjunwadkar (KS), however, referring to the plural form 'bhagavad-gllasu Upanisalsu' holds that *Gītā* is not merely one *Upanisad*; but each and every *adhyaya* (chapter) is itself an *Upanisad*. Incidentally, it may be noted that he translates the word 'Gila' as 'explained (lit-told)' and not as 'sung.'

*Gītā* forms a constituent of the well known '*prsthoe-tmyt*', the other two being the *Upanisads* and the *veasnts-eotrss* (of Badarayana). It has fascinated great minds all the world over. It has been translated from Sanskrit into various languages of the world. In Marathi too we have numerous translations. *Gilartha - Dersens* (The Philosophy of *Gila*) of KS is the latest addition. This translation has its novelty for it departs from the beaten path of translating the text in "written" Marathi. It bears the flow and rhythm of 'spoken' Marathi. Another striking and extraordinary thing to be noted of this Marathi version is that it opens with an *Arpsn*« (Dedication) : *Caluradhyiij Yoqs-ssstrs*, which although highly personal, charms the discerning reader by its delightful poetic prose.

KS undertakes this translation for the benefit of readers who are *jijnāsu-s* (seekers of Knowledge or Truth). To facilitate their understanding of the teachings of *Gītā* he prefaces it with an introduction setting forth the central themes of the *Upanisads* which are the chief source on which *Gītā* heavily draws (pp. 0 15-048). He then presents the Sanskrit text and its translation in Marathi verse by verse (pp. 00 1- 153). Then follow the following six useful appendixes:

1. *Tipā* - Explanatory Notes (pp. 155-175)
2. *KOb-slokas* - knotty or Intricate verses in *Gītā* (pp, 176-183)
3. Well known *subhāsita* - like lines from and imagery in *Gītā* (pp, 184-188)
4. *Gītā* in twenty *SOlras* (pp. 189-190)
5. Abbreviations and books of references (pp. 191-192)
- and 6. Index of verses (pp. 193-199).

In his introduction KS sets forth the central doctrines of the *Upanisads* such as categories and criteria of truth, distinction between the living and the non-living and *advaita*, *jñāna* (knowledge or awareness) itself is *ātman* (self or soul), existence of *etmen*, the significance of *adhyiisa* (the imaginary attribution of something to where it does not exist, a mental projection of change on reality), nature of *moksa* or *mukli* (liberation), *karma-sannyiisa* (renunciation of *karma*), *karma-yoga* (the path of action or way of work), *bhakti mārga* (the path of love or devotion to God), illusion (*bhrama*) and *eherye-jnsns* ('willed' or induced knowledge) place of *śraddhā* (faith) in human life, *bhakti* in relation to *jñāna*, was Janaka a king or *Jñānin* (one who is liberated while alive *jTvan-mukla*), caste distinction and inequality in *Gītā*, Vedanta the (Himalayan) peak of intellectual thought-the upanisadic thought reached the ultimate, battle between Kauravas and Pandavas used as a frame-work for setting forth the upanisadic thought, Arjuna-Son of Man rather

than son of Kunli, etc.

The introduction is masterly, brilliant and lucid, KS's discussion of the 'āhārya jñāna (which lies at the basis of Sanskrit Poetics) in the context of *bhrama* (illusion) is novel and thought-provoking. One, however, wishes it would have been far better if he had reserved the whole discussion of the caste-distinction and inequality in the context of *Gila* for a comprehensive treatment in his contemplated larger and fuller edition, *Gilarthamanlhana* rather than briefly dwelling on it in this edition meant for *Jijñāsus* !

As said earlier, KS's translation bears the flow and rhythm of 'spoken' Marathi. To make the translation clear he has added two useful appendixes. one on explanatory notes and the other on the seventeen *ktite-stokes* (knotty verses).

