(Established in 1804)

JOURNAL

OF THE

ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BOMBAY

Editors
V. M. KULKARNI
DEVANGANA DESAI

JOURNAL

OF THE

ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BOMBAY

Editors
V. M. KULKARNI
DEVANGANA DESAI

Statement showing ownership and other particulars about the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay

FORM IV

(See Rule 8)

1.	Place of Publication	Mumbai
2.	Periodicity of Publication	Annual
3.	Printer's Name Nationality Address	Smt. Shailaja G. Barve Indian 41, Budhwar Peth, Jogeshwari Lane, Pune, 411 002
4.	Publisher's Name Nationality Address	Smt. Vimal N. Shah Indian Hon. Secretary, The Asiatic Society of Bombay, Town Hall, Fort, Mumbai, 400 023
5.	Editors' Names Nationality Address	Dr. V. M. Kulkarni, Dr. Devangana Desai Indian The Asiatic Society of Bombay, Town Hall, Fort, Mumbai, 400 023
6.	Names and Addresses of individuals who own the newspaper and partners, shareholders holding more than one percent of the total capital	The Asiatic Society of Bombay Town Hall, Fort, Mumbai, 400 023 Maharashtra State (India)

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

Vimal N. Shah,
Signature of Publisher

CONTENTS
Volume 73/1998

Articles

Reviews

Our Contributors

1. **Dr. (Smt.) Indira S. Aiyar**
   801, Prabhukutir,
   15, Altamount Rd.,
   Mumbai, 400 026

2. **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

3. **Dr. Sadashiv A. Dange**
   Retd. Prof. & Head of the Dept.
   of Sanskrit, Pali & Prakrit,
   University of Bombay;
   Girnar, Gokhale Road,
   Mulund (East), Mumbai, 400 081

4. **Dr. (Smt.) Sindhu S. Dange**
   Retd. Prof. & Head of the Dept.
   of Sanskrit, Pali & Prakrit,
   University of Bombay;
   Girnar, Gokhale Road,
   Mulund (East), Mumbai, 400 081

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

6. **Prof. M. A. Dhaky**
   Director (Emeritus),
   American Institute of Indian Studies,
   Plot No. 22, Sector 32,
   Institutional Area,
   Gurgaon, 122 001
   (Haryana State)

7. **Shri Sadashiv Gorakshkar**
   Formerly Director,
   Prince of Wales Museum of
   Western India;
   Project Consultant,
   Goa State Museum,
   Plato Plaza, Panaji,
   Goa 403 001

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. **Prof. V. N. Jha**
   Director, Centre of Advanced
   Study in Sanskrit,
   Univ. of Poona, Pune, 411 007.
   Raj Heritage, opp. Shankar Math
   Bhusari Colony, Paud Road,
   Pune, 411 029

10. **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

11. **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

12. **Prof. M. A. Mehendale**
    Bhandarkar Oriental
    Research Institute,
    Pune, 411 004

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

14. **Dr. S. G. Mudgal**
Ananthacharya Indological
Research Institute,
Somani School Building,
Cuffe Parade, Mumbai, 400 005

15. **Dr. (Smt.) Gail Omvedt**
Head of Dept. of Sociology,
University of Pune,
Ganeshkhind, Pune, 411 007

16. **Dr. Pratapaditya Pal**
Norton Simon Museum,
411, West Colorado Boulevard,
Pasadena, CA 91105-1825

17. **Shri Vasanta Parikh**
Opp. Lohana Boarding,
Hari Road, Amreli, 365 601

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

19. **Dr. (Smt.) Haripriya Rangarajan**
Raj Bhavan,
Andhra Pradesh,
Hyderabad, 500 041

20. **Dr. Nagin J. Shah**
23, Valkeshwar Society,
Ambawadi, Ahmedabad, 380 015

21. **Prof. Ajay Mitra Shastri**
'Prachi', 23 Vidya Vihar,
Rana Pratap Nagar,
Nagpur, 440 022

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

23. **Dr. (Smt.) Varsha Shirgaonkar**
208/B, Bldg. No. 39
Shivam, Swami Samarth Nagar,
Andheri (West),
Mumbai, 400 058

24. **Prof. S. K. Sullerey**
C-4 University Colony,
Pachpedi,
Jabalpur, 482 001
Madhya Pradesh

25. **Dr. Vidya Vencatesan**
324, Samudra Mahal,
Dr. Annie Besant Road,
Worli, Mumbai, 400 018

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

Photographs courtesy :

1. American Institute of Indian Studies, Gurgaon
   Plates II, A & B, III A & B, IV, V

2. Dr. Devangana Desai
   Plate I

3. Dr. Devendra Handa
   Plate VI

4. Los Angeles Country Museum of Art, California
   Plate IX

5. Norton Simon Museum, Pasadena, California
   Plates VII, VIII

6. Dr. Pratapaditya Pal
   Plate X

7. Dr. Anila Verghese
   Plates XI A & B, XII A & B, XIII

KĀLIDĀSA'S RAGHUVAMŚA IN THE LIGHT OF THE RĀMĀYAṆA - A FEW OBSERVATIONS ON THE PRESENTATION OF THE THEME

JAYA CHEMBURKAR

1. The *Rāmāyaṇa* (*Rāmā.*)[1] of Vālmīki has deeply influenced the religious and moral thought of India. It has also been a source of inspiration to a large number of literary productions in various languages of India. It enjoys the position of being called an Ādikāvya and its poet Vālmīki, as an Ādikavi.

2. Vālmīki has referred to the dynasty of Ikṣvākus who were great men and Rāma was born there (*Rāmā.* I.5.3). He has also referred to the ancestors of Rāma (*Rāmā.* I. 70. 38-43). But in his *Rāmāyaṇa* he has neither described the ancestors of Rāma, nor did he describe Rāma's descendants. He has dealt with the life of the king Daśaratha, because the king Daśaratha happened to be the father of the hero of his poem. Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* deals with the story of Rāma. This is indicated in the second canto of the Bālakāṇḍa where we are told that Vālmīki was asked by the god Brahmā to compose a story on the life of Rāma (*rāmasya caritam kṛtsnam kuru tvamṛṣi-sattama, Rāmā.* I.2.35b, also 41,42). We are further told that the sage Vālmīki composed a story on the life of Rāma (*Rāmā.* I.4.1) who was an embodiment of high ideals of the Aryan life.

The Rāmāyaṇa and The Raghuvaṁśa

3. Now about Kālidasa, the master of poetic art; we know that he had great admiration and regard for great men who always held in high esteem values in life, and lived life, noble and sublime. The Ikṣvāku kings have been described as great kings by Vālmīki (*Rāmā.* I.5.3) as observed above.[2] Kālidāsa, therefore chose to compose a poem 'Raghuvaṁśa' (*Rg.*) - about the dynasty of the kings born in the Raghu dynasty (*raghūnāmanvayam vakṣye, Rg.* I.9.) who were pure from birth, who offered oblations to Fire, who accumulated wealth for giving away, who abided by truth, who cared more for their reputation etc. etc. (*Rg.* I.5-9). Thus unlike the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Kālidāsa wanted to give a brief account of almost all the kings of the solar race of which Rāmakathā only formed a part. He has made it clear in the beginning of his poem that he was going to write the history of the kings born in the line of the sun in general and not a particular king of the line. Kālidāsa has not mentioned anywhere that he has based his *Raghuvaṁśa* on the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki. At the beginning of the

Raghuvaṁśa, Kālidāsa has referred to his Pūrvasūris (predecessors) (*Rg.* I.4.), who have dealt with the Raghu dynasty. According to the genealogy of Rāma, given in the *Rāma.*, Raghu was the son of Kakutstha and the grandson of Dilīpa and nearly thirteen kings intervened between Raghu and Aja. (*Rāma.* I. 70.38-43), while according to Kālidāsa Raghu was the son of Dilīpa and Kakutstha appears to be an ancient ancestor of Dilīpa (*Rg.* VI. 71, 74); and Aja was the son of Raghu himself. Kālidāsa's list of kings generally agrees with those which are found in the *Vāyu Purāṇa* and the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (their older versions which were current in the days of Kālidāsa), with some difference. At the end of The *Raghuvaṁśa*, only the kings upto Agnivarṇa have been described, but many others referred to by the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* are not to be found in Kālidāsa's work. Thus it is obvious that Kālidāsa was indebted to works other than Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa*, for his description of Rāma's ancestors and descendants, but he has drawn upon the *Rāmāyaṇa* for describing the life of Daśaratha and Rāma. It must be remembered here that Kālidāsa borrowed only the raw material in the form out-line of those stories with which he has built a beautiful edifice in the form of an epic.

4. Since Vālmīki proposed to compose a poem only on the Rāmakathā, he has not described the lives of the kings Dilīpa, Raghu and Aja, but Kālidāsa's intention being different, he has devoted the first eight cantos for the description of the noble lives of Dilīpa, Raghu and Aja. From the dialogue between the king Dilīpa and the Lion, and from the meeting of the king Raghu and Kautsa, Kālidāsa's keen desire to convey to his readers certain philosophy of life is seen. Through these dramatic situations Kālidāsa has presented to his readers ideals for which a man should live. He managed to impress his readers without posing to be a teacher of morals.

5. **The Ninth Canto** of the *Raghuvaṁśa* describes the life of the kings Daśaratha. Here we have a description of Daśaratha's hunting expedition followed by Śravaṇa episode. It may be pointed out here that the Śravaṇa episode has been inserted differently by the two poets. According to both, the king Daśaratha is said to have discharged his arrow against the ascetic boy Śravaṇa, by mistake, when he (Śravaṇa) was taking water of the river Tamasā, for his old blind parents. Vālmīki has introduced this episode while describing the death of the king Daśaratha. The king Daśaratha, a little while before his death, while explaining to Sumitrā, the cause of his miserable death due to his separation from his son, narrated to her the 'Śravaṇa-episode', and told her that he was cursed by Śravaṇa's parents in the past. This was certainly not an occasion for a poetic description of hunting expedition and that is why there is no detailed description of the king's hunting expedition in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. We have in the *Rāmā.* a bare narration of how by mistake the king shot down Śravaṇa and incurred a curse from his parents.

6. In the *Raghuvaṁśa,* on the other hand, Kālidāsa has first described a spring festival, wherein he has described the beauty of the spring season. Then he tells us that after having enjoyed the festivities of the spring season, the king Daśaratha longed for the pleasure of hunting (*Rg.* IX. 48); and then follows the description of the king's hunting expedition as a matter of the king's pastime and the Śrāvaṇa-episode occurs as a consequence of the king's hunting. The king committed a blunder in shooting down Śrāvaṇa. According to the *Rāmā.* the boy died on the spot and afterwards the king carried his parents to their dead son. But Kālidāsa has made the horror-striken king carry Śrāvaṇa with the dart still unextricated from his heart, to his parents (*Rg.*IX. 77,78) and explain the particulars of the occurence and stand remorseful before them. The father of the boy pronounced a curse on the king Daśaratha as - "you too will die like me grieving for your son", (*Rg.* IX. 79b). The king was childless and naturally looked upon the curse as a blessing in as much as it must give him a son if the words of the sage were to come true (*Rg.* IX. 80). By shifting the Śrāvaṇa-episode from its original context in the *Rāmā.* as observed above,[3] Kālidāsa has described it as consequence of the King's pastime viz. hunting. Here in the *Raghuvaṁśa,* hunting is not a past event, actual hunting by the king in his young age is described. This has created a situation for the poet for poetic description of hunting in forests. Secondly, by making the king carry Śrāvaṇa to his parents, Kālidāsa has shown how a sympathetic, remorseful person would act in such a situation. This shows Kālidāsa's understanding of human nature. Kālidāsa was not only a poet, he was a dramatist as well. The dramatist in him appears to have made such changes for the sake of characterisation and for creating a pathetic situation. Thirdly, the *Rāmā.* has made Śrāvaṇa utter a number of verses, addressing the king Daśaratha, when he was shot down (*Rāmā,* II. 63.27-51), while Kālidāsa, in keeping with his art of suggestion, makes him utter a single sentence with faltering syllables (*Rg.* IX. 76). This appears natural, because the boy with a dart in his heart causing agony would not be able to speak much. Artists handle such situations according to their own temperament and knowledge of human heart. Kālidāsa also handled the situation according to his temperament, and his sense of poetic art.

7. **The Tenth Canto** of the *Raghuvaṁśa* follows the account given in the *Rāmā,* with a slight change. According to the *Rāmā,* the gods consult god Brahmā first, and Viṣṇu accidentally arrives on the scene. The gods then pray to Viṣṇu to take birth as the son of the king Daśaratha to protect them from the demon Rāvaṇa. The *Raghuvaṁśa* makes the gods approach Viṣṇu with the same prayer; there is no mention of the god Brahmā in this situation. The reason for introducing this change, probably is that the poet wanted to avoid repetition of the second canto of the

Kumārasambhava, another epic of Kālidāsa, where the gods have been described as approaching the god Brahmā on a similar occasion. In the *Raghuvaṁśa,* Viṣṇu only hints at the various atrocities committed by the demon (*Rg.* X.38,39), and assures the gods that he would be born as a son of Daśaratha and kill the demon (*Rg.* X. 44).

8. **Cantos Eleven to Fifteen** of the *Raghuvaṁśa* contain Rāma-kathā. Kālidāsa covers in five cantos the story of Rāma elaborated by Vālmīki in six Kāṇḍas.

9. **Canto Eleven** deals with (1) Protection of Viśvāmitra's sacrifice by Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, (2) Killing of Tāḍakā, (3) Restoration of Ahalyā to her original form (4) Marriage of Rāma and his brothers, (5) Rāma's encounter with Paraśurāma. Ahalyā-episode is narrated by Vālmīki in thirty six verses (*Rāmā.* I.48.1-36), whereas Kālidāsa only tells us that by the touch of the feet of Rāma, Ahalyā was restored to her original form and winds up the Ahalyā-episode in only two verses (*Rg.* XI. 33,34). But where he could get an opportunity to describe a great scene which was not perfectly and elaborately described by Vālmīki, he did not miss it, e.g., the description of the contest between Paraśurāma and Rāma. The *Raghuvaṁśa* canto eleven, verses 58-91 describe Rāma's encounter with Paraśurāma. Here the boastful nature of Paraśurāma and the gentle behaviour of Rāma are brought out well. Kālidāsa made Rāma humble down the pride of Paraśurāma, but did it without inflicting insult to Paraśurāma. Thus we see Rāma touching the feet of Paraśurāma, the repository of asceticism, and saying, "Please excuse me". Kālidāsa remarks, "submission itself on the part of the powerful, to enemies conquered by force, is for glory, i.e. indicative of their glory," (*Rg.* XI-89).

10. **Canto Twelve** of the *Raghuvaṁśa* deals with a number of incidents such as Rāma's coronation, Kaikeyī's demand of two boons from the king Daśaratha, Rāma's exile, Daśaratha's death, Bharata protecting the kingdom as a deposit from Rāma, Sītā's abduction by Rāvaṇa, killing of Vālī, Sugrīva's installation on the throne, Hanumān going to Laṅkā and finding out the whereabouts of Sītā, burning of Laṅkā by Hanumān, construction of a bridge over the ocean, the fight between Rāma and Rāvaṇa, Rāvaṇa's death and meeting of Rāma and Sītā etc. etc. It will be seen here that the contents of Ayodhyā-Kāṇḍa, Araṇya-Kāṇḍa, Kiