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Our Contributors

1. **Dr. Krishna S. Arjunwadkar,**
   Retd. Reader in Marathi,
   University of Bombay;
   Devangini, 1192, Shukrawar Peth,
   Subhash Nagar,
   Pune, 411 002.

2. **Smt. Carmel Berkson,**
   Red Shield House,
   30, Merriweather Road,
   Mumbai, 400 001.

3. **Dr. (Smt.) Sukumari Bhattacharji,**
   Retd. Prof., Sanskrit Department,
   Jadavpur University;
   293 A, N. S. C. Bose Road,
   Calcutta, 700 047.

4. **Dr. H. C. Bhayani,**
   Retd. Professor of Linguistics,
   Gujarat University, Ahmedabad;
   25/2, Vimanagar, Satellite Road,
   Ahmedabad, 380 015.

5. **Dr. (Smt.) Jaya Chemburkar**
   Retd. Lecturer, Sanskrit
   & Ancient Indian Culture Dept.,
   R. D. National College;
   5, Krishna Kunj,
   Paranjape Scheme 'B', Rd. 3,
   Hanuman Road, Vile Parle (E),
   Mumbai, 400 057.

6. **Dr. (Smt.) Devangana Desai,**
   1/30, Shanti, 19, Peddar Road,
   Mumbai, 400 026.

7. **Mr. T. N. Dharmadhikari,**
   Adiparna,
   42-43/63, United Western
   Society, Karve Nagar,
   Pune, 411 052.

8. **Dr. Nizamuddin S. Gorekar,**
   Prof. of Islamic, Urdu and
   Persian Studies, Asst. Director,
   Heras Institute of Indian
   History and Culture,
   St. Xavier's College, Mumbai;
   6/45, Bait-Ush-Sharaf,
   Bunder Road, Kalyan,
   Dist. Thane, 421 303.

9. **Dr. (Smt.) Mani Kamerkar,**
   Principal & Prof. of History
   & Director of College
   Development Council,
   S.N.D.T. University, Mumbai;
   29A, Laxmi Estate,
   Nagardas Road, Andheri (E),
   Mumbai, 400 069.

10. **Dr. V. M. Kulkarni,**
    Retd. Director of Languages,
    Maharashtra State, Mumbai,
    and Prof. of Sanskrit, Elphinstone
    College,
    Principal of Ismail Yusuf College;
    5, Suruchi Society,
    Dixit Road Extension,
    Vile Parle (East),
    Mumbai, 400 058.

11. **Prof. R. N. Misra,**
    Prof. & Head, Ancient Indian History,
    Culture & Archaeology,
    Jiwaji University,
    Gwalior, 474 011.

12. **Dr. S. G. Moghe,**
    Retd. Reader in Sanskrit,
    74-B, Tatya Gharpure Path,
    J.S.S. Road,
    Mumbai, 400 004.

13. **Dr. G. K. Pai,**
    Director, Ananthacharya
    Indological Research Institute,
    G. D. Somani School Bldg.,
    Cuffe Parade, Mumbai, 400 005.

14. **Prof. G. C. Pande,**
    Chairman, Museum Society
    of Allahabad;
    11, Balarampur House,
    Allahabad, 211 002.

15. **Dr. M. D. Paradkar,**
    Retd. Principal, Pendharkar
    College of Arts, Science &
    Commerce, Dombivali,
    New Shah Bldg., No. 4,
    Kataria Marg, Mahim,
    Mumbai, 400 016.

16. **Dr. (Smt.) Vanamala Parthasarathy,**
    Deputy Director, Ananthacharya
    Indological Research Institute;
    7, N. Dilwara, M. Karve Road,
    Mumbai, 400 021.

17. **Dr. N. B. Patil,**
    Retd. Director of Languages,
    Maharashtra State, Mumbai;
    A-37, Kamalpushpa,
    Bandra Reclamation,
    K. C. Marg,
    Mumbai, 400 050.

18. **Dr. (Smt.) Haripriya Rangarajan,**
    I.C.H.R. Fellow,
    RBI Governor's Bungalow,
    No. 5, M.L. Dahanukar Marg,
    Mumbai, 400 026.

19. **Dr. N. E. Sjoman,**
    728, 4 Ast. N.W.
    Calgary, T2N1 IPG
    Canada.

20. **Prof. Ajay Mitra Shastri,**
    Retd. Prof. & Head of the
    Department of Ancient
    Indian History, Culture &
    Archaeologcy, Nagpur Univ.;
    'Prachi', 23 Vidyavihar,
    Rana Pratap Nagar,
    Nagpur, 440 022.

21. **Shri B. V. Shetti,**
    Former Curator of Archaeology &
    Numismatics, Prince of
    Wales Museum, Mumbai;
    D4/304, Alaknanda, Lokgram,
    Kalyan (East), 421 306.

22. **Dr. (Smt.) Anila Verghese,**
    Head of the Dept. of History,
    Vice Principal, Arts,
    Sophia College,
    Bhulabhai Desai Road,
    Mumbai, 400 026.

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VEDIC HERITAGE OF A CLASSICAL SCRIPTURE

KRISHNA S. ARJUNWADKAR

Eminence of Bhāgavata-Purāṇa

The *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* (BP), extending over 18,000 verses, is the most popular of 18 Purāṇas, its popularity in Hindu tradition is evinced by the number of commentaries written on it, its spread all over India in written MSS and printed editions, translations, abbreviations, recasts, songs, *'Saptāha'* programmes, stage performances based particularly on the life of Kṛṣṇa that have evolved in India and abroad during past centuries with the BP as their direct or indirect basis. The only other text that compares favourably with the BP in this regard is the *Bhagavad-Gītā*. The cult of Kṛṣṇa popularized by the BP has now crossed the seas and, with a base in North America, emerged as an international movement. For the Kṛṣṇa cult, the BP is what the Bible is for Christianity, - nay, it is Kṛṣṇa incarnate, as admirers of BP believe - *pratyakṣaḥ kṛṣṇa eva hi*.[1] The BP, thus, occupies a unique position among works that are styled Purāṇas. It would, therefore, be fruitful to investigate the factors that have contributed to the rise of BP to such an enviable eminence.

Secret of the popularity of BP

The secret of the popularity of the BP lies in its unique capacity to synthesize qualities that are not usually found together. It synthesizes knowledge with devotion, myth with poetry, verse with prose, Vedic with classical, profound learning with emotion, head with heart. It is a veritable treasure-house of Subhāṣitas. The Tenth book *(skandha)* of the BP, the longest one in the work, is an epic on the life of Kṛṣṇa displaying a number of epic characteristics but not as ornate as the classical epics. In this context, it is worth noting that the BP employs as many as 20 odd metres including unusual and complex ones such as *sragviṇī, mattamayūra, kāmadā, nardaṭaka* and *pramāṇikā*. The BP is fond of employing at times a variety of metres in succession, – a device used by Kālidāsa in *Raghu.,* Canto 9. The whole of the Fifth Book is composed in ornate prose interspersed with verse that reminds one of the grand style of Bāṇabhaṭṭa and the structure of *campū* works. The BP is, indeed a rare amalgamation of a variety of features. It is this speciality of BP that has established it as a challenge to scholarship for centuries – Vide, *vidyāvatāṁ bhāgavate parīkṣā.*

'Fruit of the Veda tree'

I propose to focus in this paper on just one of its features, – the stock

it inherits from the Vedic literature. The BP draws upon the Vedic literature on the points of language, style and content. It does so with a conscious effort characteristic of Indian tradition which, even while introducing new elements, never cuts ties with the past. It is in this perfect Indian spirit that the BP declares itself to be 'the fruit of the Veda tree, fallen from the mouth of Śuka (also, parrot) and filled with nectar.'[2] (Note the pun on the word *Śuka* which stands for both, the first narrator of the BP, and the parrot, – an unmistakable sign of classical Sanskrit).

Vedic Heritage : Form

The vocabulary of the BP displays Vedic peculiarities frequently. The words *rāya, kṣulla, vayuna, urugāya, gopītha, urukrama, atho, kṣaya* (house), *vāśrā* (cow), *tata (= tāta,* vide *tatāmana, tatadruha)* etc. are instances of actual Vedic words borrowed by BP. Verbal derivatives that are known to classical Sanskrit as preceded by prepositions (e.g. *prajā*) are found in the Veda without prepositions (e.g. *jā*). This trait is found occasionally in the BP as in *(vidhi) ṣedhataḥ, (aho adharmaḥ) pālānām.* So also the trait of treating prepositions as elements independent of verbs (e.g. *durvacasā 'karot tiraḥ*). Radical forms of nouns ending in *an* are found to stand for Locative forms (e.g. *nirbhidya mūrdhan, ratir ātman, bhasman hutam;* Cp. *parame vyoman*). The use of *yat* to mean *yasmāt* in *yad bibheti svayaṃ bhayam* also deserves notice. Dative in the sense of Genitive (*tubhyam=tava*) is one more point in this context. Tendency of anaptyxis to make up metrical deficiency so common in Veda and noted also by Piṅgala *(tyādipūraṇaḥ)* is not uncommon in BP (e.g. *tanvā=tanuva, titīrṣuḥ=titīriṣuḥ, ahārṣīt=ahārasīt*). Looseness of syllabic structure patent with vedic metres is observed in BP here and there. At times, BP employs actual Vedic metres[3] instead of their classical representatives, to produce a desired effect, as does Kālidāsa in *Śākuntala,* 4. The BP has a liking for and ability to reproduce famous phrases and lines from the Veda, at times with partial changes or additions.[4]

Vedic Heritage : Content

As we penetrate deeper from the outer shell or linguistic and metrical peculiarities to the inner core of content, we come across many Vedic concepts and myths making their entries on the classical arena in the original or disguised forms. The concept of *tapas* as a pre-requisite for all achievements is an outstanding element the BP inherits from the Veda. Not only the devotees but also the antagonists of Nārāyaṇa perform rigorous austerities to achieve their ends. Dhruva and Hiraṇyakaśipu are the most popular instances that illustrate this point. The spiritual power of priests guarding the interests of their protagonists is as much a part of Purāṇic as of Vedic tradition. (Cp. Śukra and Bṛhaspati with Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra). Henotheism is of course there in the BP; besides it, the BP displays tendencies that may be styled

'monotheism' and 'ubiquitism.'[5] The BP pronounces the presence of one single God everywhere appearing in different forms depending upon the liking of the devotee. As a consequence, the same phraseology rooted in the Upaniṣads repeats in the glorifications of different deities.[6] Hymns in praise of deities occupy a substantial portion of the corpus of the BP.[7] Like the Vedic sages, the author of BP is fond of using metaphors, brief or sustained, at times sharing the style or riddles which remind the reader of Vedic *brahmodyas*.[8]

Nāmastotras

The most outstanding feature of Vedic heritage spread over the BP is an enumeration of the ephithets of a deity as a way of its glorification, a prototype of which is found in the portion from the Taittirīya Saṁhitā (Kāṇḍa 4) popularly called the *Rudrādhyāya*. The earliest echo of this device in classical literature is the *Viṣṇusahasranāma* in the *Mahābhārata*. Both *Rudrādhyāya* and *Viṣṇusahasranāma* are still popular all over India, and even form part of routine *pūjā* ritual. A revised form of this device is found in hymns that are classed as *kavacas*, which assign limbs of a devotee for protection to the deity praised, viewed in specific capacity or form as reflected in a specific epithet. The most popular of such hymns even today is the Rāmarakṣā-stotra of Budha-kauśika. Such hymns are also a feature of the relevant stock of the BP.[9]

Myths

Myths are the 'common wealth' of a people handed down from generation to generation, and as such they do occupy a sizeable space in the BP. But while some myths, — such as 'the Fish and the Deluge,'[10] the conflict of Indra and Vṛtra[11] are easily traceable to their Vedic sources, there are quite a few which demand a closer study to relate them to their sources. The myth of Dhruva,[12] for instance, points to the story of Naciketas in the Kaṭhopaniṣad as its source. Both the children are precocious and determined to achieve their objects at any cost. The most remarkable common feature of their stories is their triumpth over the god of Death.[13] It would be fruitful to investigate Purāṇic myths from this point of view.

Anti-Vedism In BP

It would be wrong, however, to conclude from these details that the BP is all out to glorify all that is Vedic. On the contrary, the BP sides with the Upaniṣads in pronouncing that Vedic ritual cannot lead to a worthwhile goal. But while the Upaniṣads emphasize knowledge, the BP emphasizes devotion, *bhakti*, as a means of the highest human goal. The very birth of the BP was an outcome of discontentment that made its author, Vyāsa, restless despite his academic achievements including a systematic arrangement of the Vedas, as the prologue of this work tells us. Nārada advised him to direct his talent

to the glorification of God in the perfect spirit of devotion; and the result was the BP. In Book Ten, there are several episodes aimed at establishing Kṛṣṇa as far superior to old Vedic heroes like Indra, and a total surrender to him as more fruitful than the performance of sacrifices. In the same Book, wives of sacrificers take food prepared for Brahmins to Kṛṣṇa and his cowherd playmates as a token of *bhakti*, not caring for how their husbands would take it. The episode of Govardhana mountain would be the most convincing proof of this attitude. BP describes in picturesque details the account of the devastation of Dakṣa's sacrifice by Śiva where Vedic deities like Pūṣan are ridiculed.[14] That is not all. Even in their defeat, Asuras like Bali and Vṛtra are shown as great devotees and far more dignified and worthy of respect than their defeater, Indra. This is an attitude which is totally opposed to that in the Brāhmaṇa literature in which gods are always shown in a favourable light. Emergence of Viṣṇu, a minor deity in the Veda, as the Supreme Being crowns this sustained attitude; and glorification of Viṣṇu/Kṛṣṇa by the Veda itself in Book Ten (Vedastuti) completes this process.

Bhaktl : in Vedas and in BP

The total upheaval of the Vedic pantheon in BP is marked by a simultaneous transformation of the concept of *bhakti*. In Veda, it is a give-and-take affair; in other words, a trade. Hymns of the Veda are songs in praise of deities who were asked in return to favour the devotee with wealth, progeny and foodstuff.[15] In the estimate of the BP, a devotee who approaches God with such an attitude is not a devotee, but a trader.[16] *Bhakti* is not a means to an end, but an end in itself; it is total fulfilment. A true devotee does not discriminate between man and man on any account. For him all the world is God.[17] It is this spirit that flows through the works of later saints like Jñāneśvara and Tukārāma who are inspired by BP. If the BP tops all other works of its class, it is in developing the concept of *bhakti* to the highest possible level. It is perhaps the highest stride taken by Indian thought ever since the Upaniṣads conceived of Brahman as an all-pervading impersonal principle and equated it with Ātman, the inner self. *Bhakti* as conceived by the BP is one of the heights Indian mind has scaled in the area of spiritual thought.

Conclusion

The BP, thus, *imitates* the Veda; it does not *re-echo* it. And imitation is possible only in respect of external aspects. In thought, however, the BP has closer ties with the Upaniṣads in total disagreement with their predecessors, the ritualists. The BP has imbibed the best that the Upaniṣads have discovered; but, not stopping at that, the BP, anxious to guide the common man along the spiritual path, has couched its teaching in a language and style that are not the privilege of the intelligentsia. This alone can explain the popularity

the BP enjoys in India for ages, and in the preserves of Christianity in recent times. For Bible, man is the child of sin, and life is meant for repentance. It was in the cult of Kṛṣṇa who, by His own example, shows how the life is to be lived, that the discontented Christian found an optimistic, positive attitude towards life. Life, according to BP, is a manifestation of God Himself, that can harmonize both, activity and knowledge, knowledge and emotion, pleasure and ultimate bliss. That is in brief the difference between the Bible and the Bhāgavata.

Notes and References

1. Bhāgavata-Purāṇa Māhātmya in *Padma Purāṇa* 6.30.

2. निगमकल्पतरोर्गलितं फलं शुकमुखादमृतद्रवसंयुतम् । BP 1.1.3.

3. अहो बत श्वपचोऽतो गरीयान् यज्जिह्वाग्रे वर्तते नाम तुभ्यम् ।
   तेपुस्तपस्ते जुहुवुः सस्नुरार्या ब्रह्मानूचुर्नाम गृणन्ति ये ते ॥ 3.33.7

   Cp. अमी वेदिं परितः क्लृप्तधिष्ण्याः ... Śākuntala 4.

4. Cp. BP 2.1.26-39 : Purāṇic version of the Puruṣa sūkta in RV. Also, BP 2.5 and 2.6 in parts.

   विष्णोर्नु वीर्यगणनां कतमोऽर्हतीह... 2.7.40 (Cp. विष्णोर्नु कं वीर्याणि प्र वोचं... RV. 1.154.1)

   तद् विष्णोः परमं पदम् 4.12.26, RV 1.22.20-21.

   यतोऽप्राप्य न्यवर्तन्त वाचश्च मनसा सह । 3.6.40 (Cp. यतो वाचो निवर्तन्ते... Taittirīya Upa. 2.4).

   मद्भयाद् वाति वातोऽयं सूर्यस्तपति मद्भयात् । 3.25.42 (Cp. भीषास्माद् वातः पवते... Taittirīya Upa. 2.8).

   सालावृकाणां स्त्रीणां च स्वैरिणीनां सुरद्विषः ।

   सख्यान्याहुरनित्यानि नूतं नूतं विचिन्वताम् ॥ 8.9.10 (Cp. न वै स्त्रैणानि सख्यानि सन्ति... RV 10.95.15).

   श्रुत्वा पर्जन्यनिनदं मण्डूका व्यसृजन् गिरः ।
   तूष्णीं शयानाः प्राग् यद्वद् ब्राह्मणा नियमात्यये ॥ 10.20.9 (Cp. संवत्सरं शशयाना... 7.103.1)

5. त्रयाणामेकभावानां यो न पश्यति वै भिदाम् ।
   सर्वभूतात्मनां ब्रह्मन्...॥ 4.7.54 also 4.7.26...

6. All *stutis/stotras*

7. Vide BP 1.9.32-34, 2.4.12..., 3.28.21-38, 3.33.2..., 4.7.26..., 4.9.6-17, 4.24 (ध्रुवगीत), 6.16. 34-48, 8. 3.... In this respect, Cp. हितोपदेश – कथाच्छलेन बालानां नीतिरन्तरिह कथ्यते ।

8. Vide 4.25 (पुरअनाख्यान) स एकदा.. रथं पञ्चाश्वमाशुगम् । द्वीषं द्विचक्रमेकाक्षं... ॥ 4.26.1.

   सत्यव्रतं सत्यपरं त्रिसत्यं... 10.2.26.

9. Vide नारायणवर्म 6, 8, also अव्यादजो... 10.6.22-29.

10. ब्रह्मोद्यs in Vedic literature.

11. Vide 6.11...

12. Vide 4.8...

13. मृत्योर्मूर्ध्नि पदं दत्वा आल्रोहादमृतं गृहम् । 4.12.30.

14. पूष्णश्रापातयद् दन्तान्... । 4.5.21.

15. नू नो गोमद् वीरवद् भेहि रत्नमुपो अश्रावत् पुरुभोजो अस्मे । RV 7.75.8.

16. यस्त आशिष आशास्ते न स भृत्य: स वै वणिक् । 7.10.4.

17. तज्जन्म तानि कर्माणि तदायुरतन्मनो वच: ।
      नृणां येनेह विश्वात्मा सेव्यते हरिरीश्वर: ॥ 4.30.9.
      नानेव दारुषु विभावसुवद् विभासि । 4.9.7.

THINKING WITH THE MYTH OF MAHIṢAMARDINĪ

CARMEL BERKSON

In the analysis of the myth of Mahiṣamardinī we are confronted with the perpetual interplay of a multileveled array of linkage, combinations and coalescences of motifs, themes and mythemes. Schemas are elusive, and no one definite order can be fixed. Oscillations are taking place all the time.

But we are not in an impossible situation either. In order to begin to penetrate into these dynamic fluctuations, we can bring a series of extreme polarities of a general nature under consideration - for example : **order/chaos; ego survival/self destruction.** Some fragments of the narrative will fit into some of these categories and at the same time will be associated with other opposites in other categories. For example : *Rambha practises austerities* (order) will be opposed to *Karambha is killed by Indra* (chaos) and *Rambha practises austerities* (ego survival) will be opposed to *Rambha attempts suicide* (self-destruction).

Extracting some polarities, we find that there is a tendency of the myth to synchronize and reconcile conflicting psychological conditions in a generally *sāttvika* oriented integration. While charting these tendencies works only as a start of the plunge into the complexities, it can serve as a map, guiding us into deeper levels. Scrutiny of the hint or attempt at reconciliation of one specific pair of associated polarities within one category of conditions and of its appearances elsewhere will suggest how qualities are jolted and propelled out of their temporarily fixed positions. And while the boundaries in the charts are merely arbitrary and do not reflect true conditions, they provide us with a temporary initial pegged framework within which to operate. But we can keep in mind that each fragment and each combined, melded polar component should be conceived as parts of loose reconstitutable clusters, which in turn interact with other clusters at important junctures.

Precis of the myth of Mahiṣamardinī[1]

The demon brothers, Rambha and Karambha, abandon each his barren wife to initiate long term austerities for the purpose of gaining sons. Fearing their power, in the shape of a crocodile, Indra kills Karambha. Rambha desires to commit suicide, but Agni prohibits this sin and offers a boon : Rambha may mate with any female of his choice. So he chooses Śyāmā, the buffalo cow with divine associations.

He and Śyāmā go happily to Pātāla to start married life, but their happiness is short lived. A wild buffalo lusts for Śyāmā when she is 'in her courses.' When Raṁbha tries to save her, he is killed by the stranger/buffalo, who in turn is killed by concerned yakṣas. Then Śyāmā dutifully commits suttee. Mahiṣa is born out of her sacrificial fires.

In another version, on being attracted to a female, a ṛṣi drops his seed into a rock. A demon-princess-turned-buffalo drinks water from the rock and subsequently gives birth to Mahiṣa *(Varāha Purāṇa)*.

As an adolescent, after severe austerities, Mahiṣa is promised a boon by Brahmā : he will not be killed by any male, implying that he would happily be killed by a female. Mahiṣa conquers the other demons, earth, and finally he evicts the gods from heaven. Mahiṣa becomes Indra, and the gods wander on earth until, having pooled their energies, they create the Devī *(Śrīmad Devī Bhāgavata Purāṇa)*.

She arrives on the scene. Mahiṣa falls in love with her and she encourages his attentions, while warring with his ministers. Finally, after a brief moment of friendship, with intimations of incestual attraction on both their parts, Mahiṣa and Devī enter into a protracted battle. She decapitates and makes of him a sacrifice. The gods are returned to heaven and the resurrected Mahiṣa is united with Devī in heaven. On earth a paradisiac era is initiated.

In other versions, the identity of Śiva and Mahiṣa is either hinted at or boldly announced. Śiva turns himself into a buffalo cow, mates with Raṁbha and gives birth to Mahiṣa *(Kālikā Purāṇa)*. Or Śiva is Devī's husband; or Mahiṣa is Devī's son.

For the purpose of this article, I must beg the reader's indulgence to bear with me concerning the relationships and events so briefly alluded to here. Some of the events in the charts do not appear in the precis. The scholarly apparatus for these assertions was offered in my recent publication : (*The Divine and Demoniac,* Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1995).

Charts follow on next page.

| 1 | OPPOSITES INTEGRATED |
| | ORDER/CHAOS |

associated opposites	opposites integrated
1) order : Karambha practises austerities	
	Karambha's nephew Mahiṣa defeats Indra
chaos : Karambha is killed by Indra in crocodile form	
2) order : Rambha practises austerities	
	they mate, but Śyāmā dies
chaos : Rambha is attracted to buffalo-cow	
3) order : Agni saves Rambha	
	Mahiṣa is born
chaos : Agni burns Śyāmā	
4) order : ṛṣis practise austerities	
	conception is immaculate
chaos : demoness/princess is seductive	
5) order : cow is divine	
	Agni purifies cow
chaos : cow is seductive	
6) order : Mahiṣa practises austerities	
	Mahiṣa's death ushers in paradisiac era
chaos : Mahiṣa lusts	
7) order : yakṣas maintain law and order	
	yakṣas kill buffalo stranger
chaos : buffalo stranger intrudes	

8)	order	:	Indra maintains cosmic order
			gods create Devī; order is restored
	chaos	:	Mahiṣa defeats Indra

9)	order	:	Devī creates, nourishes, protects
			Devī returns to Nirguṇa state
	chaos	:	Devī is wild, dangerous

10)	order	:	Mahiṣa is submissive; offers his life
			Mahiṣa dies, is resurrected
	chaos	:	Mahiṣa lusts for Devī

11)	order	:	Mahiṣa/Devī offer friendship, love
			Mahiṣa/Devī drink each other's blood
	chaos	:	Mahiṣa/Devī battle

2   OPPOSITES INTEGRATED
CREATION/DESTRUCTION

associated opposites	opposites integrated
1) creation : Śyāmā is sybaritic buffalo	
	austerities produce boon; birth of demon infant
destruction: Raṁbha withholds seeds	
2) creation : ṛṣi drops semen	
	Mahiṣa is born
destruction: ṛṣis are Brahmacārī	

3)	creation	:	buffalo-cow gives birth to Mahiṣa	
				buffalo-cow is purified in suttee fires
	destruction:		buffalo-cow is polluted	

4)	creation	:	suttee forbidden during pregnancy	
				Mahiṣa is born of fire of suttee
	destruction:		suttee urged for widows	

5)	creation	:	Mahiṣa is born	
				mother goes to heaven; father is resurrected
..,	destruction:		Śyāmā and Rambha are killed	

6)	creation	:	Mahiṣa survives death at birth	
				Mahiṣa and Mother Goddess are united
	destruction:		mother perishes as he is born	

7)	creation	:	Mahiṣa is born from ṛṣi's semen	
				buffalo-bull is rain, fertilizer, power
	destruction:		ejaculation into female fires is death	

8)	creation	:	blood is the life	
				Mahiṣa, Devī drink eachother's blood
	destruction:		battle for blood causes war	

9)	creation	:	earth Goddess gives birth to plants	
				earth gives life
	destruction:		earth requires blood for creation	

10) creation	Mahiṣa, Devī born of fire	
		seeds of rebirth are in ashes of cremation
destruction:	fire immolates Śyāmā;	

11) creation	:	head is seed	
			Devī acquires head of Mahiṣa
destruction:		head is enemy	

12) creation	:	phallus produces seed; buffalo is phallic	
			Devī kills Mahiṣa and she gains his head
destruction:		Devīs trident and toe are phallic	

3   OPPOSITES INTEGRATED
FEMALE/MALE

associated opposites			opposites integrated
1) female	:	Rambha's wife is barren	
			Rambha practises austerities; receives boon
male	:	Rambha hopes for progeny	
2) female	:	Śyāmā is available cow	
			Rambha marries Śyāmā; Mahiṣa is born
male	:	Rambha is brahmacārī demon king	
3) female	:	Mahiṣmati, Diti's daughter is seductive	
			they mate; Mahiṣa is born
male	:	Ṛṣis practise austerities	

4)	female	:	god Śiva is buffalo cow	
				Śiva mates with Rambha; Mahiṣa is born
	male	:	Rambha is Brahmin demon king	
5)	female	:	Śyāmā is sybaritic	
				Śyāmā goes to heaven; buffalo stranger is killed
	male	:	buffalo stranger lusts for Śyāmā	
6)	female	:	Devī is seductive	
				Devī/Mahiṣa characteristics are merged
	male	:	Mahiṣa lusts for Devī	
7)	female	:	śaktis battle demons; are sybaritic	
				battle is orgiastic festival
	male	:	demons battle śaktis	
8)	female	:	Śiva is limp of limb	
				Mahiṣa is Śiva; merges with Devī in heaven
	male	:	Durgā wields trident	
9)	female	:	Devī is friendly; battles fiercely	
				in heaven Devī and Mahiṣa are worshipped jointly
	male	:	Mahiṣa lusts for Devī; battles fiercely	
10)	female	:	Mahiṣa's head has vaginal wound	
				they are united in heaven
	male	:	Devī takes the head	

4   OPPOSITES INTEGRATED
                                 SON/FATHER
                               BROTHER/FATHER

associated opposites			opposites integrated
1.	son	: demon king Karambha propitiates Indra	
			Agni saves Rambha from suicide; offers boon
	father	: in crocodile form Indra slays Karambha	
2)	son	: demons steal power of gods	
			power is transferable entity, binding all
	father	: ṛsis steal power of gods	
3)	brother	: Rambha and Mahiṣa defeat demons	
			demons become Mahiṣa's ministers
	father	: demons battle Rambha, Mahiṣa	
4)	son	: Rambha wishes to exchange roles with Śiva	
			Śiva is Mahiṣa
	father	: Śiva becomes buffalo-cow, wife of Rambha	
5)	son	: buffalo stranger is proxy for Mahiṣa	
			Rambha is resurrected
	father	: Rambha is killed by buffalo stranger	
6)	son	: Mahiṣa battles Indra	
			Mahiṣa becomes Indra
	father	: Indra battles Mahiṣa	

7)	son	:	Mahiṣa is god	
				·all are sons of Devī
	father	:	gods are infants	

8)	son	:	Mahiṣa symbolically castrates Śiva	
				Mahiṣa is Śiva
	father	:	Śiva sires Mahiṣa	

9)	son	:	Gajāsura, son of Mahiṣa, battles Śiva	
				Gajāsura becomes Śiva
	father	:	Śiva offers boon	

5   OPPOSITES INTEGRATED
SON/MOTHER

associated opposites				opposites integrated
1)	son	:	priests of devotee sacrifices cow	
				consecration; lamentation; apologies; sacrifice
	mother	:	divine cow is immolated	
2)	son	:	son is demon, king or god	
				son is demon, buffalo, human, god
	mother	:	mother is buffalo, princess, a virgin, divine	
3)	son	:	Mahiṣa is born of Śiva as cow	
				Rambha displaces Śiva
	mother	:	Śiva as buffalo cow is mother of Mahiṣa	

4)	son	:	Mahiṣa feels guilt and shame as defence	
				self sacrifice of austerities relieves guilt and shame
	mother	:	mother/son symbiosis in womb	
5)	son	:	austerities release Mahiṣa's aggression	
				Mahiṣa offers his head to Devī
	mother	:	Devī is seductive	
6)	son	:	Mahiṣa is rejected by mother Goddess	
				after sacrifice she calls Mahiṣa Śiva
	mother	:	Goddess is seductive	
7)	son	:	Mahiṣa wishes to marry Devī	
				Mahiṣa and Devī meet for an instant of friendship
	mother	:	Devī insults Mahiṣa	
8)	son	:	Mahiṣa is transformed into elephant, buffalo	
				Devī and Mahiṣa's traits are merged
	mother	:	Devī acts like a beast	
9)	son	:	Mahiṣa dreams his head is feminized	
				Devī and Mahiṣa are hermaphrodites
	mother	:	Devī is male; attacks with trident	
10)	son	:	Mahiṣa is god, human, animal victim	
				Devī and Mahiṣa are united in heaven
	mother	:	Devī is executioner	

6 OPPOSITES INTEGRATED
DIVINITY/ANIMAL-DEMON

associated opposites			opposites integrated
1. divinity	:	Indra is god	Indra roams earth
animal-demon	:	Indra is crocodile, bull; hides in horse	
2) divinity	:	cow is Goddess	Śyāmā gives birth to Mahiṣa (animal, human)
animal-demon	:	Śyāmā is buffalo-cow	
3) divinity	:	ṛsis practise austerities	ṛṣi mates with buffalo-cow
animal-demon	:	demonesses or buffalo-cows	
4) divinity	:	Śiva is god	son Mahiṣa is demon, animal, human, god
animal-demon	:	Śiva as buffalo-cow mates with demon king	
5) divinity	:	Devī is Goddess	Devī is śakti (energy)
animal-demon	:	Devī behaves like wild beast; is asurī	
6) divinity	:	Mahiṣa is god; divine sacrifice	in death Mahiṣa ushers in paradisiac era
animal-demon	:	Mahiṣa is animal sacrifice	

7   EGO SURVIVAL, HUBRIS/SELF-DESTRUCTION

associated opposites		opposites integrated
1) ego survival, hubris	: Rambha practises austerities	
		Rambha acquires boon, wife, son
self-destruction	: Rambha attempts suicide	
2) ego survival, hubris	: Śyāmā marries	
		Mahiṣa is born
self-destruction	: Śyāmā commits suttee	
3) ego survival, hubris	: Mahiṣa practises austerities	
		Mahiṣa is united with Devī
self-destruction	: Mahiṣa asks to be killed by female	
4) ego survival, hubris	: Mahiṣa and Indra challenge eachother	
		Indra, Mahiṣa are punished
self-destruction	: each suffers overdose of hubris	
5) ego survival, hubris	: Mahiṣa plunges into battle with Devī	
		he is sacrificed, resurrected
self-destruction	: he forgets terms of boon	

8 OPPOSITES INTEGRATED
LOVE/STRUGGLE
SEX/VIOLENCE

associated opposites			opposites Integrated
1)	love	: devotees worship gods	gods offer boons
	struggle	: gods fear loss of power	
2)	love	: Mahiṣmati provokes ṛṣi	Mahiṣmati drinks ṛṣi's seeds
	struggle	: ṛṣi curses Mahiṣmati to be buffalo-cow	
3)	love	: Śyāmā/Rambha marry	Śyāmā commits suttee and rises to heaven
	struggle	: cow polluted with menstrual blood is dangerous	
4)	love	: Śyāmā/Rambha marry	Mahiṣa is killed by Devī; joins her in heaven
	struggle	: buffalo stranger, kills Rambha	
5)	love	: Śyāmā is pregnant	Mahiṣa is born out of fire of suttee
	struggle	: Śyāmā chooses suttee over infant	
6)	sex	: buffalo stranger lusts for Śyāmā	Śyāmā's sybaritic attributes punished
	violence	: Rambha is killed in her defence	

7) love   :   Mahiṣa yearns for
                    comfort of womb

                                                Mahiṣa unites with Devī after
                                                death

    struggle :   Mahiṣa struggles to
                    separate

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8) love   :   Mahiṣa loves Devī

                                                he becomes the sacrifice that
                                                saves the world

    struggle :   Mahiṣa battles Devī

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9) love   :   in sanctum, Devī is bride
                    in red; red blood of
                    wedding night

                                                Devī drinks Mahiṣa's blood for
                                                energy

    struggle :   in sanctum, red blood of
                    decapitation

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10) sex   :   buffalo head, horn, Devī's
                    toe, trident are phallic

                                                Devī keeps head and horns at
                                                her feet

    violence: horn, toe, trident are
                    weapons

---

11) sex   :   festival mimetic orgiastic
                    rites
                             .
                                                devotees are revitalized

    violence: re-enactment of battle at
                    festival

9	OPPOSITES INTEGRATED VICTIM/SLAYER	

associated opposites		opposites integrated
1) victim	: Rambha is potential victim	
		Agni saves Rambha; offers boon
slayer	: Rambha plans suicide	
2) victim	: Śyāmā perishes	
		Śyāmā goes to heaven; Mahiṣa is born
slayer	: Śyāmā plunges into fires	
3) victim	: Karambha is killed by Indra as proxy	
		victim returns to avenge his death
slayer	: Rambha fantasizes killing Karambha	
4) victim	: demons submit to Mahiṣa	
		demons become Mahiṣa's ministers and his army
slayer	: Mahiṣa defeats brother demons	
5) victim	: Śiva becomes wife	
		Śiva is Mahiṣa
slayer	: Rambha wishes to become Śiva	
6) victim	: Goddess' līlā as would be bride	
		after death Mahiṣa joins Goddess
slayer	: demons 'will tie her down with ropes'	

7) victim : Karaṁbha, Raṁbha
are murdered

                                    Karaṁbha returns to avenge;
                                    Raṁbha is reborn

  slayer : Indra kills Karaṁbha;
buffalo stranger kills
Raṁbha

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8) victim : Mahiṣa is sacrificed in
battle

                                      as sacrifice Mahiṣa is
                                      worshipped with Goddess

  slayer : Mahiṣa is god;
receives sacrifices

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9) victim : śaktis lose blood in
battle

                                      Mahiṣa and Goddess exchange
                                      blood

  slayer : Mahiṣa wounds śaktis

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10) victim : Mahiṣa, ministers are
slain

                                      paradise on earth; Devī and
                                      Mahiṣa are united

  slayer : Devī conquers demons

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11) victim : human, animal

                                      sacrificer merges with victim

  slayer : sacrificer

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12) victim : Indra enters sacrificial
horse

                                      Indra receives sacrifices

  slayer : Indra sacrifices horse

Notes and References

1. This is a short synopsis of the myth, as recorded in :

   Caṇḍīśataka : by Bāṇa.

   Devī Māhātmya, Chapters 2 and 3.

   Kālikā Purāṇa, Sec. 4, Chapter 62, vv. 140-142.

   Śrīmad Devī Bhāgavatam : Book V, Chapter 2 through Chapter 18.

   Vāmana Purāṇa : Chapter 18, v. 42-72; Chapter 19, v. 1-20;
   Chapter 20, v. 1-44; Chapter 21, v. 1-49.

   Varāha Purāṇa : Chapter 28, v. 2; Chapter 95, v. 1-56.

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THE CONCEPT OF TRUTH IN THE RĀMĀYAṆA

SUKUMARI BHATTACHARJI

Apart from being 'the quality of being true', truth also means' the character of being, of disposition to be, true to a person, principle, cause, etc.' (Shorter Oxford Dictionary). So, truth has reference to two persons or a person and a cause or principle. This cause or principle may appear through a human relationship entailing 'fidelity, loyalty, constancy, steadfast allegiance', (op. cit.).

In the *Rāmāyaṇa* truth can be studied under three main heads : societal, familial and cosmic, and we propose to treat them in that order. Rāma claims to be a truthful person on several occasions.[1] As a hero of the epic he claims to be utterly loyal to the principle of truth, hence the epic is clearly concerned with truth.

The first time when societal truth laid a claim was when Vaśiṣṭha requests Daśaratha to lend him the services of the young prince Rāma for the destruction of monsters who were ruining his sacrifices. As a king, Daśaratha was particularly obliged to protect sages in his kingdom; sages belonged to a specially honoured category of subjects. Filial affection stood in the way of Daśaratha's discharging his duty as a king : "Rāma is too 'young'", he pleaded, after his initial promise to Viśvāmitra to oblige him. Not sending Rāma would constitute a breach of truth, argued the sage, so finally Daśaratha sent Rāma with Viśvāmitra; Lakṣmaṇa accompanied his brother voluntarily.[2] Daśaratha honoured his commitment to societal truth after an inner struggle.

The second occasion when the societal truth is evaluated in the epic is when Rāma's coronation is proposed. Daśaratha wished to rush it through when his second son Bharata was at his. mother's family-home, away from Ayodhyā. Rāma was the eldest son, the law of the land demanded that he be crowned as prince regent. Besides, Rāma had so far borne an exemplary character, and was the darling of all the people.

Preparations for the coronation were on when the second queen Kaikeyī's maid reminded her that earlier, when the King had been injured in a military encounter, Kaikeyī, his favourite queen had nursed him back to health, the King had promised to give her two boons. 'Now was the time', asserted Mantharā, the maid, 'to hold the King to his promise' : with the first boon she should ensure Rāma's banishment to the forest for fourteen years and with the second she should secure Bharata's coronation.' Faced with the incontrovertible proof of his promise on the eve of the coronation of his

favourite son, the King was deeply perplexed. On the one hand was his obligation to keep his promise,[3] on the other hand was the greater obligation of observing the time-honoured convention of primogeniture. Even Kaikeyī was aware of the undeniable moral force of the custom of primogeniture. On hearing of the impending coronation she had felt happy and had refuted Mantharā's suggestion with sound logic and moral values.[4] Daśaratha also reasoned with Kaikeyī saying that Rāma was dearer to him than she was and he firmly refused to part with him.[5] He also said that he could not agree to her proposal lest unrighteousness should touch him.[6] After a long altercation with Kaikeyī, Daśaratha who had stood for the greater, more comprehensive and morally more binding truth finally yielded to the wicked pleading of Kaikeyī. Had the henpecked king anticipated something of the nature of her demands, and fearing such a predicament had sent Bharata away so that he could conduct the coronation unhindered in a surreptitious manner ?

Here was a societal obligation, the king's duty to his subjects, his 'satya', an unexpressed vow which had been honoured through long convention. Daśaratha not only failed Rāma, he failed Kauśalyā who had an undisputed claim to become the dowager queen. But most significantly, Daśaratha failed his subjects of a rightful crowned prince. In the process Daśaratha failed his own conscience, his 'satya', truth was indelibly tarnished. "Daśaratha... sees it as his duty to keep his promise to Kaikeyī : what he does not see is that he is thereby infringing his duty to protect the defenceless from arbitrary tyranny, to give his people the best available ruler and not to make rash vows."[7]

Rāma, on the other hand, keeps his father's truth saying that he wished his father's truth to remain untarnished,[8] and he pays a heavy price for it. He foregoes his claim to the throne, his right to an easy and luxurious conjugal life in the palace and leaves for the forest. Sītā had not been banished but her sense of truth, the marriage vow to share whatever good or evil befell Rāma, prompted her to accompany him for a long period a hardship and privation. And as so often happens in such situations, there was an innocent victim; Lakṣmaṇa, whose own private truth to himself so tied him in an indissoluble bond to serve this elder brother in adversity, that he voluntarily resigned conjugal love and a life of luxury and followed Rāma and Sītā to the forest. He honours an unspoken code of fraternal truth.

When the trio reached the banks of the Sarayū, Rāma's low born Caṇḍāla friend Guhaka met them and offered hospitality, Rāma declined the offer, saying they would from now on live on fruits and roots, so Guhaka could offer fodder to the chariot-horses. There is an element of untruth here : first, Guhaka could easily bring a recluse's food to them, and secondly, in the forest Rāma did accept hospitality at several sages' hermitages. One wonders if Rāma

declined the offer because Guhaka was a Caṇḍāla.

When on his return to Ayodhyā, Bharata learnt of the disasters that had befallen his family, he harshly upbraided his mother and, after performing the father's funeral rites set out to expiate from his mother's guilt. He humbly begged for forgiveness from Rāma for the mischief that his mother had committed and offered the throne to Rāma because it rightfully belonged to him since primogeniture was a hallowed practice in their family.[9] In this gesture Bharata was seeking to be true to the norms of righteous social conduct. Then Rāma countered his arguments with, 'long ago, when our father wedded your mother, the contract with her father was that the throne should go to her son.'[10] So there was another earlier promise entailed in this; hence truthfulness on Rāma's part demanded that Daśaratha's promise to the Kekaya king be fulfilled. 'Truth' here has many ramifications, yet a King's obligation to the subjects - a societal norm should have superseded these other personal promises.

Bharata reigns nominally in the place of Rāma. Instead of enjoying the throne and palace life, he placed Rāma's sandals on the throne and lived like a mendicant.[11] He keeps his truth; he believed that in the Ikṣvāku family primogeniture was a convention sanctified through long practice, deviating from it would tarnish his conscience and he would be untruthful as a scion of his line.[12]

Before the three settled down to forest life, Jābāli, a non-conformist sage rebuked Rāma because he had acted on the convention of the son's obligation to keep a father's promise. Rāma, he said, should have pressed for his rightful claim to the throne. But Rāma disagreed with Jābāli and steadfastly stuck to his notion of truth viz. it is the son's duty to keep the father's vow.[13] Rāma agreed and steadfastly maintained that he was obliged to fulfil his father's vow since he was truthful and had taken oath to keep the truth.[14]

Towards the end of their exile Sītā was abducted by Rāvaṇa. Rāma had made friends with the monkey king Sugrīva whose elder brother Vālin had usurped his throne and abducted his wife Tārā. In order to trace Sītā and regain her, Rāma needed the help of Sugrīva's monkey force. But first he must cement the friendship with an act of assistance viz. kill Vālin and restore Sugrīva's throne and spouse to him. Rāma and Sugrīva pledged, with fire as witness, to help each other in need.[15] This also was a form of societal truth. The monkey brothers looked so similar, that when they fought, Rāma could have slain his friend mistaking him for Vālin. So they agreed upon a distinguishing mark and Rāma, hiding behind a tree killed Vālin. The very use of this subterfuge proves that Rāma could not have killed Vālin in a face-to-face fight. Before he died, Vālin mentioned several points of unrighteousness in Rāma's conduct which Rāma sought to refute with extremely feeble arguments and which were basically untrue; he said that he represented

Bharata's government and had punished Vālin for abducting Sugrīva's wife. This was not so, especially, because Vālin was the ruler of the Kiṣkindhyā forest. Vālin countered Rāma's statement saying that kṣatriyas hunt for meat hence he had killed Vālin, as a prey.

Vālin rightly pointed out that monkey meat was inedible. Vālin's words proved that Rāma had acted in an untruthful and cowardly manner. Rāma had promised to help Sugrīva now, and he fulfilled his promise so that Sugrīva would help him find Sītā.

During their stay in the forest, Śūrpaṇakhā saw Rāma, became enamoured of him and begged him to have her. Rāma refused her on the ground that he was already married, and pointing to Lakṣmaṇa said that she could have his younger brother who was handsome, righteous, heroic and a bachelor.[16] This was a blatant lie and a cruel lie at that; Lakṣmaṇa, though married was voluntarily foregoing his conjugal life out of affection and loyalty to Rāma. Though spoken in jest, the words have a cruel ring, more so because they were false.

After the abduction of Sītā, when the two brothers were looking for her they found the bird Jaṭāyu, a friend of their father's who told them whither Rāvaṇa had taken her. He had tried to rescue Sītā but could not prevail against the mighty monster who left him badly mauled. After talking to the two brothers Jaṭāyu died. Here is an instance of the noblest concept of truth which a man pledges to himself; he redeemed the pledge with his life. It is an unspoken vow to do the right thing by a friend, a truth which has no witness, no reference to any other person, it only concerns a man's own conscience to which he could not be false.

The battle in Laṅkā was fought and won, Rāma ordered Sītā to appear before the court. When she came, he insulted her in front of the assembled court saying that he did not believe that Rāvaṇa had not molested her and he, a scion of the noble Ikṣvāku line could not possibly take back a sullied wife.

With this we enter the domain of conjugal truth, an aspect of familial truth. The two, however, are not always mutually exclusive, and in many instances they overlap. As in the first instance of the palace intrigue, the issues involved are as much societal as familial; the king and his subjects, and at the same time father and son, husband and wife. But there the predominant issue was the broader societal truth which a monarch is pledgebound to fulfil so that he could be true to his subjects.

Insulted before the entire court, in deep chagrin and agony Sītā had a pyre built and lit, she then performed a 'satyakriyā', an act of truth. Before entering the fire she bowed to her elders and said, 'As my heart never moves

away from Rāghava, so may the Fire-god, the witness of the whole world protect me. As Rāghava regards me, a woman of pure character, as an unchaste woman, may the Fire-god, etc. etc.! As I have never transgressed against Rāma in deed, thought or word, may the Fire-god, the Sun-god, Wind-god, the directions, the Moon, dusk, evening and night, the Earth herself and all others know me to be of a pure conduct.[17] When she was about to enter the fire Indra appeared, and chastised Rāma, saying, 'How can you be indifferent when Sītā is entering the fire, how can you behave like a common man towards her ?'[18] The Fire-god appeared with Sītā in his arms and returned her to Rāma.[19] Then Rāma said that he had known that Sītā was wholly devoted to him. This, however, is not true, for, even before he insulted her, the text says that he was about to speak out what lay in his mind.[20] In public Rāma said that he had suffered Sītā to enter the fire in order to convince the three worlds.[21] This, however, constitutes a prevarication, since there, in Laṅkā there was no point in convincing the monsters, the monkeys and he himself had known from the eye-witness Hanūmat that Sītā was perfectly chaste and so did Lakṣmaṇa. So Rāma did what he did simply to quell his own suspicions regarding Sītā's chastity.

Later, when Ayodhyā people expressed their doubts regarding Sītā's righteousness, Rāma confessed that he would willingly part with his life, his brothers, *not to speak of Sītā*, out of his fear of public calumny.[22] This statement goes against a man's obligation to his wife : the groom accepts certain responsibilities with the marriage vow and to be willing to cast the wife out (more easily than the brothers) is transgression against the truth of that vow. Rumours against Sītā's character snow-balled and Rāma decided to abandon his pregnant wife in the forest and commissioned Lakṣmaṇa to leave her there. He used a subterfuge and told Sītā that he was sending her to visit the old spots of sylvan beauty for which she in her pregnancy-wish had expressed her hankering. This also was a cruel lie to an innocent wife, a breach of conjugal truth which tarnished Rāma's character. Sītā, when she learnt the truth of Rāma's decision told Lakṣmaṇa in deep anguish to carry a message to Rāma, ''tell that king steadfast in righteousness, though you really know Sītā to be pure, devoted to you and your well-being, Yet O hero, I am abandoned by you, so scared are you of public rumour!"[23] Rāma's deception of Sītā, his failure to act according to the light of his moral truth becomes palpably clear.

A brahmin's son died a premature death and the scriptures state that when such unnatural things happen, the king goes to hell.[24] Śambūka, a Sūdra was found practising stiff penance with the aim of reaching heaven with his mortal body. Even as he was speaking, Rāma cut his head off. The gods showered blossoms on Rāma and said that because of Rāma's action the Sūdra could not go to heaven.[25] The gods' words prove that

had Rāma not killed him, the Śūdra could actually have gone to heaven. As a king, Rāma was obliged to protect subjects, especially those who practise penance. So by this act he tacitly admitted that the lives of different castes had relative worth and a brahmin boy's life was more precious than a śūdra's hence Śambūka had to be slain. So, on one count at least he failed in his royal obligation to protect one "low-born" mendicant's life.

Rāma performed a horse-sacrifice and had a golden figure of Sītā made for the occasion. At the sacrifice Sītā's twin sons, Lava and Kuśa sang the song of Rāma and Sītā as Vālmīki had composed and taught them. People assembled at the venue of the sacrifice and took notice of the boys' song. So did Rāma, who, when he learnt their identity, sent for Sītā, ordering her to come and prove her chastity in front of all the guests. Vālmīki accompanied her to the venue and before Sītā said or did anything he said to Rāma in front of the crowd, "I am tenth in order of descent from (The god) Pracetas. I do not remember ever having told a lie. These two are, indeed, your own sons. I have practised stiff penance for many thousands of years; may I never enjoy the fruits of that penance if Sītā is tainted. I have never done any evil in mind, deed or words, may I enjoy the fruit of this, only if Sītā is unblemished."[26] This was a 'satyakriyā', an act of truth; Vālmīki invoked the unseen heavenly powers to vindicate his testimony to Sītā's chastity, and agreed to forego the merit of his penance and righteousness if Sītā was not chaste. This act of truth, as we shall see later, was between Vālmīki and certain supernatural powers.

In her turn Sītā performed another 'satyakriyā'. Facing the large audience of sacrificial guests she took her vow: "As I have never even thought of a man other than Rāma, so let the Goddess Earth give me shelter. As in my mind, deeds and words I have ever been devoted to Rāma, so let the goddess... As I speak the truth when I say that I know no other man than Rāma, so let..."[27] Even as she was uttering these words, there rose a divine throne from under the earth, the goddess Earth seated on it embraced Sītā and welcomed her with endearing words and placed her on the throne.[28] The throne disappeared, the earth closed in and Rāma at first furiously angry with the goddess Earth, commanded her to return Sītā or he would destroy the earth, mountains, forests all;[29] later he mourned the loss of Sītā.

Analysing the three acts of truth, the first by Sītā at Laṅkā, the second by Vālmīki at the sacrificial venue and the third by Sītā at the same place, we find that in all three instances supernatural agents are invoked, directly by Sītā and indirectly by Vālmīki. And to Sītā the gods appeared and vindicated her, and we feel assured that Vālmīki would enjoy the fruits of his long penance as Sītā's chastity was proved by Prthivī obliging her and removing her under the earth as she had prayed.

(2)

What is a 'Satyakriyā' ? In the Ṛgveda we find a verse where Vaśiṣṭha had apparently been called a monster, to which he replies, saying, 'if I am a monster may I die this very day.'[30] This is an indirect invocation to Yama, the god of death to take his life if he was not a man but a monster. This tradition continued through the Buddhist literature and down to the epics.

In the *Rāmāyaṇa*, in three instances, satyakriyā is performed by innocent people. Sītā invoked the gods in Laṅkā and the gods came down to vindicate her chastity. Vālmīki does not mention any god's name but sends an appeal to the divine supervisors of right and wrong and incidentally his position is vindicated when Sītā's chastity is testified by Pṛthvī's action.

What is the basis of the satyakriyā ? People believed that if their conduct was pure, the overseers of truth i.e. the powers in the upper world, when supplicated would testify to it. This position presupposes (a) the existence of supernatural agents who (b) oversee human conduct and (c) are prepared to vindicate piety or chastity. Behind all this is the assumption that there are divine agents who discriminate between good and bad conduct.

As early as the Ṛgveda we have the concept of Ṛta, the power that upholds the universe, the macrocosm. 'Ṛta is the boundary of creation which all nature observes.'[31] 'Through Ṛta nature proves in an orderly manner, the heavenly bodies are kept in their fixed orbits.'[32] 'Ṛta is the firm fundamental law inherent in nature.'[33] S. Hooker's *Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical polity*[33] presents a similar concept of a law linking the functions of the sun, moon and planets, of the rotation of the seasons, this is the ultimate power that controls the universe. Paul Radin defines this power as ''a supreme deity, wholly beneficent, omnipotent and omniscient... the world in its minute details regarded as his work.''[34]

In the *Theogony* Hesiod presents Ouranos as the supreme divine power that controls the universe. Ouranos' opposite number in the Vedas is Varuṇa, frequently addressed as *samrāj*, emperor[35] as king of the gods.[36] The Avestan Varana is the all-embracing sky; he is Asura Visvavedas, the mighty all - knower; the sky-god is naturally the all-seer, as the sky oversees all earth. ''Ṛta the ethical concept most intimately associated with Varuṇa in the *ṚV* as... in its Avestic form Ṛta/aša, a central concept of Zoroastrian religion.''[37] Hence Varuṇa was the lord of ṛta and dharma[38] the moral overseer. Dharma and ṛta are Varuṇa's domain.

Varuṇa's overlordship of the ethical world necessarily involved punishing the evil-doer. RV VIII : 86 is a whole hymn devoted to prayers for forgiveness for sins of drink, dice, temper and *falsehood*. RV VII:88:5 prays for the absolution for flouting dharman, Varuṇa's immutable ordinances are mentioned. The

Saṃhitās[39] mention Varuṇa as the executor of recompense, when pleased, he frees offenders from his noose, releases them from all evil,[40] he also catches a man in his lies.[41]

The power that endows Varuṇa with supremacy in the ethical world is ṛta, 'by ṛta men cross iniquity as by a boat, and they are also caught unawares in Varuṇa's noose. Ṛta is synonymous with dharma, righteousness and there are prayers for absolution from the sin of flouting dharma. So, in Varuṇa we have the nearest approximation of a moral supervisor of the universe, who discriminates between truth and untruth, ṛta and anṛta.[42] 'Together with Mitra, Varuṇa is the keeper of ṛta in the highest heaven.'[43] The supremacy of this moral governor of the universe gradually diminishes until he is relegated to the minor role of the lord of the waters. But the concept of his function is too vital to diminish; so, in later literature the entire pantheon takes over Varuṇa's role as discriminator between good and evil and also as punisher of the evil-doer.

Thus in the concept of moral justice being operative in the collective pantheon, man had an assurance of justice from above. If his sins are punished, his righteousness would necessarily be vindicated. This belief prompted 'satyakriyā', and the *Rāmāyaṇa* testified to the truth of this belief. The supreme power, gods, or divine agents who uphold the universe do so because essentially they are just. Their claim to moral authority rests on ṛta, dharma, truth.

Now, truth is not a wholly abstract, isolated concept; it has two referents. i.e. persons or groups. When a man or woman performs satyakriyā the points of reference are the person and the gods, this is a manifestation of cosmic truth; in other words, a person's truth or veracity is borne out by the overlords of the universe. At a level lower than this is the societal truth, this is based on certain expressed or unexpressed contracts between an individual and the society. The individual has an obligation to adhere to the norms of society, which when not coded in a corpus are still collectively repeated and adhered to as the truths which hold society together. If any one flouts them, society outlaws him. If such evil-doers wield power they may escape social ostracism but are still regarded as transgressors of the social norm. Daśaratha's and Kaikeyī's conduct, or Rāma's when he kills Vālin clandestinely, Rāvaṇa's conduct towards Mārīca whom he incites to commit a crime are cases in point, they represent breaches of societal truth.

Subsumed under the societal norms is the familial norm which holds a family together, Daśaratha's conduct towards Rāma and Kauśalyā, Vālin's towards Sugrīva, Rumā and Tārā, Rāvaṇa's towards Vibhīṣaṇa are examples of transgression of the familial norm. Each of these was finally ruined, thus testifying to the existence of truth inherent in the universe which detects familial falsehoods and punishes them.

Again subsumed under the familial truth is the conjugal truth whereby a couple are 'betrothed' to each other, i.e. bound by a tie of truth which they pledge at the time of wedding. Daśaratha failed Kauśalyā whose son, Daśaratha's eldest, deserved the throne and Kauśalyā deserved to be the queen-mother. Vālin violated his conjugal obligation by abducting Tārā, Rāvana was unfaithful to Mandodarī when he abducted Sītā. And each of them suffered ignominy and a violent death. The supernatural guardians of truth, the latter-day regents of Varuna judged and punished.

The belief in such a just, fair, divine agency which oversees human conduct and which comes down with retribution whenever societal, familial and conjugal truth is transgressed is but a microcosmic replica of the macrocosmic functioning of ṛta which ensures the inherent rhythm of the cosmos. Satyakriyā, therefore, is one palpable demonstration of the existence of divine guardians of truth which when challenged or threatened are vindicated by their intervention. Such occasions, confirm, so to speak, the existence and function of the cosmic truth. Man is obliged to emulate these functions, to keep the truth in his conduct so that the truth of the society, family or the marriage vow is not transgressed. This paradigm, the people believed was eternal and immutable; their obligation was to conform to the divinely set ethical norm so that truth is not disturbed and human conduct resonated the cosmic rhythm. Every arrhythmic conduct was punished so that human truths could cohere in a universal pattern of cosmic mundane truth. The *Rāmāyaṇa* characters are subconsciously motivated by a faith in this cosmic-mundane paradigm. The one word which governs the action of Rāma and his family is fidelity. Daśaratha is faithful to his vow to Kaikeyī, Rāma faithfully performs his filial duty, Bharata refuses to usurp the elder brother's rights, Laksmana behaves to Rāma more like a servant than a prince. Sītā accompanies her husband to a life of hardship and resists all Rāvana's threats and blandishments, and Rāma undergoes great perils to rescue her.

"It is one thing, however, to fulfil one's dharma, quite another to define it in such a way as to cover all contingencies, and inevitably conflicts arise."[44] Daśaratha's fidelity to Kaikeyī involves infidelity to Kauśalyā. Rāma's performance of filial duty remains straight and linear upto his declining Bharata's offer and staying in the forest for all the fourteen years. His suffering and hardships to rescue Sītā become futile and meaningless when after seeing her he says that he had fought the battle for redeeming the honour of the royal line, and not for Sītā. He rejects her and plays false to his conjugal truth. Sītā alone keeps her faith and conjugal obligations through extreme hardship, provocation and temptation. Fulfilling one's dharma on one level frequently entails violating it on another. The solitary anecdote of Jaṭāyu dying for a code of conduct he had pledged himself to, brings out the silent allegiance to an inner truth which shines out as an unusually bright flame.

Rāma's killing of Vālin, his conduct to Guhaka and Śambūka are morally untenable, his indifference to Vālmīki's pledge in the assembly is dishonourable, to say the least, his treatment of Sītā at Laṅka, at her banishment and at the sacrificial ground, and finally his granting the Ayodhyā throne to Bharata, and not to Lava and Kuśa violate truth at several levels. As Brockington remarks : "inevitably conflicts arise", and further solution of these conflicts would demand a redefinition of societal and familial truth.

But the cosmic truth which lays down the norm for truth at the mundane level is linear, bipolar, one-to-one and clear-cut; good and evil, white and black. And transgression of good brings on punishment; hence there remain unsolved complexities in manifestation of truth, on the earthly plane.

Notes and References

1. cf Rāma was described by Nārada to Vālmīki as 'dhanadena samastyāge satye dharma ivāparaḥ', in gift-giving he is equal to Kuvera and in truth he is like a second Dharma. I : 1: 19. 'Rāmo dvirnābhibhāṣate.' Rāma does not prevaricate II: 19: 30 or 'anṛtam noktapūrvam me na ca vakṣye kadācana', I have never told a lie before, and shall never do so IV: 7 : 21; *et al.*

2. I: 19, 20.

3. Kaikeyī was 'pūrvam dattavarā' i.e. she had been given the boons earlier. I : 1 : 22.

4. Rāmo rājasuto jyeṣṭho yauvarājyam ato'rhati, Rāma was the eldest prince hence he deserved to become the prince regent II : 8 :14.

5. II : 10 : 17 : IV : 13 : 14.

6. mādharmo māmiha spṛśet. II : 12 : 36.

7. *Righteous Rāma* p. 223.

8. Tvāmaham satyamicchāmi nānṛtam II : 34 :48.

9. Jyeṣṭhasya rājatā nityamucitā hi Kulasya naḥ II : 79 : 7.

10. II : 107 : 3.

11. II : 111: 21-26.

12. cf H. M. Buck *"The Sandals of Prince Rāma."*

13. II : 22-39.

14. Satyapratiśravaḥ satyam satyena samayīkaran II: 109 : 13.

15. IV : 5 :15.

16. III : 18 : 3.

17. VI : 25 : 28.

18. VI : 117 : 6, 10.

19. VI: 117 : 4.

20. Hṛdayāntargataṃ bhāvam pravaktum upacakrame VI : 115 : 1.

21. VI : 117 : 17.

22. VII : 15 : 15; emphasis mine.

23. VII : 48 : 11-13.

24. VII : 75 : 29, 30.

25. VII : 76 : 8.

26. VII : 96 : 19-21.

27. VII : 97 : 14-17.

28. VII : 97 : 19.

29. VII : 98 : 8-10.

30. Adyā muñīya yadi yātudhāno'smi, VII : 104 : 15.

31. ṚV VII : 28 : 4.

32. V : 62 : 1.

33. IV : 24 : 8, 9.

34. *Monotheism among Primitive Peoples*, pp. 15-16.

35. cf ṚV VII : 31 : 11; cf ṚV I : 136 : 1, VIII : 42 : 1; he is also rājā rāṣṭrāṇām, the king of kingdoms, ṚV VII : 31 :11.

36. *Mait. Sam.* II : 21, *Tait. Br.* II : 5 : 7 : 6; III : 1: 2: 7, 9: 8: 8 *et al.*

37. Paul Thieme, *JAOS 80*, no. 4, 1960, p. 45.

38. *Mait Sam.* II : 6 : 6 : 62; dharmāṇam patiḥ, *Jaim. Br.* III : 11 : 4 : 1.

39. *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* I : 5: 2.

40. *Kauṣ. Br.* V: 3 : 14.

41. *Tait. Br.* I : 7 : 2 : 6

42. ṚV X : 124 : 5.

43. ṚV V : 63 : 1.

44. *Righteous Rāma,* p. 222.

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DEŚYA LEXICOGRAPHY PRIOR TO HEMACANDRA

H. C. BHAYANI

1. In his *Deśīnāmamālā* (DN), also called *Rayaṇāvalī*, Hemacandra has clearly defined the character of the Deśya category of Prakrit words and their domain of occurrence. Besides stating the principles governing the arrangement of words within his lexicon and those guiding his choice of excluding or including certain items, throughout the work he has displayed his attitude of scientific discrimination combined with practical discretion, regarding the authoritativeness and worth of the works and authors that preceded him in the area of Deśya lexicography. He did a highly commendable job of clearing the tradition from corruptions, confusions, contradictions and disorganization which had accumulated during the period of more than one thousand years of Deśya lexicography. Consequently his massive scholarship produced a work which eclipsed most of the earlier lexicons and made them outdated.

The present effort aims at getting a glimpse of the character, scope and structure of the Deśya lexicons from which Hemacandra succeeded in producing a systematic and reliable synthesis. This will be done by gathering bits of information we can derive from some of the citations given by Hemacandra from his sources, and from various critical observations he made occasionally about them.

2. Hemacandra has cited or referred to twelve Deśya lexicographers *(deśīkāra)* by name in his commentary on the Sūtra text of DN. They are as follows (The references are to the Gāthās of the original text).

1) Abhimānacihna	1.144; 6.93; 7.1; 8.12, 17	5 times
2) Avantisundarī	1.84; 157	twice
3) Udūkhala	8.12	once
4) Gopāla	1.25, 31.45; 2.82; 3.47; 6.26, 58.72; 7.2, 76; 8.1, 17.67	13 times
5) Devarāja	6.58, 72; 8.17	thrice
6) Droṇa	1.18, 50; 6.7; 8.17	4 times
7) Dhanapāla	1.141; 3.22; 4.30; 6.101; 8.17	5 times
* Pāṭhodūkhala (?)	See Udūkhala	
8) Pādalipta	1.2	once
9) Rāhulaka	4.4	once
10) Śāmba	2.48	once
11) Śīlāṅka	2.20; 6.96; 8.40.	thrice

12) Sātavāhana   3.41; 5.11; 6.15, 18, 19, 112, 125   7 times

From the metrical structure and language of the citations, mostly quite short, we can draw certain inferences about the form, language etc. of the *Deśī*-s written by these authors, but now lost to us.

3. (1) Abhimānacihna's Deśya lexicon seems to have consisted of 1. a Sūtrapāṭha which recorded the Deśya words along with their meanings; 2. his own commentary on the Sūtras and 3. the illustrative verses.

The language of the Sūtrapāṭha, of the glosses and the illustrations was Prakrit. The Sūtras and the illustrations were in the Gāthā metre. In these cases Hemacandra seems to have followed Abhimānacihna.

The citation विग्गाइया विआया (6.93) scans as the first twelve Mātrās of a Gāthā line. अंदोलण-फल्य-सिंदुरं रंभो (7.1) scans as the last 18 Mātrās of the first line of a Gāthā : सराहयं जाण पयलायं (8.12) scans as the last 15 Mātrās of the second line of a Gāthā. वद्धणियं जाण समुच्छणिं च बहुआरिय तह य । (8.17) scans as the second line of a Gāthā. All these citations obviously belong to the Sūtrapāṭha. The illustrations cited from Abhimānacihna's commentary under 1.144, 6.93, 8.12 and 8.17 are Prakrit Gāthās.

There was also another commentary by Udūkhala on Abhimānacihna's Sūtrapāṭha. See under Udūkhala.

(2) Avantisundarī. Her Deśya lexicon gave meanings in Sanskrit (ओहुरं अवनतं म्रस्तं च 1.157; इंदमहं कौमारम् । 1.81). It was possibly composed in Gāthās (*u u* ओहुरं अवनतं म्रस्तं च i.e. a fragment from the beginning portion of a Gāthā line, इंदमहं कौमारम् scans as the first twelve Mātrās of a Gāthā line); and the illustrations might have been taken from available Prakrit literature (The following Gāthā cited under 1.81) :

उवहसण पुराणिं इंदो इंदीवरच्छि एत्ताहे ।
इंदमह-पेच्छिए तुह मुहस्स सोहं णियच्छंतो ॥

(3) Udūkhala. The reading इति व्याख्याय पाठोदूखलेन (comm. on 8.12) is possibly to be emended as इति व्याख्याय (सूत्र) पाठं उदूखलेन. Pāṭhodūkhala seems a very strange personal name. I take it actually to be Udūkhala. He wrote a commentary on Abhimānacihna's Sūtrapāṭha without, it seems, consulting the latter's own commentary. Consequently he is criticized by Hemacandra for having misunderstood or misinterpreted Abhimānacihna (8.12). The criticism under 6.93 and 8.17 also probably is directed against Udūkhala. But whether the criticism of a commentator of Abhimānacihna under 1.144 refers to Udūkhala or to some other commentator is not clear, because from the citations given under 6.93 and 8.17 it is evident that in Udūkhala's commentary the meanings were given in Sanskrit (पयलाओ सराहत: । 8.12;

बिग्गाइया चलचित्तता 6.93), but in the citation under 1.144 the meaning is given in Prakrit (एत्तोप्पं एद्दहमेत्तं ।).

(4) Gopāla. He is the most frequently cited and referred to Deśīkāra in DN. His lexicon was composed in Sanskrit and in the Āryā metre. The glosses also were in Sanskrit.

i) अवरत्तेयं पश्चात्तापेऽपि प्रोच्यते तज्ज्ञै: ।   1.45 ✓
This is the second line of an Āryā.

ii) पेहुण पेंड्ल-शब्दौ पिच्छे च रसे च बोद्धव्यौ ।   6.58
This is the second line of an Āryā.

iii) The two citations under 6.72 scan as the 15 Mātrās of the second line of an Āryā and a complete Āryā respectively.

iv) अलिरपि रसाओ स्यात् ।   7.2
This scans as the last 11 Mātrās of the second line of an Āryā.

v) असहायं वेरिजं साहायकमपि च केचिदिच्छन्ति ।   7.76
This is the first line of an Āryā.

vi) रत्ती कलसाभारो दारू भवेत्तल्य-सम-समुच्छ्रयणम् ।   8.1
Here the variants कलशाभारो दार्त्त are better as the meanings are given by Gopāla in Sanskrit.

vii) लज्जित-भीतौ हित्थो ।   8.67

This scans as the first 12 Mātrās of an Āryā line.

Possibly the two citations given anonymously under 2.48

(यदाह - कोमुइमाह च शाम्बो या कचित् पौर्णमासी स्यात् । Second line of an Āryā) and 4.4 (यदाह - टोले पिशाचमाहु: सर्वे शलभं तु राहुल्क: । Second line of an Āryā) derive from Gopāla's work.

In the light of this evidence Ramanujacharya's statement that, 'He was the author of a deśī lexicon in the form of the ślokas (Introduction p. 12) is to be corrected.

(5) Devarāja. His work was in the Āryā metre.

1. परिहारिणी पयट्ट्ठणि पडिच्छिरिया पारिहट्ठीए ।   6.72

This is the second line of an Āryā.

2. वद्धणिया सोहणिया बहुआरी तह य मज्जणिया ।   8.17

This scans as the first 27 Mātrās of the first line of an Āryā.

The meanings seem to have been given in Sanskrit ("पेंडारो महिषीपाल:" 6.58), although there is some doubt about this because of the citation under

6.72 given above. Another remarkable point about Devarāja's work is that from Hemacandra's remark under 6.72 (गोकुल-प्रकरणे देवराजस्त्वाह), it seems that it was organized on the basis of semantic classes and subgroups after the pattern that is familiar to us from Sanskrit traditional dictionaries like Amara's *Nāmalinganuśāsana*. One of its word-classes pertained to pastoral terms.

(6) Droṇa. His work seems to be in Prakrit Gāthās (वद्धणि-समुच्छ्रणीओ बोहारी । under 8.17 scans as the first 18 Mātrās of a Gāthā) and the meanings were given in Sanskrit (अज्झो एस under 1.50 and पेढालं वर्तुल्म् । under 67).

(7) Dhanapāla. His work was also in the Gāthā metre. समुच्छ्रणिया वद्धणिया बोहारी । 8.17 scans as the last 7 Mātrās of the first line and the first 12 Mātrās of the second line of a Gāthā. From the citations given in DN, it is not clear whether he gave meanings in Sanskrit (ऊसाइअं उत्क्षिप्तम् । 1.141) or in Prakrit (चुणओ विअरओ । 3.22).

(8) Pādalipta. From DN 1.2 we understand that Pādalipta had composed a Deśīśāstra. Nothing more is known about it.

(9) Rāhulaka. His view that Deśya *tola* means *śalabha* ('grasshopper') is given in an anonymous citation (See under 8 above).

(10) Śāmba. His view that Deśya *komuī* means 'any fullmoon day' (2.48) is given in an anonymous citation (see under 8 above).

(11) Śīlāṅka. If his view given under 2.20 (कडंभुअं घटस्य कण्ठे ।) is an actual citation we can say that his lexicon was in Āryā metre and the meanings were given in Sanskrit. But if we assume that the view is given in Hemacandra's words and the actual text of the citation was घटस्य कंठे कडंभुअं, then this can be scanned as the fragment of 14 Mātrās following the first four Mātrās of an Āryā line.

(12) Sātavāhana. If we take DN statements about Sātavāhana's views regarding the meanings of particular Deśya words as actual citations, then we can say that his work was in Anuṣṭubh metre and recorded the meanings in Sanskrit.

जंबुलं मद्यभाजनम् ।   3.71
तिव्वमत्यर्थमिति ।   5.11
मरालो हंसः ।   6.112
पुरोहडं पच्छाक्कडं ।   6.15
पडिसंतमरतमितम् ।   6.18

As to पडिहत्थो प्रतिवचनम् । 6.19, there is a variant वचनम् महत्थारं भोजनम्। 6.125 may have been perhaps महत्थारं तु भोजनम्। in the original.

Of these Deśya Lexicographers, Hemacandra probably did not have

before him the works of Pādalipta, Rāhulaka and Śāmba, because he
has only once mentioned Pādalipta in the beginning of the DN, as one
among several earlier writers, who had compiled *deśi-śāstra,* but he
has never quoted or referred to his view on any item, and similarly
the names of Rāhulaka (4.4) and Śāmba (2.48) occur only once in
citations from other authorities, otherwise they are mentioned nowhere
else. As to Śīlāṅka and Sātavāhana, even though their views are referred
to in several cases, it cannot be clearly decided whether the references
constitute actual citation from their works or they present the purport
of their views, in Hemacandra's words. Above we have however assumed
that Śīlāṅka's work is actually quoted. In the case of the remaining seven
authors, Hemacandra has doubtlessly given actual citations from their
work, and his casual observations about a few of them incidentally provide
us some information about the character and worth of their works.

From the above-given analysis of the DN, citations and references, we
can draw certain broad conclusions regarding the earlier Deśya lexicography.

1. It was a long tradition of continuous activity. New works were written
   to incorporate new words that during succeeding periods figured in the
   writings of standard authors.

2. Some later lexicographers like Udūkhala were careless in their work and
   either misunderstood or failed to consult earlier standard works. (DN 8.12).

3. There were considerable differences of opinion among the lexicographers
   with regard to the forms and meanings of numerous Deśya words. Besides
   noting the views of some prominent authorities, Hemacandra has recorded
   throughout his commentary at scores of places anonymous alternative views
   (e. g. Śāmba and Rāhulaka, mentioned in anonymous citations respectively
   under 2.48 and 4.4). The obvious reasons for such a state of affairs
   were that considerable number of Prakrit literary works were either lost
   or inaccessible to the writers and that the defective manuscript transmission
   also created problems and confusions.

4. Generally the Deśya lexicons were tripartite : They consisted of the Sūtrapāṭha,
   a commentary thereon and illustrations (Abhimānacihna).

5. The metrical Sūtrapāṭha was usually in the Gāthā (Āryā) metre, but it can
   be in Anuṣṭubh metre also (Sātavāhana). The language of the Sūtrapāṭha
   was either Prakrit or Sanskrit and accordingly the meanings were given
   in Prakrit or Sanskrit.

6. Some lexicons adopted the principle of arranging words according to various
   cultural domains of the meanings, as was the tradition in the case of Sanskrit
   lexicons (Devarāja).

7. Some anonymous citations show that some other Deśya lexicons also, besides those with author-names gave meanings in Sanskrit (2.48, 4.4). This statement, of course, assumes that they are not from the same works of the lexicographers who are named in DN elsewhere.

VĀSTUPARĪKṢĀ, VĀSTUŚĀNTI AND GṚHAPRAVEŚA
ACCORDING TO THE ĀŚVALĀYANA GṚHYASŪTRA

JAYA CHEMBURKAR

The Gṛhyasūtras (Gṛ. Sūs) were concerned with the domestic and religious life of a man. In order to promote and ensure mundane happiness, prosperity, peace and spiritual well-being of a man, the Gṛ.Sūs have prescribed different domestic rites which are to be performed on different occasions.

This paper proposes to study the significance of *Vāstuparīkṣā*, *Vāstuśānti* and *Gṛhapraveśa* prescribed by the *Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra (Aśv. Gṛ. Sū.)*

Vāstuparīkṣā

The discussion begins with twofold examination of the ground on which the house is to be built.[1] We are told that the ground be neither barren soil nor a disputed property,[2] obviously because if the soil is fertile, useful plants, herbs and trees can be cultivated. Secondly, if there is no dispute over the land, the dweller will enjoy peace and happiness. The soil should be capable of growing herbs and trees,[3] Kuśa and Virīṇa grass.[4] Thorny and milky plants together with their roots, and many other such plants should be dug out.[5] This measure is necessary to retain the fertility of the soil for the cultivation and growth of other useful plants and vegetables. The spot is said to be auspicious where the waters flowing from all sides to the centre gather at a resting place, on the right side and then flow off to the east noiselessly.[6] The commentators Nārāyaṇa and Devasvanin state that such a house becomes endowed with all prosperity. Collection of water appears to imply that the soil is rocky; and rocky soil is said to provide a firm and solid base for a house. Similarly, flowing of waters to the east would imply that the ground has a slope towards the east.

Another method of examining the ground is as under :

One should dig a pit, knee-deep and fill it up again with the same earth (which one has taken out of the pit[7]). If the earth remains in excess after filling the pit, the ground is excellent. If it is level, it is of middle quality. If it does not fill the pit, it is inferior.[8] After the sun-set, one should fill the pit with water (and look into it in the morning).[9] If in the morning, there is water in it, the ground is excellent. If the ground is moist, it is middling type. If it is dry, it is unworthy and should be rejected.[10] Both these tests appear to examine whether the soil is rocky or soft or marshy. On rocky

soil the house is said to be firm and safe with a solid firm base under it as observed earlier. After prescribing the criteria for the selection of the ground, the *Āśv. Gṛ. Sū.* prescribes different characteristics of the ground for the three different castes. Thus white ground of sweet taste and sandy surface is said to be suitable for a Brāhmaṇa.[11] Red ground of sweet taste, sandy surface is suitable for a Kṣatriya, and yellow ground with sweet taste and sandy surface is suitable for a Vaiśya.[12] The three different colours of the ground for the three different castes appear to correspond to the nature of occupations and the temperaments of these different castes described by the thinkers of those days. It will be noted here that there is no mention of land for the construction of a house for a Śūdra, because in the period of the Sūtras, a Śūdra did not have the right to possess property. According to the *Mahābhārata,* (*Mbh*) a Śūdra could have no absolute property; his wealth could be appropriated by his master. In the *Manusmṛti* when Manu says that a wife, a son and a *dāsa* (Śūdra) - these three are known to be without wealth (property), their earning belongs to their master, Manu here obviously refers to the view of his predecessors *(smṛtāḥ)* who advocated this view prior to him.[13] This view must have prevailed in the Sūtra period, hence there is no mention of land for house-building for a Śūdra.

Instructions Regarding the Construction of Different Rooms In the House

It appears that while constructing the house, attention was paid to the position of the various rooms. We are told that the bed-room should be constructed in the east. Such a room would get early rays of the sun which would be conducive to good health. The kitchen should be built to the east where the waters flow off.[14] The kitchen so built is said to become abundant in food.[15] The mention of abundance of food in the kitchen appears to imply that the kitchen being situated to the east, will always get sun-shine and the air in the kitchen will always be pure; as a result of pure air in the house people will be healthy and energetic, capable of doing hard work which would bring riches. The assembly room should be built in the north, and then there will be no gambling in it.[16] But some hold that in such an assembly room, people become gamblers, quarrelsome and die young.[17] Therefore, one should build the assembly room on the spot where the waters meet together from all sides. The commentator Nārāyaṇa remarks that when the assembly room is built on such a spot, it brings luck and remains free from gambling.[18] These views are not clear. The commentators have not explained them satisfactorily. The author appears to have some astronomical significance of the quarters, viz. the east and the north and the different planets situated in these quarters. The influence of the various planets in these quarters on the life of human beings probably led the author to allot these specific quarters for the different rooms in the house.

It will be observed here that the instructions are given for the construction

of three rooms only, i.e. a bed-room, a kitchen, and an assembly room i.e. a drawing room. This shows that in those days small houses were built. Here, only instructions regarding the situations of the rooms have been given but there is no mention of measurement of walls, doors, roof etc. The choice of the soil and the rules regarding the situations of the rooms would indicate that attention was paid to peace, prosperity and promotion of good health of the owner (dweller) of the house.

Ritual At the Time of Construction of the House

After giving instructions regarding the type of the land for the construction of a house, and the different quarters in which the different rooms are to be constructed, *Āśv. Gr. Sū.* lays down a ritual which is to be performed when the construction of a house starts. The ritual is as follows :

One should draw a thousand furrows on the ground and should have it measured as a quadrangle with equal sides on each direction,[19] or as an oblong quadrangle.[20] Drawing of furrows is meant for purifying the ground. With an Udumbara branch or with a branch of Śamī one should sprinkle the ground with water while going thrice round it, so that his right side is turned towards it, (ground), and one should recite the Śāntātīya hymn.[21] It may be stated here that Śamī is believed to contain fire and fire is purifier, and Udumbara is said to be rich in sap and is considered to be a holy tree. Therefore, for purifying the ground, it is sprinkled with the branches of these trees with water. One has to circumambulate the ground thrice, obviously to show reverence to the presiding deity of the *Vāstu* i.e. the ground. The Ṛgvedic hymn VII.35 which begins as *"Śam na Indrāgni bhavatāmavobhiḥ"* is well known as ''Śantātīyam' because every verse of this hymn begins with the word '*Śam.*' This hymn seeks protection and blessings from all the deities. At the time of construction of the house blessings from all these deities have to be sought for, and, therefore, while sprinkling the ground with water, this hymn is to be recited thrice while circumambulating. Then one should pour out water without interruption, reciting the three verses, viz., ''O Waters, ye are beneficient : So help ye us to energy that we may look on great delight'' (*RV.* X.9.1); "Give us a portion of the sap, the most auspicious that ye have, like mothers in their longing love," (*RV.* X.9.2); 'To you, we gladly come for him to whose abode ye send us on; and waters give us procreant strength," (*RV.* X.9.3).[22] According to Haradatta, this prayer means, ''O waters you be the creator of happiness to all the beings by being available for taking bath, for drinking purpose and lead us to old age properly, i.e. smoothly without any ailments, *(snānapāna samyagjaraṇādinā prakāreṇa).*[23] Grant us food, make us fit to see objects of great beauty, worthy of great knowledge. Give us sweet and nourishing sap, that you have, just as mothers longing for the growth and prosperity of their sons feed their sons with their milk. Make us possessed of progeny, food grains and riches."[24] This ritual

has its origin in the sacrificial ritual. Then between every two bamboos one should construct inner apartments by constructing walls.[25] Into the pits wherein the posts are to stand, one should put on 'avakā', plant which is also known as 'śaivāla' or moss. The avakā plant is to be put in order to avoid fire.[26] It is to be noted here that fire-preventive measures were used in the construction itself. The avakā i.e. sipāla plant should be put into the pit wherein the middle post is to stand; handfuls of kuśa grass with their points turned to the east and north, should be spread and then that grass should be sprinkled with water mixed with rice and barley, with the words "to the steady one, the Earth Deity svāhā" (acyutāya bhaumāya svāhā).[27] This is a prayer offered to the steady Earth with this desire that the middle post should remain firm and steady in the pit, just as the earth remains firm and steady. When the middle post is erected the following verses are recited, viz., ''stand here, O Post fixed in the ground, prosperous, long lasting, standing, amidst prosperity. May the evil one not attain thee. May the young child come near thee. May the calf come to thee. May the cup of pariśrut come to thee. May they come with pots of curds.''[28] Here the prayer is offered that the wicked people, thieves, robbers etc. should not enter the house. Let all prosperity come to the house. When the bamboo staff is put on the middle post, the following prayer has to be recited - ''Rightly ascend the post, O staff, bestow on us long life henceforth.''[29]

It may be pointed out here that the Hindus are animists; they believe in the existence of some life, some spirit in every object. That spirit is the presiding deity in the middle post and the bamboo staff, to which prayers are offered at the time of the construction of the house for safety, long life, and prosperity of the inmates of the house. Stability of the house depended on the middle post and the bamboo staff and, therefore, prayers were offered to them. Some hold that this mantra should be recited also when other bamboo staffs are put.

On four stones on which durvā grass is spread, one should set up a water-barrel either with this mantra, viz., "Arise on the earth"[30] or with the mantra "The araṅgara sounds thrice bound with a strap." It praises prosperity; may it drive away evil. This mantra is from the Atharvaveda. (AV.XX.135.13). According to Haradatta 'araṅgara' here is Indra, and 'araṅgara' also means a bee. The meaning of the mantra is - "just as a bee intoxicated with honey hums loudly or just as a bull bound with a leather strap roars loudly on seeing a young cow, in the same manner, i.e. with a loud voice, Indra praises offerings of food."[31] Then one should pour water into it (water-barrel) with the mantra, ''May the King Varuṇa come hither with plentiful waters; may he stay content at this place, bringing welfare dropping ghee; may they (i.e. waters) lie down together with Varuṇa.''[32] Varuṇa being the lord of waters, a prayer is offered to him. Then water is to be sprinkled on the water-jar

to fill it later with water. This water-barrel is probably meant for the house
to store water and from this it appears that arrangement for storing water
formed a part of house-building.

Vāstuśāntl

When the construction of the house is complete, Vāstuśānti i.e. ritual for
appeasing Vāstu (house), the presiding deity of the house, is performed[33]
as follows - the dweller has to put gold into water containing rice and barley,
and with that water he should sprinkle the house thrice; and circumambulate
it with his right side turned to it (house), reciting the 'Śāntātīya' hymn.[34]
He should do it thrice, pouring water and reciting the three verses, viz., ''O
waters you are health giving.''[35] The use of gold, rice and barley only indicates
the desire for good health and prosperity, since gold is a symbol of the
Sun who is a giver of energy and light, and rice and barley are symbols
of fertility and prosperity. Then in the middle of the house, he should cook,
a mess of food, sacrifice it verse by verse with the four verses, viz. (1)
''Acknowledge us O Guardian of the Homestead; bring no disease, and give
us happy entrance. Whatever we ask thee, be pleased to grant it, and prosper
thou our quadrupeds and bipeds; (2) Protector of the home, be our promoter,
increase our wealth in kind and steeds, O Indu. May we be even youthful
in thy friendship; be pleased in us as in his sons; a father; (3) through thy
dear fellowship that bringeth welfare, may we be victors, O Guardian of the
dwelling. Protect our happiness in rest and labour. Preserve us, overcome,
you Gods, with blessings; (4) Vāstoṣpati, who killest all diseases and wearest
every form, be an auspicious friend to us (RV. VII. 54. 1-3; VII.55.1).'' Then
he should prepare food, give the same to the Brāhmaṇas to eat and ask
them to repeat the following mantra, ''Auspicious is the ground (house),
auspicious is the ground.''[36] It is suggested here that prior to this cooking
of mess in the new house, one should not cook any other food. Vāstoṣpati
is prayed to confer favours on the dweller, and the Brāhmaṇas are requested
to confer blessings on the dweller in the words ''Śivam Vāstu, Śivam Vāstu,''
i.e. the house is auspicious and the dweller will get all hapiness, peace, prosperity,
therein. One should enter the house provided with seed-corn.[37]

It will be observed here that the ritual for the land and the house has
its origin in the sacrificial ritual as stated above. The ritual for the house
goes on during the construction of the house and when the house is complete,
ritual is performed to appease the presiding deity of the house. This ritual
aims at sanctifying the ground and also the house, averting evil and seeking
the welfare of the inmates of the house by seeking the blessings of the
deity. Though the Āśv. Gṛ. Sū. does not name this ritual as a saṁskāra
(sacrament), it is a saṁskāra for the house. According to Śabara, a saṁskāra
is that which being effected, makes a certain thing or a person fit for a
certain purpose (Saṁskāro nāma sa bhavati yasmin jāte padārtho bhavati

yogyaḥ kasyacidarthasya / Tenāpi kriyāyāḥ kartavyatāyām prayojanam // [38]
A perusal of the above ritual for a house in the light of Śabara's definition
of a *saṁskāra* would indicate that this ritual is a *saṁskāra* for making the
house fit for dwelling. The well-known *saṁskāras* such as *garbhādhāna,
puṁsavana, upanayana, vivāha* etc. are bodily *saṁskāras (śārīra saṁskāras)*
and are to be performed for a human being at different stages of his life.
These bodily *saṁskāras* are meant to qualify a person to perform various
sacrifices. Just as there are *saṁskāras* for animate beings, there are *saṁskāras*
to be performed for inanimate beings also. The *Gṛ. Sūs.* have prescribed
rituals for dedicating a bull to a temple (Vṛṣotsarga) or for dedicating a well
or a pond or a temple or a garden to the people. These rituals are sacraments
for the objects to be dedicated. The purpose of these rituals is to sanctify
and make fit the bull, the well, etc. for dedicating. Similarly, the ritual prescribed
for a *Vāstu* is a *saṁskāra* to sanctify the newly constructed house and make
it fit for living. A house gives shelter and protection from cold, heat and
rain, etc. Besides, in a comfortable house, one gets peace which is essential
for all the endeavours of a man. Therefore, the Sūtrakāras might have felt
a *saṁskara* necessary for a house also.

It will not be out of place here to examine briefly the remark in the
Gau. Dha. Sū. After describing the forty *śārīra saṁskāras,* the *Gau. Dha. Sū.*
concludes with a remark, *"ityete catvāriṁśat saṁskārāḥ (Gau. Dha. Sū.* I.
8.22.),* i. e. according to this *sūtra* of Gautama there are only forty *saṁskāras.*
Haradatta commenting on this *sūtra* remarks that these forty only are *saṁskāras*
and other *smārta* and *kāmya-karmas* are not *saṁskāras*
*(catvāriṁśadgrahaṇādeva tāvantā eva saṁskārāḥ / nānyāni smārtakarmāṇi
kāmyādini ceti /).* Haradatta commenting on the topic of Gṛhanirmāṇa
(house-construction) in the *Āp. Dha. Sū.* VII. 7.1-3 remarks, *''gṛhasammānam
ca na sarvayajñādivannityam / nāpyadbhūtakarmaprāyaścittādivannaimittikam
kim tarhi kāmyam / akriyāyām na doṣaḥ"* l. e. the rites, for *Vāstu, Vāstuśānti,
Gṛhapraveśa* are neither *nitya* (daily) nor *naimittika* (occasional or incidental).
They are *kāmya* l.e. acts motivated by desire and, therefore, if they are not
performed, there is nothing wrong, no fault no sin accrues.[39] So according
to Haradatta's explanation *Vāstuśānti, Gṛhapraveśa* are *kāmya karmas.* Now
one would ask here, "can a *kāmya-karma* be a *saṁskāra* or not ? According
to the *Bau. Gṛ. Sū.,* III.8.13, there is no action without a desire; whatever
one does is an action motivated by desire *(akāmasya kriyā kācit dṛṣyate
neha karhicit / yadyaddhi kurute kiñcit tattatkāmasya ceṣṭitam).* In the opinion
of Manu also here on this earth there is no ritual whatsoever performed
by anyone without a purpose or desire. Anything that is performed is performed
by the urge of desire.[40] The '*Saṁskāraratnamālā*' has included this ritual
for the house among various *saṁskāras* dealt with in it. Narendranath Sharma
remarks, "There are a very few ceremonies that are executed without an
aim. A great majority of them are motivated by desire to counteract evil influences.

Strictly speaking all Vedic ritual is done out of motivation to promote human aims."[41] *Puṁsavana* also can be described as a *kāmya-karma*, because it is performed with a desire to beget a male child. Yet it is a *saṁskāra*. Therefore, it can be said that *Vāstuśānti* and *Gṛhapraveśa* though *kāmya-karmas* are *saṁskāras* for the new constructed house.

Concluding Remarks

It may be pointed out here that the *RV.* VII.54 and 55 contain prayers to *Vāstospati* for protection and happiness and prosperity. There is no reference to house-building in these hymns. In the *Atharvaveda*, hymn III.12 is used in house-building ceremony. The prayer is addressed to Śāla i.e. a dwelling (house or *vāstu)* to stand firm. This shows that in the R̥gvedic pantheon, Vāstospati also had a place. Hymns were composed in his honour. These hymns were, in later period, employed in the house-building ritual. The *Āśv. Gṛ. Sū.*, and many other later Gṛ. Sūs. and the Purāṇas have incorporated the R̥gvedic Vāstospati hymns (*RV.* VII.54, 55) in house-building ritual.

The general tendency of the ancient Indians was to ritualize all action and spiritualize all life.[42] They believed that the rituals have mystical supra-human power. Therefore, when in a developing society house-building became common alongwith other sacraments, sacrament for a house was laid down by the Gṛ. Sūs. to ensure happiness of the inmates of the house. Flimsy material like wood was used in the construction of a house; naturally for its safety and stability, protection was sought from various divinities at different stages of construction of a house. Besides in early Indian religion no element of life can be treated by itself and for its own sake. The sole purpose of life according to Hindu view is to see God in everything, to perceive His power latent in everything. Accordingly, *Vāstu* also was linked up with spirituality; and gross and subtle, macro and micro were thus brought together.

Notes and References

Abbreviations

Āp. Dha. Sū. = *Āpastamba Dharma Sūtra.*

Āśv. Gṛ. Sū. = *Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra.*

Bau. Gṛ. Sū. = *Baudhāyana Gṛhya Sūtra.*

Dha. Sū. = *Dharma Sūtra.*

Gau. Dha. Sū. = *Gautama Dharma Sūtra.*

Gṛ. Sū. = *Gṛhya Sūtra.*

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1. *Āśv. Gṛ. Sū.* II.7.

2. *Ibid* II.7.2.

3. *Ibid* II.7.3.

4. *Ibid* II.7.4.

5. *Ibid* II.7.5.

6. *Ibid* II.7.6.

7. *Ibid* II.8.2.

8. *Ibid* II.8.3.

9. *Ibid* II.8.4.

10. *Ibid* II.8.5.

11. *Ibid* II.8.6.

12. *Ibid* II.8.7,8.

13. *Mbh.* Śān. P. Chap. 59.39b, 40a; also *Manu* S.VIII.416, 417.

14. *Āśv Gṛ. Sū.* III.7.7.

15. *Ibid* II.7.8.

16. *Ibid* II.7.9.

17. *Ibid* II.7.10.

18. *Ibid* II.7.11.

19. *Ibid* II.8.9.

20. *Ibid* II.8.10.

21. *Ibid* II.8.11.

22. *Ibid* II.8.12, *RV,* translation by Griffith, Ralph, Vol. II.

23. Haradatta on *Āśv. Gṛ. Sū.* II.8.12.

24. Haradatta on *Āśv.Gṛ.Sū.* II.8.12.

25. *Āśv. Gṛ. Sū.* II.8.13.

26. *Ibid* II.8.14.

27. *Ibid* II.8.15.

28. *Ibid* II.8.16.

29. *Ibid* II.9.1,2.

30. *Ibid* II.9.3.

31. Haradatta on *Āśv. Gṛ. Sū.* II.9.4.

32. *Āśv. Gṛ. Sū.* II.9.5.

According to Haradatta the word 'Mitra' in the mantra " *iram Vahanto ghṛtamukṣamāṇā mitreṇa sākam saha saṁviśantu iti* " should be understood as Varuṇa. Then the meaning

of the Sūtra II.9.5 is, "May they i.e. the waters lie down together with Varuṇa."

33. *Ibid* II.9.6.

34. *Ibid* II.9.7.

35. *Ibid* II.9.8.

36. *Ibid* II.9.9.

37. *Ibid* II.10.2.

38. Śabara on *Jaiminīya Sū.*III.1.3.

39. *cf.* Haradatta on *Āp. Dh. Su.* VII. 1.1-13.

40. Manu II.4.

41. *Āśvalāyana Gr. Sū.* ed. by Narendranath Sharma, p.xi.

42. *Cf.* "Religion permeated the whole existence of the ancient Indians to such an extent that actually nothing could take place without an attendant religious ceremony." Winternitz, Maurice, *History of Indian Literature,* Vol. I; p. 274 - also *Cf.* Apte V. M., *Social and Religious Life in the Gṛhya Sūtras,* pp. 65, 90, 206.

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AN UNPUBLISHED VIŚVARŪPA SCULPTURE
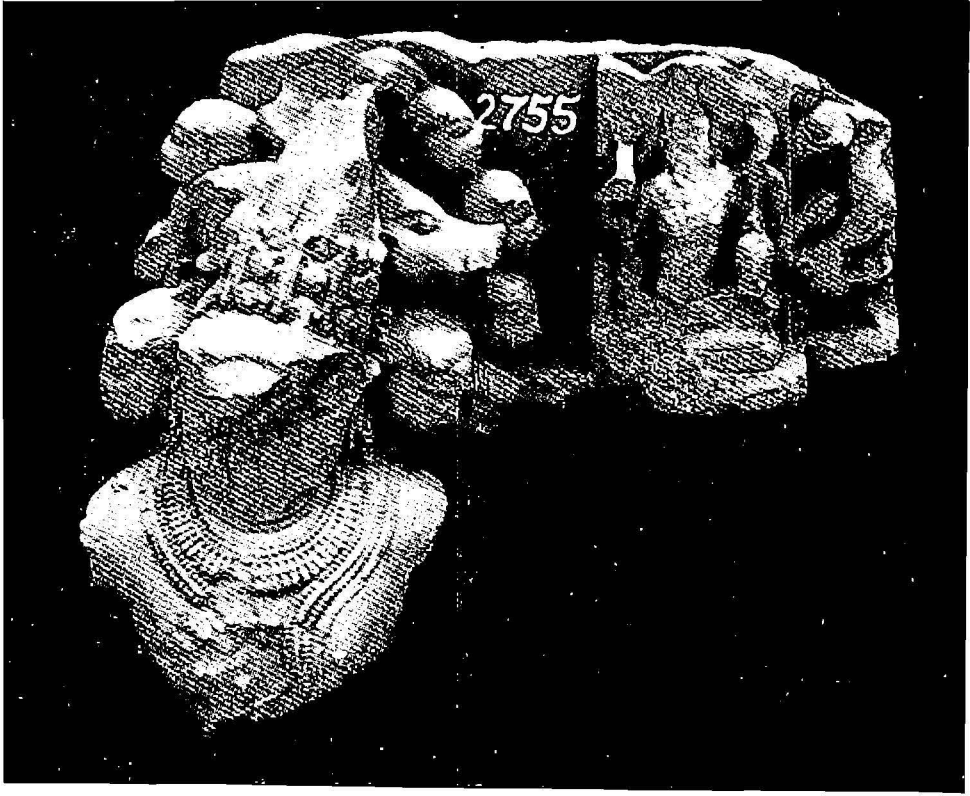# IN THE KHAJURAHO MUSEUM

DEVANGANA DESAI

Khajuraho in Madhya Pradesh had at least ten Viṣṇu temples, out of its extant 25 temples, built between A.D. 900 and 1150 under the patronage of the Candella dynasty. The temples were dedicated to Viṣṇu in his composite form of Vaikuṇṭha, and to his incarnations of Varāha (Boar) and Vāmana (Dwarf). Numerous images of Yoga-Nārāyaṇa, Hari-Hara, and *avatāras* Including that of Hayagrīva have been found at Khajuraho.[1] Viṣṇu as Viśvarūpa, the All Pervading One, was also portrayed at Khajuraho.

Viśvarūpa represents the cosmic form of Viṣṇu unfolding the whole of manifestation. The concept seen in ancient religious tradition, was articulated in the *Bhagavad Gītā*, eleventh chapter, (c.2nd century A.D.), in which Kṛṣṇa reveals his cosmic form to Arjuna. The concept received theological support in the Pāñcarātra system of Vaiṣṇavism. In fact, the Tantrāntara sect of the Pāñcarātra worshipped the multi-headed Viṣṇu having *saumya* (placid), Narasiṁha (Lion), Varāha (Boar) and other faces.[2]

From about the 5th century A.D. onwards we find the visual expression of this theological concept in sculptural art at Shamalaji (Gujarat), Mathura, Dalmau, Baijanath, Kannauj and Bhuilli (Uttar Pradesh), Bajaura (Kulu) and other sites. In the early creative period of Viśvarūpa sculptures, artists conveyed the expansive form by depicting numerous emanations and *avatāras*, Grahas, Vasus, Dikpālas, Rudras, Ādityas and other celestial beings emerging from the multi-form heads of Viṣṇu and creating an elaborate *prabhāvalī* or nimbus around the divinity.[3] But by the 9th century A.D. there was a tendency towards abbreviation in the composition and arrangement of the multiple emanatory figures of the *prabhāvalī*. The earlier Viśvarūpas at Shamalaji, Deogadh and Kannauj (early phase) were possibly principal icons worshipped in the *garbhagṛha* (sanctum), while the later figures such as those from Bhuilli (now in the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Varanasi) and Moriam (Patna district) seem to have been *āvaraṇa-devatās*,[4] subsidiary surrounding divinities. This change in the position of Viśvarūpa in the temple's pantheon led to a change in the composition of images according to the architectural setting and the size of niches.

By the time when Khajuraho entered the scene of temple art in the 10th century A.D., the Viśvarūpa iconography had already passed through its various

. The Viśvarūpa image in the Archaeological Museum, Khajuraho. Copyright ASI.
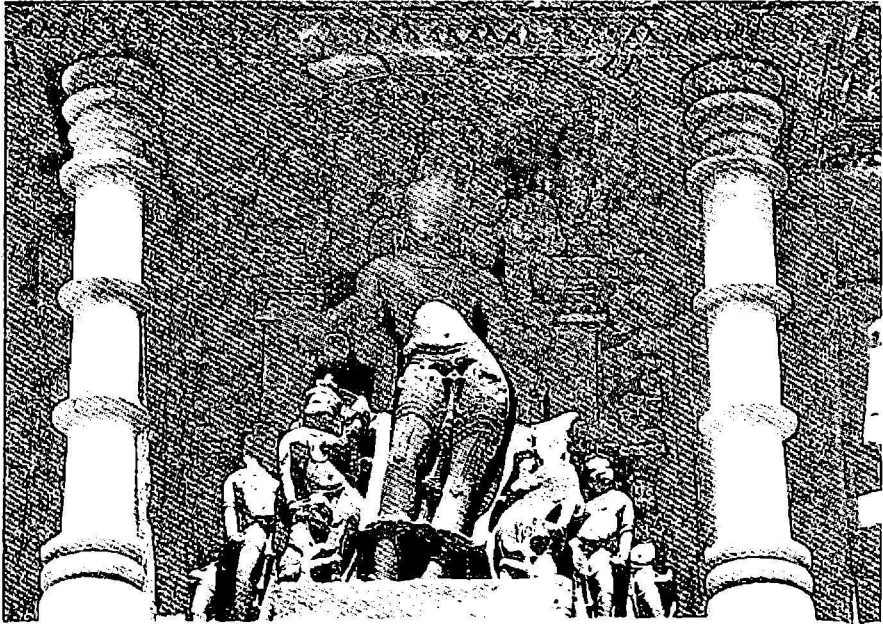
B. The Eleven-headed Viṣṇu in the cardinal niche, Citragupta temple, Khajuraho.

The Viśvarūpa image in the mahāmaṇḍapa, Lakṣmaṇa temple, Khajuraho.

creative stages and experimentations at the above-mentioned sites and was almost standardised and abridged.

Hitherto we all believed that there is only one image of Viśvarūpa in Khajuraho. Ramashraya Avasthi, who has a well-documented book on Khajuraho iconography, states that he has come across only one Viśvarūpa image in Khajuraho.[5] This image is *in situ* in an *āvaraṇa* niche of the *mahāmaṇḍapa* of the Lakṣmaṇa (Vaikuṇṭha) temple (Pl.II) The temple was built by the Candella King Yaśovarman in V.S. 1011 (A.D.954) as per the inscription slab now fixed in its porch. The image is integral to the pantheon of the Vaikuṇṭha temple, which was affiliated to the Pāñcarātra Kāśmirāgama faith.[6] Standing in *tribhanga*, it is sculpted in the manner of Vaikuṇṭha and Ananta images of Khajuraho. The deity is twelve-armed and has five visual heads : the central human head (much defaced), flanked by faces of Varāha, Narasimha, Matsya (Fish) and Kūrma (Tortoise). The back head mentioned in texts is generally unseen. It has a circular arrangement of nine human heads. On two sides of the nimbus are subsidiary images of Brahmā and Śiva.

The portrayal of this image of Viśvarūpa, as suggested by Avasthi, seems to have its textual support in the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* (83, 1-2), particularly in the portrayal of the four main heads (human, Lion, Boar, and the unseen rear one). Like the north Indian and Himalayan Viśvarūp? types it has features of Vaikuṇṭha. The sculptural depiction of the Fish and Tortoise heads begins from *c.* 8th century A.D. and finds support in the later inscription of Nagpur of V.S. 1161 (A.D.1104). The seventh verse of the inscription reads :

वैश्वरूपस्य समभ्यर्च्य मीनाद्याकृति कैतवात् ।
स्वाभिन्ननिर्मिताशेष विश्वो विष्णुः पुनातु व: ॥

"May Viṣṇu, having assumed the form of Viśvarūpa under the pretext of Fish and other figures and having created the whole universe identical with himself, purify you."[7]

Recently, while going through the photo-albums of the Archaeological Survey of India, Museum Branch, Calcutta, I saw a photograph of another Viśvarūpa, a fragmentary image, No. 2755, which is sheltered in the Archaeological Museum, Khajuraho. The ASI register records the provenance of the image as Khajuraho, but does not mention its particular find-spot on the site. Though a fragmentary image, preserving only the bust (Pl.I,A), it is significant, as it is a second specimen of Viśvarūpa in Khajuraho.

This Viśvarūpa image also has five visible heads. Its principal human head is flanked by two smaller human heads, which are topped on the image's left by the head of the Boar and on the right by the corresponding Lion head (partially preserved). But unlike the Lakṣmaṇa temple's Viśvarūpa, the two human lateral faces are given importance. The Boar and the Lion faces

are in the second tier. However, only the principal head is crowned and
not the lateral heads. All well-known Viśvarūpa images, except those from
Shamalaji and Kathlal in Western India and Changunarayan in Nepal, generally
represent animal heads on sides, as also the Lakṣmaṇa temple's Viśvarūpa.
Could it be that the artist of this second Viśvarūpa image of Khajuraho, instead
of showing the heads of the Fish and Tortoise, is showing the humanised
forms of these *avatāras*? We may mention that in the cardinal niches of
the sanctum of the Lakṣmaṇa temple, both these *avatāras* are shown in the
Yoga-Nārāyaṇa form.[8]

In this connection, an image of Eleven-headed Viṣṇu[9] in the southern
cardinal niche of the Citragupta (Sūrya) temple is noteworthy (Pl. I,B). Its
arrangement of heads, including the lateral human heads flanking the central
head is similar to that of the Viśvarūpa of the Khajuraho Museum. Also its
Varāha and Narasiṁha heads are shown in the second tier as in the case
of the Museum Viśvarūpa (compare Pls.I, A & B).

There is a semi-circular arrangement of seven (out of nine) smaller human
heads on the upper portion of the Viśvarūpa image of the Khajuraho Museum.
These are not the grimacing Rudra faces, known as "Rudra-mukha-paṅkti"[10],
seen in earlier Viśvarūpa images. These *rakṣāvalī* faces have tender expression.
The arrangement of these heads directed outward at right angles, rather than
facing the viewer, indicates the final phase in the development of Viśvarūpa
iconography seen from the 9th century onwards at Kannauj (later phase),
Manawa-dih (Sitapur) and Bhuilli.[11]

On the right of the bust of Viśvarūpa, a subsidiary image of seated Śiva
can be seen. He holds a *triśūla*, snake and a pot. The corresponding Brahmā
image is now missing.

The date : The image is badly mutilated. Its arms are broken. The crown
(kirīṭa-mukuṭa), neck ornaments *(graiveyaka* and *hāra)* and a jewelled broad
upavīta adorn the figure and bear close similarity with those worn by the
images on the Devī Jagadambā (originally dedicated to Viṣṇu) and the Citragupta
(Sūrya) temples of Khajuraho. There is a resemblance with the ornaments
worn by Vāmana in the *antarāla* (vestibule) niche of the Citragupta temple.
The *makara* (mythical sea creature) on the right side of Viśvarūpa has similarity
with the same motif carved on the *antarāla* niches of the Citragupta temple.[12]
Particularly remarkable is the close resemblance in the arrangement of heads
as well as ornaments of the Museum Viśvarūpa and the Eleven-headed Viṣṇu
of the Citragupta temple noted above. The depiction of the *makara* motif
on the border of the frame of both the images is similar. Although the heads
of the Museum Viśvarūpa image reveal softness of carving, and their hair
is delicately rendered suggestive of an early date, the ornaments adorning
the figures and the *makara* indicate a date nearer to the Citragupta and

Devī Jagadambā temples. These temples are stylistically dated to *circa* A.D. 1000-1025 by Krishna Deva.[13]

The magnificence of the cosmogonic vision of the 5th-8th century Viśvarūpa images of Shamalaji, Mathura and Deogadh is missing in the Khajuraho Viśvarūpa images which were subsidiary *āvaraṇa* images and not principal icons in the *garbhagṛha* of temples. They are iconic rather than expressive of the expansive, All Pervading Being. Rather the Khajuraho architect presents Viṣṇu as the All Pervading Being not through an icon but through the well-planned configuration of images - the *avatāras*, Dikpālas, Vasus, Grahas - around the Vaikuṇtha image in the sanctum of the Lakṣmaṇa temple.[14]

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List of Illustrations :

I. A. The Viśvarūpa image in the Archaeological Museum, Khajuraho.

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URDU JOURNALISM IN INDIAN SETTING

NIZAMUDDIN S. GOREKAR

Journalism, in the words of Ronald E. Wellesley, is the systematic and reliable dissemination of public information, public opinion, public entertainment by modern mass media of communication.

India which is termed as the *Land of Babel* on account of diversity of languages, has recognized all its major languages, including Urdu in the Schedule VIII of the Constitution of India, and as a result, obviously, these languages are considered as the national languages of Indian Republic. It is a matter of gratification that journalism in Indian languages, started in 1816, with a paper in Bengali of a short space of life of one year followed by Persian, Urdu and Hindi in 1822, 1823 and 1826 respectively, though the first English paper as *Bengal Gazette,* published from Calcutta in 1780, has played a vital role in rousing enthusiasm and zeal amongst Indian people, and instilling in their minds a conception of duty towards the people and inculcating in them a love of freedom coupled with strong sentiment of patriotism for the country, or rather, in educating them in accordance with the urges and demands of the time, existing conditions, and prevailing circumstances. It may be added that as a result of the British domination *Madrasah* for Islamic learning in 1781 and *Pathashala* for Sanskritic lore in 1791 were established but with no provision for English education in all walks of life.

As a matter of fact, journalism in Urdu, a *lingua-franca* of India, was the direct outcome of the change of language of administration in 1836 from Persian to Urdu in view of Macaulay's Act of 1835 of Public Education, and as a consequence, the first Urdu paper named *Delhi Urdu Akhbar* appeared in 1836 with Maulvi Muhammed Baqir, father of Maulana Muhammed Husein Azad, a contemporary of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, the champion of Aligarh Movement. The paper was not merely a purveyor of news but a mirror-holder of literary-cum-cultural activity. It came to an end with the execution of its editor, but immediately another paper called *Syedul-Akhbar* in 1837 saw the day with Syed Muhammed Khan, brother of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan on the lines of its predecessor, but it was suspended due to the sudden demise of its editor. It may be mentioned here that according to some critics and researchers, *Jam-e-Jahan Numa,* a Persian paper, started in 1822 under the editorship of Lala Sada Sukh Rai from Culcutta became bilingual along with Urdu in 1823, and hence is rightly considered as the first Urdu paper which continued for nearly five years, disseminating local news and also relevant information from other parts of the country.

The French orientalist Garcin de Tassy says that there were nearly twenty six papers in Urdu by 1850 and the number of Urdu papers rose to ninety of which thirty-one were magazines and periodicals in the Urdu language.

It may be mentioned here that Urdu journalism since its inception has championed the cause of different religious groups of India, and thus the Arya Samajists in 1878 had a number of Urdu papers as their mouth-piece such as *Arya Darpan* in 1876 from Shahjehanpur, *Arya Gazette* in 1885 from Ferozpur, *Pratap* in 1919 from Lahore, and *Tej* in 1923 from Delhi which were following the nationalist policy with the induction of their missionary objectives and thereby strengthening the cause of their social organizations. The Jainas also used Urdu as a means for their religious education and the prominent papers were *Jain Prakash* in 1884 from Farrokhnagar (Gurgaon) and *Jain Pradeep* in 1913 from Deoband. The Sikhs made Urdu a language of communication and education for their community, and as such *Khalsah Gazette*, a weekly, from Lahore, was edited by Bhai Nand Gopal, while *Khalsah Akhbar*, a weekly, from Lahore, was sponsored by Sardar Har Chand Singh. But *Sher-e-Punjab* was the most prominent paper of the Sikhs which rendered yeoman's service to the cause of religious education to its people. The Kayasthas did not lag behind in adopting Urdu as their social language. And through it, they acquainted, rather educated, their brethren about their glorious past, making them conscious of their being a cultured section of the Indian society. The *Kayesth Akhbar* in 1888 from Lucknow, *Tohfah-e-Kashmir* in 1876 from Srinagar, and *Kayesth Darpan* in 1903 from Allahabad were some of the outstanding papers of the Kayasthas. The Christians also used Urdu as a weapon for educating their people of their missionary activity in relation to other religious groups, particularly, the Muslim section of the Indian society. The important papers, among others, were *Makhzan-e-Masihi* in 1867 from Allahabad, and *Haqaiq-e-Irfan* from Amritsar, besides *Shamsul-Akhbar* in 1869 from Lucknow. The Muslims whether Shias or Sunnis also adopted Urdu as religious weapon, and as such propagated their views and beliefs on Islam vehemently and in a harsh way. The *Noor-e-Mashriqu* in 1853 from Delhi was the staunch organ of the Shia section of the Muslim community, while *Al-Jamiat* from Delhi was the organ of the Jamiat-e-Ulema-e-Hind. In other words, it could be said that Urdu served all the sections of the Indian subcontinent, religious or linguistic, and helped in propagating their viewpoints and beliefs, and thus presented unity in diversity which is an aspect of the composite culture of India.

With the introduction of lithography, there was remarkable progress in Urdu journalism but in view of the Vernacular Press Act of 1878, and thereafter of the Press Acts of 1908 and 1910, the Indian journalism including Urdu, was very much restrained and as a result, public affairs and political matters were not discussed with vehemence, as they were done prior to the *Rising* of 1857. Now the emphasis was laid not only on historical and cultural

issues but also on educational and scientific problems. The *Tehzibul-Akhlaq* started by Syed Ahmed Khan, and *Ouadh Akhbar* under the auspices of Naval Kishore Press in Lucknow, were the outstanding educational papers and were very popular. The *Ouadh Akhbar* carried series of cartoons by Wazir Ali Shauq and Ganga Sahai, the well-known artists of the day, and was also known for a serialization of a story in the paper which was later published as *Fisanah-e-Azad,* a classic in Urdu, in twenty-five hundred pages, written by Pandit Ratan Nath Sarshar, an eminent Urdu litterateur. The *Tehzibul-Akhlaq,* edited by Syed Ahmed Khan, a doyen of Urdu, was modelled on *Tatler* and *Spectator* of Addison and Steele. It was greatly instrumental in bringing about social-cum-religious reform, amongst the Muslims, particularly freedom from religious conventions. It proved an effective incentive for the encouragement of the spirit of enquiry and research, and consequently, rendered a great service to cultivate a taste for criticism and research in spite of a strong opposition from the then so-called intellectuals.

The beginning of the twentieth century saw the turning point in Urdu journalism, and thus, achieved tremendous popularity. There was a flow of Urdu papers from several places, including small towns where printing facilities were meagre. Of the outstanding papers *Urdu-e-Mualla* edited by Maulana Hasrat Mohani from Aligarh, *Madeena* from Bijnore, *Suleh-e-Kul* from Gorakhpur, *Riyasat* from Delhi, *Mukhbir-e-Dakhan* from Hyderabad, *Milap* from Lahore, *Khilafat* from Bombay, *Sheefa* from Kanpur, *Kaukab-e-Hind* from Agra, and *Rozanah Akhbar* from Bareilly were of high standard. But *Al-Hilal* started from Calcutta in 1912 under the editorship of Maulana Abul-Kalam Azad, an eminent Islamicist was the epoch making paper of the early twentieth century. The main object of this paper was to urge the Muslims in particular to be nationalist and not to be colonialist. It was his mission to see that the paper was printed in type instead of conventional lithographic process. In *India Wins Freedom* Maulana Azad writes : "The more the old leadership opposed, the more popular *Al-Hilal* became with the community. Within two years, *Al-Hilal* reached a circulation of 26000 copies, a figure which was still unheard of in Urdu journalism." The sarcastic remarks made by Maulana Azad were not tolerated and in 1915 the Press was raided, the machinery was seized, and the deposit money was confiscated. Another paper named *Al-Balagh* was started on the lines of *Al-Hilal* but unfortunately the paper was suspended under the Defence of India Rules and Maulana Saheb was arrested in 1916. It must be mentioned that the excellent get-up and flowery style of these papers caught the imagination of the Urdu-reading public, and the credit of revolutionizing Urdu journalism goes to Maulana Saheb, and some of the innovations made by him are still practised by the Urdu journalists of today. The *Zamindar* with Maulana Zafar Ali Khan as its energetic and enterprising editor, was a pioneer in the field of Urdu journalism with nationalist approach and patriotic outlook as its main policy. The paper had a countrywide

circulation under the editorship of Maulana Zafar Ali Khan who was an institution by himself. Even after his death it continued as a well-known and standard paper of Urdu. It may also be stated that *Hamdam,* started by Maulana Abdul-Bari Farangi-Mahli of Lucknow from Kanpur and *Hamdard,* initiated by Maulana Muhammad Ali Jawhar, champion of the Khilafat Movement, gave powerful exhortations to the Muslim nationalist cause through their trenchant pen. Besides, there were a number of papers which also did a great service to the cause of Indian freedom struggle.

It may be recalled that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru started *Quami Awaz* as a sister publication of *National Herald* in 1945 from Lucknow, nationalistic in character, with Hayatullah Ansari of Lucknow as its editor, whereas Chaudhari Khaliquz-zaman, a staunch Muslim leaguer, brought out, in the same year, an Urdu daily by the name of *Tanweer.* These papers were political in nature, and presented and supported their viewpoints and policies respectively.

The Urdu periodicals, prior to the Indian Independence in 1947, were several, and some of them were not only literary but were educative and informative. The standard of these magazines was high and applauded by rank and file. Of the literary journals *Makhzan* edited by Sir Abdul-Qadir, *Humayun* by Mian Bashir Ahmed, *Maarif* from Azamgarh, frequently edited by Maulana Sabahuddin Abdur-Rehman, *Urdu,* edited by Moulvi Abdul-Haque, *Zamanah* from Kanpur, edited by Daya Narayan Nigam, *Nigar* from Lucknow (now from Lahore) started and edited by Niaz Fatehpuri, *Hindustani* from Allahabad, *Saqi* from Delhi, edited by Shahid Ahmed Dehlavi, and *Jamiah* from Delhi, *Nawa-e-Adab* from Bombay, *Shair* from Agra (and now from Bombay), *Sabras* from Hyderabad, and such other journals are remarkable, and have contributed a great deal to Urdu language and literature in general, and Urdu journalism in particular.

It may be concluded that the early journalism in Urdu was not concerned with commercial gain, rather it meant writing for writing's sake just as the teachers who impart knowledge honestly to their pupils or the reformers who keep themselves engaged doing social work as hobby, but with the passage of time it not only purveyed the news but also mirrored the literary, educational, cultural, social, economic and political situations and thus consequently, instilled in the natives of India, irrespective of race, community, language, culture, ideology and occupation, a sentiment of patriotism for the struggle of Indian Independence, leading to national integration through unity in diversity coupled with our urge for the welfare of the country along with service to humanity at large.

In a word, Urdu journalism played a remarkable role in the freedom struggle against the British colonialism in India, and ultimately achieved Indian Independence in 1947.

ABHINAVABHĀRATĪ TEXT : RESTORED

V. M. KULKARNI

For the convenience of the reader of this article which in fact is in continuation of my earlier article,* I reprint here the prefatory portion which I feel the reader ought to know.

The *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata (between 100 B.C. to 200 A.D.) is the oldest work covering the whole ground connected with Drama and its stage-performance. It also comprises studies of Poetry, Prosody, Dialects and Dance and Music. The text is available in some MSS., however they are full of corruption.

The only commentary that we have is *Abhinavabhāratī* by Abhinavagupta. Its merit was so great that whatever commentaries existed before became obsolete — eventually they were allowed to disappear altogether with the result that there is no trace of them. Whatever we know of them is through the references that Abhinavagupta makes to them.

Unfortunately even *Abhinavabhāratī* is badly preserved. Almost each and every page of this commentary bristles with corrupt readings and occasionally even lines. This renders the already difficult writing of Abhinavagupta, the whole and sole interpreter of Bharata, all the more difficult. Abhinavagupta is the greatest name in Sanskrit Literary Criticism and Aesthetics. His word is, practically speaking, law. It is, therefore, imperative to present his text as correctly as possible, with all available aids and intensive study of the text, especially "the external *testimonium* of other treatises on *Nāṭyaśāstra* which clearly and closely borrow from Abhinavagupta" - for example Hemacandra's *Kāvyānuśāsana* (with his commentary *Viveka*), Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra's *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* and commentaries like *Kalpalatāviveka*. Modern scholars like S. K. De, V. Raghavan, R. P. Kangle have made sincere efforts to improve the text of some portions of *Abhinavabhāratī*. The present writer too published a series of papers restoring corrupt readings and lines, which are reprinted and published in my book, *Studies in Sanskrit Sāhitya Śāstra.*

In this paper I propose to restore about 25 corrupt passages occurring in *Abhinavabhāratī*.

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1. चित्तवृत्तय एवालौकिका: वाचिकाद्यभिनयप्रक्रियारूढतया स्वात्मानं लौकिकदशायामनास्वाद्यमास्वाद्यं कुर्वन्तीत्यतस्ता एव भावा: ।

— *A. Bh.* I, 1956, edn. p. 344.

This sentence is, as it stands, absurd. R. P. Kangle emends it as follows :

चित्तवृत्तय एव लौकिका... स्वात्मानमलौकिकदशायामास्वाद्यं... ।

— *Rasa-bhāva-vicāra* (Mar.), Bombay, 1973, p. 368.

Kangle has changed *'alaukikāḥ'* to *'laukikāḥ'* and *'laukika'* to *'alaukika'* without any evidence. He justifies the emendations saying that they are necessary to get a consistent meaning out of it. The editor of the fourth revised edition of *NS,* fully follows Kangle and reproduces his 'improved' text.[1]

Now, it is important to note in this connection the following sentence of Abhinavagupta :

... ... यथा च कामादिषु समुचिताश्चित्तवृत्तयो रत्यादिशब्दवाच्या: कवि-नट-व्यापारे-णास्वाद्योग्यताप्रापणद्वारेण ... ... सामाजिकान्प्रति रसत्वं शृङ्गारादितया नीयन्ते...

— 4 th edn., p. 327.

It is *kavi (- pratibhā) vyāpāra* and *naṭa-vyāpāra* i. e. the medium of fine arts, which renders worldly feelings like sorrow, anger, etc. relishable *(āsvādya)* even though they are not relishable in our everyday life. In the sentence under consideration the *naṭa-vyāpāra* is referred to as *Vācikā-dyabhinayaprakriyā.* More importantly, it is Hemacandra who has preserved intact the *original, genuine* reading of *Abhinavabhāratī* in the following passage :

रति-हास-शोक-क्रोधोत्साह-भय-जुगुप्सा-विस्मय-शमा: स्थायिनो भावा: ।
भावयन्ति चित्तवृत्तय एवालौकिकवाचिकाद्यभिनयप्रक्रियारूढतया स्वात्मानं लौकिक-दशायामनास्वाद्यमप्यास्वाद्यं कुर्वन्ति, यद्वा भावयन्ति व्याप्नुवन्ति सामाजिकानां मन इति *भावा:,* स्थायिनो व्यभिचारिणश्च । तत्र स्थायित्वमेतावतामेव ।

— *Kāvyānuśāsana,* 1964 edn., p. 124.

We should therefore restore the passage as follows :

एतदुक्तं भवति — [भावयन्ति] चित्तवृत्तय एवालौकिकवाचिकाद्यभिनयप्रक्रियारूढतया स्वात्मानं लौकिकदशायामनास्वाद्यमप्यास्वाद्यं कुर्वन्तीत्यतस्ता एव भावा: ।

2. द्वितीयपक्षे तु वर्णनीय: सकल एवेति । **वृत्तिलक्षणोऽर्थ:** काव्यभेदात् त्रेधा विभज्यते ।

— *A. Bh.* II, p. 296, lines 8-9.

To get consistent meaning of the words in bold type we should read as done by V. Raghavan,... ... ... वर्णनीय: सकल एव इतिवृत्तलक्षणोऽर्थ:...

3. भट्टनायकेनापि त एव (?) शिक्षित्वाभिधाव्यापार प्रधानं काव्यमित्युक्तं -

<div align="right">— A. Bh. II, p. 298, lines 10-11.</div>

The words in bold type make no sense. The two corrupt readings त एव and शिक्षित्वाभिधाव्यापार may be emended as कुशलशिक्षिताभिधाव्यापार... For this emendation we find support in Abhinavagupta's own words in the same passage. (II. 20-21) : कुशलशिक्षितव्यापारो हि तत्काव्यदर्शि भात्येव ।

4. तथा हि **पादताडितके** श्रोत्रियं श्रोतारमभिप्रेत्य विटस्यापि निर्गुणपुरुषस्यैवोक्तिः "मा मुसलेनापाकार्षीः, मा कुसूलाग्निना भार्क्षीः" इति शोभां पुष्णाति ।   •

<div align="right">— A. Bh. II, p. 299, lines 8-10.</div>

The expression 'kusūlāgni' is doubtful. The word 'kusūla' is not recorded in the Sanskrit dictionaries. Most probably it is a misprint or misreading; the intended word may be *kukūla* meaning 1. 'chaff' 2. a fire made of chaff.

5. पृथुरसि गुणैर्मूर्त्या रामो... ... ... देवस्त्रिलोकविजय्यपि ॥

<div align="right">— A. Bh. II, pp. 302-303.</div>

This stanza *first* occurs in Mukulabhaṭṭa's *Abhidhāvṛttimātṛkā* as an illustration of *kriyā-yoga-lakṣaṇā* (under *Kārikā* no. 10).

6. वल्मीकं किमुतोद्भृतो गिरिरयं कस्य स्मृशोदाशयं
   त्रैलोक्यं तपसा जितं यदि मया दोष्णा किमेतावता ।

<div align="right">— A. Bh. II. p. 303, last two lines</div>

This stanza is quoted by Hemacandra as an illustration of *Uttama Kāvya* (best kind of poetry). He, however, reads the first half, quoted above, somewhat differently :

वल्मीकः किमुतोद्भृतो गिरिरियत् कस्य स्मृशोदाशयं
त्रैलोक्यं तपसा जितं यदि **मदो दोष्णां** किमेतावता ।

<div align="right">— *Kāvyānuśāsana* (pp. 150-151).</div>

Hemacandra's readings, it would seem, are preferable as they give better meaning.

Narendraprabhasūri, who composed his commentary on his *Alaṁkāramahodadhi* (in 1225-26 A. D.) also cites this stanza.

7. यथा सत्यं सराजगतिषु रञ्जनादिति (?)

<div align="right">— A. Bh. II, p. 305, lines 4-5.</div>

The text may be emended as done by V. Raghavan as follows : यथा सत्यं स राजा, प्रकृतिरञ्जनाद्' इति ।

In support of this emendation the following verse may be cited :

यथा प्रह्लादनाचन्द्रः प्रतापात्तपनो यथा । तथैव सोऽभूद्न्वयो राजा प्रकृतिरञ्जनात् ॥

<div align="right">— 'Raghu IV. 12.</div>

8. ननु गौर्वाहीक इति रूपकयोगेऽपि, किं न **कार्य दोषपरिवर्णन** गुणवत्तरसवत्त्वादिवैकल्यादिति चेत्... ... ...

<div align="right">— A. Bh. II, p. 305, lines 17-19.</div>

In the course of the discussion on the nature of *Kāvya* the readings in bold type in the above sentence make no sense. These need to be emended to *Kāvyam* and *doṣa-parivarjana* -; the passage then suits the context and yields good sense :

ननु गौर्वाहीक इति रूपकयोगेऽपि किं न काव्यम्, दोष-परिवर्जन-गुणवत्तरसवत्त्वादिवैकल्यादिति चेत्...

9. णिग्गंभ दुरारोहिं पुत्तअ (मा) पाडळिं समारूढ ।
आरूढणिपडिआ के इमी ए ण कआ इह गामो ॥

<div align="right">— A. Bh. II, p. 310, lines 2-3.</div>

The text of this Prakrit *gathā* given here is obviously corrupt. It may be restored, following Hemacandra, as follows :

निग्गंड-दुरारोहं मा पुत्तय पाडलं समारुहसु ।
आरूढ-निवडिया के इमीए न कया इह गामे ॥[2]
[निर्गण्ड-दुरारोहां मा पुनरक पाटलां समारोह ।
आरूढ-निपतिता केऽनया न कृता इह ग्रामे ॥ — इति च्छाया]

Hemacandra in his *Vṛtti* adds :

इह शठतरपोटापाटल्योरन्यतररस्याः प्राकरणिकत्वाभावान्न ज्ञायते किमियं समासोक्तिरुतान्योक्तिरिति संशयः ।

As the context of this *gāthā* is not given there is a doubt as to who of the two, *Śaṭhatara-poṭā* and *pāṭalā* is the relevant (prastuta) one and this doubt gives rise to two figures of speech. 1. The Speech of Brevity *(Samāsokti)* and 2. Irrelevant Description *(Aprastuta-Praśaṁsā)*. In other words we have in this *gāthā* the figure of speech : *Saṁśaya-saṅkara*. Hemacandra paraphrases *niggaṇḍadurārohaṁ* as *Kaṭhina-durārohām*. *Poṭā* is a masculine woman, a woman with a beard or such other masculine features. *Śaṭhatarapoṭā* is a very crafty, deceitful masculine woman. *Pāṭalā* or *pāṭalī* is a kind of tree (the trumpet flower).

Bhuvanapāla[3] in his Sanskrit commentary observes :

केनचित् करयचिद् भङ्ग्या अभिध्रीयते यथा इयमिति । कुटिलतया नायिका अनुगन्तुं... न शक्यते ।

अथ कथंचित् कलाकौशलेनाभिगम्यते तदा कालसहा न भवति । प्रेमप्रकोटिमारोप्य निपातयत्येव ।
तदुपसर्पणनिषेधपरेयमुक्ति: ।

Translation : O, young man, don't climb the *Pāṭali* or *Pāṭalā* tree, which
is very hard and difficult to climb. How many (young men) in this village
has this *Pāṭalā* not shaken to their fall ?

10. "बाले, नाथ, विमुञ्च मानिनि रुषं, रोषान्मया किं कृतं,
    खेदोऽस्मासु, न मेऽपराध्यति भवान् सर्वेऽपराधा मयि ।
    तत्किं रोदिषि गद्गदेन वचसा, कस्याग्रतो रुद्यते,
    नन्वेतन्मम, कातरास्मि, दयिता, नास्मीत्यतो रुद्यते ॥ (अमरुकस्य)

                — *A. Bh.* II, p. 310.9. and last four lines cited in the foot-note.

Now, in this charming stanza from *Amaruśataka* the expression in bold
letters ill suits the context. *'Kātarāsmi'* means 'I am timid, grieved or afraid.'
In this passage we have a series of questions and answers : "Fair girl!",
"Well, my lord", "Cast aside thy resentment, Oh sulky one!", "What have
I done in my resentment?" "It has made me troubled!" "Thou hast done
me no wrong; all sins are mine." "Why dost thou weep with a sobbing
voice?", "Before whom do I weep?", "Well, before me." *"What am I to
thee ?" "Beloved."* "I am not, that is why I weep." (As translated by Ingalls)

From this translation it is clear that the question was *"kā tavāsmi"* and
its reply was 'dayitā.' So it follows that we have to replace the wrong reading
'kātarāsmi' by the original, genuine reading *'kā tavāsmi.'*

11. रामो ऽसौ भुवनेषु - - - **यात:**[1] - - - देवो न जानाति किम्[2] ।
    वन्दी[3] वैषयशांसि - - -

                — *A. Bh.* II, p. 310-11, p.311. 1.

This stanza from the play *Rāghavānanda* is quoted by Mammaṭa in his
Kāvyaprakāśa IV. v. no. 109, p. 182. Mammaṭa's readings are, 1. *prāptaḥ*
2. taṁ and 3. *bandīvaiṣa yaśāṁsi.* Whether the reading is *'yātāḥ'* or *'prāptaḥ'*
makes no difference. The other two readings from Mammaṭa's text eminently
suit the context. We have therefore to replace the corresponding readings
in *A. Bh.* by Mammaṭa's readings. It deserves notice that the line (last but
one) in the foot-note correctly reads :

बन्दीवैष यशांसि - - - (p. 311)

The last line reads :

श्रेणीभूतविशाल *साल्विवरो त्कीर्णस्वरै:* सप्तभि: ॥ (राघवानन्दे)

Mammaṭa reads - *तालविवरो द्वीर्णै: स्वरै: सप्तभि:* ॥

The readings of Mammaṭa are at once appropriate. It is wellknown that Rāma

with a view to convincing Sugrīva of his tremendous power and strength pierced seven *tāla* (and not *sāla*) trees in a row with a single arrow. The reading *udgīmaiḥ* is to be preferred to '*Utkīrṇa*' - for the former means 'emitted, poured out' and goes well with '*svara's* whereas the latter means 'scattered upwards', dug up, 'carved or engraved' - which ill suits the context.

12. मुखमंसविवर्ति पक्ष्मलाक्ष्या: कथमप्युन्नमितं न चुम्बितं *तत्* । इति ।

— (*Śākuntala* III. 24 cd.) *A. Bh.* II, p. 316, last line.

Abhinavagupta quotes this second half of the famous stanza from the *Śākuntala* (Act III), opening with "*muhuraṅguli-saṁvṛtādharoṣṭham*", to illustrate the *lakṣaṇa* called '*paścāttāpa*' - repentance or regret. The reading 'tat' in the above text miserably fails to convey this sense. The particle 'tu' is suggestive of repentance : "Oh, what a fool I was not to have kissed her!" Compare 'अत्र तु इति निपातस्य अनुतापव्यञ्जकत्वम्' - *Sāhityadarpaṇa* under iv.11 ab. (A. B. Gajendragadkar, 1934 edn., Notes, p. 336). In view of these facts we must read "न चुम्बितं तु ।" इति ।

13. क्वाकार्यं शशलक्ष्मण: क्व च कुलं भूयोऽपि दृश्येत सा ... ...

— *A. Bh.* II, p. 318, lines 4-7.

Mammaṭa quotes this stanza to illustrate '*bhāva-śabalatā*.' Jhalakikar in his *Bālabodhinī* (Sanskrit commentary) p. 126 discusses the source of this stanza and concludes that it is drawn from *Vikramorvaśīya*, Act. IV. In the printed text of *A. Bh.* two misprints have crept in : one, किं वक्ष्यन्त्यपकलमषा: for किं वक्ष्यन्त्यपकल्मषा: (third line) and two, चेत: स्वास्थ्यमुपेहि for चेत: स्वास्थ्यमुपैहि (fourth line).

14. *एनां* पश्य... हरो, गाण्डीवेन .... ॥

— *A. Bh.* II, p. 320, lines 10-13.

This very stanza is quoted by Kuntaka in his *Vakrokti-jīvita* (Dharwad edn., p. 79) and Hemacandra in his *Kāvyānuśāsana* (Bombay 1964 edn., p. 407) with the variant readings एतां... हर: कोदण्डेन but the meaning remains the same.

15. सारभूतानां जातीनां वभूनां युवतीनां संबन्धिनी । परिवारत्वे स्थिता रामा रामा सर्वैव स्त्रीव्यक्ता ईषत्स्फुटाकारा ।

— *A. Bh.* II p. 328, lines 1-2.

The words in bold type in the above passage are obviously corrupt. If we remember that here Abhinavagupta explains the second *caraṇa* of the verse XVI. 67 :

"व्यक्ताव्यक्ता सारजनीनाम्", it becomes easy to emend the corrupt readings to सारभूतानां जनीनां and परिवारत्वे स्थिता रामा रामा सर्वैव स्त्री । व्यक्ताव्यक्ता ईषत्स्फुटाकारा ।

16. अर्थहीनं यथा - "अद्यापि स्मरसि रसालसं मनो मे मुग्धायाः स्मरचतुराणि" । अत्र पूर्वापरव्याघातादसंबन्धता ।

— A. Bh. II, p. 332, lines 1-2.

The text needs to be corrected in the light of Vāmana's *Kāvyālamkāra-sūtra-vṛtti* (2.2.10) :

अद्यापि स्मरति रसालसं मनो मे मुग्धायाः स्मर-चतुराणि चेष्टितानि ।

This Vāmana gives as an example of the fault *(doṣa)* of *Vyartham* which he defines as :

व्याहतपूर्वोत्तरार्थं व्यर्थम् ।

He comments on the example :

मुग्धायाः कथं स्मरचतुराणि चेष्टितानि । तानि चेत् कथं मुग्धा । अत्र पूर्वोत्तरयोरर्थयोर्विरोधाद् व्यर्थमिति ।

In view of Vāmana's exposition we have to emend our text, reading *'smarati'* for *'smarasi'* and adding *ceṣṭitāni* after *'smaracaturāṇi.'*

17. यथा वा "स महात्मा भाग्यवशान्महापथमुपागतः" इति । अत्र हि सावशेषः प्रकरणापेक्षो वस्तुनिश्चयः, अभाग्यवशादित्यपि संभाव्यत्वात् ।

— A. Bh. II, p. 332, lines 2-4.

Abhinavagupta explains the second part of Bharata's definition of *artha-hīna,* *'sāvaśeṣārtham eva ca'* as the fault *(doṣa)* *'sandigdham'* of Vāmana, as is clear from the example which Abhinavagupta has taken over from Vāmana. In the light of Vāmana's text we have to emend the text given above by reading *'mahāpada'* in place of *mahāpatha* which obviously is not 'doubtful.' The *Vṛtti* on the *Sūtra* (2.2.20) makes the whole point clear : संशयकृत् सन्दिग्धम् । (२.२.२०)--- यथा -

स महात्मा भाग्यवशान्महापदमुपागतः । किं भाग्यवशान्महापदमुपागतः आहोस्विदभाग्य-वशान्महतीमापदमिति संशयकृद् वाक्यं, प्रकरणाद्यभावे सतीति ।

The word *mahāpadam* can mean 'great position' as well as its· very opposite 'great fall', great calamity, misfortune, adversity. In such cases the context *(prakaraṇa)* alone can decide the meaning.

18. तृतीयं भिन्नार्थं यथा - "स्याच्चेदेष रावणः" - - - भेदितम् ।

— A.Bh. II, p. 332, lines 8-11.

"स्याच्चेदेष रावणः" इत्युक्त्वा, "क्व नु पुनः सर्वत्र सर्वे गुणाः" इति । उद्दिष्टं ह्यत्र रावणस्यानुपादेयत्वम् । क्व नु पुनरित्येनना (? पुनरित्यनेना) न्यथाकरणाद् भेदितम् ।

The two parts cited above form the fourth quarter of the famous stanza *"Ājñā śakra-śikhā-maṇi-praṇayinī..."* etc., from Rājaśekhara's *Bālarāmāyaṇa* (I. 36). Abhinavagupta quotes the two parts which form one sentence to

illustrate how they contain *mutual contradiction* of two bits of ideas in one
and the same sentence - the third variety of *bhinnārtha.*

19. एकार्थं यथा – 'कुन्देन्दु-हार-हर-हास-सितम्' इति ।

<div align="right">– A. Bh. II, p. 332, line 12.</div>

Abhinavagupta follows, generally speaking, Vāmana in his treatment of
doṣas and *guṇas* described by Bharata in his *Nāṭyaśāstra* (Ch. XVI, 87-113).
In the case of the *doṣa ekārtha* he cites as its illustration a series of *upamānas*
(standards of comparison) from the illustration of *asādṛśya* (lack of similarity),
one of the *upamā-doṣas* laid down by Vāmana ! Again the illustration there
is cited by a *pūrvapakṣin* :

परपक्षं प्रतिक्षेपुं पूर्वपक्षसूत्रमुपक्षिपति —

उपमानाभिक्यात् तदपोह इत्येके । ४.२.१८

उपमानाभिक्यात् तरयासादृश्यरन्याऽपोह इत्येके मन्यन्ते ।

यथा कर्पूरहारहरहाससितं यशस्ते । कर्पूरादिभिरूपमानैर्बहुभि: सादृश्यं सुस्थापितं भवति ।
तेषां शुक्रगुणातिरेकात् ।

<div align="right">– Vāmana (4.2.18) Sūtra-Vṛtti.</div>

Vāmana's illustration of *ekārtha* (or *uktārtha*) is as follows :

चिन्तामोहमनङ्गमङ्ग तनुते विप्रेक्षितं मुग्ध्रुव: ।

Abhinavagupta, however, cites it as an illustration of the *doṣa* called
arthāntara by Bharata !

Raghavan rightly observes,

Abhinavagupta cites Vāmana's illustration for *ekārtha* or *uktārtha* under
Bharata's *arthāntara* and this is not sufficiently intelligible."

<div align="right">– Bhoja's Śṛṅgāraprakāśa, p. 222.</div>

20. सुवीरेष्वस्ति नगरी - - -

<div align="right">– A. Bh. II, p. 333, lines 2-3.</div>

Abhinavagupta cites this verse from Vāmana's *Kāvyālaṁkāra-sūtra-vṛtti*
(2.2.23) as an example of *deśa-viruddha (artha).* Please note Vāmana reads
the verse :

सौवीरेष्वस्ति नगरी मधुरा - - -

21. गाहन्तां महिषा *निपानसलिलैः* - - -

<div align="right">– A. Bh. II, p. 336, lines 13-16.</div>

This stanza is drawn from *Śākuntala* (II. 6). Abhinavagupta quotes this
stanza to illustrate the quality called *samatā* at page 336. He quotes it again

to illustrate the quality called *mādhurya* at pp. 339-40.

"गाहन्तां महिषा निपानसलिलं" (शाकुन्तल २.६)

Once again he quotes it to illustrate the quality of *saukumārya* at page 341 (fourth line from below) :

क्वचित् पदस्य स्वयं पारुष्यं भवति - - - क्वचित् संहिता - - - तदुभयरहितत्वं **सौकुमार्यं** शब्दगुण: । यथा - "गाहन्ताम्" इत्यादि ।

Vāmana has cited this stanza as an example of the Vaidarbhī style (I.2.11). His reading is '*nipāna-salilam.*' Abhinavagupta once reads '*nipāna-salilaiḥ*' but on another occasion '*nipāna-salilam.*' The generally accepted reading is '*nipāna-salilam*'. We should therefore correct the reading *nipāna-salilaiḥ*' to '*salilam.*'

22. अन्यैरप्युक्तं "तेन वर्णा रसच्युत:" इत्यादि ।

<div align="right">— A. Bh. II, p. 339, line 7 (from below).</div>

This quarter is drawn from Ānandavardhana's *Dhvanyāloka*. It occurs as the fourth quarter of the third as well as the fourth kārikā (*uddyota* III). In the third *kārikā* the sentence means : "*Te varṇāḥ na rasa-cyutaḥ*" [Those letters hamper the manifestation of *Śṛṅgāra rasa* (Erotic sentiment)]. In the fourth *kārikā* however the sentence means : "*Tena varṇā rasacyutaḥ*" [Thereby (or hence) those letters contribute to the manifestation of *rasas* like the *bībhatsa* (the sentiment of disgust) etc.]. Incidentally it may be noted that there is a variant reading '*rasaścyutaḥ*'.

23. क्वचित् पदस्य स्वयं पारुष्यं भवति यथा-द्राढा अजढा निर्द्वैतं सटक्त्व-व्यवसिति: इति। क्वचित् संहिता दव्यार्ख्यैर्वीविभूयते तदुभयरहितत्वं सौकुमार्यं शब्दगुण: । यथा "गाहन्ताम्" इत्यादि । -

<div align="right">A. Bh. II, p. 341, lines 16-19.</div>

Raghavan has observed : "... on the ten *guṇas* and their nature, Abhinavagupta follows Vāmana completely. The *Abhinavabhāratī* here is more a commentary on Vāmana's *guṇa-prakaraṇa* than on Bharata's."[4] This is, *generally speaking*, very true. As far as the present passage is concerned only a part of it is common to Vāmana (3.1.22) :

अजरठत्वं सौकुमार्यम् ।...
विपर्ययस्तु यथा - निदानं *निर्द्वैतं प्रियजनसटक्त्वव्यवसिति:* सुभारसेकष्क्लोशौ फलमपि विरुद्धं मम हृदि ।

24. ण्गो सिअ-कर-वित्थर-पणासिआ�सेस-वेरि-तिमिरोहो ।
निअ-विहवरोण [?] चंदो गअणंगिहं लंघिउं विगइ ॥

<div align="right">— A. Bh. II, p. 351. 8-9.</div>

The second half of this *gāthā* is somewhat corrupt. The *Nāṭyadarpaṇa*[5] quotes this *gāthā* possibly from *Abhinavabhāratī*, and not directly from the drama *Devī-Candragupta*, as an illustration of *Prāveśikī dhruvā*. It reads the second half as follows :

निय-विहवरेण(?)विहिवसरेण चंदो गयणं-गहं(?)गणं लंघिउं विसइ ॥ – p. 172.

It then remarks as follows :

इयं स्वापायशङ्किन: कृतकोन्मत्तस्य कुमारचन्द्रगुप्तस्य चन्द्रोदयवर्णनेन प्रवेशप्रतिपादिकादि ।

This remark agrees with Abhinava's statement :

...   यथा   देवीचन्द्रगुप्ते   प्रावेशिकी   ध्रुवा   कुमारचन्द्रगुप्तस्य   संशयाकुलमानसस्य प्रवेशावसरसूचकमर्थमुद्योतयति ।

The Sanskrit *chāyā* of this *gāthā* may be given as follows :

एष सित-कर-विस्तर-प्रणाशिताशेष-वैरि-तिमिरौघ: ।
निजविधिवशेन चन्द्रो गगनाङ्गणं लङ्घितुं विशति ॥

25 "क्वाकार्यं" इति हि श्लोकप्रथमखण्डेषु मध्यमलयो भूयोऽपि दृश्यते । सेत्यादिषु पाश्चात्यखण्डेषु तत्स्मरणजनितमुखविश्रान्तदायिषु विलम्बित इति द्विलयभेद: प्रयोग: ।

<div align="right">– A. Bh. II, p. 397, lines 8-11.</div>

Now, in presenting the text the editor has bungled here. The text should have been correctly presented as :

"क्वाकार्यं..." मध्यमलयो 'भूयोऽपि दृश्येत सा' इत्यादिषु पाश्चात्यखण्डेषु... प्रयोग: ।

The whole stanza beginning with 'qvākāryaṁ" runs as follows :

क्वाकार्यं शशलक्ष्मण: क्व च कुलं, भूयोऽपि दृश्येत सा
दोषाणां प्रशमाय मे श्रुतमहो, कोपेऽपि कान्तं मुखम् ।
किं वक्ष्यन्त्यपकल्मषा: कृतधिय:, स्वप्नेऽपि सा दुर्लभा
चेत: स्वास्थ्यमुपैहि क: खलु युवा, धन्योऽधरं धास्यति (पा.मे. पास्यति ॥

By the word '*sā*' in '*setyādiṣu*' of the printed text the editor understands "सा बाला वयमप्रगल्भमनस:" इत्यादी श्लोक: । But the fact is *sā bālā*' etc. is an independent stanza to which Abhinava makes no reference at all ! The editor should have presented the *paścātya-khaṇḍa* correctly as *bhūyo 'pi dṛśyeta sā*. Instead of doing so, he breaks the *paścātya-khaṇḍa* in two parts : one, '*bhūyo 'pi* dṛśyate (mark the word is changed from '*dṛśyeta*' to '*dṛśyate*'!) and two, *sā* and by this '*sā*' he understands that Abhinava wants us to understand the stanza "*sā bālā*" etc. ! The *prathama-khaṇḍa*-s and the *paścātya-khaṇḍa*-s in each of the four lines of the stanza "*qvākāryaṁ*" etc.; and not to *prathamakhaṇḍa*-s of one stanza and *paścātya-khaṇḍa*-s of some other independent stanza. The verse "*qvākāryaṁ*" quoted by Abhinava is

in the *śārdūla-vikrīḍita* metre; and in each quarter there is pause *(yati)* at the 12th letter - giving two parts : *prathama-khaṇḍa* and *pāścātya-khaṇḍa.* Thus there is no room for any confusion.

Notes and References

1. *Rasa-Bhāva-Vicāra* (Marathi), Translation with Notes by Prof. R. P. Kangle, Maharashtra Rajya Sahitya Sanskriti Mandala, Mumbai, 1973.

2. *Gāthā-sapta-śatī,* V. 68.

3. *Hāla's Gāhākosa* with the Sanskrit commentary of Bhuvanapāla, Part I, Prakrit Text Series, No. 21 ed. by Prof. M. V. Patwardhan, Prakrit Text Society, Ahmedabad - 380 009, 1980.

4. *Bhoja's Śṛṅgāra-Prakāśa* by Dr. V. Raghavan, Punarvasu, 7, Sri Krishnapuram Street, Madras - 14, 1963, p. 273.

5. *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* of Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra, Revised second edition by Pandit L. B. Gandhi, Oriental Institute, Baroda, 1959.

Abbreviations and Other References

A. Bh. *Abhinavabhāratī :* See *Nāṭyaśāstra*

Alaṁkāramahodadhi of Narendraprabha - Suri, ed. by Pandit L. B. Gandhi and published by Oriental Institute, Baroda, 1942.

Hema. Hemacandra's Kāvyānuśāsana, Second Revised edition, published by Mahavira Jaina Vidyalaya, Bombay, 1964.

KLV *Kalpalatāviveka* by an anonymous author (Ambāprasāda ?) Published by L. D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad-380009, 1968.

NS *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharatamuni with the commentary Abhinavabhāratī of Abhinavagupta, GOS LXVIII Vol. II, Baroda, 1934.

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PONTIFFS' EMPOWERMENT IN CENTRAL
INDIAN ŚAIVITE MONACHISM

R. N. MISRA

There is substantially more to the central Indian Śaivite monasteries at Kadwaha, Ranod, Terahi, Surwaya and Chandrehe[1] than may readily meet the eye today. These relics of past alongwith a set of about nine major inscriptions[2] afford the archaeological record of a multifaceted religious movement (seventh to thirteenth century A. D.), rooted in the Guna-Shivpuri region which eventually spread out fast to the vast tracts elsewhere in central India and then on to Gujarat, Rajasthan, Andhra, Karnataka and Tamilnadu. The movement was remarkable for its activities of public utility and religious fervour. It promoted a doctrine based on the Vaiśeṣika-atomistic philosophy and Āgamic theism which it vigorously pursued. It was remarkable in other ways too, particularly its political and social content. Before we move on to details, two or perhaps three points need being emphasised at the outset about the monasteries and the movement that they represented.

First, that the 'fortress'-like structures[3] representing monasteries were once the seats of pontiffs of the Śaiva-Siddhānta order — the pontiffs who were great masters of *śāstra* but greater so in practising a monachism of sorts which did not rule out militancy. In fact, militancy, among other things seems to have been an essential ingredient of their existence and function - a militancy not *per se* but designed to strengthen the State. And, in the process of helping out the State this militant monachism seems to have succeeded in carving out for itself 'a State within the State', as it were.

Secondly, the pontiffs who spearheaded the movement were not merely the recluses simply depending on the doles of the community at large or subsisting on alms. On the contrary, they held a socially secure and politically strident status whence arose their supremacy, "lower" birth of some of them notwithstanding. The textual evidence suggests that some among these pontiffs might have initially belonged to a 'lower' rank in the *varṇa* hierarchy but their initial rank did not interfere with their supremacy. In addition, they successfully eroded the primacy of the top two *varṇas*. In their institutionalised system is seen not only an upward mobility of lower *varṇas* but also a clear evidence of induction of a hierarchical scale at the top in the prevalent social order where they came to be reckoned above the Brāhmaṇa and Kṣatriya categories. They seem thus to have introduced a 'hierarchy within the hierarchy' in the social system of their times.

The third observation follows from points one and two above and concerns the dynamics and design of patronage which in their case is seen not necessarily embedded in the State but in their monastic seats. Patronage is thus seen often as appropriated from the State, institutionalised, distributed and re-distributed, serialised and perpetuated with an expansionistic design through a vast and wide network of monastic seats and their presiding pontiffs. These pontiffs owed allegiance to a central seat at Kadwaha and stuck on together through a common 'spiritual' ancestry structured by the teacher-disciple linkages. This patronage has many facets— religious, societal, doctrinal, political and aesthetic, the last in terms of the works of art, mainly temples. The design of this patronage, in effect, helps in giving a tangibility to the otherwise intangible concept of patronage in the field of art.

These remarks may invite queries - the queries concerning pontiffs; their individual or collective identity; their monasteries with their unique management system; the movement which they spearheaded; the structural character and frame of their institutional network and the organisation of relations and roles within; the social and political process that legitimated their authority; their diverse activities and performances; the ascetic values embedded in their system; their moral rigour, doctrinal pursuasions, intellectual contributions and its philosophical corpus and a host of other queries. Information is available in respect of these points and it may sporadically figure in our discussions; but we propose to mainly highlight the second point raised above, namely their status and role and the process which catapulted them into supremacy.

In the societal straight-jacket, the Śaiva Siddhānta[4] order of the monastic movement spearheaded by their pontiffs, represents almost total empowerment of a spiritual group in contradiction to the conventionally prescribed system of accepting *sanyāsins* as marginal individuals dependent upon the munificence of the community and State. To the utter disregard of this conventional dispensation they were able to re-define their status and role in terms of social and political leadership and their empowerment catapulted them into primacy in the affairs of society and the State as a result of the privileges and functions which they managed to appropriate from the State.[5] Epigraphs time and again indicate rulers supplicating to them and to their authority and the evidence always seems to indicate their investiture into the *mathas,* in the first place, not as a result of their supplication to rulers but *vice-versa.* This was the case time and again in the respect of :

1. Avantivarman Cālukya and the pontiff Purandara at Kadwaha[6] in
   c.A.D.825.

2. The local Cālukya prince and the pontiff Dharmaśiva[7] at Kadwaha.

3. *Nṛpa cakravartī* Harirāja and a pontiff-disciple[8] of Dharmaśiva at Kadwaha
   in c. A. D. 948.

4. Yuvarājadeva I and the pontiff Prabhavaśiva at Gurgi near Rewa[9] in c. A. D. 913.

5. Nohalā, the queen of Yuvarājadeva I and the pontiff Īśvaraśiva at Bilhari[10] near Katni (M. P.) in c. A. D. 915.

6. Lakṣmaṇarāja II and the pontiff Hṛdayaśiva at Maihar[11] (Vaidyanātha monastery) in c. A. D. 946.

7. Lakṣmaṇarāja II and pontiff Aghoraśiva at Bilhari[12] in c. A. D. 946 and then of the successive pontiffs and their royal disciples of the Kalacuri dynasty for approximately 200 years in Tripuri from c. A. D. 990 to A. D. 1188, i.e. from the time of Kokkalla II to that of Jayasiṁha.[13]

There must have been some pressing reasons for the contemporary rulers to establish the clergies into such affluence and power. And it is seen that monasteries in the process came to dot over the large tracts of the northern, central and eastern Madhya Pradesh with all of them linked together by an interdependent brotherhood of the pontiffs re-inforced also by their common lineage from the Mattamayūra seat.[14] The clergies came to acquire privileges which cut into those conventionally accorded to the Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas in the *varṇa* hierarchy. Let us first examine these privileges *vis a vis* those of the other two categories, namely Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas.

Under the Kalacuri rulers Brāhmaṇas performed the role of ministers (2 cases[15]), priests (4 cases[16]), writers of the *praśastis* (7 cases[17]), official witnesses to the land grants (5 cases[18]), and as donees (24 cases) enjoying land grants[19] (10 records). The pontiffs on their part, are found sharing mainly two of these specific 'Brahmanic roles and privileges, namely receiving land grants;[20] and acting as official witnesses (4 cases) to land grants[21], and there the commonality ends.[22] The quality of these privileges and roles substantially differs in their respective cases. In the cases of land grants, the share of the pontiffs stood astronomically higher than that of the Brāhmaṇas including those (24 cases) where the latter perhaps immigrated to or were settled in the Kalacuri territory by the rulers' grants. For a total grant of 12 villages and two fields to 24 Brāhmaṇas the share of the pontiffs stood at 3 lac *(trilakṣa)* plus 8 more of villages (in some cases only a share in these) of which the former finds mention in the Malkapuram (Guntur taluk and Dist.) inscription[23] of Rudra and the latter in the contemporary inscriptions[24] of the Kalacuris. It has been computed that this dispensation committed nearly one-third share of revenue of the entire Kalacuri state to the pontiffs. Under a unique management system the monasteries employed artisans and tenant farmers for different work and a law-enforcement contingent consisting of Vīrabhadras and Vajramuṣṭis, thus indicating that the pontiffs' wealth and affairs under the *mathas* were managed efficiently.[25] The employment of the law-enforcement officers to maintain discipline and impart punishment to

recalcitrants, including mutilation and castration, represents an extremely significant development vindicating the executive and judicial functions. The Brāhmanas pale into insignificance, in comparison, in every respect.

Yet another area of their parity with the Brāhmanas relates to the pontiffs' role as official witness to land grants. Even in this respect in one instance the pontiff as the *rājaguru* figures fourth in the official list next only to the queen, the crown prince, and the *mahāmātya* but above the chief priest[26] (*mahā-purohita*). No wonder, the Kalacuri inscriptions refer to Brāhmanas as invoking the pontiffs and looking upto them for favours and gifts which they handed down liberally and with pride.[27] The pontiffs thus seem to have enjoyed far more privileges and power than those accruing to the Brāhmanas and the chief priest taken together. The power and force that the pontiffs commanded helped them in modifying the hierarchy at the top, a hierarchy in which they seem to emerge at the apex with Brāhmanas and the chief priest figuring lower to them in precedence and privileges. These modifications repudiated the conventional hierarchy on one hand and granted supremacy to the pontiffs on the other.

The story is repeated in the instance of the Kṣatriyas *vis a vis* the pontiffs. They stood above the Kṣatriyas and other warriors in respect of land holding and seem to have successfully relegated this category to a subservient status in numerous ways.[28] Their support to the State seems to have perhaps consisted of garrisoning the war forces, providing elephants, horses and perhaps wealth,[29] manufacture of battle-worthy armament,[30] training in warfare and sometimes even participation in actual battle[31] which were traditionally the preserves of the Kṣatriyas. In these acts, the pontiffs supplemented their role with a greater punch. We will have something more to say about this later.

It may be conceded in the light of these remarks that by combining the *Brahma-Kṣatra* roles within their function and also those of their collective institution, the pontiffs successfully altered and repudiated the primacy of the upper rungs of the *varṇa* system and modified it to their advantage. A word of caution may be necessary here as a point of further amplification. In entering into monastic system after initiation rites *(dīkṣā)* the worldly connections of the ascetics were finally renounced. Neither the stigma of a 'lower' birth nor the prestige of a higher rank could be harkened to in their respect. Nevertheless, references are available testifying to lower birth[32] of the Śaivites in some cases just as other references in case of some of these pontiffs point to their Brāhmanic birth.[33] Which means that despite *dīkṣā* sometimes the pontiffs did bring their birth into reckoning and that has warranted us to examine them *vis a vis* the *varṇa* categories and the modification that they were able to introduce into it.

In essence, the pontiffs performed and promulgated the practices of theistic

nature, propogated the Śaiva Āgamas and theology and wrote highly accomplished texts, e.g. *Vyomavatī-Ṭīkā* by Vyomaśiva on the *Praśastapāda bhāṣya* which is rated high for its philosophical content and is quoted by Rājaśekhara, Guṇaratna, Vardhamāna and also by Udayana in his *Kiraṇāvalī*. (Other pontiffs elsewhere composed the texts like *Prāyaścitta Samuccaya, Naimittika Kriyā Anusandhāna* and *Soma-Śambhu-Paddhati*)[34] They were also venerated for their works of public utility, meditational pursuits, ascetic values and practices, celibacy and moral rigour and a life steeped in austere discipline.[35] But these alone may not appropriately signify their extraordinary status. So, we may now turn to the pontiffs' other special roles which presumably made them into an exclusive category. These relate to their militarism and their administrative function as well as their well-knit monastic organisation. In retrospect, it may be suggested that these factors helped the pontiffs in so adroitly perpetuating their supremacy for more than six centuries. The details follow :

First about their militarism and administrative functions. We meet with the instance of the prince Gobhaṭa who attacked enemy-forces while visiting the pontiff Dharmaśiva at his monastery at Kadwaha, along with his army of elephants. The Cālukya prince is recorded to have died in this battle whereupon we are told that the pontiff, "filled with great compassion and like Tripurāntaka, conquered the whole army of the enemy (of Gobhaṭa) by means of "bow and arrow acquired by his own miraculous power."[36] The record ought to be noted for its explicit content about the monastery being the arsenal of weapons of war and of the saint being a warrior. Another record refers to the "roaring elephants and neighing horses" lodged in the monastery.[37] Obviously the pontiffs' interest lay in stocking not the cattle like cows and buffaloes but horses and elephants who augmented the war machine. Yet another inscription states that after establishing the pontiff Hṛdayaśiva at Maihar and Aghoraśiva at Bilhari, Lakṣmaṇarāja II mounted a military expedition towards western quarters carrying along with him "elephants and horses, powerful feudatories and foot soldiers."[38] The sequence of events here is significant and the pontiffs investiture in the monasteries in the case stands as a prelude to an ambitious military expedition. Many other instances similarly bring out their belligerent, militaristic role in favour of the rulers who were also their royal disciples. The Gurgi inscription of Kokalladeva II refers to Īśānaśambhu's "conquest" and compares him with Paraśurāma, the legendary warrior.[39] . Prabodhaśiva too is mentioned in the Chandrehe inscription as 'Paraśurāma'. He is said to have "conquered all his enemies" and "showed the effect of his power on mighty kings." In this act he is compared to Kārttikeya, the divine commander.[40] Vimalaśiva is eulogised for his "political wisdom" and might or "power against enemies." He is specially mentioned as 'adept' in the knowledge of religious texts and weaponry' *(śāstra-śastra viśāradaḥ)*[41] Other pontiffs also had similar reputation. For instance, Śaktiśiva 'augmented'

the royal power of Gayakarṇa,[42] Kīrttiśiva is said to have "reduced to ashes, the city of enemies" and "wrested" the enemies' "glory."[43] In view of these oblique or explicit instances it appears likely that the Śaiva pontiffs were in demand because of their substantially active contribution to the State's war machine and to the administration of the State's political and economic affairs. They might have managed the State's war machine by means of offering training, garrisoning the royal forces—elephants and horses included — maintaining arsenals, manufacturing weapons and taking care of the States' affairs when a monarch left his seat to mount a military expedition. It may be surmised that the pontiffs perhaps recruited the combatant force from among the labour which they engaged under their *maṭhas* to built temples, monasteries and other work. They also participated in civil administration as did Vimalaśiva for we are told that, "By his counsel he made even the most distant people pay taxes."[44] These roles and function of the Śaivite pontiffs may explain the inevitability of their power and presence and also their close royal connections. These may also explain why the monasteries came up mostly in peripheral regions of the kingdom, the regions which were perhaps not under the effective writ of the State and were vulnerable to external aggression due to their remoteness. The presence of monasteries and faithful pontiffs in such distant regions of the kingdom must have given immense relief to the rulers who had their support. No wonder that the pontiffs of the Mattamayūra lineage became indispensable to the State; and inscriptions time and again mention that their "venerable feet were revered by the lustre of the crest jewels of the princes."[45]

All this might not have worked but for the pontiffs' institutionalised power of which the monasteries were the source as well as the mainstay. Hence our remark earlier that in retrospect it may be possible to relate the pontiffs' supremacy to the strength of their monastic organisation. Let us briefly examine the premise in terms of the monastic system.

The *maṭhas* reflect a pantheon of power in which religion, doctrine, culture, political and economic authority were all embedded into the temporal office of the pontiff *(ācārya)* who exercised complete control over monastery's men and resources. One observes in such pontiffs a pre-eminent status often independent of rulers. This may be inferred from their fortress-like, exclusive establishments[46] which vied with royal palaces (such palaces of yore are nowhere in sight today though the monasteries have survived); their material wealth and affluence, specially gold, jewels, elephants, horses and plentiful corn,[47] their spiritual genealogy,[48] their mythically sanctified descent from Brahmā, a descent which was supposed to have Śiva's blessings;[49] their titles like lord *(nātha),* 'overlord' *(adhipati)* and 'protector' *(pāla)*[50] which one normally finds reserved for the royalty.

The title of the monastery lay in the office of the pontiff who lived there

with disciples and exercised complete control over his monastery.[51] He also received a share from its wealth for his exclusive use. In the case of Viśveśvaraśiva this share amounted to a thousand *niṣkas* annually.[51] The title of the *maṭhas* and their transfer seem to have been decided by the pontiffs. They as well as rulers built the *maṭhas* with care and at "enormous cost."[54] The cases of Purandara, Īśvaraśiva, Prabhavaśiva, among others, relate to those instances where title of the *maṭha* was conferred on pontiffs by the rulers who also had constructed the monasteries. Other monasteries were raised by pontiffs by themselves, e.g. the one at Chandrehe by Prabodhaśiva,[55] and in one instance, a saint built a monastery from the resources that he had amassed from alms.[56] Both the title and the transfer of the titles are indicated in the case of Hṛdayaśiva and his "well-conducted disciple" Aghoraśiva.[57] Invited by Lakṣmaṇarāja II and presented with the Vaidyanātha (Maihar) monastery, Hṛdayaśiva accepted the offer and, coming over from Madhumati, he took charge of that monastery. But he also made arrangements so that the title of the Bilhari *maṭha* finally went to his "well-conducted" disciple Aghoraśiva. Inscriptions thus indicate that conferment of the title of *maṭhas* and the succession of pontiffs there was carefully planned. The planning was presumably actuated by the concern to conserve the *maṭhas'* assets and property through an effective control by a faithful, and to perpetuate the lineage. For these reasons a firm hold on these arrangements by a pontiff of the same order and lineage was crucial. And this was adhered to.

The pontiff in charge of the *maṭhas* supervised charity. He also managed the wealth as well as other activities of the *maṭha* with the assistance of an accountant and a contingent of Vīrabhadras and Vajramuṣṭīs.[58] The last two as mentioned earlier, ensured discipline and executed punishment including mutilation, castration and beheading of those who defied the discipline. The *maṭhas* also employed different kinds of artisans (besides tenant farmers also because the size of the *maṭhas'* land holding necessarily required them), namely, a goldsmith, coppersmith, blacksmith, stone mason, maker of stone images, basket maker, barber and an architect *(sthapati)*, besides a physician. These different categories of personnel performed their defined professional function in the monastery and for it. Some in these categories of artisans could be useful in the activities of and efforts for war too. This could apply probably to the blacksmith, coppersmith, carpenter and physician. In return of the service rendered the personnel, including artisans, were assigned land whose proceeds they enjoyed by hereditary right. The Malkapuram Stone inscription[59] has outlined this system in connection with Viśveśvaraśiva's *golakī maṭha* which had the status of an *agrahāra.* Viśveśvaraśiva, the pontiff of this *maṭha,* belonged to the same lineage as did the pontiffs of central India. In fact his descent was direct from Vimalaśiva II through Dharmaśiva. The management system of the *Viśveśvara golakī* may have similarly derived from central Indian *maṭhas.* This conjunction may help in extrapolating the system

of the Andhra monastery on those of central India. The latter on their part supplement the information further. The details follow :

Revenue flowed plentifully in these monasteries as a result of taxes. The *Nohaleśvara matha* of Bilhari, and perhaps others elsewhere in central India, collected taxes on salt, oil mills, betel nuts, black pepper, vegetables and also on sale proceeds of commodities like liquids, horses and elephants which came to the temple town for sale.[60] The icon in worship in the local temple was presented with the gift of "elephants and horses."[61] It was customary for certain villages, e.g. Tripuri (near Jabalpur), Saubhagyapura (near Shahdol), Lavananagara, Durlabhapura and Vimānapura[62], to bring up to the *Nohaleśvara* monastery of Bilhari (near Katni) a "bull made of beautiful wood" every day at the fair (? festival ??) of the god for performance of religious rites. The distance from Shahdol to Bilhari is about 300 kms.; and the procession that passed daily must have so passed through a thickly wooded territory inhabited by tribal communities. Through the fairs and festivals the monastery at Bilhari (and those elsewhere in central India, particularly the one at Ranod[63] (Distt. Shivapuri), must have played a significant role in integrating the community and in assimilating the local cults within the Śaivite Great Tradition. Even today, tribal communities have a substantial presence in the demographic profile of this geographical belt. In the 10th century, the spread of the Śaivite Great Tradition in the region might have brought some of them into its fold. But women were sternly excluded from entering a monastery.[64]

Thus, the *mathas* and their pontiffs seem to have had an ubiquitous presence, promulgating theology and doctrine, aiding the State in various ways; promoting themselves and their brotherhood; assimilating local cults and people; propagating culture through fair and festivals; running the monastery and managing its property and functions even with force if it so required. Nobody could have ignored them, not even the rulers. Hence developed a close nexus between them with pontiffs as *rāja-gurus* and rulers as their distinguished disciples, a relationship that lasted through six centuries from 7th to 13th. The details are authenticated by the epigraphic records which were composed under the pontiffs' directions. The grandiloquent statements in them reflecting the pontiff's self image would have remained suspect but for the corroborative evidence from the monuments that have survived. These grand and massive monuments negate any doubt about the significance of pontiffs and what they stood for. In their strength and longevity these monuments, even in their ruins reflect the glory that once belonged to the Śaivite ascetics of the Siddhānta order, the ascetics who lived in these "fortress"-like structures and functioned with great clout. In the pontiffs' case, art signifies their history.

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Notes and References

1. Architecturally, these monasteries, as they stand today, at Kadwaha (Distt. Guna), Surwaya, Terahi, Ranod (Distt. Shivpurl) and Chandrehe (Distt. Sidhi) in Madhya Pradesh, seem to date to the tenth century A. D. but as the seāts of Śaivite saints, the antiquity of some of these may further go back by a few centuries before the tenth. Kadwaha assumed significance with the saint Kadambaguhādhivāsī (c.A.D. 675). Similarly Surwaya and Terahi came into prominence respectively with Śankhamathikādhipati (c..A.D. 700) and Terambipāla (c.A.D. 725). The serene forest tract of Ranod was first hallowed by the austerities performed by Purandara (c.A.D. 825-850) who later built the monastery there. This monastery at Ranod was renovated by Vyomaśiva (c.A.D. 925-950) and perhaps by Patangaśambhu (c.A.D. 950-975). As for the Chandrehe *matha* it was completed in c.A.D. 970 by Prabodhaśiva, a Śaiva pontiff in eastern Madhya Pradesh.

   Some of these monasteries, specially those at Kadwaha, Surwaya and Ranod, continued to be protected upto the .eighteenth century A.D., notwithstanding the rule of the Sultans of Malwa and the Mughals of Delhi. The monastery at Surwaya was protected by a fortification with encircling walls, loopholes, bastions, towers, a mote and an entrance gate in the eighteenth century A.D.

2. Mirashi, 1955, inscription nos. 42, 44, 45, 46, 64; Kielhorn, Rep. 1971, 351-361; Mirashi 1964, 172-182, Mirashi and Shastri, *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. XXVII, 117-124; Pantulu, 1929, 147 ff.

3. This is specially true of the monasteries at Ranod, Surwaya and Kadwaha which, even today, are popularly known as *garhīs* (fortresses).

4. Mirashi, 1955, p. 227 (ins no. 46, verse) *"Madhumatī dhāma Saiddhāntikānām;* verse 40 : *etān śāsanatvena dattavān Siddhānta pāragāya.."* This order is mentioned also as *Śiva-mata; Ibid,* 227 (insc. no. 46, verse 4); or as *Śaiva-vrata, Ibid.* 335 (insc. no. 64, verse 3).

5. The Guna-Shivapuri region in the ninth century was administered by the Cālukyas of Malwa and their rivals—the Gurjara Pratihāra potentates. Both seem to have vied for the pontiffs' support and patronage. Despite these rulers, the available evidence seems to point to a strong corporate life in the region depending upon local institutions of artisans and traders on one hand and political and military protection offered by the pontiffs, on the other. In this situation, with pontiffs offering protection, the rulers, apparently, were marginalised. It has been remarked that" ... in the battle fought at Kadwaha, the ruling (Cālukya) prince was killed but the sage came to the rescue of the people and by his personal bravery and skill he routed the enemy." Mirashi and Shastri, *Ep. Ind.,* XXXVII, 120.

6. Kielhorn Rep. 1971, (verses 10-15), 355. For the date of Purandara in *c.*A.D. 825, of Mirashi 1955, *Intro.* cliii. The Cālukya connection of Purandara is however not acceptable to Pathak.*cf.* Pathak, 1960, 32-34. Mirashi in his comments on Pathak's work again rejects the arguments of the latter.

7. Mirashi and Shastri, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XXXVII, 118 (vv. 12-18).

8. *ibid.* verse 22-32.

9. Misra, 1987, 42.

10. Misra, 1987, 42-43.

11. Misra, 1987, 45-46.

12. Misra, 1987, 45.

13. Pathak, 1960, 50.

14. The monasteries came up in succession at Kadwaha, Surwaya, Terahi and perhaps at Amrol (Distt. Gwalior) and Mahua (Distt. Shivapuri), Gurgi (Distt. Rewa), Tripuri, Bilhari (Distt. Jabalpur) and Maihar (Distt. Satna). All these monasteries seem to have been closely connected with each other through the pontiffs who all belonged to the Kadwaha (Mattamayūra) seat and its allied branches at Ranod and Madhumati (Mahua). Misra, 1993.

15. For example, Bhaṭṭa Miśra, the *mantri pradhāna,* and his son *bhaṭṭa* Someśvara, a *mantrin,* Mirashi, 1955, 192-193 (verses 6, 15). Others who shared this role included Kāyasthas (two cases), Kṣatriyas (two cases) and an individual of an unspecified *varṇa* caste. In the Kalacuri inscription the relevant office is variously mentioned as *mahāmantrin, mahāmātra* and *mahāpradhāna.* Mirashi, 1955, 249, 262, 299, 330, 367, 373, 635-6, 646.

16. Mirashi, 1955, 299, 330, 635-6, 646, which all refer to *Mahā-purohita* as a witness to grants.

17. In all, there are 16 instances of the *prasasti*-writers. The Brāhmaṇas did the job in seven cases; a Kṣatriya in one case; the officers of the state in two cases. In the remaining six cases the caste affiliation of the writers are not specified.

18. Brāhmaṇas did this job in their capacity as the *mahāpurohita* (e.g. Mirashi 1955, 299, 330, 633-6, 646) or as the *dharma-pradhāna paṇḍita*, e. g. Mirashi 1955, 646). This last case is interesting because here the office of *rājaguru* is treated as indepedent of the Śaivācārya and the *mahāpurohita*.

19. In all, twentyfour Brāhmaṇas received twelve villages as grants with full rights on water-bodies, mango and *mahūā* trees, pits, barren land, ingress and egress, salt mines, pasture lands, fertile and marshy lands, groves, gardens, grass lands and "so forth." These grants cover a period from *c.*A.D. 945 to 1211. Mirashi 1955, 191, 194, 249-250, 300, 330, 344, 363, 652.

20. Between *c.*A.D. 750 to A.D. 980 and, in all, the pontiffs received from the Kalacuri rulers and others eight villages besides 12th part of ten other villages along with a field, *khalabhikṣā* (cess at the threshing floors) and granaries. Mirashi, 1955, 197, 220, 223; This was in addition to three lakh villages that pontiffs received from Yuvarājadeva I, see note 23 below.

21. Mirashi, 1955, 330, 367, 646. In the last case there is a clear hint of separating the office of Śaivācārya from that of *rājaguru*. The latter does not seem to be a pontiff. The list of witnesses occurs in atleast eight Kalacuri inscriptions with certain variations in the order of their enumeration.

22. The commonality of role and functions between the pontiffs and Brāhmaṇas may be extended to some other spheres of their activities, e.g. building temples or performing religious functions and rituals or offering advice to the princes or receiving their veneration and respect. Even in these situations the Śaivite saints seem to have had an edge over the Brāhmaṇas. Two cases are relevant in this respect. One, which dates back to the reign of Śaṅkaragaṇa III (*c.*A.D. 970-980) and refers to Śaivite ascetics residing in a Śiva temple who were granted *khalabhikṣā* (a cess at the threshing floor) besides a granary in an exclusive Brāhmaṇa settlement. This means a cess on Brāhmaṇas to support the ascetics. The second case relates to *munis* (not the Brāhmaṇa priest) who installed, according to the prescribed *śastric* rules, the Śiva-*liṅga* in the Vappulleśvara temple, built by Vappullaka the warrior son of a *rāṇaka.* Mirashi, 1955, 197, 284.

23. Pantulu, 1929, 157 : "... *Yuvarājadeva nrpatir bhikṣān trilakṣi dadau...* "

24. See note 20 above. A grant of certain villages to a pontiff of the Kadwaha *maṭha* was made by the Later Pratihāra Harirāja but the names and details about these villages are now obliterated in the relevant fragmentary inscription; Mirashi and Shastri, *Ep. Ind.* XXVII, 124. It may be added here that the temples which were under the management of the pontiffs received from the Kalacuri princes and others, between *c.*A.D. 750 and A.D. 1174, the grants of villages, one entire city, three fields, two granaries, *khalabhikṣā*, and other cess and revenues; Mirashi 1955, 177, 194-5, 197, 220, 223, 320, 339.

25. Misra, 1987, 23-26.

26. The pontiffs as *rājaguru* figure as witness to royal grants in three cases. Of these instances, in the first case he is fourth in the list of 17 witnesses. In the second instance he is 10th in the list of ten witnesses. In the third instance, he is third in the list of eleven witnesses. Mirashi 1955, 330, 367, 646. In yet another inscription the *guru* is mentioned after gods and *dvija*. Mirashi, 1955, 251.

27. Mirashi, 1955, 339 (insc. no. 64, v, 38). It is said of Vimalaśiva that "At the sight of the best of Brāhmaṇas who approached him as supplicants, his piety increases day and night... Vigilant as he is, he confers, respectfully, on best of Brāhmaṇas... hundreds of cows shining with gold..."

28. In the Kalacuri records the title *mahā-bhaṭṭāraka* is reserved for the imperial ruler. But, it is used in the form of *Bhaṭṭāraka* once for a potentate and in another instance, for Śaivite pontiff. For the imperial rulers it occurs as *parama bhaṭṭāraka mahārājādhirāja parameśvara*, Mirashi 1955, 175, 262. In case of Vimalaśiva, the pontiff, it occurs as *"śastra śāstra viśāradaḥ bhaṭṭāraka śrīmad rājaguru Vimalaśiva;"* Mirashi 1955, 372.

29. The monasteries were well provided with 'roaring elephants' and 'neighing horses', gold and plentiful corn. Kielhorn, Rep. 1971, 357, (verses 13, 30, 31). In another case, Harirāja, a Later Pratihāra chief of Malwa, desired making a gift of elephants to the pontiff on receiving *dīkṣā* from the latter. But the pontiff settled for some villages instead, Mirashi and Shastri, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XXXVII, 118; the fascination of the pontiffs and their *maṭhas* for elephants and horses is seen in other cases too. For instance, the temple town of Bilhari had a market where elephants and horses were brought for sale and the temple received four and two *pauras* respectively on the sale of each elephant and horse. Mirashi, 1955, 223-224. But more significantly, the God of the temple at Bilhari was offered elephants and horses as gifts as part of daily (?) ritual. This is indicated in the Bilhari inscription of Yuvarājadeva II : *"datvā yaḥ kari vāji śubhra vasanāḥ... tuṣṭaiva tuṣṭaḥ prabhuḥ..."* Mirashi, 1955, 214 (verse 62). It may be noted that the Kalacuri bureaucracy consisted of officers like *mahāpramaṭṭavara* and *mahā-aśvasādhanika* who might have had something to do with the horses and elephants lodged in the *maṭhas*.

30. The pontiff Dharmaśiva of Kadambaguhā is said to have fought a battle with the invading ruler with the help of a 'bow and arrow acquired by his own miraculous power.' Mirashi and Shastri, *Ep. Ind.* vol. XXXVII, 118. Obviously the combative weapons must have been available in the Kadwaha *maṭha* so that these could be used in a contingency. The Ranod inscription compares the glory of Vyomaśiva with that of kings; Kielhorn, Rep. 1971. 358. (v. 38).

31. See Note 30 above.

32. In the *Pañcatantra* stories it is said that Śiva *mantra* and smearing of ashes on the body were the only requisites for a *dīkṣā* into Śaivism, regardless of the incumbent's birth as a *śudra* or even as a *cāṇḍāla;* Pathak, 1967, 48 fn. 46.

33. Of all the Śaivite pontiffs, Vimalaśiva alone, is mentioned as a Brāhmaṇa by birth

in the entire epigraphic corpus of the Kalacuri inscriptions. It seems that he had southern connections and origin. Although he is said to have learnt all the Vedas, performed all the brahmanic vows, paid his debt to gods and others at Prabhāsa, Gokarṇa and Gayā, his description that he was pleasing like the 'southern breeze' (verse 32) may indicate his south Indian connections. His brahmanic birth is twice alluded to, once in reference to his "birth in a high caste" (verse 35) and again in a specific reference to him as 'foremost among Brāhmaṇas' (verse 39); Mirashi 1955, 338, 339. Isolating him from others in this manner, seems to be of significance.

34. Pathak, 1960, 39-40.

35. For details about the pontiffs and their succession, see the Ranod Inscription and the Gwalior Museum inscription; Kielhorn, Rep. 1971, 351ff; Mirashi, 1974, 179-180. Also Mirashi, 1955, (insc. nos. 44, 45, 46, 64) 198ff, 204ff, 224ff, 331ff.

36. See note 30 above.

37. See note 29 above.

38. Mirashi, 1955, 221.

39. Mirashi, 1955, 232 (verse 17).

40. Mirashi, 1955, 203 (verse 9-10, 12); "There was ... Prabodhaśiva (who)... as Paraśurāma... conquering all enemies, adorned the face of the quarters with his fame, and bestowing wealth on the meritorious, placed earth under obligation. He was like Kumāra (Kārttikeya)... who showed the effect of his power of mighty kings... He having attained power, has acted like the rising sun, whose feet are rendered more resplendent by the (jewelled) crests of kings (who bowed to him...), who is revered by all people at the time of making peace..., (and) what more (need be said) who having attained greatness has pervaded the three worlds by his power..." Vyomaśiva is similarly described as one who was capable of rescuing people in times of calamity *(uddhvartumvipadi prajāḥ)* and he brought back the glory of both the people and the ruler *(sā-ślāghya vasatiḥ sa-evaviṣayaḥ te prāṇinastā-diśaḥ, sa bhūrbhūmipatiḥ sa eva kimataste te pradeśāḥ param)* even as, in glory, he vied with the rulers, as it were *(... kṣitibhṛt urubhara-spardhi..)*; Kielhorn, Rep. 1971, 356, 357, 358 (verse 23, 31, 38).

41. Mirashi, 1955, 339 (verses 39, 40, 44) "Showing exceedingly great vigilance in looking after all royal affairs, the indefatigable leader... the foremost among Brāhmaṇas (vis. Vimalaśiva) though proficient in fine arts, shows the play of power against the enemies..." Also... "though he is always employed (by the king) in many suitable affairs,he nowhere shows slackness in (the performance of) obligatory and occasional religious rites." Or "May that illustrious Vimalaśiva, who by his counsel has made (even) the most distant people pay taxes (to whom) king Jayasiṁha (bows) becoming very humble through devotion..." Also, Mirashi, 1955, 372 (insc. no. 72, line 17) which describes *bhaṭṭāraka* Vimalaśiva, the *rājaguru* who is the "support of all supplicants... who is skilled in all arts and proficient in all arms and sciences..."

42. Mirashi, 1955, 337 (verse 18); "...Śaktiśiva... *(who augmented)* the *two* royal

powers of the illustrious king Gayakarṇa..."

43. Mirashi, 1955, p. 337 (verse 23-24) Kīrtiśiva, who "... had not the earth for his chariot, nor the sun and moon for its wheels, nor Brahmā for his charioteer, nor Viṣṇu for his arrow. Still he reduced to ashes the cities of the enemy (as Śiva did those of demons). Hence, he (was)... Kīrtiśiva (Śiva in glory). According to the further details in the inscription he is said to have"... filled all regions with his glory which he wrested from enemy..."

44. See note 41 above.

45. Mirashi, 1955, 220-221 (insc. no. 45, verses 50, 51, 54); 232 (insc. no. 46, verse 16).

46. See note 1 above.

47. See notes 20, 24, 29 above.

48. Kielhorn, Rep. 1971, 355-56, Mirashi, 1974, 179-180; Mirashi, 1955, insc. nos. 44, 45, 46, 64.

49. Kielhorn, Rep. 1971, 354-355; Mirashi 1974, 178-79.

50. This may be inferred from the titles of the pontiffs as in Āmardaka-tīrthanātha, Śaṅkha-maṭhikādhipati, Terambi-pāla, Kielhorn Rep. 1971, 355.

51. Misra, 1987, 21-27.

52. Pantulu, 1923, 161-62.

53. The transfer of the title of a *maṭha* is specifically mentioned in the case of Īśānaśambhu who " made over his office" *(sthānam samarpya)* to his younger brother Prabodhaśiva. Mirashi, 1955, 232. Other instances of the transfer of the title are also recorded.

54. Misra, 1987, 42.

55. Misra, 1987, 22; Mirashi, 1955, 203 (insc. no. 44, verse 16); "Near the temple built by his preceptor, the tranquil Prabodhaśiva caused to be erected this lofty and spacious monastery, which is, as it were, his own fame..." He got excavated a lake "by the side of the mountain", and also a well. He "re-built" with a wonderful masonry of large stones and then re-excavated (very) deep well which had been dug by... Praśāntaśiva at this place and which had become dilapidated and full of wood fallen into it in course of time." Prabodhaśiva also got a walk made through a mountain and across the rivers and streams, forests and thickets, by the" process of excavating, breaking and ramming of large stones."

56. Bhāvabrahmā was not a Saiddhāntika ascetic but a Pāśupata. He too built monasteries, temples and encircling walls. Mirashi, 1955, 308 (insc. no. 58, verses 14, 13).

57. After accepting the Vaidyanātha monastery, he "made over" the *maṭha* at Bilhari to his disciple Aghoraśiva. Mirashi, 1955, 221 (insc. no. 45, verses 54-58).

58. Misra, 1987, 23-26.

59. Pantulu, 1929, 147ff.

60. Mirashi, 1955, 223-224 (insc. no. 45, verses 79-84). The cess was collected

in the coins called *ṣoḍasikā* and *paura* and the collection, made at the *maṇḍapikā* of the market place, went to the chief of the monastery, i.e. Aghoraśiva. He finds mention in the inscription.

61. Mirashi, 1955, 214 (insc. no. 45, verse 62).

62. Mirashi, 1955, 224, The verse reads as follows - "The (inhabitants of) famous Tripurī, Saubhāgyapura, Lavaṇanagara, Durlabhapura and Vimānapura... shall bring guarded (to the monastery?) the bull made of beautiful wood every day (at the fair?) of the god for the performance of religious rites." Of these villages and towns, Tripurī was the capital of the Kalacuris; Saubhāgyapura is same as Sohagpur on the outskirts of Shahdol. The other villages remain unidentified.

63. The Ranod monastery and the tanks, temples and wells in its vicinity were built by Purandara, Vyomaśiva and Pataṅgaśambhu. The place attracted a large number of visitors and devotees, and the pontiffs had laid down certain conditions to discipline the visitors. For instance, the planting of trees near the water tank was prohibited; so was womens' entry into the monastery during night. Kielhorn, Rep. 1971, 361 (verses 66-67).

64. See note 62 above.

KATHĀ AND ĀKHYĀYIKĀ

S. G. MOGHE

As regards the discussion on the nature of *Kathā* and *Ākhyāyikā*, it is necessary to explore some sources which are not at all consulted by modern scholars and editors of *Harṣa-Carita*, etc., like MM. Dr. P. V. Kane (Kane), Prof. A. B. Gajendragadkar, and others.

For the purpose of this paper, I have accepted the chronological dates of the Ālaṃkārikas as fixed by Kane in his *History of Sanskrit Poetics* and Dr. S. K. De in his *Sanskrit Poetics*. As far as possible, I am proceeding with the discussion as per the chronological order of the authors on whom I am going to rely in the discussion in this paper.

Chronologically Dr. Kane has placed Daṇḍin between 660 to 680 A. D. He puts Bhāmaha after 700 A. D. He further thinks that Bhāmaha might be the younger contemporary of Daṇḍin and hence there is a possibility that he might have seen the work of Daṇḍin. Bhāmaha[1] has given us the characteristics of both *Kathā* and *Ākhyāyikā* as follows : 1) In an *Ākhyāyikā*, there is a detailed eulogy of the poet's family in prose; while in *Kathā*, the poet briefly praises his family in verse. 2) In an *Ākhyāyikā*, the topics such as the kidnapping of a girl, battles, separation of the hero are described; in a *Kathā*, such topics have no scope. 3) In any *Ākhyāyikā*, it is the hero who relates his own deeds; in a *Kathā*, the story is told by others and not by the hero. 4) An *Ākhyāyikā*, is divided into *ucchvāsas* and contains occasional verses in *Vaktra* and *Aparavaktra* metres which are suggestive of future events. A *Kathā*, on the contrary, is divided into *Lambakas*. There is no use of the above metres in the *Kathā*. 5) A *Kathā* is written in the Āryā metre and is also written in Sanskrit or Prakrit. Against this background of Bhāmaha, it is necessary to see the viewpoint of Daṇḍin. In his *Kāvyādarśa*,[2] I. 23-30, Daṇḍin notes these characteristics and holds that both *Kathā* and *Ākhyāyikā* are but two names of the same species of prose composition. He further adds that these characteristics are not exclusive. In his comments on the *Kāvyādarśa*, I.24 of Daṇḍin, Rangacharya Raddi-Shastri[3] points out that if we understand the word 'vā' in the above portion in the sense of 'option,' then there will be an *ativyāpti* (over-application) of the definition of *Kathā* on the *Ākhyāyikā*. Hence the word 'vā' in the above portion is to be taken in the sense of 'combination.' He further adds[4] that there will be a fault if the hero goes on describing himself in glowing terms when there is no occasion. If, however, there is an occasion, then there is nothing wrong on

the part of the hero to give his own realistic description. If it be said that there should be no distinction between the *Katha* and *Ākhyāyikā*, as Daṇḍin thinks, then it[5] does not bear thinking.

Ānandavardhana in his *Dhvanyāloka* under III.8 and III.9 has made significant observations on the point of the use of long compounds in relation to the sentiments. Thus, he observes[6] under III.8 that in the historical novel, we find mostly textures with medium-sized and long compounds. The reason lies in the fact that literary prose attains beauty through the assistance of affected and involved construction. But in the romantic novel *(katha)*, though there is preference for involved construction, decorum of sentiment should be retained. He further observes[7] under III.9 that in the historical novel we do not have texture without compounds even while depicting sentiments of Love in separation and pathos. In this way, one should understand the direction in which the texture is employed.

Rucaka (middle of the 12th century A.D. according to Dr. S. K. De) in his commentary on the *Kāvyaprakāśa* VIII.p.95 adds[8] significantly that in the *Ākhyāyikā*, there should be primarily the composition in the *Vikaṭabandha*. In the *Katha*, however, there should be composition of delicate expressions.

Someśvara (A.D. 1150-1160 according to Dr. S. K. De) in his comments on the *Kāvyaprakāśa*, p. 211 remarks[9] that in the *Katha*, the entire language is full of *sukumāra* (delicate) consonants whether in prose or in poetry and the hero is of the *Dhīra-Praśānta* type. In the dramaturgry, however, we find the expression *'Dhīra-Śānta* for *Dhīra-Praśānta* of Someśvara. From the observations of Someśvara, it is evident that he throws light on the nature of the composition and the type of the hero in the *Katha* literature. As to the *Dhīra-Śānta* type of the *Katha*, in the *Rasārṇava-Sudhākara* (1330 A. D. according to Dr. S. K. De) p. 30, it is pointed[10] out that this type of hero is endowed with *lalita* qualities (love for the fine arts like dancing, music etc.), capable of bearing hardships, discriminative, and equally disposed towards all the beings. He should be either a *brāhmaṇa*, minister or a merchant. Here the examples of Mādhava and Cārudatta are given as the heroes of the type of *Dhīra-Śānta*. In the commentary[11] *Laghuṭīkā* of Bhaṭṭanṛsimha (beginning of 13th century A.D.) on the *Daśarūpaka*, it is remarked on p. 77 that the *Dhīra-Śānta* hero belongs to the category of *brāhmaṇas* and merchants and does not belong to the category of *kṣatriyas*. Bahurūpamiśra in his *Dīpikā* (14th century A. D.) on the *Daśarūpaka*, p. 46 remarks[12] that there is a reference to the *brāhmaṇas* and merchants in the *Dhīra-Śānta* type, because they are endowed with the temperament of calmness and tranquillity. He further quotes Bhoja in support.

Hemacandra (A.D. 1136 to A.D. 1143 according to Kane) in his *Kāvyānuśāsana* pp. 406, 462 and 463 deals with this topic. On p. 463,

Hemacandra remarks[13] that *Kathā* can be in any language. It may be in Sanskrit, Prakrit, Śūrasenī, Paiśācī and Apabhraṁśa. He further illustrates *Kādambarī* as a *gadya kathā*[14] and *Līlāvatī* as a *padyakathā*. On page 406, Hemacandra points out that the hero is possessed of all the good qualities and is present throughout the *Kathā* and quotes *Daśarūpaka* II.1-2 which enumerate the qualities.

The only novel point in the *Sāhitya-Darpaṇa* of Viśvanātha (A.D. 1300 to A.D. 1380 according to Kane) is that he thinks[15] that there should be a reference to the behaviour of the wicked in the body of the *Kathā*. Further, in the beginning there should be a salutation in verse.

Govinda Ṭhakkura in his *Pradīpa* on the *Kāvyaprakāśa* p. 285 throws[16] light on the nature of *Kathā* and *Ākhyāyikā* from the point of view of Rasa delineation. In the *Kathā* literature, in the delineation of the *raudra rasa*, there is no excessive use of harsh or powerful words. In the *Ākhyāyikā*, however, when the *śṛṅgāra rasa* is to be suggested and the speaker is not very arrogant, one finds the use of not excessive *masṛṇa* letters or consonants.

The above survey of the Alaṁkāra Śāstra literature on the point of *Kathā* and *Ākhyāyikā*, clearly reveals that the problem of *Kathā* and *Ākhyāyikā* is viewed by the writers from the points of view of language, use of compounds, nature of the hero, delineation of the sentiments and restrictions suggested by the famous author of *Dhvanyāloka* and herein lies the novelty of their thinking process which should not go unnoticed.

Notes and References

1. Kāvyālaṅkāra of Bhāmaha ed. by Batuk Nath Sharma and Baldeva Upadhyaya, (Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series) Kashi Sanskrit Series, No. 61, Benares, 1928.

2. Kāvyādarśa of Daṇḍin, edited with an original commentary by Rangacharya Raddi Shastri, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Pune, 1970; Vide I. vv. 23-30.

3. विकल्पार्थक'वा'-शब्द-स्वीकारे तु आख्यायिकायामपि कथालक्षणमतिव्यासं स्यात् । - Ibid, p. 26.

4. असति प्रसङ्गेऽतिशयोक्तिपूर्वकं स्वगुणख्यापनं दोषाय न तु सति प्रसङ्गे वास्तवगुणवर्णनम् । - Ibid, p. 26

5. वक्त्रापरवक्त्रे आख्यायिकारत्नेव न कथासु युज्येते... इति चेत् तत्र विचारक्षमम् । - Ibid, p. 27.

6. आख्यायिकायां तु भूम्ना मध्यमसमासा दीर्घसमासे एव सङ्घटने। गद्यस्य विकटबन्धाश्रयेण च्छायावत्त्वात् । तत्र च तस्य प्रकृष्यमाणत्वात् । कथायां तु विकटबन्धप्राचुर्येऽपि गद्यस्य रसबन्धोक्तमौचित्यमनुसर्तव्यम् ।

- Ānandavardhana's Dhvanyāloka ed. by K. Krishnamoorthy, Karnatak University, Dharwar, 1974, p. 132.

7. तथा हि गद्यबन्धेऽप्यतिदीर्घसमासा रचना न विप्रलम्भशृङ्गारकरुणयोराख्यायिकायामपि शोभते ।- - - विषयापेक्षं त्वौचित्यं प्रमाणतोऽपकृष्यते प्रकृष्यते च । तथा आख्यायिकायां नात्यन्तसमासा स्वविषयेऽपि नाटकादी नातिदीर्घसमासा चेति सङ्घटनाया दिगनुसर्तव्या ।
- Ibid, p. 132, 134.

8. विकटबन्धप्रधाना आख्यायिका सुकुमाररचनाप्राया तु कथेत्यनयोर्भेद: ।

   - Rucaka as quoted in *Kāvyaprakāśa* Part II, p. 95. For the details of the edn.,
   see below f. n. 9.

9. सुकुमाररचनाप्राया गद्येन पद्येन वा सर्वभाषा धीरशान्तनायका कथा, यथा कादम्बरी, पद्यमयी तु लीलावती ।

   Kāvyaprakāśa of Mammaṭa with the *Saṁketa* commentary of Someśvara Bhaṭṭa,
   ed. by R. C. Parikh, Part I & Part II, Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute, Jodhpur
   (Rajasthan), 1959, p. 211.

10. समप्रकृतिक: क्लेशासहिष्णुश्च विवेचक: ।
    ललितादिगुणोपेतो विप्रो वा सचिवो वणिक् ।
    धीरशान्तश्चारुदत्त माधवादिरुदाहृत: ॥

    - *Rasārṇavasudhākara* of Siṁha Bhūpāla, ed. by T. Venkatacharya, The Adyar
    Library and Research Centre, Adyar, Madras, 1979; I.76. b and I.77.

11. यद्धीरशान्तो द्विजादिक एव न तु क्षत्रियादिरिति तद् विवक्षितमित्यर्थ: ।

    - *Laghuṭīkā*, p. 77, (The *Daśarūpaka* of Dhanaṁjaya with *Avaloka* by Dhanika
    and *Laghuṭīkā* by Bhaṭṭanṛsiṁha, ed. by T. Venkatacharya, The Adyar Library
    and Research Centre, Adyar, Madras, 1968.

12. द्विजादिक इति विप्रवणिक्सचिवानां शमप्रधानानां ग्रहणम् ।
    Daśarūpaka of Dhanaṁjaya with *Dīpikā* by Bahurūpamiśra, ed. by A. N. Pandey,
    Bhāratīya Vidyā Prakāśana, Varanasi, 1979, p. 46.

13. धीरशान्तनायका गद्येन पद्येन वा सर्वभाषा कथा ।
    आख्यायिकावत् स्वचरितव्यावर्णकोऽपि तु धीरशान्तो नायक:, तस्य तु वृत्तमन्येन कविना वा यत्र
    वर्ण्यते, या च काचिद् गद्यमयी यथा कादम्बरी, काचित् पद्यमयी यथा लीलावती, या च सर्वभाषा
    काचित् संस्कृतेन काचित प्राकृतेन काचिन्मागध्या काचिच्छूरसेन्या काचित् पिशाच्या काचिदपभ्रंशेन
    बध्यते सा कथा ।

    - *Kāvyānuśāsana* of Ācārya Hemacandra, ed. by R. C. Parikh and V. M. Kulkarni,
    Śrī Mahāvīra Jaina Vidyālaya, Bombay, 1964, p. 463.

14. समग्रगुण: कथाव्यापी नायक: ।
    - Ibid p. 406.

    We should, however, remember that, as explained by Hemacandra *(Kathā
    prabandhastadvyāpī)* *Kathā* here stands for a long continuous composition
    (prabandha) including a drama.

15. आदौ पद्यैर्नमस्कार: खलादेर्वृत्तकीर्तनम् ।
    - *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* of Viśvanātha, VI. 333 (second half).

16. आख्यायिकायां हि शृङ्गारेऽपि व्यङ्ग्येऽनुद्भुतेऽपि वक्तरि नातिमसृणा वर्णादय: । प्रत्युत विकटबन्धत्वेनैव
    च्छायावत्त्वात् । विप्रलम्भकरुणयोरन्तु तरयामपि दीर्घसमासपरीहार: । तयोरतिसौकुमार्यात् । कथायां तु रीत्रेऽपि
    नात्यन्तमुद्भटा वर्णादय: ।
    - The *Kāvyapradīpa* of M. M. Govinda Thakkura, "Nirṇaya-Sāgara" edition, Bombay
    1933, pp. 285-286.

A HISTORICAL RIDDLE FROM SKANDA PURĀṆA - AN ANALYSIS

G. K. PAI and VANAMALA PARTHASARATHY

It is often known that details described in Purāṇas may not correspond with historical facts that are available. There are other occasions when there are semi-historical data, yet they may not fit perfectly into the historical frame of chronology etc. One such case is found in *Brahmakhaṇḍa* (Book III), *Dharmāraṇyakhaṇḍa* (Section ii) of *Skanda Purāṇa*. The scope of this paper is to analyse the material provided by the Purāṇa and view it from historical perspective.

The primary source is *Skanda Purāṇa* itself. As for the historical details, opinions of historians such as R. C. Majumdar are taken into account. The Purāṇic details cover chapters 31 to 38. It is in the context of a prediction about *Kali* age narrated by Vyāsa to Yudhiṣṭhira that the legend about king Āma occurs. Āma was a powerful king who ruled from Kānyakubja (Kannauj), who also protected his subjects. However, with the advent of Kali matters changed. People were overtaken by the influence of *Kṣapaṇas* (followers of Buddhism / Jaina monks) and gave up their *dharma*. Through his wife Māmā, a daughter is born and is named Ratnagaṅgā. She is brought under the influence of the Jaina teacher Indrasūri and later is married to a prince named Kumbhīpāla (or Kumārapāla). The son-in-law is gifted with Moheraka. He comes to reside in Dharmāraṇya and establishes his capital there. He was an avid Jaina follower and installed gods mentioned in the Jaina cult (III, ii, 36,45). He confiscated the lands of Brāhmaṇas. The latter went in appeal to Āma but the king did not restore the lands, instead he asked them to go back to Kumbhīpāla, requesting him to return their property. However, Kumbhīpāla is not prepared to do so and even refuses to honour the charter given to the Brāhmaṇas by Rāma himself for the possession. He asks them to produce the charter. He goes on to express his views on non-violence and how the Brāhmaṇas were violating it by performing Yajñas with animal sacrifice. Eventually the Brāhmaṇas go to south and meet with Hanūmān who was supposed to be protecting them and their rights in Dharmāraṇya. Hanūmān gives them two tufts of hair from his armpits. He instructs them to go back to the court of the king; in the event of the king still not honouring the charter they shall drop the tuft of hair of his left armpit which would set everything ablaze; and if the king had agreed to restore their rights, they should drop the other tuft of hair, that would extinguish the fire. He transports them physically to Dharmāraṇya within three muhūrtas.

At the court, the king refuses to recognise the charter and the Brāhmaṇas drop the tuft of hair. The palace etc., are set ablaze; finally the king relents,

honours the charter given by Rāma, and restores the property of the Brāhmaṇas. A letter of authority is also issued confirming the rights (38.46).

While the events of the persecution of Brāhmaṇa settlements are explicitly described in the Purāṇa, the riddle lies in trying to identify the kings mentioned therein with those mentioned in the available historical and literary data.

To begin with there are certain anachronisms noticed in the text itself. For instance Āma is mentioned as having ruled before the onset of Kali (36.13). Thereby it places Yudhiṣṭhira posterior to Āma which itself is subject to criticism. It is to be noted that Yudhiṣṭhira and the Pāṇḍavas abdicated the kingdom as soon as Kali began (with the death of Kṛṣṇa : 3402 B.C.)

In another verse Rāma is mentioned as living at the advent of Kaliyuga (36.15) when the charter issued by him is talked about to Āma and Kumārapāla. Secondly, the son-in-law of Āma is mentioned as Kumbhīpāla in some verses (36.43) and at other places as Kumārapāla (36.53 & 59). Thus there is no uniformity. Similarly, the Jaina teacher who influenced Ratnagaṅgā is mentioned as Indrasūri, but is also called as Indrasūtra (36.186). Further, there seems to be some confusion about Buddhism and Jainism (36.186). For instance, it is said that Kṣapaṇakas influenced people and the subjects gave up Vaiṣṇava cult to follow Buddhism (36.36; 36.43). The note in the text identifies Kṣapaṇakas as followers of Buddhism while the translator adds in the footnote that they are Jaina monks (*Ancient Indian Tradition and Mythology*, Vol. 57. p. 192, fn.1). Further, no details are available in the relevant chapter of the text about Āma's predecessors which could have made the solving of the riddle easy.

Since the incident centres round Dharmāraṇya and Moheraka it is important to locate the areas. However, the geographical dictionaries give different locations based on sources such as *Mahābhārata, Padma Purāṇa*, etc. Some locate Dharmāraṇya about four miles from Buddhagayā which is Dharmāraṇya of Buddhist records. Some feel it comprised of the districts of Balia and Ghazipur. Some point out that it was located near Ujjaini. From the text it is seen that it took ten days for Rāma to reach Dharmāraṇya from Ayodhyā (31.58). Moharapura or ancient Moherakapura is identified as situated fourteen miles to the north of Vindhyācala town in the district of Mirzapur. From all these it seems Dharmāraṇya perhaps was somewhere in the present state of Uttar Pradesh. Kānyakubja is also close to the above location of Dharmāraṇya.

Next comes the identification of the kings mentioned in the Purāṇa. Āma is identified with Nāgabhaṭṭa II of Pratihāra dynasty (Introduction p. XXXI, *Ancient Indian Tradition and Mythology*, Vol. 49). The Jaina source *'Prabandhakośa* of Rājaśekhara' is mentioned as making note of one Āma who was a Jaina king, son of Yaśovarman (confused with Yaśodharmā). It is said that he was a disciple of Bappabhaṭṭi; the latter is assigned to a period between 743 and 838 A.D., and is said to have converted Āmarājā. The *Prabandhakośa*

itself is assigned to fourteenth century A.D. Vatsarāja, a successor of Nāgabhatta I of Pratihāra dynasty (also called Āma in Jaina Prabandhas), was a Jaina and is supposed to have built a temple in Kannauj and installed a golden image of Mahāvīra (A.D. Pusalkar, *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 200). Now looking at the dynastic details of Pratihāras, Vatsarāja, was the son of Nāgabhatta I's nephew Devarāja, in which case it does not comply with the details available in the Jaina source which says Āma was the son of Yaśovarman. If we identify Āma with Nāgabhatta II, then it seems incongruous as Nāgabhatta II succeeded Vatsarāja (the latter is known as Āma according to some sources). The Purāṇic text also does not provide details about Āma's predecessors either. However, it is noted that four generations of Pratihāras starting from Devarāja were devotees respectively of Viṣṇu, Śiva, Bhagavati and Sūrya *(The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 28). This would mean that Vatsarāja who came after Devarāja was a devotee of Śiva and was possibly converted later. The view held is that Vatsarājā was the king of Avanti in A.D. 783. (R.C. Majumdar, *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p.22).

The next king under consideration is Kumbhīpāla who is also called Kumārapāla in the text. The confusion exists in the lack of uniformity. Taking the name as Kumārapāla, different views can be offered in identifying the king. In the first place, historical details that are available point out to a king Kumārapāla, a Śaiva Cālukya ruler of Gujarat (1143-71 A.D.) who is supposed to have embraced Jainism and was an avid observer of non-violence. It is said that he was converted to Jainism by Hemacandra, in 1159 A.D. Because of the similarity of names found in the text and of the details available historically, one is tempted to identify Kumārapāla with the ruler of Gujarat. Kumārapāla also secured his throne with the help of Jainas. He is said to have married Arṇorāja's daughter, Jalhana. Arṇorāja was Cāhamāna of Śākambarī who were feudatories of Pratihāras. These details do not fit into the Purāṇic picture, for according to the text he is supposed to have married Ratnagaṅgā, daughter of Āma. It is not unlikely that the Purāṇic writers may have got confused with the historical facts and possibly referred to him as Āma. But then the text states that Āma lived before the onset of Kali. Further according to Jaina source, king Āma who was converted by Bappabhaṭṭi is assigned to C. E. 832 *(Ancient Indian Tradition and Mythology,* Vol. 57, p. 190, fn.1). If we identify Āma with Vatsarāja or even for that matter with Nāgabhatta II, and Kumārapāla of the Text with the Cālukya ruler of Gujarat (12th century), the relationship expressed in the text (giving his daughter in marriage to Kumārapāla) seems impossible. However, records show that he was reverential to his family deity Śiva and built temples for both Jainas and Brāhmaṇas (Kumārapāla is supposed to have died in 1171-72 A.D.).

There is a king named Kumārapāla belonging to the Pāla dynasty. He was the son of Rāmapāla but a weak ruler and was engulfed in a sea of troubles. He is supposed to have died in 1125 A.D. The Pālas followed Buddhism. There are records to show the conflicts between Pratihāras and

Pālas (*The Age of Imperial Kanauj,* chs. II & III). However, Kumārapāla of the Purāṇa cannot be identified with the Pāla king Kumārapāla.

Thus while the Purāṇic details relating to the persecution of Brāhmaṇas by kings devoted to Jaina religion are explicit, the historical facts unfortunately seem to have got mixed up. However, the internal evidence in the text points to the fact that this perhaps came to be interpolated not earlier than 9th century A.D. (*Ancient Indian Tradition and Mythology,* Vol. 57, p. 192, fn. 2). It is also not unlikely that the chapter got interpolated about 13th-14th century, that is after the rule of Kumārapāla of Gujarat. This is open to further research in the field, and conclusions cannot be arrived at until the historical riddle is solved.

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SANDHĀ-BHĀṢĀ - THE LANGUAGE OF MYSTICS

M. D. PARADKAR

It is well known that man who is essentially finite has been yearning to become infinite. George Bernard Shaw rightly remarked: "there is something infinite in man which he cannot bury under the finite." This upward urge has been graphically expressed in India right from the days of the Upaniṣadic seers who naturally entered into the field of mysticism as the infinite cannot be brought within the purview of language which by its nature is limited. How can the unlimited be confined and cabined in human words ? This made it necessary for the seers to use symbols, allegories and paradoxes in their teachings.

Really speaking mysticism can hardly be called an independent principle or a tenet, it really is an approach to Truth or Reality on the part of the finite human being. R. D. Ranade, the philosopher of Nimbal in this century has rightly described mysticism to be "that attitude of mind which involves a direct, immediate and firsthand intuitive apprehension of mind."[1] It is a silent enjoyment of God establishing the individuality of the soul in close proximity with the supreme soul through the medium of love. It amounts to a craving for immediate contact with the Divine which is not confined to any particular religion or country for that matter. This feeling of unity is brought about through a passion of love which is purely a matter of self-dedication. Jalaluddin Rumi says that "he is lost only as the candle or the stars are lost in the morning in the overwhelming effulgence of the light of the Sun."[2] But it has been said that this does not take away the consciousness of the soul although living in communion with God. Rumi has explained this by taking the analogy of red hot iron in fire. "The iron takes on the properties of fire without losing its own individual essence entirely. In that state if it claims to be fire itself, it would not be wrong. In that condition it is fire and not fire at the same time. This explains the paradox how the individual when ultimately saturated with the attributes of divinity exists and does not exist at the same time. It is not annihilation but transformation and identification of the attributes."[3] The soul is only transmitted and spiritualised making him appreciate immanence as well as transcendence of God.

As this experience is paradoxical, the language intended to give expression to it has to become paradoxical. The language, therefore, assumes some kind of murkiness making it *sandhā* i.e. a language of the meeting point or *sandhyā* the language of the evening. No wonder that it becomes obscure for the non-initiate seeking to conceal the doctrine from him; it is meant to project

the *yogin* or *sādhaka* into the paradoxical situation indispensable to his training. Rightly has M. Eliade remarked, "the semantic polyvalence of words finally substitutes ambiguity for the usual system of reference inherent in ordinary language."[4]

The enigmatic words of the Upaniṣads associated with *nirguṇa* Bhaktas laid down the tradition manifested by Siddhas, Nāthas i.e. Haṭhayogins and Tāntrikas who evinced a peculiar admixture of the principles expressed in a language that cannot be fully appreciated without a proper appraisal of the undercurrents. Chronologically Siddhas were the first aspirants who placed *mahāsukkha* or *nirbāṇa* as their ideal. Sarahapāda was the earliest exponent among the 84 Siddhas following the *sādhanā* of Yoga advocated by Patañjali, but he also brought in the Tantrism of the Bauddhas. It is significiant to remind one of Sarahapāda's graphic description of the condition of *Mahāsukkha* in the symbolic words :

"that where the wind blows not and the Sun and Moon enter not

where the mind enjoys repose

having neither any beginning, any middle, any end."

The word *gharani* used by the Siddhas symbolically stands for *ātmā* although it has to be admitted that Siddhas of the later days were not able to maintain symbolism originally implied in this word indicating three progressive stages of *sādhanā* such as *avadhūti, caṇḍalī* and *jambī* . Even the words of Sarahapāda such as *naigharani Lahe Keli Karanta* were later understood in the superficial sense of "enjoying love-sport with one's beloved." This resulted into the unbriddled addiction to *pañca makāras,* viz. fish *(mīna),* wine *(madirā),* copulation *(maithuna),* jewels *(māṇika)* and meat *(māṁsa).* Originally these words were a part and parcel of *sandhābhāṣā* of the Siddhas. *Madya* stood for the ambrosial juice oozing from the thousand-petalled lotus in Brahma-randhra and *māṁsa* symbolized the fusion of the mind in Brahman by killing animals in the form of merit as well as sin. *Matsya* really was the *āhāra* of those who are able to make Prāṇa and Apāna move through Suṣumnā *(nāḍī)* with the help of Prāṇāyāma. On these lines *mudrā* amounted to keeping company with the good by avoiding that of the sinful and *maithuna* connoted the communion of Śakti and Śiva in Sahasradala with Kuṇḍalinī or Suṣumnā. If Siddhas were found wanting in appreciating the hidden meaning of the above-mentioned words, the inability of the Śāktas or Vāmamārgins in maintaining the purity of these symbols can be easily understood. No wonder that *avadhūti, caṇḍalī* and *jambī* were reduced to progressive stages of sheer sex-enjoyment.

It has to be observed that Gorakhanātha, the pupil of Macchindranātha, did revive the original symbolic connotation of these words. Siddhas had used the term *buddha* but were not in favour of *śūnya* or void of Nāgārjuna. Gorakhanātha interpreted *śūnya* in the sense of *ātmatattva,* identified it with

Brahmarandhra or "bhānvargufā" of the Nāthas. This shows that Nātha-sect originated from the *caurāsī siddhas* as has been observed by Rahul Samkrutyayan. *Vāruṇī* that appears now and anon in Gorakha-vāṇī certainly has no relation with liquor as Gorakhanātha has extolled the Yogin drinking *vāruṇī* as *śūra* i.e. the hero indicating it to be the liquor of spiritual intoxication helping him to react to the state of deathlessness. This *vāruṇī* is not different from *rasa* or *amṛta* that oozes from the *sahasrāra.*

Followers of Nātha-sect have also made an attempt to interpret Tantric terms associated with sexual practices in an esoteric sense. The root *ram* meaning to '(sexually) enjoy' is employed by Nātha-yogin in its another sense, viz. to stay at rest, connoting the *sahaja* state of the Yogin where he is "merged into" perfect bliss. The word *surati* is employed by Vajrayānī Siddhas in the sense of sexual enjoyment or voluptuousness but in the eyes of Nātha-panthīs it came to mean *śruti* or hearing placing it on par with *śabda* or *nāda.* The word *nirati* was formed after *surati* making the former superior to the latter resembling the traditional supportless condition i.e. *nirālambana-sthiti* another form of *sahajāvasthā.*

The discussion on Sandhā-bhāṣā or Sandhyābhāṣā is bound to remain incomplete without a reference to Kabir who is acknowledged as one of the great poets not only of the 15th century A.D. but of all times. As has been already mentioned mystics always conceive a symbol, as language falls too short of a true expression of a mystic idea. This is the reason why Islamic mystics like Jalaluddin and Hafiz figure prominently among the users of symbols as for example, breeze stands for the means of union with the beloved, dark night connotes the world and waves suggest divine knowledge. Kabir is rich in using a variety of symbols which are really in swirling confusion, they are full of ecstatic visions and allegorical figures. Many of these symbols are obscure and defy all reasoning; the details remain dark and blurred. Thus in Kabir the arrow represents the sinner; the vulture stands for the arrogant Guru. Tortoise, fish and swan represent the Inner Self, the Soul and the Pure Self, respectively. If *cakravāka* represents the faithful servant, the dog stands for the man full of desires, serpent evidently stands for the crooked man or the senses and the toad for the garrulous man. A long list of inanimate objects can be furnished from Kabir's poetry. A tree will stand for Māyā which while standing on earth spreads its branches in all directions with a myriad leaves. In the Upaniṣadic way Kabir has spoken : if a singer who dances without feet and plays the instrument without hands and sings without tongue, the singer has no form, no outline. Only the Sataguru can make you see - सतगुरु है रंगरेज चूनर मेरी रंग डारी. Nirguṇa-school of Santa-poetry gives great importance to the teacher who is the dyer washing away the dirt from the garment and dyes it in a colour more matching to the majesty of the wearer, i.e. the Ātmā. An insect *Bhṛnga* arrests another insect, *kīṭa* and keeping it at the centre revolves round it again and again till the worm is no more a *kīṭa* , it transforms itself into a *Bhṛnga* . This symbol is used by Kabir

in alluding to the great effect of the Satsaṅga of Sādhus or the Guru. Kabir has used the symbol of Dāmpatya-bhāva for throwing light on his relation with *Rāma* or *Hari* in his famous song beginning with *Hari mera pīva mai, Hari mera pīva* and has expressed the ecstacy of the beloved in singing about the glory of the lord on paying a visit to her house.

It is evident that he was required to use his own idiom for giving expression to the ineffable character of his mystic experience. This brought in innuendos i.e. the act of inverted ascent more popularly known as *ulaṭbānsī*. Tāntrikas in his days did use a riddle-like language with the intention of hiding some secret notions or esoteric practices considered to be improper or indecent in the ordinary society. Gorakhanātha had alredy spoken of the language of the knowers of Brahman changing the course of the wind[5] calling it "uleṭī carcā" where the water of the city is collected in a small pond.[6] *Ulaṭbānsī* is that way of expression where the apparent meaning happens to be an opposite representation of the actual behaviour of the order of things such as नैया बिच नदिया डूबति जाय, i.e. the river getting itself drowned in the boat. This is possibly intended to startle the hearer or reader and make him think of the hidden meaning in the statement. Mishra Bandhu defined *Ulaṭbānsī* as "apparently there is an opposite statement but the spiritual meaning is quite sound. That is why they are called Ulaṭbānsī."[7] This is akin to the Hindi idiom "Banso Chadhana" meaning thereby to ride or jump high to the height of poles.[8] Thus, this is really *akatha-kathā* partaking of the feeling of wonder thereafter.[9] Kabir's *ulaṭbānsīs* take their cue from the concept of Haṭhayoga too where different practices help the seeker to find God. One or two examples of *ulaṭbānsī* of Kabir will suffice. (1) "The ocean has caught fire, the rivers have been burnt to charcoal, O Kabir, wake up and see, the fish have climbed." Here the ocean represents the body, the fire indicates knowledge, the river refers to senses, the fish stands for the soul, and the tree stands for the supreme soul. (2) "In front the fire rages, but behind the tree has verdure. I hail that tree which bears fruit when its roots are chopped off." Here fire represents realisation and verdure stands for faith. The tree refers to the body, the fruit indicates religious experience and the roots represent the attachments.

The meaning of these *ulaṭbānsīs* can hardly be clear with the help of the conventional meaning of words. The words in this *pada* viz. कैसे नगरी करौं फुटवारी चंचल पुरिस विचरन नारी really speak of the body of the human being, and the "man" and the 'woman' symbolically stand for the fickle mind and desire respectively. Similarly, the words बैल बियाई and गाई भई बांझ appear irrational but is it not true that the mind under the influence of actions and their impressions left on it continues to give rise to different alluring things making the *sāttvika buddhi* in the form of the cow utterly helpless while the बछरा in the form of the senses makes the mind run after the objects of enjoyment?

Looking into these symbols, it can be seen that they are obscure and in the case of Kabir who had no formal education they also become confused, nevertheless the obscurity is not the result of the language or style but it arises out of the subject matter that is handled. Not only Kabir but the mystics of all countries and climes have adopted symbolism as their mode of expression while imparting a mystical truth. Intelligence can hardly decipher these dark symbols; only those who are aware of the philosophical attitude shall be able to catch the idea. These symbols come out of the deep psychological experiences that take their rise in faith. Hence, these experiences cannot be described in plain words. One who understands a mystic experience can have an access to those signs of "inspired wisdom" and can recognise the expression in "disguise". Experiences of mystics speak of unity which appears to be the source of wonder,[10] (एक अचम्भा भया), but this is possible if one succeeds in igniting the flame of thought (पावक प्रजरी) in the flower of one's own life (पुहुपमाहिं) leading to the destruction of both merit and demerit. *Sandhā-Bhāṣā*, though obscure, has certainly enriched the beauty of mystic poetry. It is significant that affinities between Sai Baba's stories and Kabir's poetic style filled with cryptic allusive imagery have been noted in a recently published book on Sai Baba's writings which indicates oneness of mystic experience irrespective of caste, creed as well as times.

Notes and References

1. R. D. Ranade, *Mysticism in Maharashtra*.

2. *The Metaphysics of Rumi*, p. 94.

3. *Ibid.* pp. 94-95.

4. Eliade, *Yoga*, pp. 250-51.

5. उतरंत पवनं पल्टंत राणी । अपीव पीबंत ते ब्रह्मजानी – गोरखवाणी.

6. *Ibid.* नगरीकू पाणी कूई आवै । उलेटी चर्चा गोरष गावै ।

7. Mishra Bandhu - *Hindi Navaratna*, p. 365.

8. *Manak Hindi Kosh*, Vol. IV, p. 101.

9. Referred .to by Malukadāsa with the term *ajabakathā*. Dulahadāsa calls it *gupta marma kī bāt;* Bulla Sahab directly calls it *acharaj* while Dayabai is content to refer to it as "*alapatibāt*. Ram Chandra Varma takes it from *ultā* (Hindi) - *vacha* (Sanskrit) incoherent speech as is evident from Manak Hindi Kosh Vol. 1, p. 380. This is hardly convincing.

10. Antonio Rigopoulos - *The Life and Teachings of Sai Baba of Shirdi*, State University of New York Press, Albany, 1993.

VARĀHA IMAGES IN MADHYA PRADESH
SYMBOLISM AND ICONOGRAPHY*

HARIPRIYA RANGARAJAN

The term 'icon' refers to an object of worship associated with any cult or religion. To a student of Indian iconography, the knowledge of original sources in Sanskrit, the mythological sources of the Purāṇas and the rules prescribed in the Śilpa Śāstras is very essential. Then only he can explain the symbolic significance of a given icon.

Varāha means wild Boar. Madhya Pradesh is the only State where the earliest images of Varāha of zoomorphic and anthropomorphic forms have been found. In zoomorphic form the image is represented in fully animal form whereas in the anthropomorphic form it is shown with the face of a boar and the body of a human being. Before we discuss the iconographic details of Varāha it is necessary to understand the evolution of the myth of Varāha.

The myth of Varāha as the uplifter of earth developed in two stages. In the first stage Varāha was visualised as cosmogonical in character and in the second stage as part of the *avatāra* cycle of Viṣṇu.

Cosmogonical character of Varāha in the first stage

The first stage which covers a long period from the Vedic times to the cosmogonical section of the Purāṇas regards Varāha as the creator of the earth. However, in identifying the Varāha with creator, there is a difference between the Vedic and the Purāṇic versions.

According to the Vedic tradition, the creator god Prajāpati alone was there in the beginning. There was water everywhere and no sign of earth was found. Then the creator Prajāpati took the form of a Boar, found the earth under water and brought it to the surface. Then, he expanded it.

The cosmogonical section of the Purāṇas describes the same legend with a difference. They replace Brahmā in the place of Prajāpati and say that it was not Brahmā but the power of Nārāyaṇa which entered the body of Brahmā who then took the form of Varāha and brought the goddess Earth

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* This is the text of the Seventh Smt. Nabadurga Banerjee Endowment Lecture delivered at the Asiatic Society of Bombay, on February 4, 1997.

on the surface. Then Brahmā created the universe. The Purāṇas also compare each and every limb of Varāha to the various components of Yajña and call it Yajña Varāha.

The earliest reference to Varāha's association with goddess Earth is found in Bhūmi sūkta of the *Atharva Veda*.[1] It says that the Earth, united with Varāha, opens herself for the wild pig.

The Saṃhitās, such as the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā*,[2] the *Kapiṣṭhala Kaṭha Saṃhitā*[3] and the *Kaṭhaka Saṃhitā*[4] for the first time identify Varāha with Prajāpati. The *Kapiṣṭhala Kaṭha Saṃhitā* says that Prajāpati by taking the form of Varāha entered the primeval waters and brought up the soil exactly the size of his snout which became the Earth. Then assuming the from of Viśvakarmā, he planned her and hence she became Pṛthvī.

In the period of Brāhmaṇas the relationship of Prajāpati Varāha with goddess Earth is fully established. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*[5] says that Varāha raised the Earth up, therefore, he was her lord. The text calls the Varāha as Emuṣa Varāha and identifies him with Prajāpati.

The cosmogonical section of the Purāṇas such as *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*,[6] *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*[7] *Matsya Purāṇa*,[8] *Vāyu Purāṇa*,[9] *Kūrma Purāṇa*[10] and *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*[11] narrate the same legend of '*uplifting the earth*' with two differences. Firstly, they replace the creator Brahmā in the place of Prajāpati. Secondly, they do not accept Brahmā alone as the uplifter of earth. According to them. the power of supreme Nārāyaṇa entered the body of Brahmā who then assumed the form of Varāha and uplifted goddess Bhū from the *Pātāla*. However, the *Matsya Purāṇa*, tried to synchronise the oneness of Viṣṇu with Brahmā instead of supreme Nārāyaṇa.

In addition to the above narration, Varāha is described as *Yajña Varāha* in the *Vāyu Purāṇa*[12], *Matsya Purāṇa*,[13] *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*[14], *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*[15] *Brahma Purāṇa*[16] and *Padma Purāṇa*[17]. In this form each and every limb of Varāha is compared with various components of sacrifice or *Yajña*. It is very clear that when the Purāṇas describe the Yajña Varāha they identify Varāha with Brahmā who is then identified with Nārāyaṇa.

Varāha myth in the second stage

When Vaiṣṇavism became very popular in the Gupta period (i.e. 4th - 5th century A.D.), the doctrine of *avatāra* assumed great importance. As a result the action of uplifting the earth which was previously attributed to Brahmā was transferred to Viṣṇu and was incorporated in the *avatāra* cycle.

The *Liṅga Purāṇa*[18], *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*[19] and *Padma Purāṇa*[20] narrate the *avatāra* of Varāha in detail. According to them Viṣṇu assumed the *avatāra* of Varāha, found the goddess Earth in the *pātāla* with Hiraṇyākṣa, killed him

and brought goddess Bhū on the surface. In the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, Skandha
III, adh. 13, verses 13-30 narrate the Varāha myth in relation to creation.
They say that the emergence of Boar assumed by Brahmā belongs to the
Svayambhuva Manvantara. However, in the same Skandha, in the same adhyāya,
verse 31 says that the emergence of Boar assumed by Viṣṇu belongs to
the Cākṣuśa Manvantara. According to it, Viṣṇu assumed the form of Boar,
killed Hiraṇyākṣa and brought the Earth on the surface by carrying her on
his tusk.

The *Liṅga Purāṇa* thrice refers to the myth of Varāha. In śl. 58-63 in
Ch.4 and in śl. 115-125 in Ch. 70, it attributes the Varāha myth to Brahmā.
However, the śl. 5-14 in Ch. 94 describe Hiraṇyākṣa's carrying goddess
Earth to the Nether region and the action of killing him is attributed to Viṣṇu.
In this narration the Purāṇa says that after killing the demon, Varāha brought
the goddess Bhū on the surface and made her sit on his lap. The deity
Varāha with goddess Bhū seated on his lap is known as Bhū Varāha and
Varāha is represented in this form in many temples in South India.

The *Padma Purāṇa* is the only text which says that Hiraṇyākṣa carried
Bhū on his head. When goddess Bhū was about to fall from the head of
demon at the time of his death, Varāha quickly carried her and kept her
on the head of Śeṣa. A beautiful specimen of the description of the *Padma
Purāṇa* is found in Majhouli in Madhya Pradesh.

Varāha kathā is also found in the Epics in which it is mentioned as
avatāra of Viṣṇu. However, in the older *Rāmāyaṇa*, the Boar incarnation is
not attributed to Viṣṇu but to Brahmā.

The Śilpa Śāstras as well as the iconographic section of the Purāṇas
prescribe the canons to be followed for sculpturing the images of various
divinities. Some of them also explain the myth behind the iconographic
descriptions.

Among the Śilpa texts, *Aparājitapṛcchā*[21] is the only one which describes
the cosmogonical aspect of Varāha. The other texts such as the
Abhilāṣitārthacintāmaṇi[22] (compendium), *Caturvargacintāmaṇi*[23] (compe-
ndium), *Rūpamaṇḍana*[24], *Devatāmūrtiprakaraṇa*[25], *Śilparatna*[26],
Śilparatnākara[27] and *Mānasollāsa*[28] treat Varāha as part of the *avatāra* cycle
and provide the appropriate iconographic canons. Among the Purāṇas, the
Matsya Purāṇa[29], *Agni Purāṇa,*[30] and *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa,*[31] provide
the iconographic canons of Varāha as part of the *avatāra* cycle.

To sum up, in the first stage of the myth of Varāha, he is shown in
the Vedic literature as Prajāpati the creator, and the architect of the universe.
In the cosmogonical section of the Purāṇas, Prajāpati is replaced by Brahmā
and is identified with Nārāyaṇa. In the second stage when Vaiṣṇavism became

popular, Viṣṇu occupied the position of Brahmā and the doctrine of incarnation assumed importance. As a result Varāha came to be regarded as part of the *avatāra* cycle. Thus, the identification of Varāha with Viṣṇu and the transformation of the concept of cosmogony into the concept of *avatāra* has played an important role in the second stage of the development of Varāha myth. With the concept of *avatāra* gaining acceptance, the Varāha myth lost its cosmogonical connotation completely.

As mentioned earlier, Madhya Pradesh is the only State where the earliest images of Varāha in zoomorphic and anthropomorphic forms have been found. In the zoomorphic form, the sculptors exhibit two aspects of Varāha. Firstly, the cosmogonical aspect of Varāha with reference to the creator Prajāpati-Brahmā and his association with goddess Earth which is explained in the texts of the Vedic period and in the cosmogonical section of the Purāṇas. Secondly, the Yajña aspect of Varāha in which each and every limb of him is compared with various components of Yajña as sacrifice. These images are called Yajña Varāha. In the anthropomorphic form the incarnation aspect of Viṣṇu is exhibited and is called Bhū Varāha.

The images of Varāha in both forms found in the State stretch over a period of nine hundred years. They are datable to the periods beginning from the 5th century A. D. to the 14th century A.D., under the various royal dynasties such as the Guptas, Aulikaras, Nalas, Pāṇḍus, Uccakalpas, Gurjara Pratihāras, Kalacuris, Kacchavahas (Kacchapaghaṭas), Candellas and Paramāras. The total number of images of Varāha so far found in the State is 86 of which 29 are in zoomorphic form. These are found in various places such as Eran, Khoh, Badoh, Muradpur, Karitalai, Bilhari, Jabalpur, Panagar, Majhouli, Khor, Mandasor, Hinglajgarh, Bhopal, Ujjain, Dudhai, Candpur, Khajuraho, Bunjar, Samasgarh, Mamlesvar, Omkaresvar, Karohan, Udayagiri, Ramgarh, Nachna, Rajim, Tigova, Thanagaon, Sirpur, Maḣua, Bargaon, Sohagpur, Shahdol, Modi, Badnavar, Bandogarh, Mandla, Gyaraspur, Ashapuri, Doni, Kadvaha, Dhamadha, Suhania, Tevar, Sagar, Gangasagar, Jangjir, Kohla and Mandu. Some of these images are preserved in the museums.

Iconographic details

In Madhya Pradesh while the concepts of *sṛṣṭi* (creation) and *yajña* (sacrifice) are depicted on the zoomorphic images, the concept of *avatāra* (incarnation) is brought out in the anthropomorphic images of Varāha. For explaining the concepts of *sṛṣṭi* the sculptors depicted the figures of divinities associated with 'Pure creation' such as Vāsudeva, Śaṁkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna, Aniruddha and the *lokas* such as *Bhū, Bhuvaḥ, Svaḥ* and *Pātāla* on the vertebral column of zoomorphic Varāha. Similarly, different components of Yajña were personified and depicted on the neck, ears, tusks, eyes, tongue, snout, forehead and limbs of the zoomorphic Varāha. In the zoomorphic form

the figure of goddess Earth is shown in two poses—hanging by holding the right tusk of Varāha or standing on the ground on the left side of the image of Varāha. For representing Varāha as 'Uplifter of goddess Earth', the anthropomorphic form was chosen with human body and boar face and this form was called Bhū Varāha. In the anthropomorphic form of Varāha, Bhūdevī is shown mostly seated either on the left shoulder or left elbow of Varāha. In some cases, she is shown standing in the centre of the left palm or on the left knee of Varāha.

In all the images of Yajña Varāha and Bhū Varāha the figure of Śeṣa is rarely missing. Śeṣa is always regarded as the bed of Lord Nārāyaṇa and during the intervals of creation, Lord Nārāyaṇa (Viṣṇu) is said to be resting upon Ananta Śeṣa. It means even if the creation disappears God remains unchanged and with him the only one of his creation, the only one without a second, exists and that is Śeṣa. This mysterious and primeval serpent always floats on the waters and never sinks even when Nārāyaṇa takes rest on his bed. Thus Śeṣa is regarded as a symbol of permanence or a residuum after the destruction of the world. It means Śeṣa, a mediating figure between two cosmic cycles acts as a place for the Lord to sleep. Śeṣa is Ananta which means the endless or infinite one. Ananta Śeṣa is said to be holding the whole univerese on his numerous heads. According to the *Padma Purāṇa*, Śeṣa is said to be holding the fallen goddess Earth on his head when she fell from the head of demon Hiraṇyākṣa.

The sculptors of Madhya Pradesh realising the importance of Śeṣa represented him with both forms of Varāha. In the zoomorphic form of Varāha, Śeṣa is shown on the head of Varāha facing Brahmā and between the legs of Varāha at the bottom. In the case of anthropomorphic form of Varāha the figure of Śeṣa with Nāgī is shown sitting near the left foot of Varāha who is standing in *āliḍhāsana* pose, with his left foot on the hoods of Śeṣa.

Along with the figure of Śeṣa the figure of Garuḍa is shown in both forms of Varāha. It indicates its close intimacy with Viṣṇu who is also known by the epithet of 'Garuḍārūḍha Viṣṇu'. Secondly, the depiction of Garuḍa explains the concept of sustenance on the earth. The figure of Garuḍa with *Amṛta Kalaśa* at Khoh and Majhouli supports the idea of sustenance.

The *Purāṇas* and the *Śilpaśāstras* describe Varāha as resting his right foot on Kūrma's shell. According to the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, the lower shell of Kūrma represents earth, the upper shell heaven and what is between the shells is the air—*Prāṇa*. In Madhya Pradesh, while in the zoomorphic form the image of Varāha is depicted as standing on the Kūrma shell, in the anthropomorhpic form Varāha is shown resting his right foot on its shell.

The zoomorphic images of Varāha found in the State are the excellent examples to represent the cosmogonical character of Varāha. They are depicted

with many figures of divinities on the body related to the creation and *yajña* and are called Yajña Varāha.

The main characteristics of Yajña Varāha lie in the depiction of vertebral column in which the sculptors of the Guptas and the successive dynasties could exhibit the varied significance of the image with their highly sophisticated talents. For example, in the Gupta period the vertebral column was fully covered by the figures of sages whereas in the Pratihāra period the same part of the body showed the creation of the Universe. In the Candella period the synthesis of Vyūhas with the Trinity of Gods was shown, whereas under the Paramāras the vertebral column was decorated by the figure of Matsya from which the early creation started.

Eran

The earliest and the biggest image of Yajña Varāha belonging to the late Gupta period was first located by A. Cunningham in 1874-76 in a village called Eran. This is situated at the entrance of Mālwā region in Madhya Pradesh.[32] The colossal image facing west measures 13' 10" in length, 5' 1 1/2" in breadth and 11' 10" in height (Pl. III). The inscription on the chest of Varāha informs us that the image was erected by Dhanya Viṣṇu, the younger brother of Mātṛ Viṣṇu and feudatory of the Hūṇa king Toramāṇa. It was consecrated on the 10th day of Phālguna of Toramāṇa's Regnal Year 1.[33]

On the body of Varāha 1185 figures of seers are depicted in eleven rows. They are two armed. They hold *kamaṇḍalu* of different shape in their left hands. The right hands of some of them are shown in *vismaya mudrā* and some others in *abhaya mudrā*. These sages according to the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* and *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* are the denizens of Tapaloka, Maharloka and Janaloka. The texts says that when Brahmā was engaged in the process of creation he found the earth sunk in the waters. So he took the form of a giant Varāha and came down from the heaven to proceed to the Nether region. At that time while passing through the Janaloka, etc. because of his heavy hoofing and breathing water started flowing downwards. The terrified sages like Sanatkumāras caught hold of the bristles of Varāha and prayed him for shelter. The same episode is depicted in the representation of Eran Varāha.

On the nose of Varāha the figure of two-armed goddess Vāk, who with the later images of Varāha has been shown in the form of Sarasvatī stands in *samabhaṅga* position. It is to be noted that this is the only figure of goddess Vāk or Sarasvatī shown in standing position.

The neck of Varāha is decorated with a wide bordered garland having twenty-eight circles in it. Among them twenty seven circles have the symbolic figures of stars of Indian Zodiac and in one circle a crisp figure of a scorpion is shown (See Pl.III). According to the Viṣṇu Purāṇa between the winter and

spring when Sūrya is in the last part of Kṛttikā *nakṣatra,* i.e. in the house of Meṣa then Candra is in the first part of Viśākha i.e. in the Vṛścika Rāśi. During the combination of this auspicious hour even Devas are waiting to accept *dāna* from the human beings. The inscription of Toramāṇa which is inscribed on the chest of Varāha informs us that Mātṛ Viṣṇu and his brother belonged to Maitrāyaṇīya branch of Lunar race. Therefore, it is possible that to show the merit of Vṛścika Rāśi, the king and the sculptors must have thought of representing it in one of the circles of the garland. (See Pl. III).

On the head of Varāha a mound like structure is shown in which four niches are occupied by the figures of Puruṣa in the west, Brahmā in the north, Viṣṇu in the east and Śiva in the south respectively. They are the representations of *vyūha* forms of *'Para'* (means Supreme) prescribed in the Pāñcarātra system of Vaiṣṇavism. Accordingly, Puruṣa in the west niche represents Vāsudeva, Śiva in the south niche Saṁkarṣaṇa, Brahmā in the north niche Pradyumna and Viṣṇu in the east niche is Aniruddha.

It is to be noted that the practice of exhibiting the figures of four *vyūhas* on the head of Varāha which started in the Gupta period continued upto the period of *Paramāras* who ruled over Madhya Pradesh.

In front of the figure Brahmā the figure of seven hooded Śeṣa is shown to indicate that it is the Śeṣa who holds the universe created by Brahmā. The figure of Śeṣa is also depicted at the bottom in front of Varāha. Actually the figure of Kūrma also is there. But both the figures are weather worn. At present only the tail of Nāga with Nāgī is seen between the legs of Varāha.

The tusk of Varāha is held by the figure of Goddess Bhū. She is shown hanging and holding the tusk with her left hand. The depiction of goddess Bhū in this image reminds us of her condition when she was lifted by Varāha from the Nether region.
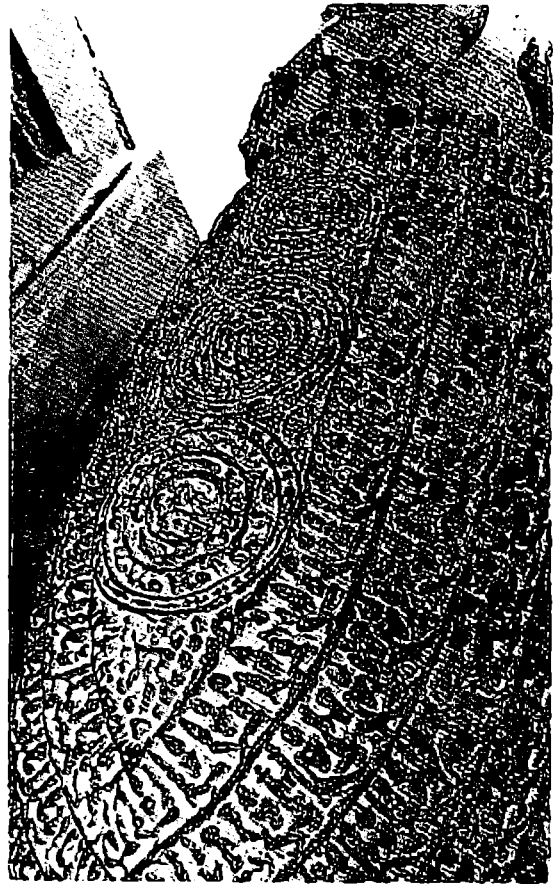
Badoh

A fine specimen of the image of Varāha of the Pratihāra period datable to the 9th century A.D. was located by A. Cunningham in one of the shrines at Badoh.[34] At present the image is preserved in the Gurjarimahal Museum at Gwalior. It is 5' 5" long, 2' broad and 4'9" high. It is standing on a pedestal and is carved with 765 figures of different divinities and ṛṣis in 9 rows on all over the body (Pl. IV.A). In this image unlike the image of Eran the figures of ekādaśa Rudras, dvādaśa Suryas, *avatāras* of Viṣṇu, Navagrahas, sages and others are depicted. It is very interesting to note that though the rows are not broad, the figures are very striking and cute. For example, in the depiction of *avatāras* of Viṣṇu, the figure of Matsya is worth mentioning. On the body of it, the personified figures of four Vedas are depicted (Pl.IV. C).
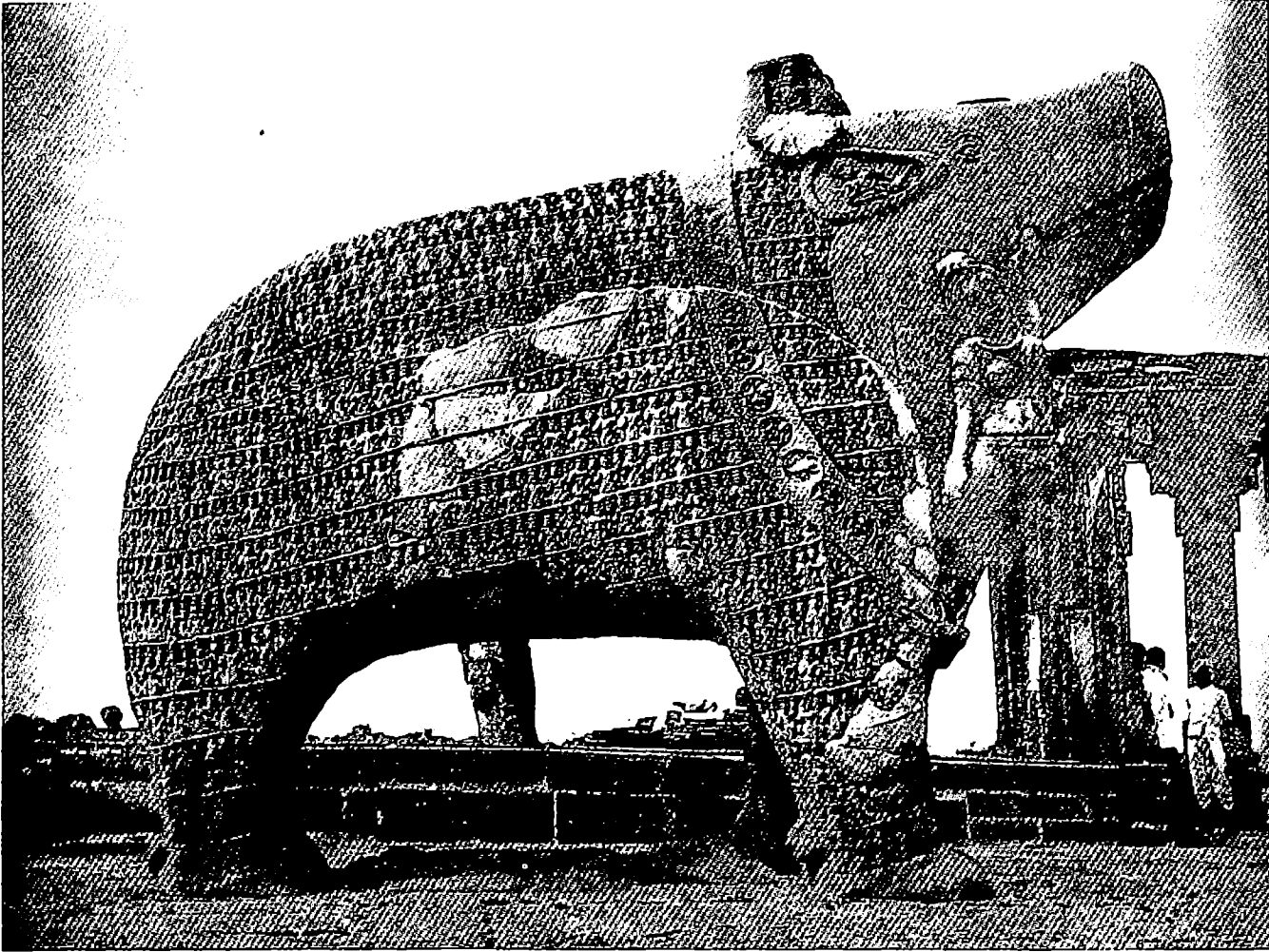
Yajña Varāha, Eran. Bhūdevī is shown holding his tusk. Hundreds of sages are represented on the body of Varāha.
Notice the scorpion in one of the circles of the neck garland of Varāha.

A. Yajña Varāha, Badoh.

B. Figures of Bhūloka,
Bhuvarloka and Svargaloka
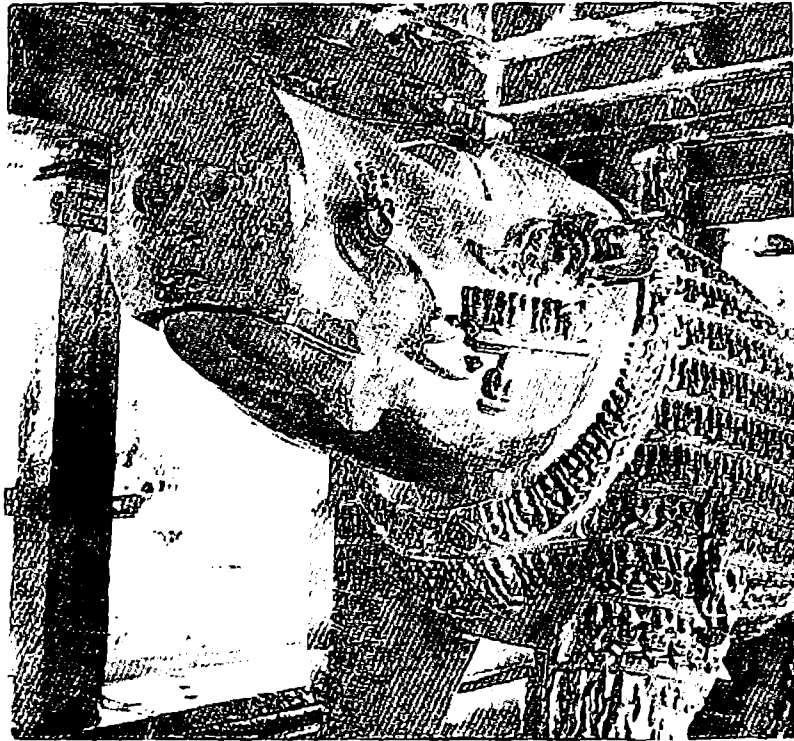shown in circles on the
vertebral column,
Yajña Varāha, Badoh.

C. Avatāras of Viṣṇu shown in one of the rows
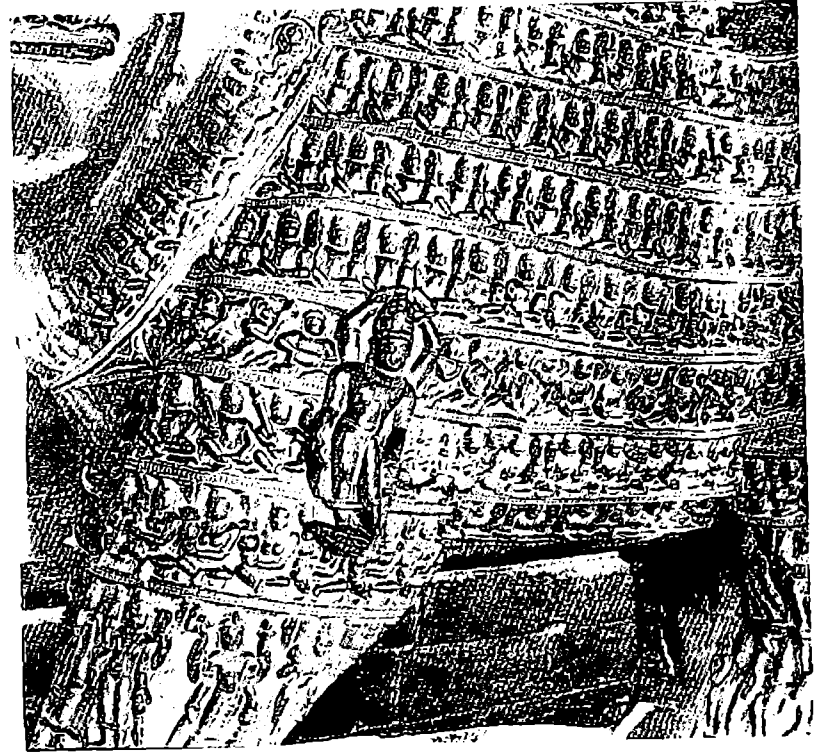on the body of Varāha, Badoh.

Yajña Varāha, Khajuraho. Sarasvatī is shown on the snout.
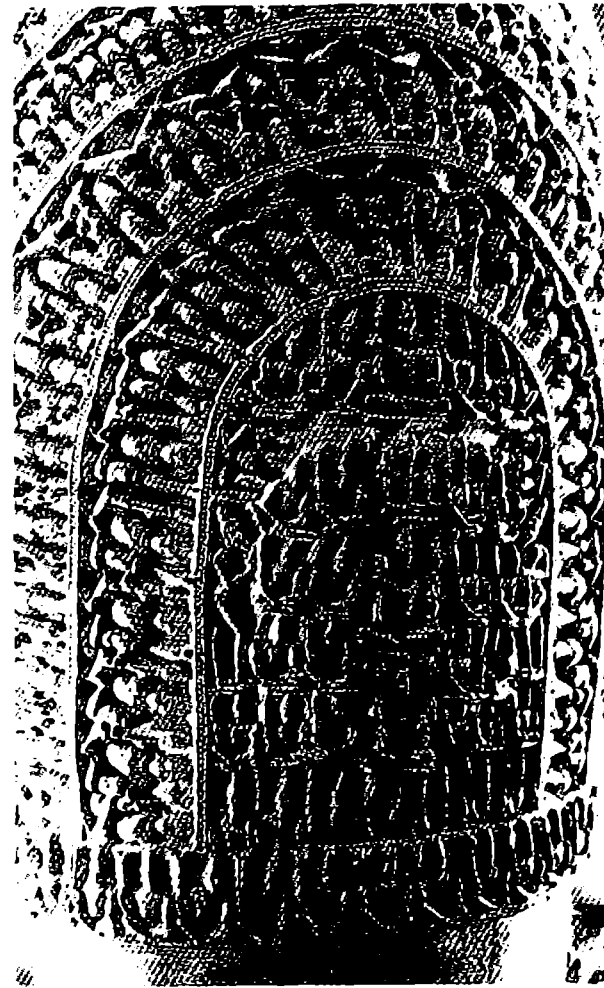The feet of the goddess Bhū can be seen on the ground.

A. Yajña Varāha, Khajuraho. Left side of the face.

B. Four-armed Sanatkumāra along with other divinities on the body of Varāha.
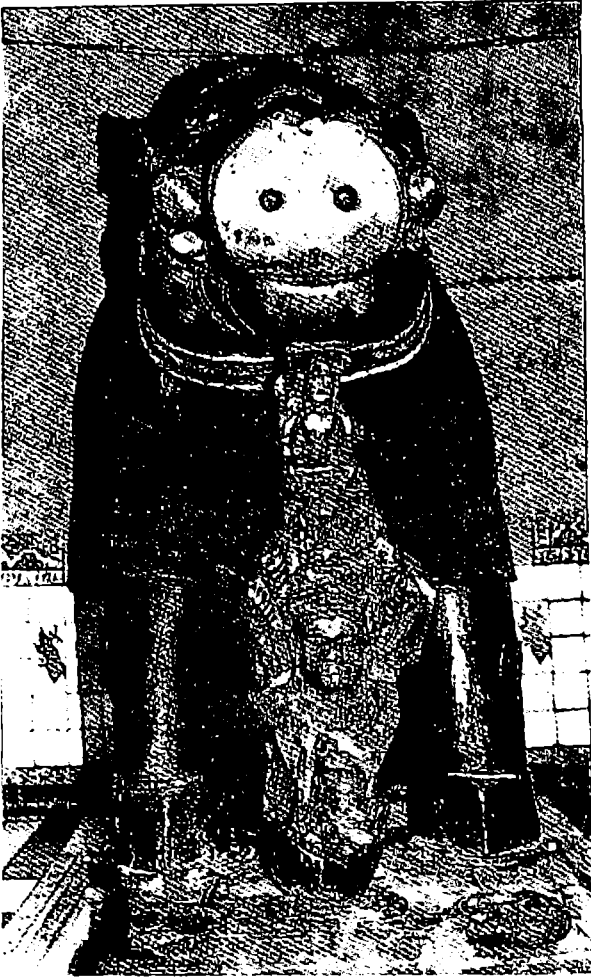
A. On the head of Varāha, Khajuraho, four armed,
Brahmā seated on a lotus *pītha*. Below him are
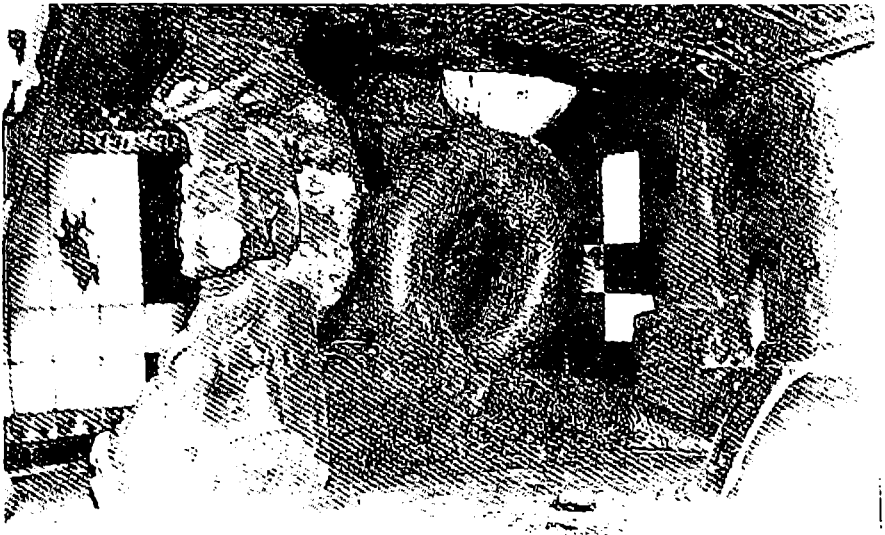personifications of the Vedas.

B. Panel showing the Vyūhas and the Trinity
of Gods on the back of Varāha, Khajuraho.

Majhouli, Yajña Varāha shown majestically standing
in the sanctum of the Varāha temple.

A. Yajña Varāha, Majhouli. Figures of Garuḍa in human form and Bhūdevī sitting on the central hood of the seven headed Śeṣa can be seen in the front.

B. Beautiful Nāgī sculpted near the hind legs of Yajña Varāha, Majhouli.

A. Yajña Varāha, rear view, in the Museum at Ujjain.
   There is a fine depiction of the cosmic tree on
   the right and left side of the tail.
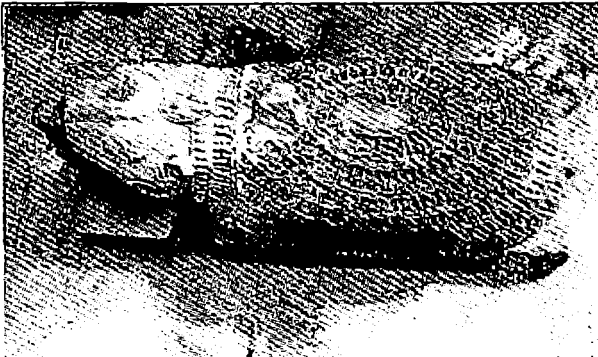
B. Khor. A figure of Matsya depicted on
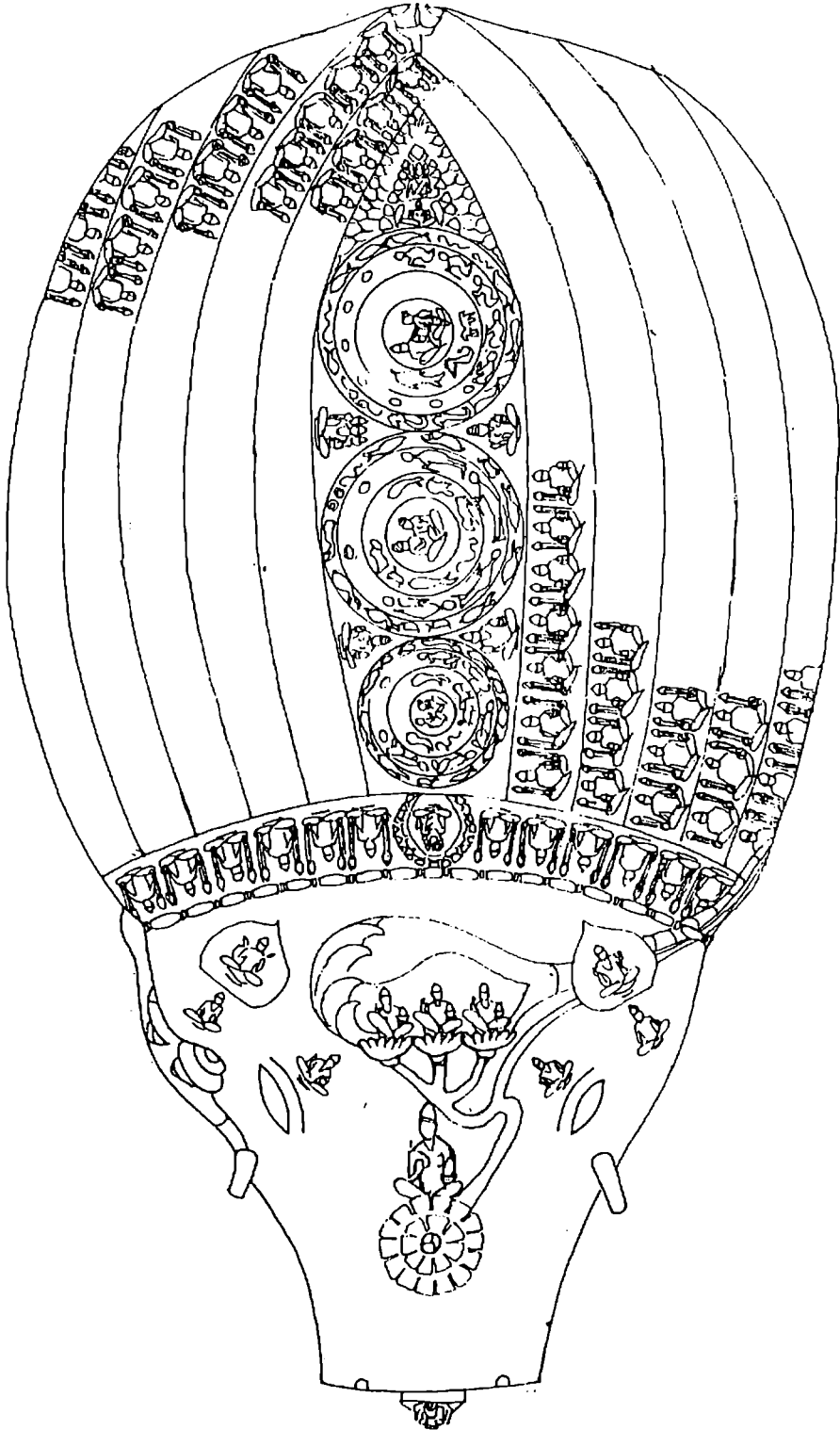   the vertebral column of Yajña Varāha.

Fig. 1 : Schematic drawing, Yajña Varāha, Badoh, view from top.

Among the rows the topmost is excellent. Actually this row is carved in the form of a panel. Through this depiction the sculptors have very efficiently planned to bring out the quintessence of the creation of the universe. The panel is divided into two parts. The upper portion is carved exactly below the figure of Viṣṇu-Lakṣmī on the vertebral column. It consists of three circles carved one below the other. (Pl. IV, B). The lower portion of the panel is carved in semi-triangular form. The biggest circle represents Bhūloka, the middle circle which is smaller than the first for Bhuvarloka and the smallest circle represents Svargaloka. In the innermost portion of these circles the respective deities of these *lokas* are depicted. In the semi-triangular portion the figures of thirteen hooded Nāga and Nāgī are shown seated one above the other. In order to indicate that these two figures are as that of Śeṣanāga and Nāgī of *Pātālaloka*, the sculptors have marvellously shown the crisp shape of the face of a snake with two sharp eyes.

On the snout of Varāha a small figure of Sarasvatī is shown seated. But on the nose between the eyes a striking figure of Gāyatrī is seated on a full blown lotus. Above her, three figures of Brahmā are seated on separate lotuses. The fourth figure is not seen. In front of him the seven hooded Śeṣa is shown. The tail of Nāga and the stems of the lotuses are joined and shown falling on the left front leg of Varāha which looks very natural. The ears of Varāha are compared with *Iṣṭāpūrtadharma* and shown in the human form standing at the entrance of the ears. The eyes are compared with Sun and Moon and depicted in human forms above the eyes. The tusks are compared with *Prāyaṇīya* and *Udayanīya* iṣṭis and personified figures are shown below the ears of Varāha.

The figure of goddess Bhū is shown holding the right tusk of Varāha. In front of Varāha the figures of Garuḍa and Nāga in human forms and the figure of Cāmaradhāriṇī are shown facing the deity. Garuḍa is sitting in kneel down position with the wings. The right wing is seen clearly and the left wing is broken. Nāga with folded hands is shown standing on the body of Kūrma. Cāmaradhāriṇī is standing with cāmara in her hand. (Pl. IV, A).

The pedestal is carved with the figures of Primordial Being Nārāyaṇa on the left, Devaki-Kṛṣṇa on the right and the Garuḍārūḍha Viṣṇu in the front to indicate that all the three are one. It is very clear that the sculptors of this period were very meticulous in bringing out the four essential aspects of the Supreme God. They are (1) creation (2) creator (3) creator of the creator and (4) the holder of the Universe. To exhibit the quintessence of creation of the Universe the sculptors chose the long and wide vertebral column of Varāha. Then they placed Brahmā, the creator of the Universe on the head of Varāha which is called Brahmaśīrṣa. While representing the Creator of creator, the sculptors depicted Supreme Nārāyaṇa and his other forms such as Viṣṇu and Kṛṣṇa and made us realise that all the three are

one and the same. Lastly, they were fully aware of the fact that Śeṣa is the only one in the creation of Brahmā which bears the entire universe on his head. Therefore, they depicted it in the appropriate place on the head and on the vertebral column of Varāha. (Line Drawing 1.)

Khajuraho

A superb creation of Varāha of Candella art datable to early 10th century A.D. is installed in the cella of Varāha temple at Khajuraho.[35] It is a mammoth piece with 689 figures of divinities and other celestial and terrestrial figures executed with great skill on the body (Pl. V). Among the images of Varāha I have seen in other sites in Madhya Pradesh viz., Eran, Khoh, Badoh, Muradpur, Karitalai, Bilhari, Jabalpur, Panagar, Majhouli, Khor, Mandsaur, Indore, Hinglajgarh, Bhopal, Ujjain and the present two sites in Uttar Pradesh viz. Dudhai and Chandpur, the image of Khajuraho Varāha stands out to be the most impressive image full of iconographic significance.

On the snout of Varāha the striking figure of four-armed Sarasvatī is shown seated in *lalitāsana* posture on a lotus *pīṭha* and playing vīṇa with lower right and left hands. The face of Varāha is depicted with the personified figures of Sūrya and Candra on the eyes, *iṣṭāpūrta dharmas* in the ears, *Prāyaṇiya* and *Udayaniya iṣṭis* on the tusks, and the figures of Brahmāṇī and Lakṣmī on the right and left side. Interestingly, the figure of Navagrahas are shown in a different manner. On the right side the figures of Sūrya, Candra, Maṅgala and Budha are shown seated. On the left side Guru, Śukra, Śani, one extra figure, Rāhu and Ketu are shown seated (Pl.VI, A). One does not know the reason for depicting one extra figure in the group. On the nose of Varāha between the eyes a cute figure of two-armed Gāyatrī is shown seated in *yogāsana* posture on a *pīṭha*. She is decorated with *karaṇḍamukuṭa, karṇakuṇḍalas, kaṇṭhahāra* and *hāra*. The neck of Varāha is decorated with a garland of the figures of thirtysix devas. Between them in the garland three pairs of figures in the form of a serving spoon in leaf shape are depicted on the right, left and at the centre of the neck. They are the symbolic form of *Upāsadaḥ*, i.e. three *iṣṭis*, preceding the pressing of Soma in a Jyotiṣṭoma sacrifice. The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* compares the three *iṣṭis* of Jyotiṣṭoma sacrifice to the neck of Varāha (*Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, III, 13, 37).

On the top of the head of Varāha the figure of four-armed Brahmā with beard is seated in *yogāsana* posture on a full blown lotus *pīṭha*. (Pl.VII,A). In the upper right and left hands *śruk* and *śruva* respectively are held. The lower right hand is in *abhaya mudrā* and the left hand is holding *kamaṇḍalu*. He is decorated with *jaṭāmukuṭa, kaṇṭhahāra* and *upavīta*. At the bottom four figures of priests are shown seated in *ardhalalitāsana* on a lotus *pīṭha*. They are two-armed. The right hand is kept in *abhaya mudrā* and the left hand
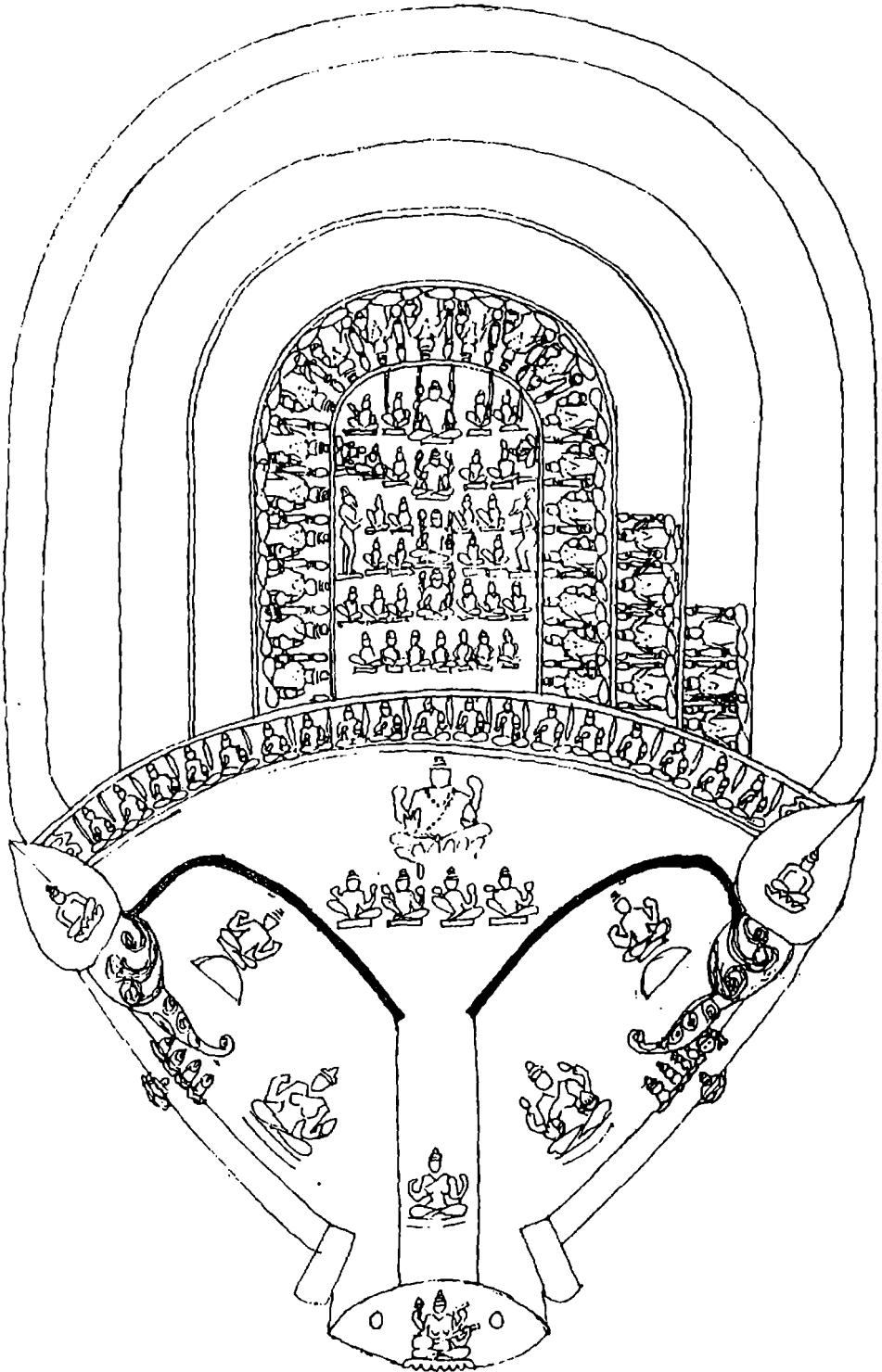
Fig. 2 : Schematic drawing, Yajña Varāha, Khajuraho, view from top.

holds water pot which seems to be covered with coconuts to indicate the auspicious occasion. They are the human personifications of the four Vedas. The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* while explaining the form of Primeval Boar (Kāraṇa Sūkara) interprets the four Vedas as four priests (Caturhotra.)[36] Regarding the placement of Brahmā on the head of Varāha, the *Vāyu Purāṇa* and the *Matsya Purāṇa* describe the head of Varāha as *Brahmaśīrṣa*. According to them Brahmā is Vedic knowledge or the mind of the creator.[37]

There are altogether eleven rows on the body of Varāha. The first row starts from the vertebral column of Varāha. It is designed very significantly in a panel form with a semicircular bottom and elongated sides. There are altogether 37 figures in the chamber. In this panel the Khajuraho artist has attempted to portray the quintessence of the pure creation of the Supreme Being. At the same time the artists have finely synchronized the emanations of *vyūha* with the Trinity of Gods in the *Purāṇas* (Pl.VII.B). This panel has four sub-rows within itself which run one below the other. The first sub-row starts with five male figures. The four-armed figure in the centre is big. It is seated in *yogāsana* posture on a lotus *pīṭha*. It has *gadā* and *daṇḍa* in the upper right and left hands respectively. The lower right hand is in *abhayamudrā* and the left hand is holding *padma*. It is adorned with *kirīṭamukuṭa, kaṇṭhahāra, upavīta* and *kaustubha*. It is the representation of Para Vāsudeva ''the Highest form of God''. To his right and left four male figures, two on either side, are seated in *ardhalalitāsana* posture on lotus *pīṭhas*. They are two-armed. They are the four *vyūhas* of Supreme, i.e. Vāsudeva, Saṁkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha. They are holding *daṇḍa* or Śaṅkha in their left hands and showing the right hands in *abhaya mudrā*. They are decorated with *mukuṭas, upavīta* and *kaṇṭhahāras*. They are seated at the same level with the figure of Para Vāsudeva on separate *pīṭhas* to indicate that they are the emanations of the Supreme Being.

Below in the second sub-row five figures are shown. The central figure with beard is big and four armed. It is seated in *yogāsana* posture on a full blown lotus *pīṭha*. It shows *abhaya mudrā* in the right lower hand. In the left lower hand *kalaśa* is held. The upper right and left hands hold *śruva* and Veda respectively. It is decorated with *jaṭāmukuṭa* and *upavīta*. It is the figure of Brahmā. To his right and left four male figures are seated, two on either side in *ardhalalitāsana* posture on separate *pīṭhas*. They are seated at a lower level from the main figure. Their hairs are tied and kept on the heads. All of them have water pot in the left hands and right hands are shown in *abhaya mudrā*. They are identified with Svayambhuva, Prajāpati, Uśana and Bṛhaspati. They are four manifestations of Brahmā.[38]

In the third sub-row altogether eleven figures are represented. The central figure seated on a lotus *pīṭha* is big and four-armed. It shows *abhaya mudrā* and holds trident, snake and *kalaśa* in the other hands starting from the

right lower hand in clockwise direction. It is decorated with *jaṭāmukuṭa*, *kaṇṭhahāra*, and *upavīta*. It is the representation of Śiva. To the right and left of Śiva eight male figures are represented. Among them four on either side are seated in *ardhalalitāsana* posture on separate *pīṭhas*. They show *abhaya mudrā* in the right hands and hold water pot in the left hands. They are decorated with *jaṭāmukuṭa*, and *kaṇṭhahāras*. They are identified with Rudra, Bhava, Sarva, Iśāna, Paśu, Bhīma, Ugra and Mahadeva,[39] the manifestations of Śiva. The fifth figure on either side is shown standing in *dvibhaṅga* posture on a *pīṭha*. They are facing the deities in the centre in *añjali mudrā*. They are standing outside the row within the panel. They have no clothes on the body except *kaupīna*. They have beards and long and heavy *jaṭāmukuṭa* in the conical shape on their heads. They are identified with caṇḍa and pracaṇḍa of pure creation. Above their heads two seated figures in *ardhalalitāsana* position are depicted each on either side. They are also actually seated outside the row but within the panel facing south and north direction. They have water pot in the left hands and the right hands are shown in *abhaya mudrā*. They are identified with another class of inhabitants of the pure creation called *muktas* or liberated. They are described as intensely radiating spiritual atoms of the size of a *trasareṇu* (mote in a sun beam).[40]

In the fourth sub-row seven figures are represented. The central figure is big and four-armed and seated in *yogāsana* posture on a lotus *pīṭha*. It shows *abhaya mudrā* and holds *gadā, cakra* and *śaṅkha* in the four hands starting from the lower right hand in clockwise direction. It is adorned with *kirīṭamukuṭa, kaṇṭhahāra*, and *upavīta*. It is the representation of Viṣṇu. To his right and left three male figures are seated in *ardhalalitāsana* on *pīṭhas*. All of them are adorned with *mukuṭas, upavītas*, and *kaṇṭhahāras*. They are identified with seven Viṣṇus.[41]

Below them seven figures of two-armed males are shown seated in a row. They have *abhaya mudrā* in the right hands and water pot in the left hands. All of them have long and conical shaped *jaṭās*. They are seven sages or popularly called Saptarṣis belonging to the pure creation. They are shown facing the deities in the panel. Ending with this the first row is consisted of thirtyseven male figures (Pl.VII B). When we look at the row from the top it looks like a circle because of its inner formation but in reality the figures are well placed one below the other in vertical shape. All the figures are shown facing the nose of Varāha except those of the Saptarṣis and four males two of whom are standing and other two are seated. The two seated figures are facing the north and south direction. This panel is so wide that it has enough room for the sub-rows within itself. (Line drawing 2).

The other rows in this image are occupied by the figures of Ekādaśa Rudras, Dvādaśa Sūryas, Aṣṭa Vasus, Saptamātṛkās, Gandharvas, Devas, sages and Nāgas. It is important to note that for the first time the figures of Kumāras

such as Sanat, Sanandana, Sanaka and Sanatkumāra are depicted on the body of Varāha. (Pl.VI,B) They are the four mental sons of the creator Brahmā. They are represented as young and handsome lads with good physique. The charm of the youth is realistically represented on their graceful faces with charming mouth and enchanting eyes. These four sages because of their tremendous penance attained the youthhood permanently. The figures of these young sages are shown standing on a lotus leaf. They are four-armed. The figure on the right front leg of Varāha is shown with two upper hands raised above Its head and holding some object in the hands. The figure on the right back leg is shown with raised hands in *namaskāra mudrā*. On the left side of Varāha, the upper hands of the other two figures of Kumāras are also shown in *añjali mudrā*. The lower right hand of all the four figures are in *varada mudrā* and the left hands are kept on the side. They are decorated with studded *mukuṭas,* studded *kaṇṭhahāras, upavītas, keyūras, karṇakuṇḍalas, kaṭibandhas, hastavalayas* and *pādavalayas.*

On all the four legs of Varāha there are figures of divinities and Dikpālas. On the front right leg the figures of Vāyu and Varuṇa are standing with their *vāhanas* and respective *āyudhas* in their hands. On the right back leg the figures of Kubera and Īśāna are represented in the similar fashion. On the left front leg Yama and Nirṛti are shown standing. They are shown with their respective *vāhanas* and holding *āyudhas* in their four hands. On the left hind leg the figures of Agni and Indra are shown with their *vāhanas* and with respective *āyudhas* in their hands. On all the four hoofs of Varāha figures of Samudrarāja are shown.

In front of Varāha the figures of Kūrma, Śeṣa and Garuḍa in human form are represented. All of them are broken partially. A. Cunningham has mentioned in his Report of 1864-65, *Archaeological Survey of India,* Vol. II, p. 427, that he could see some trace of Bhūdevī's hand on the neck. At present there is no trace of Bhūdevī's hand shown either on the neck or on the tusk of Varāha. But in front of the left leg of Varāha a pair of Bhūdevī's feet being beautifully ornamented with *pādavalayas* is shown fixed on the ground. They are heavy and facing front. Every toe in the legs has a ring. The distance of height between the feet of Bhūdevī and tusk of Varāha is 3'10 1/2". The difference of the distance between them makes us infer that she might be standing independently holding the tusk of Varāha. (Pl. V).

The image of Varāha in Khajuraho is an exuberant creation of the Candella period. In this figure the artists have successfully brought out three significant factors. They are :

1. Representation of the quintessence of Higher or Pure creation.

2. Synchronization of the emanations of Vyūha theory of Pāñcarātra Saṁhitā with the theory of Trinity of Gods of the Purāṇas.

3. Creation of Brahmā.

The first two factors in the order are very appropriately represented on the vertebral column of Varāha. The third factor is brought out with the prolific representations of various creations of Brahmā on the body of the image. They include Kumāras, eleven Rudras, twelve Ādityas, Aṣṭa Vasus, Gandharvas, Vidyādharas, Bhairavas, Aṣṭadikpālas, Kinnaras, Saptamātṛkās, River Goddesses, Pitṛs, Nāgadevas and Ṛṣis. The beauty of his creation lies in the creation of Sanatkumāras. The Khajuraho artists had clear understanding about these Kumāras and meticulously portrayed them as young lads having no upper garment on the body and with innocent faces. In order to indicate that they were highly elevated sages and the oldest of all living beings, the artists have placed them on the lotus petal. The importance of Brahmā has been emphasised by portraying him on the top of the head of Varāha. To make it even more meaningful the sculptors have personified the four Vedas in human forms and shown them sitting at the feet of Brahmā. The placement of Brahmā on the head of Varāha is very appropriate because the head of Varāha is Brahmaśīrṣa.

Dudhai

Alexander Cunningham found four images of Varāha from Dudhai which belonged to the Candellas. It is very interesting to note that one of them was very small and he named it 'Baccā Varāha - Little Pig'. Two years ago when I went to Dudhai I could not find the image. Next day I found it in the midst of marble stones stored in Dhora Rly. Station. People told me that some miscreants tried to take away the Baccā Varāha out of Dudhai. In the night one of them got a message in the dream that if they carried the image out of Dudhai, they would be ruined. Being afraid of fearful results they silently brought back the image on the same night, and left it at Dhora Rly. Station. At present the Baccā Varāha is happily standing there under the care of people day and night.

Majhouli

In the Kalacuri period the sculptors went a step ahead by synchronising the cosmological aspect of Brahma Varāha with the *avatāra* aspect of Viṣṇu Varāha. A perfect example of this is found in the Varāha image (Pl.VII) which is still being worshipped in the cella of Varāha temple located in Majhouli (Jabalpur Dt.). There is no record regarding the history of the temple. Every year the villagers celebrate Varāha Jayantī. According to me this is the only image of Varāha in the State which is in very good condition with all the accessories and is being worshipped in the cella regularly. When we enter the cella, we find the deity standing very majestically on a pedestal. It is 6' 8" long, 7' 5' high and 3' 6" wide. The body of Varāha is neatly

carved with fourteen rows of divinities. There are altogether 1090 figures on the body and legs. But they are so small and faded that it is difficult to identify them. On the whole the figures on the body of Varāha are carved in such a manner that they look like a tight fitting garment on the body. The image of Varāha is accompanied by the figures of Bhūdevī, Garuḍa, Śeṣanāga and Nāgī in an unusual manner. Besides the Śeṣanāga, one more Nāga with human body is seen between the front legs. In front of it the human figure of beautiful Nāgī is seated. Her snake tail is neatly curved and shown touching the tail of Varāha (Pl.IX,B). So far we have not come across such depiction of Nāga and Nāgī facing each other in the images of Varāha.

In front of Varāha a thirteen hooded Śeṣanāga with a long tail is seen. The tail of Śeṣanāga formed in a coil appears to hold the Garuḍa on it. The figure of Garuḍa is seen with both hands broken from the shoulders. There is a *kalaśa* shown on the lap of Garuḍa who appears to be holding it near the chest. Above the central hoods of Seṣanāga there is a lotus pedestal on which a two-armed figure is seated in *yogāsana* posture. The hands of it are kept near the chest in *añjali mudrā* (Pl.IX, A). It is decorated with *karaṇḍamukuṭa,* and *keyūras.* The placement of this figure is very interesting. It is placed between the lower mouth of Varāha and above the central hoods of Nāga. Above the head of this figure there is a square shaped canopy which is supporting the lower mouth of Varāha.

Regarding the identification of this figure, the local people call it Kṛṣṇa. According to them Kṛṣṇa is seated on Kāliya. But actually it is the representation of Bhūdevī as described in the *Padma Purāṇa.* According to it when Nārāyaṇa in the form of a Boar struck the demon Hiraṇyākṣa with one fang and killed him, he saw the earth falling from the demon's head. Varāha at once lifted it with his fang and put it on Śeṣa's head.[42]. The same is represented in this image. Apart from this figure of Bhūdevī, (See Pl. IX, A), there is no other figure of her shown on the tusk.

Some more images of Varāha of Kalacuri period have come to light. But the image of Varāha at Majhouli is superb. It is a very unique creation of the early medieval period.

Paramāra sites

During the Paramāra period many images of Varāha have been sculptured. Some of them are kept in the museums at Ujjain, Indore and Bhopal. The image in the Navtoran temple at Khor (Mandsore Dt.) and that in the Bhairav ghat in Ujjain are still there. All of them belong to the period between the 10th century A.D. and the 14th century A.D. In comparison to the Varāha images of the Guptas, Pratihāras, Candellas and Kalacuris, the Paramāra images

of Varāha are small in size. In spite of it the sculptors of this period have very finely exhibited the essence of the concept of creation by the depiction of the figure of Matsya in the centre of the vertebral column (Pl.X,B). The figure of Matsya symbolises the synchronisation of cosmogonical aspect of Brahmā-Varāha with the *avatāra* aspect of Viṣṇu-Varāha. Secondly, the depiction of the figures of four *vyūhas* on the vertebral column of the image of Varāha which started in the Gupta period continued in this period. They were called Viṣṇucatuṣṭi in Ujjain area.

The Paramāra sculptors went ahead in the depiction of *āyudhas* of Viṣṇu. For the first time in the Gupta period the *āyudhas* of Viṣṇu were given the human forms and were shown with Viṣṇu. The same depiction was repeated for the first time with Varāha during this period. The *Śaṅkhapuruṣa* and *Cakrapuruṣa* holding their respective *āyudhas* in their hands are shown seated on either side of Varāha between the front and hind legs.

The most important feature of this period is that the artists excelled in reproducing the concept of Supreme Soul and its creation. They took the concept of 'Cosmic Tree', the significance of which is explained in the *Bhagavad Gītā*. They represented it on the right and left side of the tail of Varāha. (Pl.X.A). They portrayed the tree with roots up and branches at the bottom within a circle which is the symbolic form of Infinity. Thus the 'concept of creation' originally visualised by the artists of the Gupta period in the context of the Vedic and Purāṇic literature reached its perfection in the period of Paramāras by adopting the philosophical theme explained in the *Bhagavad Gītā*.

The sculptors of Madhya Pradesh very realistically brought out the *avatāra* aspect of Viṣṇu Varāha in the sculptural form. Due to space constraints, I am not able to bring this out in this article, but I have dealt with it in my forthcoming book.[43]

In a nutshell, the sculptors of Madhya Pradesh have successfully conveyed two messages to the viewers through the images of Varāha. In the first place the huge images of Varāha in both forms bursting in strength of virility are symbolic of the expression of might and power of royalty, starting with the personae who had saved the country from the hands of foreign invaders just like the deity rescued the goddess from the Nether region from the demon Hiraṇyākṣa. Secondly, they exhibited the concept of creation and Yajña on the body of zoomorphic form of Varāha, and the concept of *avatāra* in the anthropomorphic form of Varāha. The exuberant representations of both forms make us conclude that the artists of the State must have been well versed in the Pāñcarātra texts, Purāṇas and Śilpa Śastras. They have the skill to utilise art as a medium of communicating religious tenets as well as political ideas. In fact, according to Dr. B. N. Mukherjee, "in these sculptors we may

see how religious and cosmogonical concept is grafted on poetical thought and action."

Notes and References

1. मल्वं बिभ्रतीगुरुभृद् भद्रपापस्य निधनं तितिक्षु:
   वराहेण पृथ्वी संविदाना सूकराय त्रिजिहीते मृगाय ॥
   Atharva Veda, XII, 1,48.

2. *Taittirīya Samhita,* 7,1,5.

3. सल्लिमेवस्प्रजापतिर्वाहो भूत्वोपन्यमज्जत् तस्य यावन्मुखमासीत्तावतीं मृदमुदहरत् । सेयम भवेत् *Kapiṣthala Katha Samhitā,* 6,7.

4. Maheshwari Prasad, *Some aspects of the Varāha Kathā in Epics and Purāṇas,* p.6.

5. Julius Eggling (tr. Ekng) *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa,* Book XIV, 1,2, 11 p. 451.

6. *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa,* Ch. 47, Śl. 1-13.

7. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa,* Part I, Ch.4.

8. *Matsya Purāṇa,* Ch. 248, Śl. 62-79.

9. *Vāyu Purāṇa,* adh. 6, verses 1-11.

10. *Kūrma Purāṇa,* Part I, adh.6, verses 1-25.

11. *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa,* Part I, Ch.5, verses 1-11.

12. *Vāyu Purāṇa,* adh.6, verses 16-23.

13. *Matsya Purāṇa,* 248, Śl. 67-74.

14. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa,* I,4, 32-35.

15. *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa,* Prakriyā Pāda, 5,9-23.

16. *Brahma Purāṇa,* 213, 33-37.

17. *Padma Purāṇa,* Sṛṣṭi Khaṇḍa 16, 55-61.

18. *Liṅga Purāṇa,* Part I, adh. 94.

19. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa,* Skandha III, adh. 13, verses 13-30.

20. *Padma Purāṇa,* Uttara Khaṇḍa, adh. 237, verses 10-29.

21. *Aparājitaprcchā* Śl. 25, pp. 58f. (ed) Popatbhai Ambashankar Mankad, Baroda, 1950.

22. *Abhilāṣitārthacintāmaṇi,* III, 1, 738-741.

23. *Caturvargacintāmaṇi,* Dānakhaṇḍa, 5, 327-328.

24. *Rūpamaṇḍana,* III, 24.

25. *Devatāmūrtiprakaraṇa,* V, 72-76.

26. *Śilparatna,* 25, 112-116.

27. *Śilparatnākara,* XI, Sl. 140.

28. *Mānasollāsa,* Sl. 699-702.

29. *Matsya Purāṇa,* 260, 28-30.

30. *Agni Purāṇa,* 49, 2-3.

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

32. A Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey of India, Report,* Vol. X, pp. 76 ff.

33. *Ibid,* pp. 84 ff.

34. *Ibid,* pp. 60 ff.

35. A Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey of India, Report,* Vol. II, 426f., Krishna Deva, *Temples of Khajuraho,* Vol. I, pp. 4ff.

36. *V. S. Agrawala,* Solar Symbolism of the Boar (Yajña Varāha - An Interpretation), p. 12.

37. *Vāyu Purāṇa* Srṣṭikhaṇḍa, adh.6, *Matsya Purāṇa,* adh. 248, V. S. Agarwala, *Ibid.,* p. 16.

38. *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa,* 2, 35, 116 and 117.

39. *Ibid.,* 2, 10, 5-17.

40. F. Otto Schrader, *Introduction to the Pañcarātra and Ahirbudhnya Saṁhitā,* pp. 65 ff.

41. D. R. Patil, *Cultural History from the Vāyu Purāṇa,* p. 64, 1.

42. *Padma Purāṇa,* Uttara Khaṇḍa, adh. 237, verses 10-29.

43. Haripriya Rangarajan, *Varāha Images in Madhya Pradesh : An Iconographic Study,* Somaiya Publications, Mumbai, forthcoming.

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Fig. 2.   Schematic drawing, Yajña Varāha, Khajuraho, view from top.

PURĀṆIC EVIDENCE ON ANDHRA-SĀTAVĀHANA ORIGINAL
HOME, NOMENCLATURE AND CHRONOLOGY : AN ANALYTICAL STUDY

AJAY MITRA SHASTRI

The Sātavāhanas form the first known autochthonous dynasty of the Deccan holding sway over an extensive region for a little less than three centuries with fluctuating vicissitudes of fortune as no other ruling family prior to them. This long rule was marked by a general peace and prosperity due to brisk agricultural activities bringing new areas under plough and booming crafts and industries and internal and external trade with balance of trade being favourable to India. Favoured by such tranquillity and prosperity, art and letters had an unprecedented efflorescence which is visible in the flourishing rock-hewn architecture, sculpture and painting in the Sahyadri ranges and rich Prakrit literature. This was verily an age marking the classical phase in the early history of the Deccan.

The annals of such a great epoch are, however, shrouded in an equally great uncertainty due as much to the paucity of dependable evidence as to the uncalled for prejudices of modern historians. And there is a marked controversy even on such primary points as the cradle of the dynasty's political power, its epoch, and the total number of its kings together with the duration of the rule of the imperial family, not to mention comparatively minor details including the extent of individual reigns and spellings of names. However, it is still possible to reach dependable conclusions in these and other related matters if only this apparently undependable material is subjected to a careful, comparative and dispassionate analysis.

One of the most important sources for the study of the political history of the Andhra-Sātavāhanas is the dynastic account *(vaṁśānucarita)* met with in and forming a major constituent *(lakṣaṇa)* of the Purāṇas. Though one of the five essential components of this class of texts, we notice it only in five of the Mahāpurāṇas, to wit, *Matsya, Vāyu, Brahmāṇḍa, Viṣṇu* and *Bhāgavata.* It contains information regarding the Sātavāhanas who are styled Andhra or Andhra-jātīya.[1] Even though composed in a prophetic style, they actually mention the total number of kings and period of their rule and name kings often with their regnal period. The absence of any more details except only in regard to the founder of the dynasty and the numerous variant readings not sparing even the individual names resulting from defective manuscript tradition greatly impair the otherwise enormous historical value of these texts. These variants are not confined to the rulers' names but are also noticed

regarding individual reigns and the total number of kings and the duration covered by their total rule. Even so, with the help of other extant material including inscriptions, coins and other literary sources it is possible to make them meaningful. And in the present paper an attempt has been made to examine the Purāṇic data bearing on the questions of original home, nomenclature and chronology.

I
ORIGINAL HOME AND NOMENCLATURE

The dynasty as a whole is called Andhra or Āndhra[1a] and its first king or founder, whose name is spelt variously in different Purāṇa manuscripts,[2] is described as Andhra or Andhra-jātīya.[3] As against this, the inscriptions often refer to the family as Sādavāhana-kula,[4] or Sātavāhana-kula[5] or simply the Sātavāhanas.[6] They are never called Sātavāhanas or by any similar name in the Purāṇas nor do inscriptions ever refer to the nomenclature Andhra or Andhra-Jātīya. However, the sameness of the two is established beyond any shred of doubt by the identity of the names of individual rulers.[7] These apparently conflicting traditions regarding the dynasty have resulted in a protracted controversy about its original home and nomenclature. In accordance with the Purāṇic tradition and considering the present habitat of the Andhras and the generally accepted connotation of the name Andhradeśa, earlier writers on the Sātavāhanas held that the dynasty first rose to power in the Andhradeśa which was by common consensus taken to denote the Krishna-Godavari region of Andhra Pradesh.[8] This was, for example, the view of Vincent A. Smith who held that the kingdom of the founder of the dynasty, Simuka, included the delta of the rivers Krishna and Godavari with Srikakulam situated on the lower course of the former as his metropolis.[9] E. J. Rapson concurred with Smith but added that at the time of their incursion into Vidarbha the Andhras had extended their authority across the Deccan from the eastern coast.[10] L. D. Barnett thought that Śrīkākulam was the earliest capital followed in turn by Dhanakaṭaka (modern Dharanikota, near Amaravati) in the Guntur district of Andhra Pradesh and Pratiṣṭhāna (modern Paithan), in the Aurangabad district of Maharashtra.[11] He further observed that the Sātavāhana or Sātakarṇi dynasty ruled over the Telugu country.[12] It was held by R. G. Bhandarkar that the Sātavāhanas had two capitals, the senior ruler who was treated as the lord of the whole empire had his capital at Dhanakaṭaka[13] and the junior king ruled from the secondary capital at Pratiṣṭhāna.[14] In the opinion of J. Burgess the earliest Andhra capital was at Śrīkākulam which was traditionally believed to have been founded by a great emperor called Sumati whom he proposed to identify with the first Andhra-Sātavāhana king Simuka.[15] D. R. Bhandarkar[16] and Gurty Venkat Rao[17] held that the original home of the Andhra-Sātavāhanas included the southern parts of the old Central Provinces together with the Vishakhapatnam district and perhaps the Godavari and Krishna

districts. The Andhra original home theory was favoured by a number of scholars including O. Ramachandraiya[18] in a general way without adducing additional arguments.

However, the above theory is opposed to the facts that almost all the early Sātavāhana records were then reported from northern Maharashtra (Nasik-Pune region) only and the dynasty is nowhere spoken of as Andhra in the fairly numerous inscriptions of its members. Therefore numerous scholars are of the view that the Sātavāhanas began their career in Maharashtra and it was only after Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi that they extended their authority over Andhradeśa and in consequence came to be called Andhras. And as just before the period of the compilation of the dynastic accounts of the Purāṇas their power was restricted to Andhradeśa, these compilers were aware of them only as an Andhra power and referred to them as Andhra or Andhra-jātīya. This was the opinion of V. S. Bakhle,[19] A. S. Altekar,[20] V. V. Mirashi[21] and H. C. Raychaudhuri.[22] K. Gopalachari tried to reconcile the apparent discrepancy between the Purāṇic tradition and the statements encountered in the inscriptions of the dynasty in a rather strange way. He first observes that all the early extant epigraphic and numismatic evidences prove unambiguously not only that the centre of gravity of the early Sātavāhanas proper lay in the Western Deccan but also that the early Sātavāhanas did not rule over Andhradeśa.[23] Next with the object of reconciling this view with the description of the Sātavāhanas as Andhra and Andhra-jātīya in the Purāṇas he resorts to the rather strange surmise that in the days of tribulation and a rather obscure existence under their Maurya suzerains to whom they were compelled to submit, the scions of the royal family of Andhradeśa might have passed into the service of the Maurya kings and in that capacity may have gone to the Western Deccan as vice-roys of the Mauryas and thereby got the Purāṇic appellation Andhra-jātīya.[25]

All these theories, however, lack essential support from the extant evidence which only needs to be properly interpreted dispassionately if we have to arrive at a conclusion which would reconcile both the literary and archaeological evidences. First, if the find of inscriptions and other records[25] of a dynasty were to be taken as the sole criterion for the inclusion of a particular territory under its rule, the Marathwada and the Vidarbha regions have also not yielded any dependable Sātavāhana record, at least for the early period, and consequently would have to be excluded from the dominion of the early Sātavāhanas which would then be confined only to the Nasik-Naneghat (Pune) region. Secondly, the extant evidence does not support the accusation against the compilers of the historical sections of the Purāṇas that they were ignorant of historical facts and fabricated the Andhra origin just because the Sātavāhana rule was restricted to Andhradeśa during the closing years of the dynasty. Even granting for argument's sake that the later Sātavāhanas had lost

Maharashtra and their power was confined to Andhradeśa,[26] there is definite evidence that at least the *Matsya* account up to Yajña Sātakarṇi was composed (or compiled) during his own reign. For though the Purāṇic accounts are generally in the form of prophetic statements, in the instant case it is in the present tense and the king is stated to have been ruling in the ninth year of his reign : *nava varṣāṇi Yajñaśrīh kurute Śātakarṇikah* [27] This would prove that the Purāṇic account was at first concluded in the ninth year of Yajña in whose time there could be absolutely no question of the Sātavāhana rule being restricted to Andhradeśa, for his inscriptions and coins have been reported in numbers from Maharashtra. Thirdly, we have shown elsewhere[28] that it was not Andhradeśa, but Vidarbha, that was the latest centre where the Sātavāhanas continued to exercise power for some seven odd decades after their rule over other regions had ended, and therefore if the compilers of the relevant Purāṇic accounts were in a position to name the dynasty only after the region under its control during the later period alone, they would have better designated it as Vaidarbha, not Andhra. Fourthly, as early as the time of the third member of the dynasty, viz. Sātakarṇi,[29] the Sātavāhanas were already styled *Dakṣiṇāpatha-pati* or 'lords of Dakṣiṇāpatha'[30] or the Deccan, which denoted in a wider sense the entire South India except only the Tamil country. Sometimes the name Dakṣiṇāpatha is taken to connote only Maharashtra or Western Deccan,[31] and it may have been so in a narrow sense in ancient times too; but there is absolutely nothing to prove that it is employed in this restricted sense in the present case. The anonymous author of the *Periplus maris Erythraei* (better known to Indian historians as *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea)*, who definitely wrote his work in the early Sātavāhana period, also employs the name Dachinabades (Dakṣiṇāpatha) in the wider sense and distinguishes it from Limyrika or the Tamil country.[32] If we were to believe that the Telugu country came to be included in the Sātavāhana dominions only from the time of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi as some scholars hold,[33] it will be difficult to explain his father Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi's claim that his charges drank the waters of the three oceans *(ti-samuda-toya-pīta-vāhanasa)[34]* even though it is used here in a vague exaggerated manner. Fifthly, while earlier no archaeological evidence of the Sātavāhana connection with the Telugu country was available, in recent years quite a lot of coins of Chimuka or Simuka, the founder of the dynasty, as well as those of some other early members of the dynasty have been found from Kotalingala[35] and Sangareddy[36] in the Karimnagar district of Andhra Pradesh which should leave no doubt whatever regarding incorporation of this region in the Sātavāhana kingdom from the very beginning. We are firmly convinced that even coins with the name of Sātavāhana as issuer must also be attributed to him. Then, a coin of the Sātavāhana prince Śaktikumāra belonging to the fourth generation of the founder has been reported in a stratified context in the excavations at Satanikota in the Kurnool district of Andhra Pradesh.[37]

Then there is at least one very popular name among the Sātavāhanas, Pulumāvi,[38] also spelt as Puḷumāvi, Pudumāvi, Puḷahāmavi and Pulumāyi,[39] which is explicable only in Telugu. It actually comprises two words, *pulu* + *māvi*. *Pulu* in Telugu means 'grass' which is still in vogue and with it we have the compound word *pullari* meaning grazing tax. *Māvi* means the soft thin covering where the baby lies in mother's womb before its birth. It is well known that god Skanda took his birth through a grass cover which resulted in his being known as Śarajanman. So Pulumāvi is the Telugu rendering of Sanskrit Śara-janman or, in other words, the name of Skanda-Kārttikeya.[40] It was originally a Telugu name and as such the Purāṇa compilers were unable to follow it and never in a position to spell it correctly. Consequently it has been corrupted severally into the forms like Pulomāvi,[41] Pulomāvid, Sulomavir, Padumāvir, Paṭumāvir, Patramātir, Ṣaṭumāvir, Ṣaḍumāvir, Ṣadramāvi, Padumān, Paṭumān, Paḍhumān, Vaṭamāna, Aṭamāna, Aṭhamāna, Aṃḍamāna, Aramāna, Rachamāna,[42] Pulomā,[43] Sulomā, Pulimān, Kulimān, Purīmān, Purimān, Putrīmān,[44] Pulomāchi, Pulomarchi, Pulomādi, Anulomāvi, Salomādhi, Malomadhi,[45] etc. All these variants, which are much more numerous than for any other name, serve to illustrate the enormous inconvenience experienced by the Purāṇic composers in Sanskritising this purely Telugu name.[46] Eighthly, when the Sātavāhanas decided to issue silver portrait coins with bilingual legends towards the close of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi's reign[47] or early in the reign of his son and successor Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi,[48] for the reverse legend their choice fell on the undifferentiated Dravidian language from which later different Dravidian languages monopolised certain peculiarities. This would also show that they had their origin in South India, and when other evidences point to Andhra Pradesh, there should remain no shadow of doubt that their original home lay in Andhradeśa. The recent find of the earliest Sātavāhana coins at Kotalingala and Sangareddy in the Karimnagar district of Andhra Pradesh is a clear pointer to the region where we have to locate the original centre of Sātavāhana political authority. The name Andhra was in ancient times not used to denote only the Godavari-Krishna region of Andhra Pradesh, as believed in certain quarters, but could have denoted all or any Telugu-speaking regions/region occupied by the Andhra people. The Buddhist Pāli texts point to the possibility of the Andhras living immediately to the south of Majjhima-deśa (Madhyadeśa), and we have references to the town of Satakannika, perhaps connected with the Sātavāhanas, which lay on its southern border.[49] Earlier still, the *Aitareya-brāhmaṇa* (VII. 92.18) mentions the Andhras together with the Puṇḍras, Śabaras, Pulindas and Mūtibas on the south of the Āryan country which should suffice to show that the Andhras originally inhabited the region to the south, how much south we are not told, of the Vindhyas which formed the southern border of Āryāvarta or Madhyadeśa and the adjoining region of the Deccan. In Rock Edict XIII of Aśoka the Andhras are referred to after the Bhojas and Pitinikas or Bhoja-Pitinikas, and in Rock Edict V the Pitinikas

are named after Raṭhikas,[50] showing thereby that the Raṭhikas and Bhojas of Vidarbha and Maharashtra were the neighbours of the Andhras who inhabited the Telangana region of Andhra Pradesh. This should leave no doubt that the name Andhra was not confined to the region watered by Godāvarī and the Kṛṣṇā but included within its ambit the area now known as Telangana as well. In fact, this notion is entirely of modern origin due to the fact that the Telangana region was included in the Nizam's Hyderabad State while the Krishna-Godavari region formed part of the British Presidency of Madras and known among the locals as Andhradeśa in order to distinguish it from the Tamil and Kannada speaking provinces which were huddled together for administrative reasons. Thus there is no inherent difficulty in regarding the Telangana region as the original scene of the Sātavāhana power.

Now the question as to why the Sātavāhanas (or Sādavāhanas which is the earliest spelling[51]) are spoken of only by this name in their own inscriptions as well as in some later writings remains to be and can be easily answered. They referred to themselves as Sādavāhana or Sātavāhana only not because they did not emanate from Andhradeśa but due to the fact that the family to which they belonged had come to be known by this name in order to distinguish themselves from other people or families of the Andhras.

In short, Andhra was their original stock and home and Sādavāhana or Sātavāhana was their family-name (kula-nāma) and, as seen above, is referred to as such in their epigraphs.[52]

Reference may be made here to the designation Andhra-bhṛtya which is often taken to refer to the Sātavāhanas in the Purāṇas. This myth was for the first time popularised by R. G. Bhandarkar who felt that it was used in the Purāṇas to describe the Sātavāhanas as 'Andhras who were servants or dependents',[53] thus taking it as a karmadhāraya compound. V. S. Sukthankar, however, took it as a tatpuruṣa compound and proposed to render it by 'servants of the Andhras'. Thus, according to him, the Sātavāhanas themselves were not Andhras but only vassals of the latter.[54] The theory of R. G. Bhandarkar was revived by K. Gopalachari who took the expression in question to mean 'Andhra servants' because, in his opinion, the Sātavāhanas were Andhras in origin and were servants or officers of the Mauryas posted in the Western Deccan.[55] Gurty Venkat Rao followed Bhandarkar and Gopalachari and treated the expressions Andhra-bhṛtya and Andhra-jātīya as interchangeable and took them together to denote the Sātavāhanas who were 'Andhras by community' and at the same time acquired power as servants of some other power.'[56] However, all these expalanations are totally unwarranted and uncalled for as the appellation in question is actually applied by the Purāṇa-writers not with reference to the Sātavāhanas[57] but their successors who were once their vassals.[58] This expression must be taken as a tatpuruṣa , as done by Sukthankar, but as employed not for the Sātavāhanas but to their successors.

II
CHRONOLOGY

Chronology is another highly intriguing problem of Sātavāhana history, and even the general period of the emergence of Sātavāhana power forms one of the most knotty and as yet unsettled questions of ancient Indian history. Some historians are bent on placing this event as early as some time in the latter half of the third century B.C. shortly after Aśoka's reign,[59] while others would relegate to about the middle or the latter half of the first century B.C.[60] There are still others who would prefer to divide the Sātavāhana history into two phases dating the rise of the Sātavāhanas in the third century B.C. and the supposed restoration of the allegedly lost independent status of the dynasty under Simuka in the latter half of the first century B.C.[61]

The principal reason for the prevalence of so widely divergent views on the problem is the fact that the Purāṇas contain conflicting statements regarding the total number of what they call Andhra or Andhra-jātīya kings and the period of their total rule. The *Vāyu, Brahmāṇḍa, Bhāgavata* and *Viṣṇu - Purāṇas* make the general statement that there were thirty kings,[62] though the number of kings actually mentioned by them varies from seventeen to twenty-five.[63] The *Matsya-Purāṇa*, however, gives the total number of kings as nineteen,[64] but some of the manuscripts actually name thirty, while the names met with in other manuscripts range between twenty-one and twenty-eight.[65] The case is similar in respect of the total duration of their rule. Most of the Purāṇas treating of the subject agree that the Andhra kings ruled for a period of over four centuries, though the actual figures given by them differ from one another by a few years.[66] Another tradition recorded in the *Vāyu-purāṇa* would, however, make us believe that the Andhras ruled for a period of three hundred years.[67] As against this, the total of years assigned to individual rulers amounts to 448 1/2 years according to the *Matsya* and 272 1/2 according to the *Vāyu*.[68] It would follow from the foregoing that there were two different traditions on these points; according to one of them there were some thirty kings altogether and the duration of their rule covered over four centuries, whereas according to another tradition there were about nineteen kings with about three centuries or a little less as the total length of their rule. Considering the fact that the Sātavāhana rule is known to have terminated early in the third century (or say around 225 A.D.) A.D., the supporters of the first tradition are left with no alternative but to date the emergence of the dynastic power in the latter half of the third[69] or around the beginning of the following century B.C. As against this those championing the second tradition are naturally inclined to place this event in the first century B.C. Thus there is a gap of nearly a couple of centuries between the results of the two traditions.

However, whereas there is noticed such a wide gap between the two

Purāṇic traditions about the total number of Andhra-Sātavāhana rulers and the duration of their rule, all the Purāṇas without a single exception are at one regarding another, and therefore probably much more dependable, tradition according to which the first of the Andhra kings, whose name is spelt variously but the correct contemporary or near contemporary form is Chimuka or Simuka,[70] became king and obtained the earth by overthrowing the last Kāṇvāyana king Suśarman,[71] The second view concerning the epoch of the Sātavāhana rule naturally gets precedence over the other opinion as it conforms to this unanimous tradition. In view of the disagreement among the Purāṇas, historians have tried to tackle the problem from some other angles. Reference must in this connection be made to the larger Naneghat sacrificial inscription put up by Vidi, during the life-time of his mother Nāganikā, the widowed queen of Sātakarni,[72] the third Andhra-Sātavāhana king according to the Purāṇas,[73] and the shorter label inscriptions in a cave at the same locality.[74] George Bühler,[75] and, following him, a few other scholars[76] were inclined to date these records on palaeographical grounds in the first half of the second century B.C. The statement of the well-known Hathigumphā inscription of the Mahāmeghavāhana king Khāravela that he despatched his forces to the west without caring for Sātakarni[77] is also cited in support of this early date for the Naneghat records[78] on the grounds of supposed reference therein to the 165th year of the Muriya (Maurya) - kāla[79] and the 103rd year after Nandarāja.[80] Others strongly contest it, date these records not much earlier than the close of the first century B.C., dispute any allusion to the Mauryan reckoning and interpret the expression *Naṁdarāja-ti-vasa-sata* as referring three hundred years (round figure) since the 'Nanda rulers.'[81] It is worth remembering in this connection that even Bühler, who placed the Naneghat inscriptions in the first half of the second century B.C., had observed that 'the characters of the Naneghat inscriptions belong to a period anterior by about 100 years to those of the edicts of Gautamīputra Sātakarni and his son Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāyi.[81] He further stressed the point by observing that 'the differences between the characters of Gautamīputra Sātakarni's and those of the Naneghat documents are such that it is not possible at a distance of more than about 100 years.[82] He could date the Naneghat inscriptions as well as the record of Kaṇha (Kṛṣṇa), the second member of the Andhra-Sātavāhana dynasty according to the Purāṇas, at Nasik[83] in the first half of the second century B.C. as he believed that Gautamīputra Sātakarni lived a little earlier than the middle of the following century before Christ.[84] But now that nobody places Gautamīputra Sātakarni earlier than about mid-first century A.D., following Bühler's argument, one cannot date Naneghat documents earlier than the middle of the first century B.C. What is still more astonishing is that even some of those scholars who date Gautamīputra Sātakarni's reign in the first half of the second century A.D. continue dating Naneghat records even earlier than Bühler had suggested, around the close of the third century

B.C., ignoring Bühler's well-considered warning.[85] According to our chronology, these records have to be placed about the mid-first century A.D.,[85] a date that would agree with the unanimous Purāṇic tradition making the first Andhra-Sātavāhana king Chimuka (or Simuka) overthrow his nominal suzerain, the last Kāṇvāyana king Suśarman, before he could get an all-India recognition. It must also be remembered in this context that Bühler did not believe in an over-four-century-long duration of the Andhra-Sātavāhana rule. 'Nor is there,' says he, 'any guarantee that the dynasty of Simuka-Śipraka ruled during about 450 years, much less that Simuka-Śipraka reigned 350 or 360 years before Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi[86]. But those who date the rise of the Sātavāhana power in the latter half of the third century B.C. connive at Bühler's verdict regarding the palaeographical differences between the Naneghat inscriptions on the one hand and the records of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi and Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi on the other and the time gap warranted by them, apparently as these are inconvenient to them, and continue to place the two sets of records at a distance of over three centuries.

Moreover, it is noteworthy that the palaeographical evidence is of some help in settling a rough chronological framework in a general way in the absence of any other evidence, but is not quite dependable for fixing exact dates, or even a period within narrow limits, of inscriptions and the rulers or events known from them. It is quite evident from the instant case where the same records are dated by different epigraphists at widely separated dates on the same palaeographical considerations. Cases are known of dates fixed exclusively on palaeographical grounds proving wide off the mark not by merely decades but centuries.[87]

Important evidence for determining the initial period of the Sātavāhana rule has been furnished by the stratigraphy of the extensive digs at Nevasa on the river Pravara, a tributary of the Godavari, in the Ahmadnagar district of Maharashtra. These excavations have brought to light six periods of human habitation the last three of which belong to the historical phase. The latest one is the Muslim-Maratha period which does not concern us in the present context. Period IV, termed Early Historical, and Period V, called Indo-Roman or Late Early Historical have, however, an important bearing on the instant problem. Period IV has yielded coins of, *inter alia,* of two early Sātavāhana rulers, viz. Siri Sātakarṇi and Sātavāhana, while the finds of Period V include the issues of the later Sātavāhanas. The determination of the chronological limits of these periods, especially those of Period IV, therefore, will go a long way in settling the perplexing riddle of the epoch of the Sātavāhana rule. Period IV is said to have been characterised by the use of iron, black-and-red ware, the coarse red and a sprinkling of Northern Black Polished (NBP) ware. This, along with the early Sātavāhana coins encountered in the various layers of this period, has led the excavators to date its commencement to the first

half of the second century B.C.[88] As regards the *terminus ad quem* of this period, the excavators, at first dated it to *c.*50 B.C., but later brought it down to the beginning of the Christian era.[89] The cultural equipment of Period V included Red Polished Wares such as the Megarian-like, the Rouletted ware, the amphorae and the criss-cross painted Andhra ware and coins of the later Sātavāhanas including Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi and Gautamīputra Yajña Sātakarṇi. The excavators have pointed out that at Arikamedu and Sisupalgarh the Rouletted Ware has been dated from *c.* first century B.C. to the first-second century A.D., and at Brahmagiri and Chandravalli from the first to the third century A.D. The amphorae have been placed in *c.* first century B.C. at Taxila and in *c.* first century A.D. at Arikamedu. The decorated Megarian-like has been dated to the same period. The Andhra painted ware from Nevasa is identical in design and fabric with those from Brahmagiri and may not be earlier than the first century A.D. On these considerations Period V has been dated to *c.* first century B.C.—second-third century A.D.[90]

A close scrutiny of the relevant data, however, would lead one to doubt the above dating. None of the evidences relied upon by the excavators can form a firm base for dating these periods within so well-defined limits. As admitted by H.D. Sankalia, the NBP in the Deccan cannot be dated as early as in the north (5th-4th centuries B.C.) and its date in the former region can be determined only on the basis of the circumstantial evidence of associate finds like coins. It must be remembered in this connection that the NBP sherds have been reported from the topmost layers of Period IV which, according to the excavators themselves, can in no way be placed much earlier than the beginning of the Christian era.[91] The silver-plated copper punch-marked coin, which is obviously a counterfeit,[92] also comes from the uppermost layers of this period and consequently cannot be dated much anterior to the commencement of the Christian era.[93] S. B. Deo, who has made a detailed study of the coins from these excavations, appears to employ the coins of the early Sātavāhana rulers met with in the various strata of Period IV as a double-edged weapon for fixing the date of their period as well as the epoch of the Sātavāhana rule. Thus we are told on the one hand that the set of five coins bearing the legend Siri Sātavāhana and coming from layers earlier than those giving the coins of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi are new and help in assigning the layers of Period IV to about the second century B.C.[94] It is argued on the other hand that "their (of the coins of Sātavāhana) association with the antiquities of pre-Red Polished ware horizons supports their dating to about the second century B.C." In view of this, it is added "it may not be incorrect to push back the origin of the Sātavāhanas to 3rd-2nd century B.C., rather than to assign them to the 1st century B.C., as some scholars try to advocate."[95] The reasoning underlying these arguments is quite unintelligible. First, as the epoch of the Sātavāhana power itself is a bone of contention, the occurrence of Sātavāhana coins of uncertain dates can

be ill-harnessed for dating the layers in question. Secondly, the dates of the
Sātavāhana kings whose coins are found in stratified excavations must be
fixed on the basis of layers proper* wherein they are recovered and not on
that of the general cultural period to which the coin-yielding layers belong.
Now, all the coins of Sātavāhana king are found in the topmost layers of
Period IV which the excavators themselves do not assign a date much earlier
than the first century A.D.[96] Then,it is not correct to hold that these coins
came from pre- Red Polished ware strata. A glance at the chart explaining
the concordance and correlation of the layers at Nevasa would be enough
to convince that coins of king Sātavāhana have been reported from layer
3 of Trenches I, X and Y and layer 8 of Trench E which are co-eval with
layer 5 of Trench C which has yielded Red Polished wares like the amphorae
and the Megarian-like. Then again, amphorae are met with in layer 4 of
Trench Y which underlies the layer giving coins of king Sātavāhana.[97] And
as seen earlier, Red Polished ware continued to be used for some three
centuries after Christ. It would thus follow that nothing found in layers of
Period IV supports third-second century B.C. epoch for the rise of the Sātavāhana
power. Further, there is reason to hold that the *terminus ad quem* of Period
IV and the *terminus a quo* of the following period lie not about 50 B.C.
or the beginning of the first century A.D., as contended by the excavators,
but considerably later. The Red Polished ware was current for three or four
centuries A.D. and as such its occurrence cannot be relied upon for dating
Period V within closer limits. The only firm basis for determining the
archaeological limits of this period is afforded by the late Sātavāhana coins
on the one hand and the coins doubtfully attributed to the Pallavas on the
other.[98] As for the upper limit, coins of Gautamīputra Sātakarni and Gautamīputra
Yajña Sātakarni would lead us to date it not much earlier than the close
of the first century A.D.[99] The coins doubtfully designated Pallava actually
belong to the type commonly styled Viṣṇukuṇḍin a very large quantity whereof
has been reported from all over Maharashtra.[100] Three such coins from Paunar
in the Wardha district were published and for the first time attributed to the
Viṣṇukuṇḍins by the present author,[101] and this ascription has been followed
in all subsequent publications including the report on the Paunar excavations
while reporting the discovery of a large hoard of such coins.[102] Now, the
emergence of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin power cannot be dated much earlier than
the fifth century A.D., and the find of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin type coins in the topmost
layers of Period V would naturally lead one to date the close of this period
around the fifth century A.D. We should therefore like to propose dating Period
V from mid-first century to the fifth century A.D. Conversely the chronological
limits of Period IV will also have to be brought down by about a century
and may be dated between the late first century B.C. / beginning of the
first century A.D. to end-first century A.D./ early second century A.D. And
consequantly the find of early Sātavāhana coins in the layers of Period IV

would only support around mid-first century B.C. epoch for the rise of the Sātavāhanas.[103]

Reference may in the present context be also made to the stratigraphic position of the hitherto unique coin of prince Śaktikumāra found in the excavation at Sātānikota (Nandikotkur Taluk, Kurnool district, Andhra Pradesh).[104] As we have shown elsewhere,[105] this Śaktikumāra is generally identified with Satisiri (Śaktiśrī) of the larger Naneghat inscription and was, in all likelihood, the fourth member of the dynasty. This coin was reportedly found in an earlier layer of Period II which has been dated basing on associated evidence to c. first century B.C. – c. third century A.D. The associated pottery includes russet coated painted ware which goes well with the general dating of this period.[106] The brick-sizes are in agreement with those of the corresponding phase in the excavations at Peddabankur, Nevasa and Salihundam, and so are the double-perforated tiles with those recovered from Bhokardan, Brahmapuri and a host of other sites. Minor antiquities associated with the coin include, inter alia, a circular tubular agate bead comparable to those from Taxila dated to the first century B.C. and from Ahicchatra, Kondapur and Maski found in levels not earlier than the first century A.D., and a turtle pendant comparable in shape to those from Kaundinyapura and Bhokardan, none of which can be dated prior to the first century B.C. Another related find is the solitary terracotta female figurine produced from double moulds, a technique adopted from the Romans around the beginning of the first century A.D. Thus stratigraphically speaking, the coin, which was found about 15 to 20 feet above the earliest habitational deposit of Period II on a well-defined floor-level, can only be dated about the commencement of the first century A.D., leave aside the internal evidence of the coin itself.[107]

Reference must be made in this connection to Kālidāsa's *Mālavikāgnimitra* which affords important evidence against dating the emergence of the Sātavāhana power immediately following the end of the Maurya empire. Admittedly the drama relates to historical events following the destruction of the last Maurya king Brhadratha by Pushyamitra, the founder of the Śunga dynasty. A central happening unfolded in it concerns the emergence of Vidarbha as an independent state under Yajñasena, a near relation of the slain Maurya king Brhadratha's minister and naturally hostile to Pusyamitra Śunga (c. 187-151 B.C.) and his son Agnimitra. Yajñasena's *antapāla* (officer-in charge of protecting the borders) arrested the former's cousin Mādhavasena while on his way to Vidiśā, the metropolis of his friend Agnimitra. On being asked to release him, Yajñasena stipulated the precondition of the liberation of the imprisoned Maurya minister by Agnimitra. Being angered, Agnimitra despatched an expedition against Vidarbha under his brother-in-law Vīrasena. Yajñasena was worsted and Mādhavasena freed. Vidarbha was split between Yajñasena and Mādhavasena with the river Varadā forming their boundary and both

acknowledging Puṣyamitra's authority. To sum up, Vidarbha became an independent state following the fall of the Maurya empire and was subsequently divided into two dependencies under Puṣyamitra. And there is some evidence to indicate Vidarbha's inclusion in the Sātavāhana kingdom during the reign of Sātakarṇi who was either a contemporary of or somewhat earlier than Puṣyamitra according to the upholders of the dating of emergence of the Sātavāhana power in the latter half of the third century B.C.[108] Pauni, an antiquarian site in the Bhandara district of Vidarbha, has yielded two potin coins of Sātakarṇi : one a stratified find during excavation[109] and the other a surface discovery.[110] As these pieces are of a low value, there is hardly any chance of their hailing from a far off locality, their find suggesting the incorporation of the Vidarbha region in the kingdom of Sātakarṇi, the third member of the Andhra-Sātavāhana dynasty according to the Purāṇic accounts.[111] As would be shown in the sequel, a coin of Sūryamitra of the 'Mitra' dynasty of Vidarbha, counterstruck by Sātakarṇi, has also been reported. In case the third century B.C. epoch is accepted, by negating the third century epoch for the emergence of the Sātavāhanas, Kālidāsa's evidence lends support to the first century B.C. theory for this event.

Till a few decades before there was not much archaeological, particularly numismatic, material to fill up the interval between the close of the Maurya rule and the rise of the Sātavāhanas in the Deccan, and consequently there could at least be some negative support for the view dating this event immediately after Aśoka or following the end of the Mauryas. But thanks to concerted archaeological work, excavations and explorations, during the past few years we now have a lot of coins found in a stratigraphic context as well as otherwise datable to the pre-Sātavāhana epoch sufficient enough to cover the gap between the Mauryas and mid-first century B.C. Regional variations barred, we can now aver that the numismatic history of the whole of the Indian sub-continent is identical from a technical viewpoint, punch-marked coins followed by uninscribed cast copper, which were the former's junior contemporaries, and uninscribed and inscribed die-struck specie. The entire region which was later occupied by the Sātavāhanas has thrown up a large volume of such coins enough to cover almost a couple of centuries following Aśoka. In view of difficulties of definite ascription we may leave aside a detailed treatment of uninscribed cast and die-struck specie encountered in a large volume all over the Telangana region of Andhra Pradesh, Northern Karnataka, Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh,[112] and confine ourselves only to the inscribed coins that followed them. These specie, it would follow, have furnished evidence which has brought to our notice a lot many ruling families and individual chiefs who held the region prior to the Sātavāhanas. The Telangana region of Andhra Pradesh, which was the cradle of the Sātavāhana power, has given the coins of Kaṁvāya (I), Samagopa and Gobhadra,[113] the Vidarbha region has yielded coins of rulers with *mitra* and *bhadra* ending names and therefore

designated Mitras and Bhadras respectively. We know of at least three Mitra rulers (Bhūmimitra, Kaṇhamitra and Sūryamitra) and four Bhadra kings (Damabhadra, Dharmabhadra, Sarvabhadra (or Śarvabhadra) and Satyabhadra) who ruled almost contemporaneously during the pre-Sātavāhana age.[114] We have a unique piece of Sūryamitra restruck by Sātakarṇi which establishes explicitly the priority of the Mitras to the Sātavāhanas.[115] Base metal coins of a Dānabhadra and a Nārāyaṇamitra have been found in Malwa[116] and those of kings with *datta*-ending names from Dahala (Jabalpur region)[117] of Madhya Pradesh. Bhadra coins have been reported to have been found from pre-Sātavāhana layers in the recent excavations at Adam, a site of great archaeological importance, in the Nagpur district. The coin-yielding strata belong to period V dated to *c.* 150 B.C.-250 A.D.[118] This find is indeed a very important stratigraphic evidence that clinches the issue once for all by firmly establishing the priority of the Bhadras over the Sātavāhanas in this region and reinforces archaeologically what was earlier known from the numismatic evidence in the form of Sūryamitra's coin restruck by Sātakarṇi mentioned above. The period of their rule must have covered nearly a hundred years following the termination of uninscribed cast specie. It should leave absoluteluy no doubt about the mid-first century B.C. epoch for the rise of the Sātavāhanas.

The same general conclusion is vouched for by a review of the evolution of early Indian coin-legends. The earliest Indian specie including punch-marked series and a vast majority of cast pieces[119] carry no legends whatever. Legends made their appearance on Indian coins at a fairly late stage, there being difference of opinion regarding its genesis. Some hold it to be an indigenous development, while according to others, it was primarily due to the influence of the coins issued by the Greek rulers of Indian subcontinent.[120] We feel very strongly that the legends on early Indian specie perhaps started making their appearance naturally as an outcome of the gradual development of the minting technique indigenously, but the practice of giving names of issuing authorities preceded by regal style, both terminating in genitive case, like those met with on the Sātavāhana specie received a strong stimulus from the Indo-Greek issues. This new transforming feature took place not earlier than the first century B.C.[121] Curiously enough even those dating the emergence of the Sātavāhana rule in the first century B.C. differ over a very vital point. Basing on the unanimous Purāṇic tradition most scholars of this school date the emergence of the Sātavāhana power following the Kāṇvas whose rule covered forty-five years and who were preceded by the Śuṅgas and Mauryas who ruled in an ascending order for 112 and 137 years. And deducting 294 years of their combined rule from 324 or 322 B.C., the date of Chandragupta Maurya's accession, we reach 30 or 28 B.C. for Simuka, the founder of the Sātavāhana dynasty. Bhandarkar duo (R.G.[122] and D.R.[123]), however, is inclined to hold that 112 years of the Śuṅga rule include 45 years of the Kāṇvāyana rule and accordingly date Simuka's accession to

73 B.C. To bring home this point it would be best to quote *in extenso* R.G. Bhandarkar : "It, therefore, appears likely that when the princes of the Śuṅga family became weak, the Kāṇvas usurpred the whole power, and ruled like the Peshwas in modern times, not uprooting the dynasty of their masters, but reducing to the character of nominal sovereigns; and this supposition is strengthened by the fact that like the Peshwas they were Brāhmaṇas and not Kṣatriyas. Thus then these dynasties reigned contemporaneously, and hence 112 years that tradition assigns to the Śuṅgas, includes 45 assigned to the Kāṇvas. The Śuṅgas and the Kāṇvas, therefore, were uprooted, and the family of the Andhrabhṛtyas came to power in B.C. 73." Also D.R. Bhandarkar echoed this view : "It appears that the Kāṇvas, like the Peshwas of modern day, usurped the power of their masters, the Śuṅgas, and that Śiśuka (Simuka) by supplanting the power of the Kāṇvas supplanted that of the Śuṅgas also." The date of this event is, however, placed by him in 75 B.C.

The analogy between the Śuṅgas and the Marāṭhās on one hand and the Kāṇvas and the Peshwas on the other, however, is only apparent and without basis. For the Peshwas were sovereign rulers and acknowledged only the *de jure* suzerainty of the Marathas which was not the same with the Śuṅgas and Kāṇvas respectively. The Purāṇas are quite unequivocal on the point that the Kāṇvas succeeded the Śuṅgas some of whom continued to exercise power, perhaps as vassals of the Kāṇvas, for the full duration 45 years of the Kāṇva authority only to be finally overthrown together with the last Kāṇva King Suśarman by Simuka mentioned under various misspellings. The Purāṇas unanimously aver that the ten Śuṅga monarchs ruled for 112 years whereafter they were supplanted by the Kāṇvas, the first of whom, Vasudeva, a minister *(amātya)* of the last Śuṅga king Devabhūti who was addicted to vices right from his childhood, uprooted his master and himself became king. Vasudeva's dynasty, called Kāṇva or Kāṇvāyana, had four members who, together, exercised regal power for forty-five years whereafter its last member Suśarman was violently overthrown by his Andhra vassal *(bhṛtya)* Simuka (called variously) who also put an end to whatever was still left of the Śuṅga power.[126] The description of the first Kāṇvāyana king Vasudeva, who was responsible for the overthrow of the Śuṅga dynasty, himself as a Śuṅga in some of the Purāṇas is obviously due to textual corruption with which historians are quite familio.[127]

Mention may be made here of the explanation of the varying Purāṇic statements regarding the total duration of the rule of the Andhras vis-a-vis the Śuṅgas and the Kāṇvāyanas suggested by Vincent A. Smith who himself believed in the longer duration.[127] He held that the Andhra-Sātavāhanas actually ruled for 457 years and if the period of Śuṅga-Kāṇvāyana rule amounting to 157 years is deducted from it one would get 300 years which is the shorter duration of Andhra rule according to the Purāṇas. And the Sātavāhana

power in the North lasted for this shorter duration with the result that not many details about it were known to the custodians of the Purānic tradition some of whom in consequence afford a shorter duration and number of kings and others accepted the full list and longer period. This standpoint is cited with approval by Gurty Venkat Rao[128] and A.S. Altekar.[129] It is, however, quite improper to charge the so-called northern custodians of the Purānic tradition with ignorance of facts, for it is they who refer to both the traditions - longer and shorter list of kings and duration - and more often than not the same Purāna furnishes both the traditions.[130] As against this however, all the Purānic texts are unanimous about the tradition that the Andhras rose to power after their first king, who was a vassal of the Kānvāyanas, overthrew by force the last Kānvāyana king Suśarman.

It would, however, be equally inappropriate to accuse the Purāna compilers of deliberately inflating the number and duration of Andhra kings and thereby committing a fraud while averring that they (30 Andhra kings) ruled for a little over four and a half centuries. For it is quite likely that all the Andhra-Sātavāhana kings numbered thirty or thereabouts[131] with the total period of their rule amounting to some 450 odd years.[132] However, these figures do not refer of necessity to the imperial line that had less than twenty rulers with the total rule lasting a little less than three centuries.[132] Even a champion of longer list and duration of rule like K. Gopalachari feels that Skandastambhi included as no. 5 in the *Matsya* list was actually an imaginary figure.[133] There is some evidence that indicates clearly that at least a few rulers belonged to regional branches of the dynasty, either in the name-forms or otherwise. Thus, coins of king Āpilaka,[134] no. 8 of the longer Purānic list, have been spotted only from Dakshina Kosala (Chhattisgadh region, Madhya Pradesh) and were evidently struck at the Mallar mint in the Bilaspur district.[135] That during the last seven decades since the first finds of his then unique coin only two more have been found so far and that too only in South Kosala and of the same type produced at the same mint[136] compels us to conclude that he was a member of the Kosala[137] branch of the dynasty and did not belong to the imperial line. Similarly, Kuntala Svātikarna (no. 13 of the *Matsya* list) whose historicity is established by Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra* (II. 2.28),[138] must also have been a local king as suggested by his name being prefixed by Kuntala. Likewise, Cakora Svātikarna, the twenty-first Andhra king according to the *Matsya* list, also may be taken as a member of a local branch belonging to the Cakora mountainous region included in the empire of Gautamīputra Sātakarni.[139] Another well-known Sātavāhana king, Hāla, also probably belonged to the Kuntala branch.[140]

Then we have some Sātavāhana monarchs known from inscriptions and coins but not included in the Purānic lists of Andhra kings. These include Vediśrī[141] and Śaktiśrī[142], two sons of Sātakarni and Nāganikā Kauśikīputra

Sātakarṇi, Kocchiputra (Kautsīputra) Sātakarṇi[143] and Māḍharīputra Sātakarṇi,[144] of the imperial branch not to speak of Kumbha, Karṇa and Saka Sātakarṇi of the Vidarbha branch.[145] We are not sure about the exact position: imperial or branch-line: of the third and fourth kings as coins were not necessarily issued by emperors only. Of these, the first is known exclusively from the Naneghat sacrificial inscription, the second from this inscription as well as monetary issues and the rest only from coins. We are therefore in general agreement with R.G. Bhandarkar when he observes : "The period of three hundred years and seventeen names given in the Vāyu Purāṇa refer probably to the main branch. The Matsya seems to me to put together the princes of all the branches, and thus make them out to be thirty... Thus then the Vāyu and the Matsya Purāṇas each give a correct account, but of different things."[146] However, we must hasten to add that even the shorter list of the Vāyu Purāṇa, which professedly confines itself to the main or imperial branch,[147] drops some well-documented names after Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi,[148] and also includes such names as Āpīlaka[149] and Cakora.[150] Thus no extant list is full, correct and wholly reliable, the Vāyu is preferable though. One very important point merits a serious consideration in the present context. Several names are still restricted only to the Purāṇic lists with no inscriptional or numismatic support surfacing despite the lapse of over a century and a half since the Andhra-Sātavāhanas came to scholarly notice. And this is especially true of the period prior to Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi while for the monarchs following him we have got a lot of inscriptional or coin data. Consequently we shall not be unjustified in looking at the earlier names not yet vouched for otherwise with distrust and treat them as unhistorical at the moment in so far as the main line is concerned.

And there is incontrovertible numismatic and epigraphical evidence to show that there was a protracted conflict for supremacy in the Deccan and the concomitant trade routes between the Sātavāhanas and the Kṣaharāta monarch Nahapāna with unstable intermediate fortunes and final success choosing the Sātavāhana monarch Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi.[151] This event took place in or prior to 78 A.D. when the Kārdamaka king Caṣṭana ascended the throne and the Śaka era commenced.[152] Hardly a little less than a century and a quarter elapsed between the foundation of the Andhra-Sātavāhana power and the time of the great Gautamīputra within which it is just impossible to accommodate all the twenty-two kings who ruled before him according to the longer list. Then we have irrefutable numismatic data to prove that not much time intervened between the third Andhra-Sātavāhana monarch Sātakarṇi on the one hand and the Kṣaharāta potentate Nahapāna, who was vanquished by Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, on the other, which lends firm support to the shorter duration and number of kings. Junnar (Pune district, Maharashtra), which served as the capital of early Sātavāhanas and of Nahapāna,[153] in Maharashtra has given us in recent years cheap metal specie of Sātakarṇi

and Nahapāna with a completely identical obverse, viz. lion standing facing left with uplifted tail, mouth open, three-peaked hill under the lion's body, in front of what was most probably a ploughshare and a semi-circular Brāhmī legend along the upper edge, whereas the reverse type is different : on Sātakarṇi's coins it is Ujjain symbol while on Nahapāna's strung bow-arrow pointing upwards-thunderbolt as on his silver specie.[154] This similarity of obverse type is not restricted to Sātakarṇi alone among the Sātavāhanas but is noticed also on some coins of king Sātavāhana who must be identified with Simuka (or Chimuka) Sātavāhana of the Naneghat label inscription and coins hailing from the Telangana and Vidarbha region[156] and may not unlikely be found elsewhere as well. And this fact clearly clinches the issue by pointing out that there was not substantial time-gap between Simuka, the founder of the dynasty, and Nahapāna-Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi and thereby putting the shorter chronology on firm footing.[157]

It would follow from the above study that the Purāṇas are right in describing the Sātavāhanas as Andhra as they rose to power in the Telangana and adjoining region which was anciently known as Andhra. While Andhra was a regional or tribal name, Sātavāhana was a family-name. The latter is not the Prakrit form of some Sanskrit name as it is commonly supposed. It by itself is a Sanskrit name and is met with in several Sanskrit texts. Andhra-bhṛtya is a name applied to the former feudatories *(bhṛtyas)* of the Sātavāhanas after whose fall they assumed independence. It may also be concluded that both the smaller number of kings with a rule lasting a little less than three hundred years and the longer list with a duration of over four-and-a-half centuries are correct : The smaller number and shorter duration in respect of the imperial line and the larger one regarding all the members, imperial and collateral, and the total duration of their combined authority. This happens to be the only logical deduction arrived at by a critical comparative analysis of all the extant archaeological and literary material.[158]

Abbreviations

ABORI : Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.

AIU : The Age of Imperial Unity edited by R. C. Majumdar and A. D. Pusalkar.

ASWI : Archaeological Survey of Western India.

AV : The Age of the Vākāṭakas edited by Ajay Mitra Shastri.

BML, AWK : Catalogue of Indian coins in the British Museum : Coins of Andhra Dynasty, the Western Kṣtrapas, the Trikūṭaka Dynasty and the 'Bodhi' Dynasty by E. J. Rapson.

CAI : The Classical Accounts of India edited by R. C. Majumdar.

CHI : A Comprehensive History of India.

CII : *Corpus Inscriptions Indicarum.*

DKA : *The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age* by F. E. Pargiter.

EHAC : *Early History of the Andhra Country* by K. Gopalachari.

EHD : *Early History of the Deccan* By R. G. Bhandarkar.

EHDPP : *Early History of the Deccan : Problems and Perspectives* by Ajay Mitra
Shastri.

EHDY : *Early History of the Deccan* edited by G. Yazdani.

EI : *Epigraphia Indica.*

HCIP : *The History and Culture of the Indian People* edited by R. C. Majumdar.

HISWK : *History of Inscriptions of the Sātavāhanas and the Western Kshatrapas.* by
V. V. Mirashi.

IA : *Indian Antiquary.*

JASB : *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.*

JBBRAS : *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.*

JESI : *Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India.*

JIH : *Journal of Indian History.*

JNSI : *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India.*

JRAS : *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.*

ND : *Numismatic Digest.*

NS : *Numismatic Studies.*

PHAI : *Political History of Ancient India* by H. C. Raychaudhuri.

PIHC : *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress.*

SI : *Select Inscriptions,* I, by D. C. Sircar.

Notes and References

1. For these accounts, see *DKA*, pp. 35-43. This forms the basis of our following
discussion. It is possible that a few other manuscripts left untapped by F. E. Pargiter,
the Compilor of the *DKA*, may contain some more variants, but no attempt has
been made to consult them and it is not likely to add much substantial to our
knowledge. It does not, of course, mean that we agree with all the views of Pargiter
about the Purāṇic tradition.

1a. After speaking of the Kāṇva or Kāṇvāyana kings the Purāṇas aver that the earth
(kingdom) will pass to the Andhras *(bhūmir-Andhrān gamiṣyati)* or will be owned
by the Andhras *(bhūr-Andhrānāṁ bhaviṣyati). Vide DKA*, p. 35, R. Morton Smith,
Dates and Dynasties in the Earliest Purāṇas, Motilal Banarasidass, Delhi, 1973,
pp.53. (translation) and 374 (text). The correct form of the name is Andhra, not

Āndhra with long initial _ā_ which is the most popular now.

2. The correct original spelling of his name is known from his own coins where it is spelt as Chimuka which was altered into Simuka in the reign of the next king, viz. his brother Krṣṇa, who was, in our view responsible for putting up his statue with an inscription at Naneghat in the Pune district of Maharashtra. The statue is now lost, but the label fortunately remains. There was no real difference as _c_ or _ch_ and _s_ were interchangeable in the Deccan during the period In question.

3. _DKA_, p. 38, line 5. _Śiśuko-ndhraḥ sa-jāṭīyaḥ_ and _Sindhuko hy-Andhra-jāṭīyaḥ_ are the two collated readings given by Pargiter. The former, which refers to the king as Andhra and _sa-jāṭīya_, is evidently an error for _Andhra-jāṭīya_ of the latter reading.

4. Nasik inscription of Kaṇha, _HISWK_, p. 2, line 1.

5. Nasik inscription of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi's 19th year, _ibid.,_ p. 45, line 6.

6. The Adoni inscription of Puḷumāvi III, year 8, describes the king as belonging to the Sātavāhanas: _raño Sātavāhanānaṁ, ibid.,_ p. 86, line 1.

7. Of course, barring variant spellings in the Purāṇas.

8. It was most probably because this region then formed part of the British region of the Madras Presidency whereas the Telangana region included in the state of Nizam's Hyderabad, though linguistically identical, was excluded from its purview.

9. _Early History of India,_ pp. 217-19; _Oxford History of India,_ . p. 119.

10. _Cambridge History of India,_ I, ed. E. J. Rapson, Cambridge, 1922, p. 519.

11. _Ibi.,_ p. 542.

12. _Ibid.,_ p. 543.

13. It was based on the reading _Dhanakaṭaka-svāmi_ in the Nasik cave inscription of the eighteenth year of the time of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi which is now read, probably correctly, as _Benākaṭaka-svāmi_ and interpreted as 'lord of Benākaṭaka'. See _HISWK,_ p. 26, line 1.

14. _EHD,_ included in the _Collected Works of Sir R. G Bhandarkar,_ ed. N. B. Utgikar, III, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Pune, 1926, pp. 28-29.

15. _Buddhist Stūpas of Amarāvatī and Jagayyāpeṭa,_ London, 1887, pp. 3-4.

16. "Dekkan of the Sātavāhana Period", _IA,_ 1918, p. 71; _Aśoka,_ 3rd ed., University of Calcutta, 1955, pp. 31-32. He defines Andhradeśa in the time of Aśoka and feels that it may have included the Telangana region as well and the same definition continued up to the Sātavāhana period.

17. _EHDY,_ pp. 76-77.

18. "Sātavāhanas and their Successors," _Journal of the Madras University,_ L(2), 1978, p. 3.

19. "Sātavāhanas and the Contemporary Kṣatrapas", _JBBRAS,_ New Series, III (1928), pp. 51-52.

20. *MSGH,* I., pp, 68-69 and 71.

21. *HISWK,* pp. (9-12) and (44-45). Earlier he held that Vidarbha was the original home of the Sātavāhanas. He gave it up later in favour of Nasik-Pune region.

22. *PHAI* 6th ed, Calcutta University, 1953.

23. *EAHC,* pp. 15-16; *CHI,* II, pp. 296-97.

24. *Ibid.,* p. 298, *EAHC,* p. 26. It is an erroneous impression created by R. G. Bhandarkar and followed by several succeeding historians without verifying for themselves that the Purāṇas style the Sātavāhanas *Andhra-bhṛtyas* or servants of the Andhras. Actually this designation is meaningfully employed with reference to some of the successors of the Sātavāhanas, the former being originally servants or vassals of Andhras or Sātavāhanas.

25. Findspots of coins, especially of silver and that too in hoards, cannot be taken to have been included within the kingdom of the issuer, for they could have reached there for various reasons and in different ways.

26. V. S Bakhle *(op. cit.,* pp. 83-84) believes that Rudradāman I had driven the Sātavāhanas out of Maharashtra and Aparānta before 150 A.D. He further supposes (*ibid.,* pp. 82-83) that the Purāṇas have ignored Vāsiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi because he was a western king (i.e. ruling over Maharashtra and Aparānta) and mention Śivaśrī as he ruled over Andhradeśa. As we have shown elsewhere, the Purāṇas are aware of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi *(EHD: PP,* pp. 25-37). There is also clear evidence of Śivaśrī's rule over areas of Maharashtra.

27. *DKA,* p. 42, fn. 8. Also see *ibid.,* introduction, p. xiii, fn. 1.

28. *EHD : PP,* pp. 38-44.

29. This presumes the identity of Sātakarṇi, husband of queen Nāganikā, mentioned in Vediśrī's Naneghat inscription. Some scholars identify him with the second king of this name who was his grandson (G. V. Rao, *EHDY,* pp. 87-88; A. S. Altekar, *MSGN,* I, p. 63).
    However, in our opinion there was only one Sātakarṇi among the early members of the dynasty.

30. *HISWK,* p. 11, line 2.

31. R. G. Bhandarkar has captioned Section IV of his *EHD* (p. 21) as 'Political History of the Deccan or Maharashtra'. K. Gopalachari (*EHAC,* p. 20; *CHI,* II, p. 297) also takes it in the sense of Western Deccan or Maharashtra.

32. R. C. Majumdar (ed.), *CAI,* p. 304, paras 50-51. The Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudra Gupta employs this name in the widest sense, and that also seems to be the intention of most of the ancient Indian writers who tried to make a clear distinction between the northern and southern parts of the Indian subcontinent.

33. V. S. Bakhle, *op. cit,* pp. 83-84, H. C. Raychaudhuri, *PHAI,* p. 496.

34. *HISWK,* p. 45, line 3.

35. Mark the name which refers to a *koṭa* (fort).

36. P. V. Parabrahma Sastry, "Unknown Coins of the Sātavāhanas and their Predecessors", *ND*, II (i), pp. 10-21; "Some More Coins from Koṭaliṅgāla", *ibid.*, III (ii) 17-28; P.L. Gupta, "Koṭa-Liṅgāla, Find of Post-Mauryan Coins", *ibid.*, II (ii), pp. 24-33; D. Raja Reddy and P. Suryanarayana Reddy, "Unpublished Sātavāhana Coins from Koṭaliṅgāla and Saṅgareḍḍy", NS, I, pp. 45-52; "Some More New Sātavāhana Coins", *ibid.*, II, pp. 69-80.

37. Ajay Mitra Shastri, "Sātavāhana Prince Śaktikumāra : Numismatic Evidence", *Kusumāñjali : New Interpretation of Indian Art and Culture : (C. Sivaramamurti Commemoration Volume,)* ed. M. S. Nagaraja Rao, Agam Kala Prakashan, Delhi, 1987, pp. 447-53.

38. This is the spelling of the name found on some coins from Koṭaliṅgāla.

39. These various spellings are encountered on coins and in inscriptions.

40. I owe this information to Dr. P. V. Parabrahma Sastry, formerly Dy. Director (Epigraphy), Government of Andhra Pradesh.

41. This is the reading adopted by Pargiter. *Vide DKA*, p. 40, line 19.

42. *Ibid.,* p. 40, fn. 69.

43. This is Pargiter's accepted reading (*ibid.,* p. 42, lines 27 and 29.)

44. *Ibid.,* p. 42, fns. 98 and 2.

45. *Ibid.,* p. 43, fn. 24.

46. This would show that the Telugu language was already fully developed in the first century A.D. when we first come across this name. K. Gopalachari who is an opponent of the Andhra origin theory, also feels that this name 'would seem to be of Dravidian origin.' Vide *CHI,* II, p. 315.

47. No silver coin of portrait type issued by Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi has yet been found, but such a possibility cannot be ruled out, especially when we find his immediate successor issuing such coins from the very beginning of his reign.

48. We find a portrait of this king at a young age on his silver issues.

49. *PHAI,* p. 412; *HCIP, II; AIU* (D. C. Sircar), p. 194.

50. *SI,* I, p. 36, line 10 (Rock Edict XIII); p. 22, line 4 (Rock Edict V).

51. This spelling is met with in the Nasik inscription of Kaṇha which is the earliest inscription of the dynasty.

52. The view of S. A. Jogalekar (*ABORI*, XXIII, pp. 169-205) that the 'Andhras were so called because they belonged to the Andhra valley in the Poona Dt.' has nothing to stand upon, for this region is nowhere mentioned in ancient literature or inscriptions by this name and the case in question just illustrates the common process of places or regions getting christened after the dynasties. Likewise, the theory of V. S. Sukthankar ("On the Original Home of the So-called Andhra Kings", *ibid.,* I, pp. 21 ff.) that the original home of the Sātavāhanas lay in the Bellary district of Karnataka fares no better as this region also came to be known after the Sātavāhanas later owing to its long association with the Sātavāhanas, and

not *vice versa.*

53. *EHD,* p. 34.

54. *ABORI,* I, pp. 21ff.

55. *EHAC,* pp. 21 and 25; *CHI,* II, p. 298.

56. *EHDY,* p. 75.

57. The Purāṇas aver with reference to the first Andhra king, whose name has been spelt variously in different manuscripts, that he was a servant (*bhṛtya*) of the last Kāṇvāyana king Suśarman and this indicates that to begin with he acknowledged the suzerainty of the latter, at least nominally. *Vide DKA,* p. 38, lines 1-2, left. The Andhras themselves are never styled Andhra-bhṛtyas.

58. *Ibid.,* p. 45, left, lines 1-2 and right line 1. The *Matsya, Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa* texts as collated by Pargiter aver that at the end of the Andhras (or even when they were in existence) the families of their vassals will assume power (*Andhrāṇāṁ saṁsthite śrājye teṣāṁ bhṛtyānvayā nṛpāḥ*), whereas the *Bhāgavata* and *Vishṇu* speak of the Ābhīras, who are known to have succeeded the Sātavāhanas in the Western Deccan, as the Andhra-bhṛtyas. It may be mentioned that it is only the last two texts that contain the specific appellation Andhra-bhṛtya.

59. E. J. Rapson, *BMC, AWK,* introduction, pp. xvi-xvii and xxvi (soon after Aśoka, i.e. 232 B.C.); *Cambridge History of India,* I, p. 477 (before 200 B.C.); L. D. Barnett, *Ibid.,* p. 543 (last quarter of the third century B.C.); V. A. Smith, *Early History of India,* 4th ed., Oxford, 1957, pp. 216-17 (240 or 230 B.C.); V. S. Bakhle, *op.cit.,* p. 48 (*c* 220 B.C.); K. Gopalachari, *EAHC,* pp. 28-29 and *CHI,* II, p. 295 (234 and *c* B.C.); respectively. A. S. Altekar, *MSGH,* I, pp. 76-77 (*c.* 245 - *c.* 222 B.C. for Simuka who was preceded by king Sātavāhana); V. V. Mirashi, *HISWK,* p. 3 (*c.* 230 B.C.), etc. Gurty Venkat Rao (*EHDY* , p. 90), however, dates this event much earlier and thinks that 'Simuka must have come to power about the year 271 B.C.' I.K. Sarma (*Coinage of the Sātavāhana Empire,* Agam Prakashan, Delhi, 1980, p. 10) places Simuka in *c.* 230 B.C.

60. H. C. Raychaudhuri, *PHAI,* pp. 403-06 and D. C. Sircar, *HCIP,* II : *AIU* , p. 193 (30 B.C.), Ajay Mitra Shastri, *EHD:PP,* pp. 3ff. R. G. Bhandarkar, who also upheld the shorter duration, however, thought that the period of 112 years assigned by the Purāṇas to the Śuṅgas really included the 45-year duration of the rule of the four Kāṇvāyana rulers also and accordingly dated the accession of the first Sātavāhana king Simuka in 73 BC. See *EHD,* pp. 44 and 48. See also D.R. Bhandarkar, "Dekkan of the Sātavāhana Period"', *IA,* 1918, p. 71, where the rise of the Andhras is placed about 75 B.C. We shall be discussing this view at some length later.

61. Sudhakara Chattopadhyaya, "The Purāṇic Account of the Sātavāhanas", *JIH,* XLIV, pp. 359-65. This view, based as it is solely on the use of the word *punar* in a stanza of the *Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa (Kaṇvāyanās-tu catvāraś - catvāriṁsac - ca -pañcha ca / Samā bhokṣyanti pṛthivīṁ punar - Andhrān gamiṣyati /, DKA,* p. 35, fn. 42), has nothing to commend itself.

62. *Ibid.,* p. 36.

63. Thus the *Vāyu* manuscripts name 17, 18, 19 or 25; *Brahmāṇḍa* 17; *Bhāgavata* 23; and *Viṣṇu* 22, 23 or 24. *Vide ibid.,* p. 36.

64. *Ek-ona-viṁśatir-hy-ete Andhrā bhokṣyanti vai mahīm, ibid.,* p. 43, left column, lines 5-6. E. J. Rapson (*BMC, AWK,* introduction, p. lxiv and fn. 4), however, takes '19' as an error for '29'.

65. *DKA,* p. 36.

66. Thus the Matsya gives 460 years, Vāyu 411, *Brahmāṇḍa, Viṣṇu* and *Bhāgavata* 456. However, some *Matsya* manuscripts give 412 years. *Vide ibid.,* p. 43 : text and fns. 32-33.

67. *Andhrā bhokṣyanti vasudhāṁ śate dve ca śataṁ ca vai.*
    This passage is quoted by R. G. Bhandarkar (*EHD.* p. 46 and fn. 1) but not found in Pargiter's collated version in *DKA* and underscores the necessity of further exploring the Purāṇa manuscripts from this point of view.

68. *Ibid.,* p. 46.

69. Gurty Venkat Rao, as we have seen above, however, dates this event in the first half of the third century B.C. (actually 271 B.C.).

70. His name is spelt in the Purāṇas variously as Śiśuka, Sindhuka, Śipraka, Śikhuka, Śiśurka, Śiśruka, Kinśsuka, and Chismaka. The last spelling, which is much nearer the original form encountered on his own numismatic records, is not met with only in a manuscript (termed *evā* by Pargiter). See *DKA,* p. 38, fns. 17 and 19. These varying spellings have apparently resulted from defective manuscript tradition. The original and earliest form of the name is Chimuka found on his coins and slightly later form is Simuka met with in a label inscription at Naneghat.

71. *Ibid.,* p. 38.

72. Some take her to be the mother of Sātakarṇi as she is referred to before the latter in a Naneghat label inscription (*HISWK,* p. 20, for the inscription). See S. L. Katare, "Two Unique Coins of the Sātavāhana Sātakarṇi I", *JNSI,* XIII, pp. 38-39. But the find of a silver coin jointly issued by Sātakarṇi and Nāganikā (P. J. Chinmulgund, "A Unique Silver Coin of Sātakarṇi and Nāganikā", *Ibid.,* XXXVIII, Part I, pp. 6-11) suffices to set this theory at naught.

73. *DKA,* p. 39.

74. *HISWK,* pp. 11ff; 17 ff.

75. *ASWI,* V, p. 31.

76. E. J. Rapson, *BMC, AWK,* Introduction, p. xix, *Cambridge History of India,* I, pp. 477-78; V. V. Mirashi, *Studies in Indology,* III, Nagpur University, 1962, p. 2; *HISWK,* pp. 11 ff., 17ff., etc.

77. *EI,* XX, p. 79, line 4.

78. Both, Sātakarṇi and Khāravela were the third members of their respective families and both the dynasties appear to have come to power approximately at the same

time. However, some scholars date the Hathigunphā inscription later than the Naneghat ones and propose to identify the Sātakarṇi mentioned in the former record with the second king of this name mentioned in some of the Purāṇas, viz. Sātakarṇi II. *Vide* R. P. Chanda, *MASI,* I; *IA.* 1919, p. 214; *EHAC,* p. 37; *CHI,* II, p. 303; *MSGH,* I, p. 63, etc.

79. Bhagwanlal Indraji, Sten Konow and K. P. Jayaswal found an allusion to the 165th year of the Maurya era, but Jayaswal later abandoned this view. *Vide EI,* XX, p. 74. This reading was, however, followed by E. J. Rapson (*BMC. AWK,* Introduction, p. xvii) and Bühler (*Indian Palaeography,* Indian Reprint, Calcutta, 1959, p. 57).

80. *EI,* pp. 75 and 87 *Vide* also H. Lüders, "A List of Brāhmī Inscriptions from the earliest times to about 400 A. D. with the exception of those of Aśoka. Appendix to *EI,* X, No. 1345, Sten Konow, *Acta Orientalia,* I, p. 26.

81. H. C. Raychaudhuri, *op. cit,* pp. 405-06, D. C. Sircar, *SI,* p. 215, fn. 7, p. 220; B. M. Barua, *IHQ,* XIV, p. 469 and notes 136-37. For palaeographic dating of the Hathigumphā inscription see *SI,* p. 213, fn. XX 1.

81a. *ASWI,* V, p. 65.

82. *Ibid.,* p. 73.

83. *HISWK,* p. 2.

84. *ASWI,* V, p. 73.

85. V. V. Mirashi (*HISWK* p. 5), for instance, observes that the characters of these records are not much later than those of Aśokan edicts.

85a. While the larger sacrificial record was put up by Nāganikā during the reign of her son Vediśrī about mid-first century A.D., the label inscriptions were put up at various times after the demise of respective personages in what may be regarded as the *pratimā-gṛha* (statue-gallery) of the Sātavāhanas, the oldest of these being that commemorating the death of the first Sātavāhana king here called Simuka Sātavāhana put up by his grateful brother Kṛṣṇa who was responsible for designating the dynasty after him.

86. *ASWI,* V, p. 73.

87. The dates of the Vākāṭakas, Śarabhapurīyas, Pāṇḍuvaṁśins, Somavaṁśins and of the first Kalacuri king of Tripurī come under this category. For correct periods, see V. V. Mirashi, *EI,* XV, pp. 39ff / (Vākāṭakas), Ajay Mitra Shastri, *Inscriptions of the Sarabhapurīyas, Pāṇḍuvaṁśins and Somavaṁśins,* Part I, Indian Council of Historical Research, New Delhi, and Motilal Banarasidass, Delhi, 1995, pp. 139ff. and 185 ff. (Sarabhapurīyas, Pāṇḍuvamsins and Somavamśins), Mirashi, *Inscriptions of the Kalachuri - Chedi Era, CII ,* IV, Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund, 1955, pp. 174-75 and Shastri, *Tripurī* (Hindi), Madhya Pradesh Hindi Grantha Academy, Bhopal, 1971, pp. 41-43 (Vāparājadeva).

88. H. D. Sankalia, S. B. Deo, Z. D. Ansari and Sophia Ehrrhardt, *From History to Pre-history at Nevasa* (*Nevasa* hereafter), Deccan College, Poona, 1960, p. 69.

At p. 67, however, Period IV is stated to have lasted from *c.* 150 B.C. to 50 B.C.

89. *Ibid.,* pp. 67-70, *Indian Archaeology - 1959-60 - A Review,* p. 25.

90. *Nevasa,* pp. 67, 69-70. According to the later revised date, however, the beginning of Period V has to be placed around the beginning of the Christian era.

91. *NBP* sherds have been encountered in layers 3 and 4 of Trench Y assigned to Period IV. *Vide ibid,* Fig. 84, p. 65.

92. We have a large number of such counterfeit punch-marked copper coins.

93. During the first two centuries A.D. forging of silver punch-marked coins by plating the copper core of the coins with silver was very rampant. See Ajay Mitra Shastri, "Presidential Address", *Coinage, Trade and Economy,* ed. A. K. Jha, Indian Institute of Research in Numismatic Studies, Anjaneri, 1991, pp. XIIIff. For literary and epigraphic evidence on forgeries, see our "Counterfeit Coins in Ancient India-Literary and Epigraphic Evidence", *NS,* III, pp. 1-8.

94. *Nevasa,* p. 162, Also cf. p. 69 where the coins are stated to have been used as a principal evidence for dating the occupation of the weathered layer by the inhabitants of Period IV.

95. *Ibid.,* p. 162, "New Coins of King Sātavāhana" *ENSI,* XXII, p. 145. These coins come from layer 8 of Trench E and layer 3 of Trenches I and X. *Vide Nevasa,* Fig. 84 and pp. 171-72.

97. *Ibid.,* Fig. 84, p. 65.

98. *Ibid.,* pp. 199-200.

99. We firmly hold that Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi and his contemporary and adversary Nahapāna flourished in the first century A. D. the former in the second half of this century. We are against referring the years of Nahapāna's records to the Śaka era of 78 A D. and inclined to regard them as his regnal years.

100. *EHDPP,* pp. 132-37.

101. "Two New Varieties of Viṣṇukuṇḍin coins from Vidarbha", *JNSI,* XXVIII, pp. 164-69.

102. S. B. Deo and M. K. Dhavalikar, *Paunar Excavations,* Nagpur University, 1968, pp. 13-14. There is now a feeling in some quarters that these coins do not necessarily belong to the Viṣṇukuṇḍins, but this argument does in no way affect their dating potential.

103. P. L. Gupta ("Sātavāhana Coins from Excavations", *Coinage of the Sātavāhanas and Coins from Excavations,* ed. Ajay Mitra Shastri, Nagpur University, 1972, pp. 132ff.) has also suggested on independent grounds the first century B.C./A.D. for the beginning of Period IV. However, his date for the *terminus ad quem* of Period V viz. third - fourth century A. D., does not admit of acceptance for the reasons discussed above as well as, in the *EHDPP* , pp. 6-7.

104. *Ibid.,* pp. 17-24, "Sātavāhana Prince Śaktikumāra : Numismatic Evidence",

Kusumāñjali : New Interpretation of Indian Art and Culture, C. Sivaramamurti commemoration Volume ed. M. S. Nagaraja Rao, Agam Kala Prakashan, Delhi, 1987 pp. 447-52.

105. *Ibid., EHDPP,* pp. 16-24.

106. Ancient sites in South India including Kanchīpuram, Kesanapalli, Śālihuṇḍam and others have yielded Rouletted ware which has been dated from about mid-first century B.C. At the last-named site the excavator has attempted to place the ware in *c* 2nd century B.C. basing on the palaeography of a few Brāhmī letters scratched on the sherds. However, it must be pointed out that the sherds were incised after firing and have in fact been found from the middle phase which the excavator himself has dated in the time-bracket from first-second to third-fourth-century A. D. It is pertinent to remember that the Early phase at the site placed between second-third century B.C. and first-second century A.D. has not thrown up any evidence of this ware which, consequently, cannot be placed prior to the Middle phase.

107. We are thankful for this information about the stratigraphic placement of the coin to our former student Dr. I. Kellellu who participated in the excavations at the site from the very start.

    Mention may be made here of a Roman lead bulla found in the excavations at Veerapuram (Kurnool district, Andhra Pradesh) which was initially interpreted as a joint monetary issue of the Sātavāhana king Hakusiri and the contemporary Roman emperor Tiberius, and if one were to concede this ascription, it would have furnished yet another stratigraphic proof for the rise of the Sātavāhanas in the latter half of the first century B.C. (*Excavation Exploration Bulletin,* No. 1, Birla Archaeological and Cultural Research Institute, Hyderabad, p. 24. The author indulges in wild speculation regarding the Sātavāhana monarch's conjectured sojourn to the Roman empire). However, as we pointed out long back, it was just an imitation of a Tiberius coin for wearing as a pendant (*vide* our " Pre-Sātavāhana and Sātavahana Coinage of the Deccan ", Presidential Address of the 69th session of the Numismatic Society of India, Sambalpur, 1981, *JNSI,* XLIV, p. 8. The excavators themselves later abandoned this position. See T. V. G. Sastri, M. Kasturi Bai and J. Vara Prasada Rao, *Veerapuram : A Type-Site for Cultural Study of the Krishna Valley,* Birla Archaeological and Cultural Research Institute, Hyderabad, 1984, pp. 86-87 where the object is called a Roman bulla).

108. For instance, K. Gopalachari (CHI, II, p. 301) places Sātakarṇi I's reign between *c.* 212 and 195 B.C.

109. Ajay Mitra Shastri in S. B. Deo and J. P. Joshi, *Pauni Excavation,* Nagpur University, 1972, pp. 99-100.

110. S. B. Deo, "A New Type of Sri Satakarni", *Early Indian Indigenous Coins,* ed. D.C. Sircar, University of Calcutta, 1971, pp. 111-12.

111. *Vide supra* note 108.

112. For a general account of these coins, see *JNSI* XLIV, pp. 1-4.

113. *Vide ibid.*, pp. 4-5, P. V. Parabrahma Sastry, "Unknown coins of Sātavāhanas and their Predecessors", *ND,* II (I), pp. 13-17. Elven other coins of pre-Sātavāhana age giving some hitherto unknown names have been published by D. Raja Reddy and P. Suryanarayana Reddy ("Some Rare Pre-Sātavāhana Coins of the Deccan", *MS; II,* 1992, pp. 57-61.)

114. Ajay Mitra Shastri, "Coins of Satyabhadra: A Hithrto Unknown king of Vidarbha", *ABORI,* Diamond Jubilee Volume, pp. 163-67; Narayan Deshmukh, "Coin. Suryamitra from Paunar", *ND* XI, pp. 20-21; Ajay Mitra Shastri and Chandrashekhar Gupta, "Mitra and Bhadra Coins from Vidarbha", *Nidhi,* Indian Coin Society, Nagpur, I, 1990, pp. 9-24; Chandrashekhar Gupta, "Copper Punch-Marked Coins of Damabhadra from Kaundinyapura Excavations", *NS,* I, pp. 19-26; Amarendra Nath, "Some Observations on the Chronology of the Bhadras and Mitras of Vidarbha", *JNSI,* LII, pp. 48-57.

115. Ajay Mitra Shastri and Chandrashekhar Gupta in *Nidhi,* I, pp. 12-13.

116. Alaka Tiwari, "Inscribed Punch-Marked Coins from Eran and Vidiśa Region", *ND,* IV (I), 1980, pp. 1-8; "Daśārṇa Kṣetra kī Lipi-yukta Āhata Mudrāeṁ" (Hindi), *JNSI,* XLIII (I), p. 3.

117. R. R. Bhargava, "Two New Coins from Tripurī", *ND,* XII- XIII, pp. 6-8, "Coins of-the Datta and Sātavāhana Rulers from Tripurī", *ibid* XVI, pp. 29-35.

118. Amarendra Nath, "Adam- An Index to Vidarbha Archaeology", *New Trends in Indian Art and Archaeology : S. R. Rao's 70th Birthday Felicitation Volume,* eds. B. U. Nayak and N. C. Ghosh, Aditya Prakashan, New Delhi, 1992, p. 76, *JNSI* XVI, pp. 48-51 (for Bhadra coins from Adam).

119. It is likely that in certain areas cast specie preceded the punch-marked ones.

120. D. C. Sircar, *AIU,* p. 159; P. L. Gupta, "A Further Note on the Identity of Kings Sātavāhana and Sāti", *JNSI,* XVI, 86-87, *Punch-Marked Coins in Andhra Pradesh Government Museum,* Hyderabad, Andhra Pradesh Government Museum Series, No. I, Hyderabad, 1961, pp. 31-33.

121. The vogue of die-striking technique also is a pointer in the same direction, for while possibly this minting technique itself evolved indigenously, it was popularised by contact with Indo-Greeks.

122. *EHD,* p. 44.

123. *IA,* XLVII, p. 71.

124. As shown above this designation was wrongly applied to the Sātavāhanas by R. G. Bhandarkar.

125. The first line of the stanza in question in the *Matsya, Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa purāṇas* as reconstructed by Pargiter runs as follows :

Amātyo Vasudevas= tu bālyād vyasaninaṁ nṛpam.

The next line of this verse and the first line of the next stanza is read in the *Matsya* as

Devabhūmim-ath-otsādya -śungas- tu bhavitā nṛpaḥ and in the *Vāyu* as

Devabhūmim tath-otpātya śungeṣu bhavitā nṛpah.

In both the texts Vasudeva is called 'a Śunga king' or 'a king among the Śungas', which is certainly due to defective manuscript tradition. The correct reading in both the cases should have been and perhaps was something like *Śungam tu.* This is at least a reading met with in one of the *Matsya* manuscripts *l* and in the *Vāyu - Brahmāṇḍa* text. (*vide* Pargiter, *op. cit,* p. 34, notes 6 and 8) and it qualified *Devabhūmim* met with earlier in the same stanza.

The comparison between the Śungas and the Kāṇvas on the one hand and the Marāṭhas and the Peshwās on the other is incongruous even otherwise. In the latter case the sovereigns were Marathas and the usurpers (Peshwas) Brāhmaṇas, while in the former case both were Brāhmins.

126. The exact wording of stanza is as follows :

Śungānāṁ caiv (or c-āpi) yac-chesham (or yac-chiṣṭaṁ)

Kṣapayitvā (or kṣapitvā) balīyasaḥ (or *balaṁ tadā).*

Vide Pargiter, *op. cit.,* p. 38, 3-4 in both the columns.

127. "Andhra History and Culture", *ZDMG,* 1902, p. 657.

128. *EHDY,* p. 86.

129. *MSGH,* I, p. 64.

130. Unless it is proved that the longer list ruling over a longer duration was compiled in the Deccan, even the idea of ignorance resulting in a distorted picture cannot just be entertained. And as of now we have no such evidence.

131. There is nothing sanctimonious about the number 'thirty' which has made some scholars take recourse to some apologetic tricks to accommodate additional kings (*DKA,* p. 36 where Sātakarṇi known from some of the Purāṇas is inserted as no. 24a as otherwise the number would go beyond 30) or reject the existence of a king altogether (*vide* V. V. Mirashi, "The identity of the Sātavāhana King Śivāśrī Puḷumāvi", *JNSI ,* XXXI, pp. 151-54, where the separate identity of Śivaśrī has been denied totally and merged with Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi for the same reason though the same scholar has earlier conceded his independent existence).

132. These must be taken as only *approximate figures* and not exact and sacrosanct as some future evidence may necessitate some alteration which is not likely to be substantial.

133. *EHAC,* p. 38; *CHI,* II, p. 303.

134. K. N. Dikshit, "A New Andhra Coin", *Numismatic Supplement* (incorporated in *JASB),* No. XLVII, pp. 93-94, Ajay Mitra Shastri, "Three Sātavāhana Mints", *SSIC,* IV, pp. 57-62. We have seen a couple of such coins from Mallār now in the collection of the M.G.M. Museum, Bilaspur, which are under publication by us.

135. They contain the same mint-mark which is also found on all the coins struck at this mint. *Vide* Ajay Mitra Shastri and Anand Kumar Risbud, "Magha Coins

from Mallar", *ND*, IX, pp. 34-40; R. R. Bhargava, "Numismatic History of Malhār" *ibid.*, XIX.

137. This, and not Kosala, is the correct from which is met with in all the epigraphs mentioning it.

138. The second component of the name there is spelt beginning with palatal sibilant (Śātakarṇi) and not with a dental one (Sātakarṇi) which is the correct form in all cases.

139. Cakora is mentioned as a mountain forming part of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi's dominions in Nasik inscription of the 19th year of his son and successor Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi. *Vide HISWK*, p. 45, line 3.

140. *Vide PHAI*, with a commentary by B. N. Mukherjee, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1996, p. 360, fn. 1; *ATU*, p. 200.

141. Mentioned in the larger Naneghat inscription as the reigning king (*HISWK*, p. 11, line 10 and later as a son of Nāganikā (*ibid.*, line 4.)

142. As under the name Satisiri he is named as a son of Naganika in the Naneghat sacrificial inscription *(ibid.)* and a few coins issued by him as a prince called Śaktikumāra and later as a ruler.

143. For a discussion on their coins and early place in the Sātavāhana history, *vide* Amiteshwar Jha, "Bearing of the Numismatic Evidence on the Purāṇic sequence of Sātavāhana Kings", under publication in Ajay Mitra Shastri (Ed.), *The Age of the Sātavāhanas*.

144. He is known only from his silver portrait issues of the usual type.

145. For a discussion on the unique significance of these coins and the place of their issuers among the Sātavāhanas, *vide* Ajay Mitra Shastri, *EHDPP*, pp. 38-44.

146. *EHD*, pp. 46-47.

147. *Prādhānyataḥ pravakṣyāmi* of the *Vāyu* actually refers to the main *(pradhāna)* branch of the family.

148. Gautamīputra (Sātakarṇi) and Yajñaśrī Sātakarṇi) are at nos. 13 and 14 respectively in the *Vāyu* list and the names intervening and proved historical otherwise have altogether been dropped. It has aroused some unfortunate and unsupported theories, but the omission is purely due to inadvertence on the part of purāṇic copyists.

For the two (*Matsya* and *Vāyu*) lists, see *EHDY*, p. 85.

149. Under the variant Apīlavā as no. 4.

150. As No. 11.

151. *Vide* Nasik inscription of Gautamīputra's 18th year granting a field owned till recently by Ṛṣabhadatta, son-in-law of Nahapāna (*HISWI*, pp. 26-27); Karle inscription of a nearby date granting a village earlier granted by Ṛishabha-datta (*ibid.*, pp. 30-31), Nāsik inscription of Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi's 19th year describing his Gather as uprooter of the Kṣaharāta line. (*khakharāta-vasa-niravasesa-kara*, see *ibid.*, p. 45, line 6), silver specie of Nahapāna

restruck by Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi with his own devices and inscriptions (*vide*
H. R. Scott, "The Nasik (Joghaltembhi) Hoard of Nahapāna's coins", *JBBRAS,*
XXII, 1907, pp. 223-44; Ajay Mitra Shastri, "Jogalthambi Hoard, Hoard of
Nahapāna's Silver Portrait coins : Some observations", *ND.* XIX, pp. Michael
Mitchiner, " A Small Hoard of Nahapāna-Gautamīputra Silver Coins Double - pierced
for Use as Jewellery", *NS,* IV, 1996, pp. 63-68; Amiteshwar Jha and Dilip
Rajgor, *Studies in the Coinage of the Western Kṣatrapas,* Indian Institute of Research
in Numismatic Studies, Anjaneri, 1994, - pp. 26-27). That the war was protracted
over a long period with alternate success is established by some coins of
Gautamīputra counterstruck by Nahapāna (*vide* Shobhana Gokhale, "Origins and
Influences of Sātavāhana Coins", Ajay Mitra Shastri (Ed.), *The Age of the*
Sātavāhanas (under publication).

152. Nahapāna's Inscriptions are dated in his regnal years (42-46) and his long
     reign is vouched for by his portraits of different phases of life on his coins.
     That Nahapāna preceded Cāṣṭana is conceded by all the historians and is shown
     by epigraphic and numismatic considerations. For Chashṭana starting Śaka era
     or the latter marking his accession, *vide* Ajay Mitra Shastri, "Śaka Era", *IJHS*
     XXXI (I), pp. 67-88.

153. It was most probably the town of Minnagar of the author of the *Periplus of*
     the Erythraean Sea (R. C. Majumdar, *The Clasical Accounts of India,* Firma
     KLM Pvt. Ltd., Calcutta, reprint, 1981, p. 301) which was the capital of Mambarus
     or Nahapāna. It was so called because of its situation in the valley of the river
     Mina which is still called Minner. The presence of an inscription of Nahāpāna's
     minister *(amaca)* Ayama (Aryaman) at Junnar is also a pointer in the same
     direction. For the epigraph, *vide HISWK,* inscription no. 44. For a discussion,
     vide Ajay Mitra Shastri, " Yavanas in Western Indian Cave Inscriptions", *Yavanikā*
     III, 1993, pp. 62-63.

154. Shobhana Gokhale, "New Discoveries in the Sātavāhana Coinage", *Indian*
     Numismatics, Art & Culture (Essays in Honour of Dr. Parmeshwri Lal Gupta),
     eds. D.W. Macdowall, Savita Sharma and Sanjay Garg, Agam Kala Prakashan,
     Delhi, 1992, pp. 179-82.

155. *Ibid.,* p. 181, coin no. 3. There is need of a better, more faithful description
     of coins which we propose to undertake elsewhere shortly.

156. For Vidarbha (Paunī) coin, see Prashant Kulkarni in *Indian Coin Society's Newsletter,*
     No. 1.

157. For the description of these types sitewise and elaboration of the chronological
     deductions from these coins, see Amiteshwar Jha, " Bearing of Numismatic Evidence
     on the Purāṇic Sequence of Sātavāhana Kings", under publication in Ajay Mitra
     Shastri (Ed.), *The Age of the Sātavāhanas.*

158. For the author's earlier writings on the subject, *vide* " The Epoch of the Sātavāhana
     Rule : A Re-Appraisal", *Coinage of the Sātavāhanas and Coins from Excavations,*
     ed. Ajay Mitra Shastri, Nagpur University, 1972, pp. 103-09, "Pre-Sātavāhana
     and Sātavāhana Coinage of the Deccan", *JNSI,* XLIV, pp. 7-8; *EHDPP,* pp.3-9;
     "Dating Potential of Early Sātavāhana Coins", *Numismatics and Archaeology,*

eds. P. L. Gupta and A. K. Jha, Indian Institute of Research in Numismatic studies, Anjaneri, 1987, pp. 89-92. Some of the views expressed in these publications have undergone minor alterations here in the light of fresh discoveries. For our latest position elaborated with all details, *vide* our forthcoming publication - *The Sātavāhanas and the Western Kṣatrapas: A Historical Framework*, Ch. V.

SPECULATIONS OF THE ORIGINS OF
THE YOGA PHILOSOPHICAL SYSTEM

N. E. SJOMAN

There are various problems with the *Yoga Sūtras* as a philosophical system. These problems are virtually unsolvable if we insist upon a standard historical-philosophical point of view. In point of fact, the philosophical problems have been examined and worked through by Indian school men but those solutions have been lost sight of in the interests of presenting a comprehensive orthodox philosophical picture - six śāstras which cover the whole of Indian thought with a somewhat superficial mention of the materialists, the Buddhists and the Śaivites. But the boundaries of what might constitute historical consideration have broadened today. It is now possible to examine and evaluate some of the "minor" material that is becoming increasingly available. The reevalution of accepted viewpoints is part of a larger reevalution of the arts, culture and especially history that might, someday or other, reach the Sanskrit and South Asian studies field.

The humanities have suffered for a long time because they have been looked at from the point of view of a "scientific" paradigm. The "scientific" paradigm simply excludes what does not come under the scope of "scientific" rigour. (I include the word "scientific" in quotation marks to indicate its popular magico-religious connotation). The main emphasis of science have been on materia. Its means of investigation and its speculative metaphysics has been stringently limited by that. But the humanities do not deal primarily with material entities in quite the same fashion. Any means of knowing has to be grounded in materia but, are used not to establish or prove, as such, but to be able to perceive beyond the limits of perception, to offer a guide to clear thinking. In short, while scientific paradigms are oriented towards deduction, humanities paradigms are oriented towards induction. A direct transfer of means of knowing thus becomes suspect. Where a different form of understanding is required it becomes even more doubtful. There are more forms of understanding than correspondence to material entities. The question really becomes one of what we have to consider to be real. The means of knowing is only a guide to correct thinking, a possible means of investigation, a commitment to a particular reality, ultimately a choice of postulation. Realization, in respect of the humanities, is of the nature of a personal understanding derived from synthetic thought processes. Understanding is not based on a set of "scientific" or "textual" principles of various means of quantification and is not determined

by ascertaining its relation to an object or object complex.

Within the *Yoga sūtras*, there are various *sūtras* that are inconsistent, that clearly indicate that the *sūtras* have been adapted to fit a particular philosophical system.[1] The *sūtras* in the Samādhipāda, surely the most important in the system since they are explaining the very purpose and goal of yoga, are confusing. One *sūtra* cluster speaks of the *samprajñāta* complex, another of *vicāra* complex and still another of *nirbīja*. The commentators skillfully work distinction into these clusters and then relate them into a single aim. But one remains suspicious; categories overlap, the relations are contrived and, when one looks carefully, serious questions arise. When one looks with historical tools, it is difficult to go along with the commentators who have made the *pāda* a complete philosophical/logical whole. The terminology itself is partially taken from Buddhism and then from an even older Jainism, e.g. *śraddhā, vīrya, smṛti, samādhi. Prajñā* is a Buddhist derivation. Not only are there problems with terminology but a study from the point of view of meditation practices indicates that a large majority of the meditation practices come directly from Buddhism and can be traced via the Pali canon.[2] This is one of the rare studies that relates to the teachings or content of the *sūtras*. The terms *samādhi, kevalin, nirbīja*, and *sabīja* and so on appear to have been Jaina technical terms.[3] These terms appear to be terms developed within Jainism which were then taken over and readapted for the *Yoga sūtras*. Bronkhorst developed his ideas of an original meditation form based on particular ascetic practices common to a number of different schools.[4] This thesis has not been examined in specific detail by scholars although sporadic references in the *Yoga sūtras* have been made to similar common terminologies and even ideas in other disciplines from the time that the *Yoga sūtras* first began to be translated. One might add that the process goes on in another direction linking yoga phenomenon up to modern psychology, capitalism and even ideas on sexuality. Surprisingly, very few of the links between the Upaniṣads, yoga and the Purāṇas have been examined by scholars. One might suspect that the links are weak, that little can be made out of them. The reason might well be that the yoga as known from the *Yoga sūtra* does not fit in the context, that it is a relatively alien production.[5]

The wholesale readaptation of terminology would point to some necessity to make the *Yoga sūtras* into a philosophical whole. Around the 7th century A. D. we get the *Sāṁkhyakārikā* and the "later" commentatorial activity on the *Yoga sūtras*. The *Sāṁkhyakārikā* is an attempt to supply a philosophical background for that system even though there are earlier sporadic references to sāṁkhya. One might note the references to an earlier unavailable *Ṣaṣṭhitantra* containing the original sāṁkhya-yoga principles. Supposedly, the Vyāsa commentary on the the *Yoga sūtras* was written much earlier. It does have that feel about it, but one wonders just how much earlier it was written.

After all, if it is a pioneering attempt at a rewrite of disparate material, it was bound to be rough. Not only that, but if it is a pioneering effort at bringing together the *Yoga sūtras* which were really a heterogeneous collection, we are going to be totally dependent on it for meaning: obviously as the primal meaning will be that of the commentary and not that of the *sūtras.* In other words, the *sūtras* would have been doctored, like the *Brahma sūtras,* in order to yield a particular meaning.[6] One is also suspicious of the name Vyāsa, he does seem to be a Purāṇic figure (of ancient times, of course this being the very essence of the Purāṇas) but the Purāṇas, and the *Mahābhārata* were not nearly as early as the author of this first commentary was supposed to be. Would it be meaningful to consider that the Vyāsa commentary was written somewhere between the 5th and 7th century A.D.? This period in history was a time of resurgence of Hinduism accompanied by a diminution (a destruction) of Jainism and Buddhism which had been building up over the past few centuries. The phenomenon is the replacement of old religions/metaphysics with a new/vigorous/aggressive system. The commentaries from this period take great pains to refute and to diminish their previous rivals, even to the extent of misrepresenting them. Thus the readaptation of terminology represents not only the necessity of a philosophical whole, but the appropriation of other traditions.

If one examines massive historical takeovers and appropriations, they are often done by declaring a superior morality. Colonialism was justified as a "white man's burden" and it was a "higher moral development" that ultimately became the justification of the western world's pillage of the Asian countries.[7] The Americas were taken over by such unquestioning ruthless and cruel forces that they never even considered that they had to justify themselves.[8] The very same elements are found in the *Mahābhārata* in India with the appropriation and destruction of the tribal people. They are made into monsters, *rākṣasas* and snakes. and "sacrificed" like the witches in Europe. On the other hand, in the 19th century, Greek history was rewritten by Western historians to find a source for democracy, rationalism and science. The Greeks considered themselves barbarians educated by the Egyptians and the Phoenicians. But the Egyptians were black and the Phoenicians were Jews[9]- a singularly unsuitable source for the glory of the West. Even the Greek idea of "love" which came from the Greeks, referred to love between men and boys, women being inadequate vessels for love, was passed down as gay love through the Muslims in Spain (who passed on all Greek learning to Medieval Europe) and eventually became hetero in the currently contentious marriage pact which combined ideas of both love and property and has become the flamboyant flagship of connection in the modern world.

The tenor of contemporary Hindu fundamentalism is moralistic to the extreme. One need only recall the barbarous destruction of Hussein's artwork
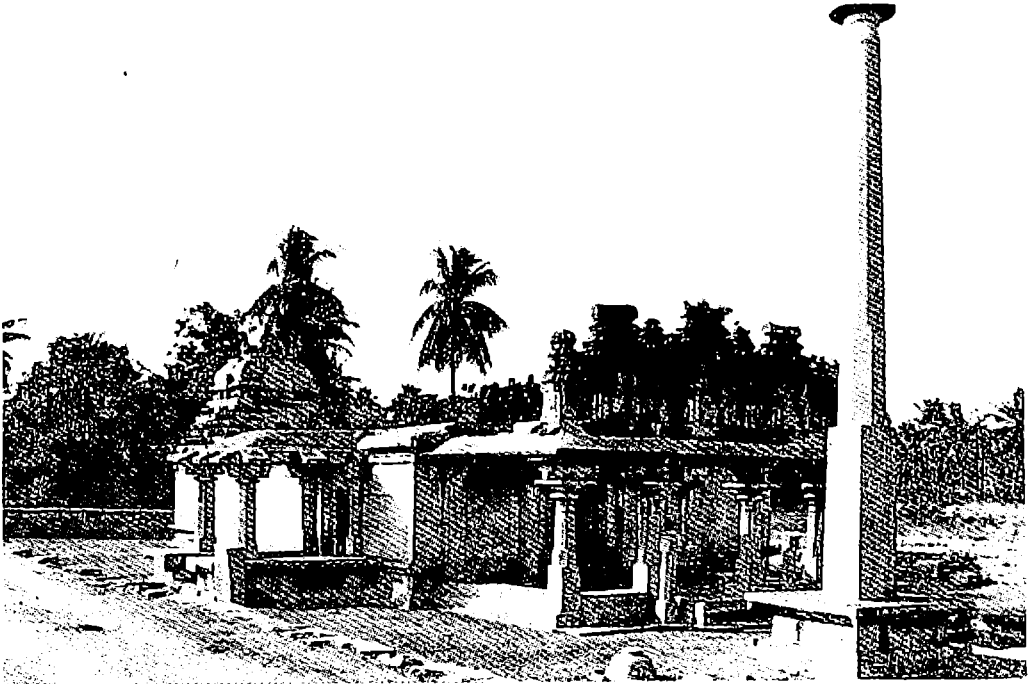
A. The Jaina temple of A. D. 1386.
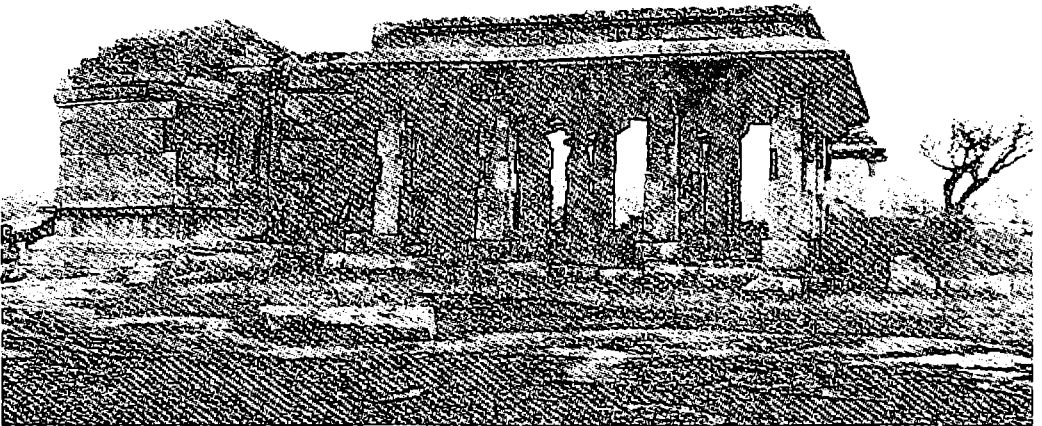
B. Virūpākṣa temple of A. D. 1398 on Hemakūṭa hill.

Foundational Inscription (damaged) referring to the Virūpākṣa temple of A. D. 1398.

ostensibly because of a nude Sarasvatī done twenty years earlier that was not naked or exposed in any sense whatsoever. One need only compare temple sculpture and Hindi films to see which genre Hussein's painting was in. This is, in fact, a question of politics - the demolition of a doctored *pūrvapakṣa* which has as its purpose,not understanding, but domination/appropriation. A process we might now consider in a larger context. At present, in South India, righteous Hindus are removing the *mithuna* sculptures from temples that were built 300 or more years ago - again public vandalism operating under the guise of a superior morality. To go further back, to the 12th century and earlier, the Lakulīśas were virtually rooted out and their idols and temples destoryed. The destruction was so violent that barely a few images in stone with erect phalli exist and no trace whatsoever of the cult. From the records of the successful, one would imagine the cult to be one of sex, drugs and necrophilia... the Lakulīśas walked around with erections, made sexual innuendoes and insulted people as part of their sādhanā. In other words they were morally depraved and reprehensible and thus, disappeared somehow by their own bad deeds.

If we take this even further in a still more general sense, sexuality, — one of the prime moving forces of mankind, perhaps the source of our imagination, our art soul, and prime motivation for our actions and institutions, is excluded from serious historical and academic consideration. Suffice it to say, that major historical events are instigated from sexuality—after all, there are historians now who say that World War 1 and 2 were the results of a failed sexuality - yet, a consideration of that would not be considered quite legitimate; indeed it would probably be met with vituperative moral condemnation. If we however considered these events as patriarchal maneuvering, in accordance with the *Kāmasūtra,* which classifies warfare as a man's entertainment, it may be possible to consider it legitimate once again. Our historical sequences are more readily acceptable as events originating in dreams of glory by sadistic heroes ready to sacrifice the innocent in order to achieve great things, like their domination by force over some decadent despicable peasant preferably with another skin colour. The paradigm is reinforced by newscasts and by contemporary violent entertainment. The Freudian revolution was limited to individuals but it seems to me that psychoanalysis cold be extended to whole cultures and is.

When one looks carefully at the yoga/sāṁkhya philosophy as such, one begins to have doubts almost immediately. First of all, it is a dual system. But enlightenment in this dual system is accomplished by seeking prakṛti (the female) as she really is, after which she recedes and puruṣa (the male) is isolated or separated from her (kevalin). It has always seemed to me that this is a highly suspicious form of enlightenment in a so-called dual entity system. Not only that, but it does seem to be a closet legitimation of the

patriarch once again, perhaps sneaking up the suṣumṇā. We have the explanation that prakṛti continues to exist as she did necessitating the postulation of a multiplicity of puruṣas cluttering up space like satellite junk. Hence, things go on and on. Secondly, the relationship between puruṣa and prakṛti is fraught with difficulty. Because there can be no real relationship between these two ultimate entities (as spirit and matter), the relationship posited is that of mirrors. Prakṛti when she becomes pure enough, is able to reflect puruṣa after which she dissolves and enlightenment is achieved. To top it all off, this is really an elementary Vedānta solution and explanation. Thirdly, Sastri[10] has posited that the real development of the yoga śāstra is Vedānta and that of Nyāya is Buddhism. Both Vedānta and Buddhism take these realist based schools to their natural conclusion; Buddhism positing absolute reality for the world and illusion for spirit and Vedānta positing absolute realism for Brahman (spirit) and illusion for the world. In other words, as the tenets of the pluralist and dualist schools were examined philosophically, the only logical conclusion to come to, on the basis of simplicity (there were other reasons documented in various schools for coming to this conclusion as well), was idealist.

What one then begins to suspect, is that the puruṣa and prakṛti are really philosophical survivals of the vital male and female forces of Tantrism. The union of male and female, being a microcosm of the cosmos or at least the universe in Tantrism, as a sexual act, eventually became unacceptable. The dark erotic gods must be brought under control - civilized and, preferably, married off. *Puruṣa* and *prakṛti,* are an attempt to "clean it up" and put all on a respectable philosophical/academic/moral basis. Of course, the replacement of the sex act, that mingling of materia, with voyeuristic flashing mirrors as a means of effecting conjunction, is not very enterprising, exciting, or successful and we understand that the ensuing idealism could only have originated from abhorrence and denial. It reminds one of modern cities with skyscrapers of glass where you only see yourself reflected in cold reflections of reflections. Not particularly good foundations for theories based on realities. After all, samādhi itself, is defined, in the system as just seeing things as they are.

There is textual evidence in various places to indicate that the original yogis were Śaivites. The ithyphallic Mohenjo Daro seal is often thrust forward as well as an indication of *Pāśupata-śaiva* and yoga links. The *Sarvadarśanasaṁgraha* with its neat package of six orthodox śāstras would appear to be a political product advertisement of the Vijayanagara kingdom. It has that insipid quality that Nyāya arguments have when the real Buddhist argument is lost or unknown. That is, it smacks of celebration and consolidation after the "victory" when politics begins to ask for rewrites and glorification. One is tempted to consider that the original Sāṁkhyas were "counters" working their meditations in much the same way that the Buddhists continually

counted/enumerated their dharmas in order to get a grip on their particular alternate vision of reality. The tenor of such investigation is such that the ultimate entities are only generally or superficially known. It is the process of knowing that is important, hence the sobriquet name.

If one considers the *Yoga sūtra* or the yoga philosophy from this point of view, very little trace of the source remains in the textual material as we know it. Of course, a philosophical or metaphysical system, founded in such a fundamental reality as the union of the male and female, is not likely to leave a large body of philosophical and academic investigation. It must have been a spiritual discipline founded on practice, on the fundamental realities of human existence. From there, it went beyond the limits of the human condition. We do hear echoes of this from the Hatha school and from the actual practitioners of yoga. The stories, the gossip, the legend building and the lives of many of the practitioners of yoga today have the magical living something that is only dimly sensed in the text.

The moral imperative that underlies academic thinking is seldom recognized. As part of the basic underlying structure, one might not expect it to be recognized. That morality, the insistence upon a particular acceptable order that can be determined usually by a determined set of criteria (today in accordance with the examination of materia by science), perhaps has something to contribute but it excludes equally much. After all, when you make the decision to consider the point of view superior to the object viewed, you are only putting yourself on the line. You are declaring, insisting upon and asserting yourself as the centre of everything. It means that you only want to see what you can control. That means, everything you see and think will have your pesonal limitations for whatever they might be worth. There are other schools that say it is a certain dispassion, an ability to observe without structures, to observe "creatively" that is important. This is succinctly described in the texts themselves. The text defines *samādhi* as seeing things as they are.

Notes and References

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2. See S. N. Tandon, *A Reappraisal of the Patañjali's Yoga Sūtras in the light of the Buddha's Teaching,* Vipassana Research Instiute, Igatpuri, 1995.

3. S. Settar, *Inviting Death,* Karnatak University, Dharwad, variously.

4. Johannes Bronkhorst, *The Two Traditions of Meditation in Ancient India,* Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1993.

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6. See P. M. Modi, *Critique of the Brahma Sūtra*, Published by the Author, Bhavnagar, 1952 (?).

7. See K. M. Panikkar, *Asia and Western Dominance*, George Allen & Unwin, London, 1953, and various works of Edward Said.

8. See *Stolen Continents*.

9. Martin Bernal, *Black Athena : The Afroasiatic Roots of Classical Civilization*, Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, 1987.

10. D. N. Sastri, *A Critique of Indian Realism*, Agra University Press, Agra, 1963.

THE VIRŪPĀKṢA TEMPLE OF A. D. 1398
ON HEMAKŪṬA HILL, HAMPI-VIJAYANAGARA

ANILA VERGHESE

Vijayanagara city, the present-day 'Hampi', served as the capital of the great medieval Hindu kingdom of southern India from the mid-fourteenth century till the sack of the city in A. D. 1565, following the battle of Tālikoṭa. During this period the city witnessed temple-building activity on a massive scale. A study of the dated temples at this site from the mid-fourteenth century to the mid-sixteenth century reveals a progressive development in the architectural style; the temples evolve from small, fairly simple structures of the earliest phase to the enormous temple complexes of the last phase of temple-building activity. From the fourteenth century there are only four dated temples at the site, of which one is noted in books referring to Vijayanagara architecture, while the other three are practically never mentioned. Here, a study is attempted on one of the latter, a small temple that was built in A. D. 1398.

The temple form at Vijayanagara saw the amalgamation of two styles of temple architecture that were prevalent in southern India in the centuries preceding the founding of the Vijayanagara kingdom : the Deccan style that had developed under the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, later Cālukyas, Hoysaḷas and others, and the southern (Tamil) style that had evolved under the patronage of the Pallavas, Coḷas and Pāṇḍyas. All the early temples at Vijayanagara are in the local Deccan style. The Tamil tradition was imported into the city in the early fifteenth century and it soon overshadowed the former in importance. A developed Vijayanagara temple, especially of the sixteenth century, is predominantly in the Tamil style and it marks the culmination of this architectural tradition.

The dated fourteenth century temples at the site are all in the Deccan tradition. They are small, with unornate exteriors and interiors, with stepped stone superstructures over the sanctum, in contrast to the brick and mortar superstructures and the more elaborate arrangements of the later temples in the Tamil tradition. These four dated fourteenth century temples are all of the last two decades of the century. They are located in different parts of the city; this proves that this style was the prevalent style not just in one locale, but all over the site.

The earliest is the Mailāra temple of A. D. 1380. It is to the east of

Map of Vijayanagara City

1. Mailāra temple of A. D. 1380
2. Jaina temple of A. D. 1385
3. Śiva temple of A. D. 1386
4. Virūpākṣa temple of A. D. 1398
5. Virūpākṣa temple complex
6. Prasanna Virūpākṣa temple
7. Rāmacandra temple

a massive gateway of the 'urban core' of the city. An inscription located near it refers to the consecration of God Orateya Mailāra (a form of Śiva) by Baththeya Nāyaka, a hunter, who belonged to the house of king Harihara.[1] The next is the Jaina temple (Pl. XI, A), locally known as the Gāṇigitti temple, built in A. D. 1385 by Irugappa-Daṇḍanāyaka, a minister of Harihara II, to

house the *mūrti* of the Jaina *tīrthaṅkara*, Kunthu Jinanātha.[2] It is located within the 'urban core', to the south of the 'royal centre.' The other two are in the so-called 'sacred centre' further north. The third shrine, dated A. D. 1386, is the Śiva temple built by Hiriya Tamma, a customs official, son of Bhayiriseṭṭi.[3] The fourth, and the one being examined in this paper, is the one built in A. D. 1398 for Virūpākṣa, a form of Śiva. It is located on the holy Hemakūṭa hill, to the south of the great temple complex dedicated to god Virūpākṣa, the patronal deity of the city and the royal dynasty. Hemakūṭa is considered to be an extremely holy spot, for it was there that Śiva as Virūpākṣa is believed to have sat in meditation. The temple is found at the southern end of the hill (see map).

The foundational inscription[4] of this Virūpākṣa temple on Hemakūṭa is dated Śaka 1318, cyclic year Īśvara, the eighth day of the dark fortnight of Puṣya, Monday. This corresponds to January 11, A. D. 1398. The inscription is in the Nāgarī script and the Sanskrit language. It states that god Virūpākṣa Siddha-Śrīpada-Śrī-Vallabha manifested himself in Hemakūṭa and that Virūpākṣa-Paṇḍita and Vināyaka-Paṇḍita, sons of Rāghava-Paṇḍita and Kamalāmba, of the Bhāradvāja-gotra and Mādhyandina school of Yajur-Veda, constructed a shrine for the deity together with a *śukanāsa*, excavated a tank to the left of the temple and planted trees etc. It also states that Virūpākṣa-Paṇḍita was the author of 13 works. This inscription is on the south-east, vertical face of the tank. To the north-east of the temple is a damaged copy (Pl. XII), engraved on the sheet rock, of the same inscription.[5]

The donors of these four dated fourteenth century temples at Vijayanagara varied in social and economic status. The first was a hunter attached to the King's household. The second was an influential minister and general, quite well-known in contemporary records of this period, who was a generous patron of architectural works not only in the capital, but also elsewhere in the kingdom.[6] The third donor was a customs official, while the fourth were two brahmin brothers, of whom one was also a learned author. Depending on the status and wealth of their respective patrons, the four temples vary. The Jaina temple is much larger than the other three. It comprises two sanctums, two antechambers, two *maṇḍapas* and two porches. Though it is in a simple, austere and archaic style, it is an impressive monument. The Mailāra temple consists of a small square sanctum and a porch. The Śiva temple of 1386 is small and similar to the Mailāra temple in plan. Its original construction comprises just a small sanctum and a porch. Later on, possibly in the next century, a covered colonnade was built around the small fourteenth century structure, fully enclosing it. The temple of 1398, though larger than the previous one, is very simple and unimposing. It is to be expected that the hunter, customs officer and the two brahmins could in no way match the munificence of the great Jaina minister and general.

The Virūpākṣa temple on Hemakūṭa faces east (Pl. XI, B). It consists of a sanctum, an antechamber *(śukanāsa)* and an open *maṇḍapa.* The *vimāna* (sanctum and antechamber) has a high plinth of plain courses : *upāna, jagatī, padma, kaṇṭha* and *paṭṭikā.* There is a *praṇāla* (water spout) on the north side. The wall surface of the *vimāna* is of plain dressed stones. There is a narrow *prastara* beam above the wall. The superstructure over the sanctum has partially collapsed. It is of the stepped pyramidal type, of plain horizontal receding courses. On the lowest tier of the superstructure there are flat *kuḍus.* Only a few tiers of this superstructure are still extant. The exterior of the antechamber has partially collapsed and its plinth is largely covered with debris. The *maṇḍapa* has a plain plinth, that is partly covered with earth. Above this basement, the *maṇḍapa* is open. On the top there is an inclined eave, above which is a narrow beam and a *kapoṭa* course.

The interior of the temple is as unadorned as the exterior. The walls of the sanctum are plain. The ceiling comprises two rotated squares, with a flat slab in the centre on which is carved a lotus medallion. The interior of the antechamber is completely plain. There are traces of the original plaster in both the sanctum and the antechamber. The *maṇḍapa* has 12 pillars on the periphery and four pillars in the centre. The former are crudely cut monolithic blocks carved into two square and two octagonal parts, each resting on a separate base. The corbels that rest on all the pillars are of the angled variety. The four central pillars are more elaborate : each rests on a separate square base; each shaft has two square portions, separated by an octagonal sided part. The capitals of these four pillars comprise a pot-shaped member, a disc and a *phalaka* with a convex base. On the pillars there are traces of plaster-work. The ceiling of the *maṇḍapa* is divided into nine squares. The central one consists of two rotated squares, with a slab in the centre on which is carved a lotus medallion.

The fairly large temple tank is to the north and north-east of the temple. It is partly a natural depression in the sheet rock and partly built up to form a tank.

This Virūpākṣa temple of A. D. 1398 is of little interest from the point of view of the quality of its architecture. There is no sculpture, except for the ceiling lotus medallion, in it. Yet, the fact that it is a dated temple of the early Vijayanagara period, makes it an interesting monument. Along with its contemporary dated temples, it denotes the archaic and simple style of temple architecture that prevailed in Vijayanagara till the end of the fourteenth century and the small size of the temples of this phase. It is worth noting, that within less than a couple of decades after the construction of this temple on Hemakūṭa hill, another temple was to be built in the city : the exquisite and architecturally outstanding Rāmacandra (Hazāra Rāma) temple. This was the first major monument that synthesized the local traditions and the imported

southern style,[7] with the Tamil style being the more predominant. The fifteenth century marked a great step forward in the evolution of temple architecture at Vijayanagara as compared with the developments in the latter half of the fourteenth century. The sixteenth century was to witness the full flowering of Vijayanagara temple architecture. These early dated temples are therefore of significance to the architectural historian for tracing the evolution of Vijayanagara temple architecture.

This Virūpākṣa temple of A. D. 1398 is also of interest from the point of view of the history of religion and cult in the city. It is the third temple built at the site for god Virūpākṣa. This Śaivite deity was the principal god of the Hampi area well before the founding of the Vijayanagara kingdom, with its capital at this site. He was chosen by the founder kings of the Saṅgama family as the patron god of their capital and their lineage, a tradition that was continued by the rulers of the two subsequent dynasties, Sāluva and Tuḷuva, that ruled from Vijayanagara city. The original temple to god Virūpākṣa remains even today the principal pilgrimage centre at Hampi. The core of the great Virūpākṣa temple is a pre-Vijayanagara structure, that saw numerous enlargements and embellishments during the Vijayanagara period. So great was the popularity of this god that the years following the foundation of the kingdom witnessed the dedication of two more temples at Vijayanagara to him. One is the Prasanna Virūpākṣa temple (the present-day 'Underground Temple' in the 'royal centre'), that was evidently a temple to the patron deity that could be used by the king and court. It was first constructed in the fourteenth century, with additions being made to it down the years.[8] The second is this small, generally unnoticed, temple of A. D. 1398 built not by the king or persons connected with the court but by two private donors. While the great Virūpākṣa temple received extensive additions and benefactions during the Vijayanagara period and the Prasanna Virūpākṣa also, though to a lesser extent, the Virūpākṣa temple on Hemakūṭa apparently was the recipient of neither noteworthy additions nor of donations. Although it seems to have been entirely built at one time, yet, since its foundational inscriptions only mention the sanctum, antechamber and the tank, it is possible that the *maṇḍapa* was added after the construction of the rest. However, from the stylistic point of view, if this had been the case, it is clear that the *maṇḍapa* must have been added fairly soon after the construction of the other parts, for it is in an archaic style. This temple, unlike the other two Virūpākṣa temples, was not the object of court patronage.

It is also significant that no new temples to god Virūpākṣa were built at Vijayanagara after the fourteenth century. In the early Vijayanagara period, Virūpākṣa retained his position of primacy in the city, which he lost to Vaiṣṇava deities to a limited extent in the fifteenth century and to a very large extent in the sixteenth century.[9]

Of the three Virūpākṣa temples at Vijayanagara, the one on Hemakūṭa hill is certainly the least important one, whether from the point of view of size, or of patronage or of religious and artistic significance. But, it is noteworthy because it was a temple to the patron deity of the site. Even more, it is of interest since it is a dated early temple, that has seen little or no later additions, of a period of which very few dated temples are available at Vijayanagara.

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REVIEWS

INDOLOGICAL STUDIES (Literary and Performing Arts, Prakrit and Apabhraṁśa Studies), H. C. BHAYANI, published by Parshva Prakashan, Nisha Pole Naka, Jhaverivad, Relief Road, Ahmedabad - 380 001, 1993, pp. 3-365, Rs. 250.

The volume under review is a collection of 33 papers and articles pertaining to the areas of literary and Performing Arts and of Prakrit and Apabharaṁśa studies by Dr. H. C. Bhayani (Bhayani). These papers and articles were published from time to time during the last four decades in various Oriental Research Journals. Part I deals with 14 topics relating to Literary and Performing Arts (pp. 3-126) and Part II with 19 topics concerning Prakrit and Apabhraṁśa studies (pp. 129-356). Pages 357 to 360 give us detailed information regarding their first publication. The Index added at the end covers pp. 361 to 365.

As a scholar of Indology Bhayani has won international repute. His interests are varied. A mere glance at the Table of Contents is enough to give an idea of the range of his interests in the various branches of learning : the languages Sanskrit, Prakrit, Apabhraṁśa and Old Gujarati and their literatures, Sanskrit Poetics, Lexicography, Metrics and Grammar. This collection easily bears testimony to his profound and wideranging scholarship and critical ability of a high order. By his comparative and critical study he sheds new light on the topics chosen for study. Each and every paper is important in its own way. All readers may not find all papers of equal interest. Whatever papers however they choose, according to their own interest, predilection, for careful reading, are bound to enjoy them and enrich their knowledge.

Some of the papers are of general interest and appealing to every reader. For instance, Kṛṣṇa's early life and his childhood exploits, are of perennial interest. Bhayani's three papers, Part. II.7, 8 and 9 dealing with the childhood exploits of Kṛṣṇa, his unique relationship with his three less known sweethearts - Pālī, Dhanyā and Cārukeśi, and the sources of two of his puranic episodes 1. *Gopī-vastra-haraṇa* (Kṛṣṇa steals Gopīs' clothes) and 2. *Kṛṣṇānveṣaṇa* (Gopis' wandering in the woodland in search of Kṛṣṇa) respectively deserve special mention in this respect.

Now, Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* and some other *Rāmāyaṇas* are well-known throughout the world. Bhayani's paper, "The Prakrit and Apabhraṁśa *Rāmāyaṇas*," introduces the reader to the less known *Rāmāyaṇas*, especially the Jaina versions of the story of Rāma. Although less known, they present

some interesting variations—modifications and innovations.

Kālidāsa's famous lyrical poem, called *Meghadūta* or *Megha-sandeśa* is universally known. But there is no unanimity among scholars and writers on Poetics regarding the type of *Kāvya* (poetry) to which it belongs. Bhoja cites it as an example of the type called *Saṁghāta*. It is thus defined : *"Saṁghāta* is a group of self-contained stanzas relating to a single theme and of single authorship like the *Vṛndāvana* and the *Meghadūta."* (*Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* Vol. II, p. 470, Mysore edn. 1963). Hemacandra follows Bhoja and models his definition on Bhoja's definition and reproduces the same two illustrations. (*Kāvyānuśāsana,* Mahāvira Jaina Vidyālaya, Bombay, 1964 edn. p. 466). Viśvanātha in his *Sāhityadarpaṇa,* however, calls it a *Khaṇḍa-kāvya : Khaṇḍakāvyaṁ bhavet kāvyasyaikadeśānusāri ca yathā megha-dūtādiḥ!*

— VI. 329.

(Tr. That poem which partly follows the type named *Kāvya* is called *Khaṇḍa-kāvya."*).

It is not possible to bring out the importance of each and every paper in the collection in a review like this. Suffice to say that each and every paper adds to our knowledge.

We warmly congratulate Dr. Bhayani for making these papers easily available to interested scholars by collecting them in this volume and for his valuable contribution to different branches of learning.

V. M. Kulkarni

ASPECTS OF SPEECH IN VEDIC RITUAL, SINDHU S. DANGE, Aryan Books International, New Delhi, Demi Size : pages xxi + 269, Rs. 450.

The work under review is divided into eight chapters, in addition to the introductory one.

According to the Vedic tradition, the creator uttered the microcosmic word, marking the beginning of the process of Creation. This mystical sound is regarded as eternal, remaining unchanged and pervading the creation. Being microcosmic it is not perceptible to the human senses. Out of this microcosmic Vāk, released from the Cosmic mouth of the Creator, the Brahmā, macrocosm evolved itself. This mystic Vāk is represented by the tradition, by the articulate sounds of *aum, bhūr bhuvaḥ svaḥ* (the three Vyāhṛtis); which summarizes the divine wisdom reflected in the Vedas. This Vedic Vāk is therefore described as *Nityā,* eternal, by even the *Ṛgveda* - (Vācā Virūpa nityayā - 8.75.6) and also by the *Mahābhārata* (anādinidhanā nityā vāg utsṛṣṭā svayambhuvā/adau vedamayī divyā tataḥ sarvā pravṛttayaḥ - 12.224.55). The Vedas therefore

are regarded as śabda-brahma i. e. *aparā vāk* which represents the microcosmic eternal *parā vāk.*

The existence of articulate words and syllables constituting the speech appears to be momentary, since their existence depends on the organs of speech/hearing - (Nirukta Indriya-nityam vacanam..). However they pervade (vyāptimat) the minds of hearers. The words, being gifted with 'śakti', convey through it their meanings. Thus the words convey something beyond themselves.

This immutable aspect of speech, and the aspect concerning the utterances of syllables are best brought out, by the learned author in the introductory chapter.

The Vedic sacrifice represents the cosmic sacrifice and consequently bears the mystic character. Vedic rituals are acts accompanied with the recitation of the Mantras; the mystical Vāk. The sacrifice cannot be accomplished without Mantras. On the other hand the richness of sacrifice depends on how the Mantras themselves speak of the ritual acts being performed. The author has therefore, very rightly remarked that the speech in sacrifice, having a divine status is used for rendering the sacrifice complete in all respects (p. 13). Consequently the Vedic Vāk is often identified with Yajña—the Sacrifice, in the Vedic ritual texts and also with several deities and concepts.

Dr. Mrs. Dange appears to have been so influenced with the identity of Speech and Sacrifice, that she has concentrated all her attention, in the next chapters, to all aspects of the mystical Vāk utilised in sacrifice. She has dealt with, at great length, as to how the Vedic seers look towards the metres, the progeny of Speech. She has also observed the relations of the number of verses and their syllables with the rites in which they are employed. She has also referred to the practice of mixing of the metres (Viharaṇa). She has sufficiently shed light on the mystic utterances of the words like - Vauṣaṭ, Svāhā Hini, Āśrāvaya, Astu Śrauṣaṭ, Yaja, Ye yajāmahe - etc. She has brought out the nature of the forms of utterances like - Upāṁśu, tūṣṇīm, tūṣṇīm-śaṁsa, ani ukta - etc. Besides the sacrificial Mantras, she has also given the account of Anuśāsanas, Vidyās, Vākovākya, Itihāsa-purāṇa, Nārāśaṁsīs, Gāthās, Ślokas etc. which are not directly concerned with the Vidhis. While dealing with the vocal and instrumental music in the Vedic rituals, she has rightly pointed out, that, 'for Vedic ritualists, the music - instruments utilised in Vedic Sacrifices, were replication of human body' (of course with Prāṇa deposited in them), and that they make the rituals perfect. She also invites our attention to *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa's* remark (VI.I.I.15) : "whosoever thinks himself quite perfect (and full of happiness), either sings or delights in song."

Keeping in view, the precept of *'nāmūlam likhyate kiñcit',* she has based her observations and remarks on the evidences of Vedic literature. For dilating

upon the topics referred to above, the learned author, has carefully and sincerely studied with great patience, the entire Vedic literature, ranging from Saṁhitās to the Kalpa-sūtras, in addition to the ancient literature on grammar and rhetorics. After collecting the data from such a wide range, she has thoroughly and critically examined and thoughtfully analysed and classified the same, and has presented her conclusions in a very logical and convincing manner. While doing so she has examined a wide range of rituals, ranging from Agnihotra to Sattras. In addition, she has also cited and examined the relevant remarks of many a modern scholar on Vedic Vāk and has thus tried to make her dissertation a perfect writing and a great success.

The index has enhanced the utility of the Volume.

The performances and the practices of the intricate Vedic literature are dwindling down, day by day. In absence of their demonstrations, it is very difficult to grasp the procedure and the significance of the Vedic rituals.In spite of the absence of such necessary aids, it is really commendable for the author to dive deep in the fathomless ocean of intricate Vedic rituals, for which we have no adequate words to praise her efforts. She has no doubt placed the students and admirers of Vedic rituals and of Vāk under deep obligations. We heartily congratulate the author on her successful achievement.

T. N. Dharmadhikari

THE RAGHUVAMŚA OF KĀLIDĀSA, critically edited by REWA PRASAD DWIVEDI, published by Sahitya Akademi, Rabindra Bhavan, 35, Ferozshah Road, New Delhi 110 001, 1993, pp. LXXXIV + 820, Rs. 400.

Sanskrit tradition recognises *Pañca mahākāvya*-s as the *pañca-prāṇas* - the very life, the very essence of classical Sanskrit *Kāvya*-poetry. The five literary or court epics (*mahākāvya*-s) are : 1. the *Kumārasambhava,* 2. the *Raghuvaṁśa,* both these of Kālidāsa, 3. The *Kirātārjunīya* of Bhāravi, 4. the *Śiśupālavadha* of Māgha and 5. The *Naiṣadhīya-carita* of Śrīharṣa. Among these five famous *mahākāvyas* the *Raghuvaṁśa* is ranked as the finest specimen of *mahākāvya.* In accordance with the title the poem sings of the great Raghu and the dynasty of the sun-born kings.

The *Raghuvaṁśa* was taught to every student of Sanskrit throughout India for centuries in more than five scripts. Consequently the original text of the poem has variations. Some of them were the result of the wrong decipherment of script by scholars, some others of the misreadings by scribes.

The Sahitya Akademi entrusted the work of critically editing the text to

Dr. Rewa Prasad Dwivedi, Professor of Sanskrit *Sāhitya* and *Sāhitya-śāstra* (Sanskrit Literature and Poetics) of Banaras Hindu University, Banaras, a profound scholar of international reputation and an ardent lover of Kālidāsa and his poetry.

Professor Dwivedi adopted the modern methods of research and text editing and followed the firmly established principles of critically editing the ancient texts, sifted the authentic from the spurious and presented the original text as far as is humanly possible. He collected old manuscripts from various libraries of the various Oriental Research Institutes and *Jñāna-bhandāra*-s spread all over India, and all the available printed editions up to 1984 A. D. (listed in Editor's Note, pp. xliv-xlviii). Prof. Dwivedi worked devotedly and assiduously for several years and prepared the original text with meticulous care for the Sahitya Akademi. [The Publisher's Note informs us why they decided to bring out critical editions of the complete works of Kālidāsa. It is followed by General Introduction contributed by S. Radhakrishnan (pp. ix-xxxv). The General Introduction is common to other editions of Kālidāsa's works. Then follows the Editor's Note (pp. xxxvii-lxxxiv)].

In his Editor's Note Prof. Dwivedi first makes some observations on the nature of poetry. He then takes up 'the problem of the text.' His critical edition is based on eleven Manuscripts and five printed editions. He gives detailed information about the MSS collected from all over India in a tabular form and a list of the five printed editions with the necessary details. He then presents a complete cantowise list of the readings adopted by him in this edition. Writing about the 'method of edition' he informs us that he has adopted the method of eclecticism, as specified by G. R. Nandargikar in his Introduction to *Raghuvaṁśa,* p. 5.

Regarding the extent of the poem he holds the view that the poem *Raghuvaṁśa* consists of 19 cantos and that it is complete with the episode of Agnivarṇa after whose death his widowed queen awaiting the birth of her child ascends the throne. Although the episode of Agnivarṇa is, in *itself,* tragic it thus ends on this note of hope.

The story is narrated in 1557 stanzas in 21 metres. Prof. Dwivedi gives a brief cantowise summary of the whole poem. He then draws the attention of readers to Kālidāsa's similes and parallelisms, how the poem is replete with *rasa*-s. He then briefly touches upon symbolism. He dwells at some length on environment in *Raghuvaṁśa*. He then treats of the age of Kālidāsa. He holds the view that Kālidāsa must have flourished not during the Age of Guptas but during 150 to 57 B. C.

Regarding the authorship of the play *Mālavikāgnimitra* and the present poem, *Raghuvaṁśa,* he differs with those scholars who ascribe these two works to two different authors and agrees with the majority of scholars that

both these works are written by one and the same author, namely, Kālidāsa.

Author's Note is followed by a list of Abbreviations (pp. lxxxii-xxxiv). The text proper covers pages 3-653. At the end is added *'Pādānukrama'* (Index of every quarter of a verse) covering pages 654-820.

The present critical edition of *Raghuvaṁśa* is perhaps the best of all editions. For it has been edited on the basis of 11 old MSS and 5 printed editions. The exhaustive critical material added just below the text of each and every stanza is a very commendable and distinguishing feature of this edition. It bears eloquent testimony to Prof. Dwivedi's keen insight into the texts.

We warmly congratulate Prof. Dwivedi for presenting to the scholarly world this excellent edition.

V. M. Kulkarni

OBJECTS OF ENQUIRY, The Life, Contributions, and Influences of Sir William Jones (1746-1794), Edited by GARLAND CANNON and KEVIN R. BRINE, New York University Press, New York and London, 1995. pp.185, price not stated.

In 1783 Sir William Jones (1746-94) came to Calcutta as a judge of the Supreme Court. He was a linguistic genius, who had already learnt in all twenty-eight languages which included Hebrew, Arabic, Persian, Turkish and Chinese. On the first day of 1784 the Asiatic Society of Bengal was founded, on Jones's initiative, and with himself as president. In the journal of this society, *Asiatic Researches,* the first real steps in revealing India's past were taken. In 1789 Jones translated Kālidāsa's *Śākuntala* followed by translations of *Gīta Govinda* (1792), and the law-book of Manu (1794) under the title *Institutes of Hindu Law.* He knew so many, wrote so much, and did so much with lasting impact. He was truly the father of Indology. Jones died on 27th April 1794 and was buried in Calcutta.

This volume contains the papers that were presented and discussed at the Sir William Jones Symposium in New York on 21 April 1994 at New York University initiated by Garland Cannon and Kevin R. Brine. The diverse perspectives on Jones's life and mind, contributions, and influence here presented reflect his almost universal sphere of intellectual inquiry.

The Introduction by Brine adequately deals with the papers presented by eight scholars. He has also highlighted the life and lasting contributions of Sir William Jones.

In part 1 of this book, the life and mind of Jones are explored by Gerald

Canon and Rosane Rocher. Cannon traces Jones's activities from his early days as an Orientalist, his political activities as a barrister in England, to his days as a judge in India. He also examines the moral and utilitarian perspectives that Jones brought to his activities as a scholar, poet and judge - examining political views, his position on slavery, and his attitude towards Hindu and Islamic traditions of literature and jurisprudence.

Rocher discusses the interaction between Jones the judge in India, and the Hindu pandits and Muslim maulvis he sought out to enrich his knowledge of language, law, literature, and ancient traditions. Through research and study of unpublished notebooks, she illuminates the character and relationships with tutors, teachers, and scholars recruited to master the traditions he encountered.

In part 2, Jones's contributions to linguistics, jurisprudence, history, and natural sciences are reviewed in four papers. R. H. Robins's paper examines Jones's famous "philologer paragraph", in which Greek, Latin, and Sanskrit are said to have "sprung from a common source."

James Oldham reviews Jones's contributions to Western jurisprudence, and the range of influence of his writings on the principles of commercial law. Oldham credits Jones with "perhaps the earliest clear formulation of the standard of the reasonable man." Oldham also examines the role that Jones played in the development of the eighteenth-century law of seditious libel.

O. P. Kejariwal's essay shows the major contirbution Jones's made to Western intellectual history was to use the Oriental studies and the exploration of Asian civilizations to combat the insularity of European thought. He identifies Jones as an example of a Copernicus "who needs to be resurrected further."

Kenneth A. R. Kennedy examines Jones's contribution to twentieth-century science by focussing on four areas—comparative linguistics, the founding of the Asiatic Society, natural history, and historical chronology. Kennedy's narrative traces the scientific activities of the Asiatic Society pertaining to the botanical, geological and zoological studies in *Asiatic Researcher.* He demonstrates how Jones worked with linguistic archival data to establish "the first absolute chronological date that coincides Indian and European history."

In part 3, W. P. Lehmann examines Jones's influence in German-speaking areas in the nineteenth century, and David Kopf debates his role in the controversial field of British Orientalism. Lehmann traces the impact of Jones's work on Goethe and Herder, August and Friedrich von Schlegel, Franz Bopp, and the Indo-Europeans who followed.

Kopf contrasts the Oriental scholarship of Jones, H. H. Wilson, and Max Müller with that of James Mill and Thomas Babington Macaulay in the nineteenth century. In the twentieth century Kopf contrasts the high esteem with which

Jones and other British Orientalists are held in the works of Raymond Schwab, A. J. Arberry, Garland Cannon, O. P. Kejariwal, as well as in his own works.

This volume will engage a new generation of scholars and students in Sir William Jones studies for a long time.

B. V. Shetti

SANSKRIT AND PRAKRIT POETS KNOWN FROM INSCRIPTIONS, Late Prof. D. B. DISKALKAR, Foreword by SHOBHANA GOKHALE, Ed. KRISHNA S. ARJUNWADKAR, Anandashram Samstha, Pune, 1993, pp. 206, price not stated.

This interesting book brings to light many unknown writers of Sanskrit and Prakrit inscriptions of the period between *circa* 3rd century B.C. and A.D. 1800. Some of them were poets of high order but, as Dr. Shobhana Gokhale points out in her Foreword, not all the authors of inscriptions can technically be called poets. They were composers or writers. Prof. D. B. Diskalkar has laboriously analysed material on inscription writers. Many of them were well-versed in rules of grammar and classical poetry. However, as he tells us, several Sanskrit epigraphs of great poetic value such as the Girnar rock inscription of Rudradāman of A.D. 150, Nepal inscriptions of the late Gupta period or inscriptions of Afghanistan, Sri Lanka, South East Asia, and numerous sites of India do not record their writers' names. Even so, whatever material is available on the inscription writers is of immense value. Their names began to appear more regularly from the 10th century A.D.

Prof. Diskalkar has listed 800 names of inscription-writers, giving their family background, social status and other biographical details wherever available. Out of these 800 names, only two poets were known earlier from their contributions to classical Sanskrit literature. The information on most of the writers, brought out for the first time, adds to our knowledge of the dated literature.

The inscription-writers give more information about themselves than do the poets of classical Sanskrit literature. They come from different castes: *brāhmaṇa, kṣatriya, kāyastha,* though rarely from *vaiśya* or *śudra* caste. Their sub-castes are sometimes mentioned in inscriptions of the early medieval period. Diskalkar says that Sanskrit was studied by non-*brāhmaṇas* as well without any distinction of caste. Interestingly, some of these writers of Sanskrit inscriptions themselves had peculiar non-Sanskrit proper names such as Chittapa, Jajjuka, Culla, Gillaka etc. Some writers were invited by rulers from distant places, and were honoured with titles and granted villages and *agrahāras.*

The book provides information on the religious context of inscriptions and their writers. For instance, the Buddhist poets Kanakaśrī and Śīlacandra,

who composed Nalanda inscriptions, seem to have been in the service of the Buddhist *saṅgha* there, whereas one Puruṣottama who was a Vedic scholar, composed a verse in praise of the Buddhist deity Mañjughoṣa in the Rewa inscription. The Jaina establishments had their own poets. But there were some Jaina *praśastis* written by *brāhmaṇa* writers, whereas some *praśastis* of brahmanical temples were written by the Jainas.

There were very few women inscription-writers such as Loṭā who seems to have composed in Prakrit the Nasik Cave inscription of A.D. 130, and Devakumārikā who is said to have composed Vaidyanātha Prāsāda Praśasti. Among some of the well-known kings who composed poems which were inscribed in stone are Mahendravikramavarman Pallava, Bhoja of Paramāra family and Paramardideva of Candella family.

I found it quite interesting to read on the poet Mādhava who composed the Candella Yaśovarman's inscription of Vaikuṇṭha-Viṣṇu temple at Khajuraho in A.D. 954. Mādhava calls himself the son of Dedda who was an expert on grammar. I searched on Dedda in Diskalkar's Index of names of inscription-poets. There is an entry on Dedda as a composer of Rajorgarh (Rajasthan) inscription of A.D. 960 of the chief Mathanadeva, who was a feudatory of the Gurjara-Pratihāra sovereign Vinayapāladeva of Kannauj. Diskalkar suggests that this Dedda could be identified with Dedda the grammarian who was the father of Mādhava-Kavi of Khajuraho inscription. This would indicate that the father and son worked for the two feudatories (Yaśovarman and Mathanadeva) of the Gurjara-Pratihāra king of Kannauj. It would perhaps suggest that, just as in the field of early temple art of Khajuraho so in the case of Sanskrit epigraphs also the Gurjara-Pratihāra influence was spread to Khajuraho region. It will be relevant to trace such family and regional connections in different areas of culture wherever material is available. This book by Prof. Diskalkar will be of great help to researchers in the fields of Indology, history, epigraphy, and Sanskrit and Prakrit literature.

Prof. Diskalkar had completed this work much before his untimely death in 1962. Thanks to the efforts of his family members and of Prof. Krishna S. Arjunwadkar, who has edited the manuscript, this valuable research work could see the light of the day. However, there are some spelling mistakes which need to be corrected, if the book goes for second edition. The inclusion of publications-list of Prof. Diskalkar's articles in English, Marathi, Gujarati and Hindi will be helpful to research-scholars.

Devangana Desai

THE BUDDHIST ART OF NĀGĀRJUNAKOṆḌA, ELIZABETH ROSEN STONE, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1994, pp. xxvii and 143, 282 Illustrations, Rs. 600.

Nāgārjunakoṇḍa - or the Hill of Nāgārjuna - is closely associated with the great Buddhist philosopher of that name. This place is situated in the Palnad Taluk of the Guntur District, Andhra Pradesh. Discovered in 1926 by A.R. Saraswati, this important site was excavated in 1927 by A.H. Longhurst, in 1938 by T. N. Ramachandran and in 1954 by R. Subrahmanyam, which revealed a number of *stūpas,* apsidal *caityas,* monasteries and other important remains of early Brahmanical temples, a large bathing ghat, a public assembly hall and an imposing amphitheatre.

A museum built on one of the hill-tops displays scale models of the reconstructed architectural remains of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. The entire excavated area was inundated by the waters of the Krishna river after construction of the giant Nagarjunasagar Dam and a reservoir for irrigation. The museum galleries contain casing slabs, semicircular doorsteps from shrines, *āyaka* slabs, and pillars, relic caskets, sculptures, and reconstructed parts of the *stūpa.*

Nāgārjunakoṇḍa was at the peak of its glory during the time of the Ikṣvāku rulers from the end of the second century A.D. to the first half of the fourth century A.D. Inscriptions mention the names of rulers Vāśiṣṭīputra Cāṁtamūla, Māṭharīputra Vīrapuruṣadatta, Vāśiṣṭīputra Ehuvala Cāṁtamūla and Vāśiṣṭīputra Rudrapuruṣadatta. Though these kings were followers of the Brahmanic faith, the princesses were Buddhists and generously supported Buddhist establishments.

The sculpture here illustrates many of the *Jātakas.* Along with the famous story of Māndhātā and the well-known tales of Mahākapi, Vessantara, Haṁsa, and Śibi, here one finds episodes rarely depicted - such as those of Mahāpaduma, Dasaratha, Ghaṭa and Dighiti Kosala. Lost sources of still-surviving works such as the *Avadānakalpalatā* of Kṣemendra and the popular poems *Saundarānanda, Avadānaśataka,* and *Lalitavistara,* as well as the *Buddhacarita,* are illustrated here, as are at Amaravati. The story of Muchalinda is a favourite here and at Amaravati. This tradition travelled to Cambodia and Champa.

Dr. Elizabeth Rosen Stone's work 'The Buddhist Art of Nagarjunakonda' under review is based on her Ph.D. dissertation submitted to the New York University under the guidance of Professor Stella Kramrisch. Her main aim is to establish a new chronology and study the evolution of sculptural style of Buddhist art at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa.

In Chapter I she suggests a slightly revised chronology for the four kings of the Ikṣvāku dynasty which is as follows :

Vāśiṣṭīputra Cāṁtamūla *c.*A.D. 225 - *c.*A.D. 240-250.

Māṭharīputra Vīrapuruṣadatta c.A.D. 240-250 - c.A.D. 265 - 275.

Vāśiṣṭīputra Ehuval Cāṁtamūla c.A.D. 265-275 - c.A.D. 290-300.

Vāśiṣṭīputra Rudrapuruṣadatta c.A.D. 290-300. c.A.D. 315-325.

Dr. Stone has utilized the text of *The Lion's Roar of Queen Śrīmālā,* translated by Alex and Hideko Wayman which is associated with Nāgārjunakoṇḍa while studying the art of this region.

Chapter II deals largely with the evolution of the sculptural style, which essentially follows the evolution of the monastic units in which these works were placed. Here she discusses styles of Amarāvatī and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa.

Chapter III deals with the nearby Andhra sites of Gummididurru and Goli. While the style of Gummididurru seemed to influence the early phase of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, that of Goli seems to have inherited the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa tradition and carried it into the post-Ikṣvāku phase.

In Chapter IV the site of Begram is discussed relating to the exquisite carvings in ivory produced at the same time as the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa sculptures. These ivories were housed in Kabul Museum and Musée Guimet in Paris. We understand that much of Kabul Museum collection is lost in recent disturbances.

In bringing out this work Dr. Elizabeth Rosen Stone has carefully studied all the material from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa in India as well as outside India. She has also gone through the relevant inscriptions in this connection. The book has adequate bibliography and 282 illustrations. However, I wish better art paper was used for illustrations to enhance the prestige of the work. It is appreciated that the Motilal Banarsidass publishers have included this work in their Buddhist Tradition Series. When publications of earlier writers are not easily available now, this book is most welcome for the study of Ikṣvāku art at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa.

B. V. Shetti

SWAMI VIVEKANANDA IN THE WEST, RAJAGOPAL CHATTOPADHYAYA, K.P. Bagchi & Company, 286, B. B. Ganguli Street, Calcutta 700 012, 1994, pp. 260, Rs. 200.

World Parliament of Religions (Sept. 11-28, 1893) held in Chicago was of unique significance for India. It was here that Swami Vivekananda delivered the message of ancient sages of India - "Truth is One though described in many ways." The success of Vivekananda was a matter of great pride for India. His words running over thousands of pages continued to inspire

generations of young Indians.

The Life of Swami Vivekananda, by Eastern and Western disciples, as also many other subsequent biographies were lacking in details of Swamiji's stay in U.S.A and U.K. after the Parliament of Religions. Marie Louise Burke retrieved a lot of biographical material of this period after a long strenuous search of over 30 years (1950-80) and produced six volumes of 'Swami Vivekananda - New Discoveries.'

The author of the book under review, Dr. Rajagopal Chattopadhyaya, has gone many more steps further and has collected further literary evidence to throw more light on the events of the period, July 1893 to December 1900, to present Swami Vivekananda more objectively for Indian and Western readers. As mentioned by him, the six chapters of his book are only a brief version of Burke's six volumes, but at the same time they constitute a reinterpretation of the facts she has presented. The chapters are arranged chronologically and therefore, follow a natural course of events in Swamiji's life. Burke also claims to be objective but all the same, she had a heart of a devotee and could not perhaps restrain in passing value judgements on her hero. Rajagopal on the other hand, maintains a scholarly aloofness and presents all the facts and interprets them in a forthright manner. He thus points out the news-paper coverage received by other delegates at the Parliament of Religions and wants us to decide, the exact magnitude of popularity received by other delegates, *vis a vis,* Swami Vivekananda.

The author has taken great pains in collecting news-paper extracts and letters that passed between Swamiji and his American friends and admirers. All this material is useful in understanding Swamiji's personality and his style of propogating the message of Vedanta.

Some angularities of Swamiji's behaviour have also been described which present Swamiji in a more human form. Thus we come to know of his some-what strained relations with Mr. Sturdy (pp. 142-44). The book also describes the possessiveness of some of Swamiji's American disciples.

A large classified bibliography and a chronology of visits to various places in America and England will be of immense value for critical readers in studying Swamiji in depth, in the particular time frame mentioned in the book. News-paper extracts are also useful.

The author believes that a reassessment of Swami Vivekananda is relevent after a lapse of 100 years, for a better understanding of history.

The printing could have been better for an easy reading.

N. B. Patil

INDIA - A CULTURAL PERSPECTIVE, Ed. S. VARADAN, Kalaikoodam (Komala Varadan Institute of Art)-888/89-V, Nai Sarak, Delhi 110006, 1996, pages 136, Rs. 100.

Kalaikoodam has been an instiution founded by the well known Bharata Natyam dancer, painter and writer Komala Varadan a decade ago for promoting Arts, Literature and Culture of India evincing a surprising unity in spite of multilingual, multiethnic and multireligious conglomeration. The Institute true to its aims and objects, organised a National Seminar on 'Culture - The Undercurrent' from 3rd to 5th November 1995 in New Delhi inviting different international scholars and experts on this vital subject.

The present volume brings together 14 papers throwing light on various aspects of the cultural as well as intellectual life in this country which can rightly claim antiquity as well as continuity.

It is only in the fitness of things that the present volume begins with the paper on 'The Relevance of the Concept of Dharma for the Western World' written by the distinguished ambassador of Poland Prof. Dr. Byrski. He has rightly stressed the sustaining quality of Dharma and the necessity of creating that Dharma which will be useful to the common man both in the West and in India. Dr. S. R. Rao, who was Emeritus Scientist in the Department of Science and Technology as well as a reputed Marine Archaeologist, has spoken of the universal applicability of Vedic religion and philosophy enunciated in the *Bhagavadgītā* and has assured the readers that 'Vedic rishis never advocated conversion or brainwashing of people of other religions' (p. 22). Prof. Lokesh Chandra, the renowned scholar of Tibetan, Mongolian and Sino-Japanese Buddhism, has emphasised that the 'centre of India was, is and will be not only everywhere, but also in all time' (p. 30), because of the unmistakable tendency to befriend the water as well as wind, the transient as well as the transcendant. Prof. M. Nagabhushana Sarma has dwelt on the 'Experiments in Contemporary Indian Theatre' keeping in mind the Indian Culture which determines and qualifies the collective psyche of a nation and also helps in engulfing new systems as well as new interpretations.

It is only proper that the readers of this volume are given an opportunity to cultivate acquaintance with folk-cults and practices throwing light on votive horses, River Goddesses and tree-worship as well as smoke-worship as these reveal close cultural affinities amongst several regions of India. No wonder that Mrs. Gurbinder Chahal has adequately summed up the contribution of Punjab to the cultural mosaic of India. Focus on Meghalaya by Dr. Mrs. M. P. R. Lyngdoh, the historian, as well as the paper on 'The culture of the Kasi Jaintia of Meghalaya' give 'glimpses into some lesser known elements

of our cultural heritage' as has been rightly referred to by Dr. Karan Singh in his short but interesting Foreword.

Dr. B. R. Mani's paper on 'Material Culture as Reflected from the Excavations at Lal Kot : 1992-95' as well as Dr. Ranganath's article entitled 'People's Performance taking a Perspective in Rural Communication' leave no lacuna in thinking of the cultural perspective of our country. 'Linguistic component of Composite Indian Culture' by Dr. C. Narayana Reddy, the winner of the prestigious Jnanapeeth Award in 1988, is highly relevent in the present context. This paper rightly underlines the importance of the study of the mother-tongue for being truly pragmatic and also for 'keeping the roots always alive, fresh and strong' (p. 36). A discerning reader however feels that the writer should have spoken of the necessity of studying Hindi, the link-language and promoting its use on the National level with a view to create the image of an independent country. English will no more serve this purpose although preventing its intelligent study will prove detrimental.

It is but proper that the seminar in this book form should close with the short but illuminating article on 'Culture and the Media' by R. Basu who had an eventful tenure as head of Doordarshan. He has rightly stressed the responsibility of the powerful media in not only catering to the tastes of different segments of its viewership/readership but also to preserve the culture of the society keeping in mind the dynamic manner of the social change.

Thus, the present volume has proved to be a valuable contribution to the literature on the cultural perspective of India and Kalaikoodam (i. e. Komala Varadan Institute of Art) deserves hearty congratulations of discerning scholars as well as lovers of Indian culture. The method of introducing the contributors of this volume is also worthy of being emulated.

M. D. Paradkar

HINDUISM FOR OUR TIMES, ARVIND SHARMA, Oxford University Press, New Delhi 110001, 1996, pp. 116, Rs. 225.

The book is an elaboration of the five lectures delivered by the author at Max Mueller Bhavan, New Delhi, in December 1993. It takes into its sweep all the important aspects of the resurgent Hinduism.

The short volume opens with a chapter on Contemporary Hinduism and examines its Sources and Resources. Here, the author draws on S. Radhakrishnan, Swami Vivekananda and Mahatma Gandhi and emphasises the need for a restatement of the basic principles of Hinduism to suit a more complex and mobile social order. The hallmark of Hinduism is the absence

of proselytisation. A few other religions are slowly appreciating this trait and are in the process of maturation. Other important aspects of Hinduism are its subservience to the Vedas and in the absence of the Vedic authority to *tarka* (logic), *sadācāra* (virtuous conduct), and *ātmatuṣṭi* (congeniality to one's conscience). These, according to the author, have an immense capacity to create a new paradigm "that will be acknowledged and esteemed within the order."

While Chapter 2 deals with the Karma and Rebirth theory, Chapter 3 deals with Castes and States of Life in Modern Living. Both, Fate and Free Will have been discussed and references from Mahabharata are cited to illustrate the potency of Karma to bring about the change of *varṇa*.

A chapter on Hindu Tolerance is equally refreshing. The author advocates the spirit of tolerance, and says that one must recognise that just as dogmatism is a sign of intolerance, indiscriminate tolerance can be a sign of mental laziness or moral fecklessness. He wants us to understand the moral, practical, political and rational limits of tolerance.

In the last chapter, Hinduism and the Future, the author concludes that hereafter, Hinduism must by shaped by masses and not by classes. It should have no closed compartments of castes, but should have a free association of independent and equal individuals. Its doctrine of Karma and Rebirth must be fused with the present 'to infuse it with contemporary relevance.'

Though the book does not deal with the philosophical and doctrinal elements of Hinduism, the author has succeded in encompassing salient features of this faith in a short span of 100 pages. The empirical treatment of the subject is refreshing.

N. B. Patil

BHUPENDRANATH DATTA AND HIS STUDY OF INDIAN SOCIETY, AMAL CHATTOPADHYAY, K. P. Bagchi & Company, 286, B. B. Ganguli Street, Calcutta 700012, also 1-1689, Chittaranjan Park, New Delhi 110019, 1994, pp. 221, Rs. 155.

The book under review is a special study of the life and works of Bhupendranath Datta, the youngest brother of Swami Vivekananda. While Swami Vivekananda was crowned with glory at the Parliament of Religions (Sept. 1893) in Chicago and became a world celebrity on that occasion and thereafter both the younger brothers, Mahendranath and Bhupendranath, were not so fortunate. They, however, did serve their motherland and have left a mark on the social and literary history of Bengal. The contribution of Bhupendranath in the freedom struggle and his thorough study of the Indian society is the

subject-matter of the present volume. The study has earned for the author a Ph. D. at the University of Burdwan. (W.B.)

After a brief introduction, the author gives a biographical sketch of Bhupendranath and closely follows the events in his life that shaped his mind and made him a patriot of a high order. The events include his early education in a school founded by Ishvar Chandra Vidya Sagar and his association with Shibnath Shastri and the neo-Brahmo-Samaj. In his youth, Bhupendranath was a member of the gymnasium run by Jatindranath Bandopadhyay, where he mastered certain martial arts such as fencing, sword play and riding. These stood him in good stead later as a revolutionary.

Bhupendranath participated in various national and international movements in his early youth, but had to remain for long years out of India to defy imprisonment on the charge of sedition.

The author here traces the impact of "the critical and radical social ideas of Vivekananda and political and revolutionary ideas of Mazzini" on Bhupendranath and states that "the Carbonari movement of pre-Mazzini days (Italian Revolutionary movement of 1811) and the Decemberist movement (conspiracy against Csar Nicholai I of Russia) had considerably influenced Bhupendranath's awareness of Indian society. Bhupendranath pursued his studies of world history and found that political revolutions in any country were always preceded by intellectual revolutions. He believed that a new India could be built up only after a successful movement of the labouring masses and that in this new India, there would be no economic exploitation, social oppression and class inequality (p. 60).

The author further discusses in detail Bhupendranath's conception of Dialectical and Historical Materialism and his method of social analysis. Chapter 6 of the book deals with Feudalism and Indian class and caste systems as also Indian religious institutions.

The last chapter which runs over fifty pages evaluates Bhupendranath's contribution to India's social and political development, as evinced from his numerous writings in English and Bengali. It is true that Bhupendranath, unlike his brother, had no charisma, and yet he made a lasting impression on all those who met him and had opportunity to work with him. After a long struggle, Bhupendranath found that Indian Sociology had failed to respond adequately to the problems of feudalism, religious superstitions, caste prejudices and rural poverty. He found that theoretical and conceptual orientation of Indian Sociology was derived from the dominant theories of the West which were of marginal relevance to Indian social reality.

Bhupendranath out of his own studies provided a theoretical and methodological perspective for the right comprehension of this reality.

The author, however, could have been brief in Chapter 6 which runs over 90 pages and covers almost all aspects of Indian history and culture.

The entire work is based on a thorough study of the available biographical and literary material about Bhupendranath and is free from any methodological flaw. An exhaustive bibliography and a short index of subjects and names have enhanced the utility of this work.

The book will be useful to all those who are interested in the solution of social and political problems of this land.

N. B. Patil

ṚTUSAṀHĀRA OF KĀLIDĀSA, critically edited by REWA PRASAD DWIVEDI, published by Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi 110 001, 1990, pp. i-lxii + 183, Rs. 75.

This edition of *Ṛtusaṁhāra* (Ṛtu) of Kālidāsa is prefaced with the General Introduction by S. Radhakrishnan (pp. xi-xli) giving an account of Kālidāsa's date, works and life and an appreciation and evaluation of Kālidāsa as a classical poet.

In the Editor's Note (pp. xliii-lxxii) Prof. Dwivedi gives a brief account of the sixteen (16) editions of Ṛtu with his own observations, which were published in India and abroad during the last two centuries, the thirty (30) manuscripts that he consulted before settling the textual readings, the four broad categories of recensions, the method of editing, Sanskrit commentaries on the Ṛtu, the various titles of Ṛtu like *Viśeṣa-Kāvya, Ṛtu-varṇana, Ṛtusaṁghata* and the like. the titles of the six parts of the poem appropriately named after the six seasons adding *varṇanā* (description) to the name of each season. The poem is also known by other names such as *Ṛtu varṇana, Ṛtusaṁghāta Viśeṣa-Kāvya,* and the like.

Prof. Dwivedi then briefly discusses the problem of Kālidāsa's date showing his preference for 150 to 57 B. C. as the period when Kālidāsa flourished. After the Editor's Note we have a list of Abbreviations (pp. lxv-lxvii) and yet another list of changes effected in the present text (pp. lxviii-lxxii).

The text proper and references to the sources of the text and variant readings, noted just below the text in a smaller type, cover 144 pages.

Three useful appendices are added at the end. They respectively relate to Metres (I), quarters of all stanzas (II) and Terms (III). These appendices cover pages from 147 to 183.

Dr. R. P. Dwivedi, formerly Professor and Head, Department of Sanskrit

Sāhitya (Literature and Poetics) is universally known for his allround and profound study of Kālidāsa's works, both poetic and dramatic. Endowed with keen insight into textual criticism he has critically edited with documentation the text of the *Ṛtusaṁhāra* based on 30 manuscripts and 16 printed editions, published during the past two hundred years. It is no exaggeration to say that his is a standard and perhaps the best of all the editions of western as well as Indian scholars.

We warmly congratulate Prof. R. P. Dwivedi for his excellent edition. It comes to us in a beautiful form.

V. M. Kulkarni

ARCHITECTURE AND ART OF SOUTHERN INDIA, GEORGE MICHELL, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1995, xxii + 302 pages, 200 illustrations, Rs. 795.

The study of arts of the later Hindu courts of Southern India which flourished between the 14th and 18th centuries is almost neglected or cursorily dealt with in books on general history of Indian art. It is refreshing therefore to see this book giving a detailed treatment to the architecture and art under the Vijayanagara and successive states covering a period of four hundred years. George Michell, well known architecture historian who is presently preparing an encyclopedia volume with Prof. M. A. Dhaky on Vijayanagara and Nāyaka temples, presents a systematic account of the religious and royal architecture, sculpture, and painting of Southern India in this well-illustrated and lucidly written volume. He brings to light a lot of hitherto unpublished and undocumented material on the subject, encompassing parts of the four southern states : Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu and Kerala.

Outlining the overall historical trends of Vijayanagara and Nāyaka periods in a chapter devoted to the chronological framework, Michell remarks : "The widespread distribution of power is of particular consequence for the development of the arts during this era. Such circumstances encouraged individuals at different levels to give visible form to their political ambitions by acting as artistic patrons." He retains dynastic appellations, especially for religious and royal architecture, but clarifies that it does not mean that "artistic development at this time invariably coincided with dynastic history."

Chapters 3 and 4 focus on temple architecture surveying monuments in the Kannada and Telugu zones, and those in the Tamil zone. Within these respective linguistic zones, the temples are studied according to the patronage of different dynastic rulers, governors and local chiefs. Michell notes a conscious revival of past forms in the temples of the Vijayanagara period which rely

on Tamil modes harking back to Cola and Pāṇḍya times. Also under the Nāyakas, the forms of temple *vimānas* (sanctums) are designed in accordance with traditional practice, replicating 10th-12th century schemes. But in the case of other parts of the religious complex, i.e. *maṇḍapas* (halls) and *gopuras,* new techniques and innovations are noticeable. Michell discusses the historical development of the religious building activity at the Vijayanagara capital and different provincial centres. Buildings at Penukonda, Gorantala, Kalahasti, Tadapatri, Lepakshi, Somapalem, Tirupati, Srirangam, Tiruvannmalai, Kanchipuram, Vellore and many other sites are surveyed illustrating their plans and photographs. Some variant forms are highlighted, for instance, at Sringeri, Karkala and Bhatkal. The prolific building activity under the Nāyakas of Gingee, Thanjavur and Madurai is studied in detail.

An important contribution of the book consists in its coverage on the architecture of palaces, their fortified settings and also on granaries, towers and audience halls, although there is a scarcity of material compared to the abudance of temples. The author provides plans of fortified urban centres such as Vijayanagara, Gingee and Vellore. He notices two completely different building traditions in the palace architecture of the period - one is indigenous while the other borrows from the Bahmani kingdom of the Deccan. Both these traditions - South Indian and of the Deccan - blend in the royal architecture of Vijayanagara, Penukonda and Chandragiri. There is also an interaction with vernacular traditions at Thanjavur, Madurai and Shimoga.

The chapter on sculpture traces its stylistic development and reveals, again, a continuation of earlier artistic traditions and the invention of some new types. Some of the sculptures of this period are imitations of the Cola and Pāṇḍya prototypes. The author describes sculptures under different categories such as monoliths, stelae, narrative panels, columns and piers with figural themes, giving examples from different temples. He points out that the most original contribution of the 17th century sculpture was the development of formal portraiture into a major art form. Several portraits of royal kings, queens and other donors, and saints, both Hindu and Jaina, were made both in stone and bronze. The author takes into account bronzes and ivories of the period which are in temples, museums and private collections.

Narrative themes were favoured in this period and we find their vivid depiction in sculptural panels and painting on ceilings, cloths and manuscripts. In his chapters on sculpture and painting, George Michell gives details of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata* cycles, incarnations of Viṣṇu, myths of Śiva, lives of saints and royal themes.

The chapter on painting adds new discoveries and the recently found material at Ramanathapuram, Tiruppudaimarudar and other sites. Michell admits that the understanding of the development of pictorial art of the period is

hampered by uncertain chronology. There is on-going renewal process in temples which replaces earlier works. Fortunately, there are some dated examples, as for instance, a scroll of A. D. 1644, now in the Mittal collection at Hyderabad, and an illustrated *Mahābhārata* manuscript of A. D. 1669. Michell compares paintings on ceilings, cloths and manuscripts to find common features in compositional devices and colour schemes, in spite of obvious differences in scale and techniques. Variations in style were, to some extent, regionally determined. The imported modes derived from the Deccan, as introduced by the Marathas in the 17th century, co-existed with indigenous styles. Direct European influence is seen mainly on cotton textiles for export, but not on major arts.

Because of the vast canvass and a wide range of material, seemingly divergent, which he covers, George Michell is able to arrive at certain broad conclusions on stylistic movements or processes which he notices in the field of temple and palace architecture, sculpture and painting of the period. He observes the three stylistic processes : (1) the first process looks backwards in time to past forms; (2) the second looks forward in time and innovates forms; (3) the third process results in a stylistic synthesis and integration. There are also a set of unifying themes that are used in different media which lead to artistic coherence. The themes of particular significance, according to Michell, are : (1) the architectural frame for figures, both divine and royal; (2) the portraits of royal persons; (3) the ubiquitous motif of *yāli* (mythical composite creature). Michell concludes : "The interaction between stylistic processes and unifying themes may be taken as crucial to the aesthetic personality of the era."

There is an extensive bibliographical essay which will be useful to researchers. The book is valuable for its comprehensive treatment of the various arts of this neglected but interesting period of Southern India.

Devangana Desai

MYTHS, SAINTS AND LEGENDS IN MEDIEVAL INDIA, CHARLOTTE VANDEVILLE, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1996, pp. 334, Rs. 545.

The volume presents, for the first time, a graphic description of the different myths that had developed in the cult of Krṣṇa of Braj region in Uttar Pradesh and the cult of Viṭhobā in the Pandharpur area in Maharashtra. The book contains three parts. Part I, entitled 'The Lord of Govardhan Hill', consists of six essays. In the first essay 'The cowherd God in Ancient India' the author tries to explain the gradual development of the cult of Krṣṇa in Braj. On the basis of the available iconic and epigraphical evidences she believes that

the cult must have developed in two stages. In the first stage the primitive cult of Kṛṣṇa-Gopāla was closely connected with the cults of pre-Āryan divinities in Mathura region. Those divinities were Pāśupata-Rudra, the great goddess Durgā, and the Nāga deity Balarāma who was then identified with Govardhanagiri, as he was said to dwell within it. In the second stage the cult of Kṛṣṇa-Gopāla was absorbed into the Vaiṣṇavite cycle towards the end of the Gupta period. In 'Braj, Lost and Found' the author traces the history of Mathura and its surrounding area for its association with the myth of Kṛṣṇa. The next long essay in this volume, 'The Govardhan myth in Northern India' is very interesting and very informative. In this the author explains two different traditions that are followed with regard to the legend of Govardhanagiri. According to the first tradition which is followed till today in Braj, Govardhanagiri is Śrī Kṛṣṇa and Śrī Kṛṣṇa is Govardhanagiri. The worship of it is done on the next day of Dīpāvali with the offering of *'Chappan Bhog'* to the Giriraj for the well-being of the cattle. According to the second tradition which is followed in the Puṣṭimārga propagated by Mahāprabhu Vallabhācārya the *svarūpa* of Govardhanjī had emerged out of the Govardhan hill in the own form of Śrī Kṛṣṇa. This sect believes that Śrī Kṛṣṇa chose to manifest his divine form in this manner. They call this *svarūpa* 'Śrī Nāthjī.' Actually, this *svarūpa* called *'mukhāravinda'* (Blessed mouth) in Braj area by Brajavāsīs was first discovered by the local Brajavāsīs. But Śrī Mādhavendra Puri, the Gauḍīya preacher, was the first ācārya to arrive on the spot and to establish the *sevā* of the deity on a proper Vaiṣṇava basis. This *svarūpa* was first worshipped as a local deity by the Brajavāsīs. Afterwards under the leadership of Śrī Vallabhācārya and his son Viṭṭhalanāthjī the *svarūpa* was shifted to Mewar, where a temple was built in the Aravalli hills, later known as Nāthdvāra. The essay on Kṛṣṇa-Gopāla, Rādhā and the great Goddess informs the readers of the ritual calendar related to the worship of Devī and the connection between the great Goddess and Kṛṣṇa, the pastoral deity. The last two essays describe various approaches to understand the myth of Śrī Nāthjī (or Govardhanjī) and its link with the Nāga deity which is still preserved in the cult practice. It also deals with various local deities and cults which had been prevalent in Braj area.

Part II consists of three essays. The first one entitled "Pandharpur, City of Saints" deals with the uncompromised *bhakti* of the mystic saints of Maharashtra which is evolved in the image of Viṭhobā and the sacred land of Pandharpur and the same is expressed in their *abhaṅgas*.

The author draws our attention to the prevalence of earlier cults of Śiva and Hanumān in this area on the basis of many Śaivite shrines around the Viṭṭhala's temple. The standing icon of Viṭhobā with a Śivaliṅga on his headgear exhibits a synthesis of Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism. The book further informs us about different traditional legends evolved around Viṭhobā's enshrinement in

the temple among which the Vārkarī legend is very important to understand. This is the only group in all over the Maharashtra State that comes to Pandharpur with *pālkins* of great saints and it is believed that Viṭhobā himself standing on the brick is waiting for them. In the second essay the author narrates the life of an untouchable saint called Cokhāmelā of Mahar caste whose *samādhi* is an open air shrine across the lane which borders the temple and is attended by Mahar priests. The last essay of this section deals with the Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava cults of the saints and explains how gradually their Śaiva faith merged into non-sectarian Vaiṣṇava *bhakti.*

Part III describes various ballads and legends of North India, Rajasthan and Gujarat which are focused on different topics of the social life. The book is very informative and focused on very delicate issues pertaining to Braj and Pandharpur. But in the description of Śrī Nāthjī of Nāthdvāra the author may have to understand with insight the symbolic significance of the icon and its accessories.

Haripriya Rangarajan

NIRGRANTHA, Vol. I, Ed. M. A. DHAKY and JITENDRA SHAH, published by Sharadaben Chimanbhai Educational Research Centre, 'Darshan', Shahibag, Ahmedabad 380004, 1995; in English, Gujarati, Hindi; pages 108 + 110 + 62, black & white photographs, Rs. 150.

This is the first issue of *Nirgrantha,* the research journal of Jainological as well as other Indological studies of related interests. When the two scholars, Dhaky and Shah, devote their time to bring out a journal, we get such an admirable production. The issue felicitates the reputed scholar Pt. Dalsukh Malvaniya.

The title ''Nirgrantha'' was selected because 'in ancient times this is how the followers of Jainism were known.' The scope of the Journal, as the Editors specify, consists of the Jaina *āgamas,* their linguistic and structural aspects, doctrines, monastic discipline, historical aspects, Nirgrantha authors, cultural data gleaned from texts, epigraphy, religious art, iconography, and related areas.

The present issue carries 11 articles in English, 15 in Gujarati, and 8 in Hindi dealing with different aspects of Jaina studies, mainly of Western Indian region - Gujarat and Rajasthan - though there are articles dealing with material from other regions also. It has articles on Ardhamāgadhī, Prakrit and Apabhraṁśa languages, texts and terminology, on the authorship and date of works such as *Nyāyāvatāra,* on the Nirgrantha scholars Mallavadī Kṣamakṣamaṇa and Bappabhaṭṭisūri. Of historical and cultural interest are the

stotras such as *Śatruñjaya caitya paripāṭī stotra* and *Puṇḍarīkaśikharī stotra* reproduced in the Volume along with comments. Such *stotras* in Sanskrit and *gītas* in old Gujarati give us lively descriptions of sanctuaries, images, local divinities, pillar decorations, and other architectural details which a devotee meets with in his *pradakṣiṇā* of the pilgrimage centre. The Volume also brings to light several unpublished inscriptions of the Jaina images of Ghogha, Kakoni, and the six epigraphs of V.S. 1646 of Pātshāh Akbar's time. Articles on sculpture, iconography, Gujarati painting, and Sanskrit drama in Medieval Gujarat are noteworthy.

Apart from the Jaina studies there are articles on non-religious, secular Prakrit literature on science, medicine, astronomy, habits of animals and birds, etc., and on the account of the Brahmanical Purāṇas on the Buddhist and Jaina sects, and also on the Brahmanical gods and goddesses as mentioned in the Jaina *Mahāpurāṇa*.

We congratulate the editors and the sponsoring institute of this publication and welcome this new entry in the field of Indological research.

Devangana Desai

THE GOOD PARSI, T. M. LUHRMANN, Harvard University Press, London, 1996, pp. x + 317, price not stated.

This is an excellent, very well documented account of the Parsis in India. Tanya Luhrmann has used her expertise as an anthropologist to critically assess the community, its achievements and its current position, though not all the conclusions she assumes are valid.

She begins with a very well argued chapter on the "Colonised Soul" and searches deeply for the impact of colonisation on Parsis in particular. Her statement that Parsis aimed at one day being Englishmen and their realisation that they could not, is not really fair or correct. Throughout the colonial period the Parsis both admired and challenged the colonial power, as history has proved. She rightly states that the Parsis will not like this book, and neither do I think will their fellow Indians. She goes on to assess the current position of the community. She seems to have found them speaking of themselves as 'effeminate, emasculated, weak', giving a picture of a fragile and beleaguered identity that looks uneasily at the future. She also claims to see in them an 'alienation from modern India.' On the contrary, one sees today, especially amongst the young, a very strong bond with other communities with much social and even marital relationships.

The next chapter describes the historical background of Zoroastrianism

and the Parsis. She is a bit too facile in concluding, as most western scholars, that Zoroastrianism is a dualistic religion, which Parsis on the whole reject. She goes on however to give a fair enough account of the ethical and dogmatic part of the religion. A brieft account is also given of the Zoroastrian Persian Empire and its achievements.

She has not been able to correctly assess the early settlements of Parsis in Gujarat and too easily questions how an 'impoverished, low status community' could be a part of Akbar's religious community. There is very well documented evidence, no doubt in Gujarati, on the high status of the Meherjirana family and the generally well-to-do level of the community in Surat and Navsari by the late 16th and early 17th centuries. She then goes on to give a fairly accurate account of the achievements of the community in Bombay, particularly in the late 18th and 19th centuries. Some of the problems of the Parsis today are discussed in depth. The dilemma of decreasing numbers of the community and tradition, intermarriage, conversions, are major current problems of the community. In the last chapters Luhrmann talks of the post-colonial Parsis in and outside India and their desire to maintain their Zoroastrian heritage as well as adjust to the compulsion of a plural society. She concludes with a discussion of anthropology in flux and a repositioning of anthropology. Though controversial, the book is definitely a valuable addition to the understanding of a minute, but still vibrant community which is very much a part of the Indian ethos.

Mani Kamerkar

A STUDY OF JAYANTA BHAṬṬA'S NYĀYAMAÑJARĪ, A Mature Sanskrit Work on Indian Logic, Part III, by NAGIN J. SHAH, published by Sanskrit-Sanskriti Granthmala, Ahmedabad, 1997, pp. 10+214, Rs. 198.

Dr. Nagin J. Shah is one of the most distinguished Sanskritists and Indologists of the country. His works on classical philosophical texts are well known. The present publication by him is the result of many years of assiduous research on Jayanta Bhaṭṭa who is one the most celebrated names in the history of Indian philosophy. He is generally supposed to have flourished in Kashmir in the second half of the 9th century and is known to have lived in the reign of king Śaṅkaravarman (885-902 A. D.). From the account given by Jayanta's son Abhinanda we learn that he belonged to a distinguished family of scholars. Of his three extant works *Nyāyamañjarī* is the best known. It is in the form of a commentary or Vṛtti on selected sūtras of Gotama, but the Vṛtti ranges freely over all the important philosophical controversies of the time. The object of the Vṛttikāra is to establish the principles of the Nyāya system by criticizing rival systems. It may be recalled that the Nyāyasūtras

commented upon by Vātsyāyana had been criticized by the Buddhist philosopher Dignāga and although Uddyotakara rebutted these criticisms Dharmakīrti renewed the Buddhist attack. Vācaspati Miśra and Udayana counterattacked from the side of Nyāya. Of these philosophers the former apparently lived in the earlier part of the 9th century and his work was known to Jayanta. Udayana flourished later in the 10th century.

Jayanta Bhaṭṭa, thus, lived in the heyday of philosophical debate in which the principal contenders were the schools of Nyāya, Mīmāṃsā and Buddhism, although the Vedāntins had also lately entered the lists. *Nyāyamañjarī* provides vivid glimpses of the philosophical scene of the times. What is more it also reveals the ancient system of Nyāya at its high watermark. *Nyāyamañjarī* is famous not only for its incisive logic and forceful arguments but also for its sparkling style which uses idiom and metaphor with great effect.

However, despite its manifold significance the *Nyāyamañjarī* has not received the attention of modern translators and commentators. The present work of Dr. Shah, thus, fulfills a long-standing need. It would help to make *Nyāyamañjarī* accessible to all serious students of classical Indian philosophy. Dr. Shah has published his study in three parts. The first part appeared in 1992 and dealt with the first Āhnika of *Nyāyamañjarī*. The second part in 1995 studied the second and third Āhnikas. The third and final part has appeared now and deals with the issues contained in the rest of the text such as the validity of the Vedas, the problem of the universals and word meaning, the categories - ontological, soteriological and logical. Just as Jayanta takes up selected sūtras to discuss important issues, similarly Dr. Shah takes up the text of Jayanta to elucidate his important ideas and arguments. The original references at the end of the volumes, thus, become a brief and systematic summary of the text for recapitulation and reflection.

The principal adversary of the Naiyāyika was the Buddhist. Dr. Shah points out that Jayanta was the first to clearly refute the Buddhist identification of Pramāṇa with right cognition (Shah, I, p. 20) and to argue that Pramāṇa is the collocation of factors, sentient and insentient leading to right cognition. The Buddhist conception of perception with its rigid separation *(vyavasthā)* of perception and judgement (Shah, II, p. 42 ff), and the Buddhist search for the grounds of the non-deviance of the probans from the probandum are rejected by Jayanta (Shah, II, p. 64 ff). The Buddhist doctrine of momentariness was the basis of their rejection of the notion of eternal universals, which in turn necessitated the doctrine of *apoha*. Jayanta establishes the reality of the universals by pointing out that the perception of common features among members of the same class is admitted by all and further that arguing from the Savikalpaka to the Nirvikalpaka one may conclude that the latter has as its object what the former determines.

Like Buddhists the Mīmāṁsakas were also redoubtable opponents of the Naiyāyikas. The authority and agelessness of the Vedas were accepted by both but the logicians rejected the Mīmāṁsaka notion of the uncreated eternity of the Veda which they held to be authored by God. *"Vaidikyo racanāḥ kartṛpūrvikāḥ, racanātvāt laukika racanāvat."* (Shah, III, pp. 1-12)

It is interesting to note in this connection that Jayanta argues for the equal or even superior authority of the *Atharvaveda*. Since the greater part of orthodox social behaviour was regulated by the Dharmaśāstras and the Purāṇas, Jayanta argues for their authority and then goes on to consider the question of the authority of the remaining non-Vedic texts divisible into a pro-Vedic and an anti-Vedic group. The former comprises the scriptures and Purāṇas of Śaivas, Pāñcarātras, etc. Jayanta considers these texts authentic though not as authoritative as Manu etc. Although he attributes the authorship of the sectarian scriptures to God, he feels that they prescribe certain rituals which are not universally accepted. Hence their lower status in comparison to Manu, etc. About anti-Vedic scriptures, Jayanta argues that only those scriptural texts can be said to be composed by an authoritative person which are regarded as authentic by the *mahājana* (= majority of the people or the noble people) (Shah, III, p. 18). The *mahājana* comprises those who accept the four Varṇas and Āśramas. Even the Buddhists do so in practice else they would not discriminate against the *cāṇḍālas*. The argument of Jayanta tends towards the liberal acceptance of the relevance of all the *āgamas* for the purpose of spiritual practice. *"Tathā hi apavaraga upeyaḥ sarva-śāstreṣu. Tad upāyaḥ sarvatra jñānam upadiśyate."*

This is just an illustration of how interesting and revealing is the study which Dr. Shah has presented not only from a logical but also from a cultural point of view. Dr. Shah has presented an important text in its wide ranging context with full mastery. He is at home in the different philosophical schools discussed, and his mastery of the language and tradition of Nyāya and Buddhism enables him to create before the reader a fascinating panorama of ancient philosophical discussions. He deserves to be congratulated for his remarkable achievement. His work will undoubtedly remain a standard work of reference for a long time to come.

G. C. Pande

DRAMA AND RITUAL OF EARLY HINDUISM, NATALIA LIDOVA, (Foreword by Kapila Vatsyayan), Motilal Banarsidass Publishers Private Ltd., Delhi, First Edition, 1994, Reprint 1996, pp. 141, Rs. 145.

Indian theatre has a hoary past. It was before the beginning of the Christian

era that the practice and principles of theatre art were compiled under the title of *Nātyaśāstra*. This compilation though initiated by Bharata, possibly has swelled in subsequent centuries to accommodate later developments in the art and practice of dramaturgy. It was also called Nātyaveda indicating thereby that it had the sanctity of the Vedas. It continued to nourish the tradition of drama and other performing arts in this land.

Bharata's *Nātyaśāstra* has evoked a number of critical studies by western authors and scholars from the beginning of this century. Max Müller, R. Pischel, H. Luders, S. Levi and A. B. Keith have presented their hypotheses regarding the sources of Sanskrit drama. While Pischel and Luders believed that Sanskrit drama evolved from puppet or shadow shows, the other scholars as Max Müller, S. Levi and Keith trace Sanskrit drama to religious rites. All these scholars have also elaborately expressed themselves on two points : (1) whether the Sanskrit drama had a ritualistic of secular background, and (2) when and in what ethnic and cultural milieu it first emerged.

The author of the book under review has, it seems, studied the earlier authors in extenso and has gained enough insight to arrive at her own conclusions. She studied the text of *Nātyaśāstra* threadbare and could trace certain finer links between the tradition of Sanskrit drama and *yajña/pūjā* relationship.

In the Introduction, Natalia Lidova refers to Kuiper's 'Varuṇa and Vidūṣaka' (1979) and draws our attention to his conclusion that the first dramas were scenic representations of the Vedic cosmogony. The *Nātyaśāstra* rituals, according to him, were equivalent to *yajña* though no specific *yajña* is mentioned in *Nātyaśāstra*. Lidova, however differs with this and points out that *yajña* and *pūjā* were topical at different stages of evolution and that *yajña* was central in Vedic era as a ceremonial rite, while *pūjā* became widespread in the post-Vedic times as the basic Hindu ritual (p. 6).

The author points out that the Sanskrit verbal root *'pūj'* might not be so well rooted in Vedic or later Sanskrit, in as much as, it is not traceable in other Indo-Aryan languages. It is germane to Dravidian languages, where *pu* means a flower and *ge* means sacrifice. *Pūjā* therefore, in Tamil would mean a flower sacrifice. The author further states that the *'pūjā'* in *'pūrvaraṅga'* of a drama has necessarily Dravidian and not Vedic influence. She elaborately describes all rites that have been laid down in *Pūrvaraṅga* and shows how they are more related to Āgamic *pūjā* than to the sacrificial rites. The comparison of *jarjarā*, the flag staff of Indra, with *yūpa* by earlier writers, Kuiper in particular, also reveals more of Āgamic influence on its mode of worship as detailed in the *Nātyaśāstra*.

The author has analysed the contents of the *Nātyaśāstra* and placed her findings in three chapters. In chapter I she describes rituals in the *Pūrvaraṅga*

quite elaborately and traces them to Āgamic sources. The mythical sources as appear to have been adopted for the earlier drama are the subject matter of the second chapter. The myths of the 'churning of the ocean' and of the 'burning of Tripura' have been analysed and their variations in various dramatic performances have been studied. The third chapter correlates the ritual drama with early Hindu culture. Here, the author considers again the genesis of the *pūjā* rites and traces the influence of theatre of templar architecture as also the influence of dramatic presentations on later iconography. A comparison has been drawn between musical accompaniments in drama and artistic performances in temples.

The book is foreworded by Kapila Vatsyayan, who appreciates the author's zeal in interpreting the text of *Nāṭyaśāstra* in a fascinating manner and analysing the different types of Nāṭaka genre, such as *Samavakāra, Ḍima, Īhāmṛga* as stage versions of Vedic myths.

The book contains valuable notes, bibliography and an index that would help scholars for further studies. The book, indeed, is a valuable addition to *Nāṭyaśāstra* literature and should stimulate further research in the field.

N. B. Patil

Acknowledgement of Books Received

1. *Feeding the Baniya : Peasants and Userers in Western India,* by David Hardiman, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1996, Rs. 545.

2. *Vaidikatva in Indian Philosophy and Religion,* edited by Dr. S. G. Mudgal, Aarsh, Gandhinagar, 1996, Rs. 90.

TRANSLITERATION OF THE
SANSKRIT AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

अ	a	औ	au	ठ	ṭh	भ	bh
आ	ā	क	k	ड	ḍ	म	m
इ	i	ख	kh	ढ	ḍh	य	y
ई	ī	ग	g	ण	ṇ	र	r
उ	u	घ	gh	त	t	ल	l
ऊ	ū	ङ	ṅ	थ	th	व	v.
ऋ	ṛ	च	c	द	d	श	ś
ॠ	ṝ	छ	ch	ध	dh	ष	ṣ
ऌ	ḷ	ज	j	न	n	स	s
ए	e	झ	jh	प	p	ह	h
ऐ	ai	ञ	ñ	फ	ph	ळ	ḷ
ओ	o	ट	ṭ	ब	b		

ं	(Anusvāra)	ṁ	×	(Jihvāmūliya)	ẖ
	(Anunāsika)	m	≍	(Upadhmānīya)	ẖ
ः	(Visarga)	ḥ	ऽ	(Avagraha)	'

TRANSLITERATION OF ARABIC AND
ALLIED ALPHABETS

ARABIC

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

PERSIAN

پ	p	چ	ch	ژ	zh	گ	g

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