Now, 'spoken' Marathi when compared with the 'written' Marathi suffers from one disadvantage while translating a classic like *Gila*. In his passion for 'spoken Marathi.' KS on a few occasions has used words which interrupt the even flow and disturb rhythm. For, these words may be very familiar and current in everyday use in some parts of Maharashtra but very unfamiliar in some other parts. For example, see '*sappā udava*' (1.1.34, p. 98) or 'bardana' (18.18, p. 141). Again, in his zest for "spoken Marathi" on a few occasions while translating from Sanskrit into Marathi, a word or a phrase or even a *carana* (quarter of a verse) has slipped from his attention. For instance in the translation of the verse (11.11, p. 93) the *cerens. divyagandhanulepanani*, , or of the verse (15.1, p. 22) the *cerere 'yestsm veda sa-vedavil'* has slipped from KS's attention (since corrected).

It is creditable to KS that sometimes he differs with his illustrious predecessors and gives a new and more satisfactory translation for instance, see the translation of the verse 3.9, pp. 27-28 and pp. 178-179.

Finally, a few slips and lapses notwithstanding, the merit and worth of this novel version of *Gila* is not affected in the least.

The get-up is pleasing to the eye.

Professor Arjunwadkar deserves warmest congratulations for this excellent Marathi version of a great classic in Sanskrit.

V M Kulkarni

**THE RELIGIOUS IMAGERY OF KHAJURAO** by DEVANGANA DESAI, Franco - Indian Research, Mumbai, 1996, pp. xxx + 269, illustrated with 224 photographs and 18 drawings, Rs. 1800.

All these years Khajuraho temples have been associated with erotic sculptures. But along with sensual figures there are hundreds of images of divinities at Khajuraho. Dr. Devangana Desai in her latest book on Khajuraho is concerned with the *devsts-qsrū*: (pantheon) and the arrangement of divine images in the temples. She has brought to focus the religious and philosophical principles underlying the Khajuraho temples and their iconic schemes. The book is rich in providing details on the placement of images along with drawings and photographs, and is as elegantly composed as the temples she describes. Her scholarship not only in iconography but also in the philosophical treatises of Saiva and Vaisnava (Pancaratra) sects comes throughout the book while she discusses the iconic schemes of the major Hindu temples of the site. Regarding her approach, the author herself puts it succinctly : "This is an iconological study concerned with the meaning and context of images. It is not a study of conventional iconography describing images in terms of number of hands and the attributes held by them.. It is our endeavour to present the context of main images in the temple and thereby their place in the pantheon. Individual iconography of images is not as important as the study of their configuration." The author has met the objective admirably.

The author presents the topography of Khajuraho (KharjOravahakal with groupings of temples in different zones. She provides a chronology of 21 temples starting with the Causalh Yogini shrine datable to *circa* AD. 900, and ending with the Duladeva, the last of the lofty Khajuraho temples, built in AD. 1130 in the time of the Candella King Madanavarman. Desai more or less agrees with Shri Krishna Deva in dating the temples, except that she reads the date of the Visvanatha (Marakatesvaral temple inscription as V.S. 1056 (AD.999), as earlier deciphered by Major Cunningham also. The author gives the genealogy of the Candella dynasty (Appendix I), and presents an account of the main Candella rulers from Harsadeva to Pararnardideva and their patronage to the temples (Chapter II).

The book presents (Chapter III) a picture of various religious currents which prevailed at Khajuraho between 10th-12th centuries. On the one hand there is evidence for the Tantra-based systems such as the Kasmiraqama Pancaratra and Saiva Siddhānta influencing temple pantheon and icons, and on the other hand temple inscriptions proclaim support to the Vedas, *vsmssrsmē-ābermṣ* and the *brsbmsnss* Devangana Desai suggests a synthesis of two religious orders-Tantric and Puranic resulting in a Misra (composite) religion at Khajuraho.

The author deals with the pantheons of Yajria-Vāraha and Sōrya at Khajuraho. There is a full chapter (IV) on the Yoginis, their sanctuary and cull, which brings out the peculiarities of Khajuraho's Causath Yogini shrine. The author examines the Tantric, Puranic, and Jaina textual sources on the Yoginis. She says that the Yogini worship was not exclusive to the Yogini-Kaula

sect, but was accepted at various levels by ascetics as well as common people for averting diseases and calamities, for protecting the land, and for the attainment of the *siddhis*.

The pantheon of Vaikuntha-Visnu of the Lakṣmīnara temple gets a detailed treatment in Chapter V, and this becomes of great significance to history of religious art as the Lakṣmīnara is one of the rare and preserved temples of this esoteric deity. The placement of images of various *evyestras*, goddesses, and other deities is examined and textual material cited. The author discusses at length the apparent irregular sequence of Kṛṣṇa-līlā scenes on the sanctum wall in this well-planned temple and points out their possible connection with the *vyūhāntara* names (Darnodara, Govinda, etc.) and with the *rtucekṛs* scheme. For the first time the sculptural panel on the back wall of the sanctum is identified as an illustration of the *ekentln* devotees of Svetadvīpa worshipping Narayana based on the Nārāyaṇīya section (Santiparva) of the *Mahābhārata*, considered to be an early document of the Pancaratrins. Also the *vedibandha* images of the exterior of the temple are identified as Grahas which adds cosmic dimension to this Valkimtha temple.

Devangana Desai has discussed the philosophical basis of the iconic scheme of the Kandariya Mahadeva temple (Chapter VI). She was inspired by Stella Kramrisch's interpretation of the Elephanta cave in her interpretation. Kramrisch observed the three levels of Siva's presence at Elephanta : unmanifest (Siva-līṅga), manifest (Mahesa in *filā-mOrīs* such as dancer, bridegroom), and the intermediate level of manifest-unmanifest (Sadāsiva), in Khajuraho's Kandariya Mahadeva. Desai draws our attention to these three levels of Siva. and adds those of Rudra, viṣṇu and Brahma in the iconic scheme of the temple.

Khajuraho's elite were greatly interested in Sanskrit grammar and poetry. The inscriptions of Khajuraho are replete with *stess* (pun) and can be read with two meanings. Dr. Desai has pointed out the employment of puns and *sandhya bhāṣā* (enigmatic code language of Tantras) in some of the sculptures of Khajuraho, particularly on the juncture wall (*ssndbi-ksetrs*) of the hall for devotees and the sanctum of the divinity. *Sandhya bhāṣā* involving erotic terminology was used by the Tantras in connection with their esoteric practices, including the Kuṇḍalinī yoga. The erotic figures on the juncture walls of Khajuraho temples suggest some of the characters of the allegorical play *Prabodhacandrodaya* or its prototype on the juncture wall of the Lakṣmīnara temple.

In nutshell, the book conveys that "each of Khajuraho's evolved temples dedicated to Śiva or Viṣṇu is a universe in itself." The Kandariya Mahādeva is alive with the manifestations of Śiva surrounding the central *firjga*, "the source of emanation and the point of reabsorption". The Lakṣmīnara temple

conveys "visvarupa", the cosmic form, through Visnu-Vasudeva and his manifestations.

Dr. Devangana Desai has given us a scholarly treatise which brings out in a full measure the grandeur and splendour of Khajuraho temples and images along with their deep religious and philosophical connotations. The book is a researchers' delight and will interest scholars in the field of Indian religious art and iconography as well as of Khajuraho studies.

*Haripriya Rangarajan*

**EVENING BLOSSOMS : THE TEMPLE TRADITION OF SĀÑJHĪ IN VJNDA VANA** (*Vraja Prakalpa Series Vol.1.*), by ASIMAKRISHNA DASA, Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts & Sterling Publishers Private Limited, New Delhi, 1996, pp. 63, 58 Plates, RS750.

"The Sāñjhī ritual practised by unmarried girls of Vraja furnished the material for the depiction of Sarijhl in Brajabhasa poetry. The creation of Sanjhl described in poetry in turn preceded the institution of a temple festival consisting of producing Sāñjhī designs with coloured powders using stencils." Sanjhi, the intricate designs which were afforded ritual worship, is one of the fascinating features of Vraja culture.

This monograph, covering several facets of the Sāñjhī tradition, is the first publication of the Vraja-Nathdvara Project, sponsored by the Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts, New Delhi, in cooperation with the Sri Caitanya Prema Samsthana, Vrndavana. The Vraja-Nalhdvara Prakalpa is a holistic research project, involving scholars drawn from different disciplines, investigating all aspects of the Vraja region : from city planning, architectural monuments, the sculptural and painting traditions to literature, arts and crafts. The Project plans to bring out not only a series of monographs, but also audio-visual recordings of the living tradition of music, dance, drama and festivals.

In the introductory chapter the author explains the practice of Sāñjhī as well as its meaning and etymology. The next section traces the development of the concept and practice of Sāñjhī. Following this, Asimakrishna Dasa traces how the Sāñjhī ritual, first practised by unmarried girls of Vraja, found its way into Brajabhasa poetry . This poetic tradition in turn was followed by the temple tradition of Sāñjhī. Thus, Sāñjhī originated, probably in medieval times, as designs in flowers that were afforded ritual worship as a goddess at *sandhya* or evening (Sāñjhī being a vernacular form of the word), specifically by unmarried girls. It became a temple tradition in the seventeenth century when the devotional *bhakti* movement linked it to games played by Rādhā and Krsna as children in Vraja. The devotional poetry of the next two centuries

describes these games and evokes Sāñjhī as a ritual design made with forest flowers in the autumn after the rains. In the late nineteenth century it became a temple art, with Sāñjhīs being prepared by priests in the temples.

In the last two chapters the author examines the present-day temple tradition of Sāñjhī and details how these Sāñjhīs are actually made. Nowadays the tradition has a twofold dimension : there are the Sāñjhīs of flowers and other objects created by women on the walls of their homes, as well as the more elaborate Sāñjhīs made on specially erected *vedīs* (platforms) within the temples, using coloured powders, applied through stencils. In these temple Sāñjhīs, forest flowers are replaced by *betaṣ* intricate intertwining flowering vines that frame the *hauda* or the central medallion design. At Vrndavana, Sāñjhīs are made in that period of the calendar, popularly called *pitr-pakṣa* or the period of *śrāddha*, when ancestors are worshipped. During this fortnight no grand festivities are held; but Sāñjhīs are made daily as part of the ritual service in homes and in certain temples.

The making of floor or wall designs as part of a daily ritual, to herald auspiciousness or to welcome guests is known in many parts of India under names such as *ko!am*, *rarigoli* and *a!pana*. Asimakrishna Dasa shows that Sāñjhī is similar to these in that it, too, comprises intricate designs with coloured powders, flowers and other objects. However, he points out that in other respects Sāñjhī differs from the *ko!am* or *rarigoli*. For Sāñjhī is made only at a particular time of the year, namely the *pitr-pakṣa* fortnight. Again, although *ko!am* and *rarigoli* designs are auspicious, they are not deified and worshipped; as is the Sāñjhī, which is considered a goddess, created and worshipped at evening by young girls or by priests during a specific fortnight in autumn. All Sāñjhī designs are made to be worshipped: at the time of worship they are transformed from works of art made by human hands into the Goddess Sāñjhī, who is offered food and water and to whom *ārati* is performed. Also, the creation of Sāñjhī is seen as a *śānane*; those who treat Sāñjhī as a spiritual practice experience in the creation of these exquisite designs, a sense of participation in the Sāñjhī-play of Rādhā, Kṛṣṇa and the *sakhīs*. The Sāñjhīs vary from the simple forms seen in village houses to the complex *maṇḍals* in the temples. Thus, Sāñjhī is a beautiful example of the interaction of the folk and classical dimensions of culture.

In the epilogue Asimakrishna Dasa outlines his own emotional, devotional and academic involvement with the Sāñjhī tradition : "Discovering Sāñjhī twenty years ago was an innocent pleasure. A newcomer to India, I was impressed by the Sāñjhī folk tradition and was not concerned about its meaning or intent... The discovery of the temple tradition was no less intense an experience, and led me to look into the meaning Sāñjhī had acquired in the worship of Hada and Kṛṣṇa and its place in their pastimes... In the course of time, simple pleasure was transmuted into a scholarly interest..." Detailed notes



and references and a select bibliography add to the value of this monograph, which traces a unique tradition, one that is both a folk art as well as a temple art, an art form that is ephemeral.

Asimakrishna Dasa has dealt with the topic with a sensitive feel for the subject as well as keen scholarship. He is eminently fitted to do this study for, though coming from U.S.A., he has made Vrndavana his home for many years; he is closely associated with the Sri Caitanya Prema Samsthana and has been involved in the Vraja-Nalhdvara Project from its inception. He has not only observed, examined and photographed Sāñjhīs extensively for around twenty years, but has also interviewed and interacted with those priests who are keeping alive the Sāñjhī tradition in three temples at Vrndavana and one at Barsana, Rādhā's village.

This monograph is of significance not only because it provides a detailed study and analysis, based on indepth field work, of an art and a religious tradition on which little scholarly work has been previously done, but also because it seeks to preserve for posterity an art form that appears to be in danger of dying out. As the author himself notes with regret, Sāñjhī is an ephemeral art not only because the patterns are created for a single day and then effaced, but also because the entire tradition is likely to disappear. He observes that during the past twenty years or so the number of temples in which Sāñjhīs are made have become fewer and fewer and the village Sanjhl, too, is seen less and less often nowadays. Although Asimakrishna Dasa acknowledges that he has "neglected to dwell on its beauty because it is something I could not recreate in words", the excellent examples of Sāñjhīs offered through the 58 colour plates makes this monograph a delight. Moreover, while it can be read and appreciated by itself, this monograph must also be seen as a part of a series. It sheds much light on one small aspect of *Vraja* culture and it evokes in the reader a desire to know more about the Vraja region and its traditions and to look forward to the forth-coming publications and audio-visual documentation of the Vraja-Nathdvara Project.

• *An/ta Vergheze*

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF BOOKS RECEIVED

1. *Curative Powers of the Hill'ENS*. by T. R. Seshadri. Tanikellas, Hyderabad. 1995, Rs. 150.
2. *Śruti-Cintāmaṇi* .Prof. C. G. Kasbikar Felicitation Volume, edited by S. S. Ilahulkar and Sucheta Paranjape, Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapeeth, Pune, 1994, Rs. 200.
3. *The Bengali Muslims 1871 - 1906 : A Quest for Identity*. by Ratiuddin Ahmed, Oxford University Press Paperbacks. Delhi, 1996, Rs. 195.

## OBITUARY NOTICES

KARL J. KHANDALAVALA

(1904 - 1995)

One of the giants of Indian art historical scholarship, Karl J. Khandalavala, passed away peacefully on December 23, 1995, at the age of 92. His death marks an end of an era in the Indian art world for he belonged to the generation of distinguished scholars such as Moti Chandra, V.S. Agrawala, Rai Kishan Das, Nihar Ranjan Ray and C. Sivaramamurti.

Born on 16th March, 1904 into a family of lawyers, Karl Khandalavala graduated from the Elphinstone College in Bombay, obtained a degree in law, and went to England, and was called to the Bar from the Middle Temple in 1928. He was a successful lawyer and practised for years in Bombay. He also served in the Royal Air Force during World War II. His interest in art was kindled by one of his relatives who was a collector. Khandalavala collected art objects for some years, but gave up collecting for his private use when he became associated with the Prince of Wales Museum, Mumbai. He was appointed a member of the art purchase committees of several museums including the National Museum, New Delhi, Salar Jung Museum, Hyderabad, and other institutions. He was a member of the Board of Management of Bharat Kala Bhavan, Varanasi.

Karl Khandalavala was Chairman, Board of Trustees, Prince of Wales Museum of Mumbai for a period of over 35 years. To this Museum which was his favourite place, he has bequeathed his superb collection of art, called "Karl and Meherbai Collection." An exhibition of his art collection, held about 15 years ago, was aptly titled, "Magnificent Obsession", for art indeed was a life-long obsession for Mr. Khandalavala. It was an experience to watch Khandalavala admiring a work of art and dating it by observation of minute details.

Karl Khandalavala was associated with the Lalit Kala Academi since its inception in 1954 and was Hon. Editor of the *Lalit Kalā*, journal of ancient art, till he lived. We will miss his regular book reviews in this journal. He was an advisor to the Marg publications and has guest-edited several *Marg* volumes.

With the Asiatic Society of Bombay he was intimately associated from 1983 to 1994 as its Vice-President. Earlier he had edited its prestigious

monograph on the illustrated manuscript of the *Ara(Iyaka Parvan* in 1974. He was Chairman of the Book Selection Committee (Oriental) and the Journal and Publications Committee of our Society.

The Asiatic Society of Bombay honoured him with the Campbell Gold Medal for 1986-1989, and conferred on him Han. Fellowship of the Society in 1991 for his significant contribution to Art History.

Karl Khandalavala was honoured with the *Padma Sri* by the President of India. He was a recipient of the prestigious Dadabhai Naoroji Memorial Prize in 1965.

A leading authority on Indian art, with mastery equally over painting, sculpture and metal images, Karl Khandalavala had to his credit a large number of publications. His pioneering book on the painter Amrita Sher Gill is well known to contemporary artists. His work on the Pahari paintings is a major contribution to the subject.

Though an international figure and a busy person attending numerous national committees on art, Karl Khandalavala spared time for discussions with younger scholars and students. We miss his warmth and smile, and his friendly presence in seminars and lectures.

*Devangana Desai*

PROF. KANTA RANDIVE

(1925 - 1996)

With the passing away of Professor Miss Kanta Randive on April 16, 1996, by cerebral malaria in Mumbai, the life of a sober and rare scholar has come to an end. She was educated in Bombay, got her B.Se. in Mathematics and preferred to offer Economics for M.A. With her primary interest in study as well as research, she proceeded to Cambridge for her M.A. in Economics. She soon became the favourite student of the reputed Economist Prof. John Robinson and got confirmed in her Marxist values. After getting M.A. in Cambridge she returned to Mumbai, joined the Sydenham College of Commerce. Her teaching career in the Department of Economics of the University of Bombay was a highly successful one and earned a name for herself in the company of the then celebrated professors of Economics like Dr. Lakadawala, Dr. Dantwala and Dr. Brahmananda. Her lectures on the Theory of Value and Business Cycle were found to be revealing hidden truths in the science of economics in chiselled English. Her famous publications include "Income Distribution: The

Unsolved Puzzle" and "Accumulation Employment and Labour Aristocracy". She had a number of research papers published in reputed journals among which 'Political Economy of Garibi Hatao' (published in Economic & Political Weekly), 'Planning for Just Society' giving an appraisal of Nehru's contribution, as well as 'Town and Country' deserve special mention.

She had worked in the International Monetary Fund and was a visiting Fellow at the centre for Development Studies, Trivandrum. She was also a UGC National Professor and received the first Kasturiranga Memorial National Award instituted in Sept. 1978 on the occasion of the centenary celebrations of the 'Hindu'. The Asiatic Society of Bombay conferred on her the Hon. Fellowship of the Society in 1991. Very few people know that she was interested in music and had started by playing on sitar as well as playing a role in a drama during her college days. She was adept in cooking as well as embroidery. Being a true scholar, she shunned public meetings, nevertheless, her wide sympathies for mill-workers in Bombay made her appreciate and evaluate the role of leaders like Mr. Datta Samant. In other words, she lived a neat and tidy life marked by plain living and high thinking. May her soul rest in peace.

*M. D. Paradkar*

DR. GOVINDA SWAMYRAO GAI

(1917 - 1995)

Dr. G. S. Gai was born on 3rd March, 1917 at Bijapur in Karnataka State.

He passed his BA. (Hons.) with Sanskrit of Bombay University in 1939 and obtained PhD. Degree in 1943 in Linguistics for his thesis 'Historical Grammar of Old Kannada' based on inscriptions. He was the first student to obtain PhD. from the Deccan College Post Graduate Research Institute, Pune.

Dr. Gai joined the office of the Government Epigraphist and retired as Chief Epigraphist in 1976. During 1949-1955 he acted as Reader in Dravidian Linguistics and Assistant Director, Kannada Research Institute, Dharwad.

Dr. Gai visited Sri-Lanka in 1969 as a Government of India delegate to attend the second International Conference on Asian Archaeology and presided over the section on Epigraphy and Palaeography. In 1973 he visited Paris to attend the 29th International Congress of Orientalists and presided over

the session on Ancient History in Indian Section.

Dr. Gai had been Member/President of a number of academic organisations of State and Central Governments and Universities. He had participated in a number of seminars and conferences relating to History, Archaeology, Linguistics, Epigraphy and Indology in general.

Dr. Gai had edited from 1962- 1976, *Epigraphia Indica*, and Annual Reports on Indian Epigraphy and South Indian Inscriptions. He had published eight books and over a hundred research papers. Special mention may be made of his books - "South Indian Inscriptions" Vol. XX and "inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings."

The honours and awards Dr. Gai received include : The Rockefeller Foundation Fellowship for the year 1956-1957 . A Medal and a bronze plaque from the Myllic Society, Bangalore in 1973 for 'Meritorious work in the field of Epigraphy.' Honoured by Kannada Sahitya Parishat at Bijapur in 1973. Presentation of copper plate at Third Annual Congress at Udupi in 1977 by the Epigraphical Society of India. Honoured by the Government of Karnalaka at the centenary celebrations of the Directorate of Archaeology and Museums in 1985. Award of Rajyotsava Prasasti on the occasion of Rajyotsava celebration day in 1990. Presentation of Epigraphical Society at Tanjore in 1991. Honoured by the Kannada Sahitya Parishat at Koppal in 1993. Dr. Gai was the Chairman of the Editorial committee of the Kannada Dictionary undertaken by the Kannada Sahitya Parishat, Bangalore. He was appointed as Honorary Fellow of the Asiatic Society of Bombay in 1994.

In the passing away of Dr. G. S. Gai on 6th Feb. 1995, we have lost an eminent epigraphist.

*B V Shetti*

### FREDERICK JAMES MARSH

(1936 - 1995)

With the sudden death on 6th September 1995 of Frederick J. Marsh, Chief Conservation Officer at the India Office Library and Records, the field of international paper conservation has lost one of its most eminent specialists. Since 1962, when its Conservation Department was first established, Fred (as he was known to everyone) had been in charge, and he was due to retire in June this year.

Members of the Asiatic Society of Bombay will remember Fred, however,

as advisor, with Dr. O.P. Agarwal, of its own Conservation Laboratory, which was inaugurated by Shri. J.J. Bhabha on 30th November 1991. Less than two years earlier, Fred had been invited to Bombay by the Society. British Council assisted his visit, in February 1990. Fred not only examined the Society's collections, but he also presented an illustrated lecture on preservation techniques and held an open forum with Committee members and staff of the Library. In addition, he gave a one-day workshop on the "Conservation of Library Materials." It was as result of Fred's visit and that of Dr. O.P. Agarwal, Director General of the Indian Conservation Institute in Lucknow, that the Conservation project was launched. Guidelines for establishing the Laboratory were presented in their reports, and space in the basement was soon allotted for both the Conservation and Microfilming Laboratories. Although Fred was no stranger to India, this was his first visit to Bombay. It was also one that he greatly enjoyed, but sadly it was to be almost his last visit to India. He would have been justly proud of the way in which the Laboratories at the Asiatic Society are operating today.

Fred spent almost his entire career in the field of paper conservation. After leaving the army in 1956, he worked as a trainee craftsman at the Public Records Office in London. It was then that his interest in this subject really began. After joining the India Office Library and Records (then part of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office) specifically to set up and run the Conservation workshop and bindery, he underwent further training at the Victoria and Albert Museum, the British Museum and at the National Gallery in London.

In 1968-69, when the India Office Library and Records moved into Orbit House in Blackfriars Road (where it is still located), Fred again undertook the task of designing and equipping a completely new Conservation Department. It soon acquired a reputation for being a model workshop, and there would be a constant flow of visits from archivists, librarians and conservators to inspect the premises and the work in progress. With typical enthusiasm, Fred would show people around, proudly displaying the work of his colleagues. Trainees from other institutions, especially in India, Pakistan and Bangladesh, would also spend time in the department, learning under his expert guidance. At the same time, the conservation work at the India Office Library and Records was always demanding his attention and time. The volume of records, printed books, maps, letters, photographs, paintings, prints, illuminated and palm-leaf manuscripts, were among the many different categories of material all requiring the services of his department.

In 1984, Fred was promoted to Chief Conservation Officer. He was also on several of the specialist committees, including the International Institute for Conservation of Historic and Artistic works, of which he was also a Fellow, and the Institute of Paper Conservation, of which he was Vice-Chairman between 1976 and 1986. He also pioneered a number innovations in paper conservation

thai are in widespread use today. During the course of his career, he undertook many lecture tours to other overseas countries including Pakistan, Japan, Kenya, Portugal and the United States. His strength was in lecturing and especially in demonstrating conservation methods. He had a remarkable ability for explaining the most complex of preservation processes in simple practical terms. But perhaps above all, it was his enthusiasm for the subject that endeared and captivated people. His death is a tremendous loss not only to the conservation world, but also to his friends and colleagues by whom he was so deeply respected and admired.

*Pauline Rohatgi*



**TRANSUTERATION OF THE  
SANSKRIT AND ALIJD ALPHABETS**

अ	a ओ	au	इ	.....	th	म	.....	bh
आ	ā इ	k	इ		d	म		m
इ	i इ	kh	इ		dh	म		y
ई	i इ	g	इ	.....	n	र		T
उ	u इ	gh	त		t	व		l
ऊ	ū इ	ñ	व		th	व		"
ऋ	r इ	c	द		d	म		ś
ॠ	r इ	ch	ष	.....	dh	व		#
ऌ	l इ	j	न		n	म		s
ए	e इ	jh	प	.....	p	ह		h
ऐ	ai इ	ñ	फ		ph	ह		f
ओ	o इ	t	ब		b			
---	(Anusvāra)	m	x		(Jihvāmūliya)			h
	(Anunāsika)	m	)		(Upadhmanīya)			h
	(Visarga)	h	s		(Avagraha)	.....		

**TRANSLITERATION OF ARABIC AND  
ALUED ALPHABETS**

<b>ARABIC</b>						
ا	a ي	z	ق	q	--	j ore
ب	b س	s	ك	k	'	..... U OT 0
ت	t ش	h	J	l	'	ii
ث	lh س	#	ر	m	ی	i, e
ج	j ض	d	ن	n	و	ū, ō
ح	h ط	l	J	w	ی'	ai, ay
خ	kl ظ	z	ح	h	و'	..... au, ow
د	d ت	0.....	ي	y	silent t	..... h
ذ	dJ ت	Jh	ع			
ر	r ف	J	ه	a		
<b>PERSIAN</b>						
پ	P ع	Ch/i		zh	ک	

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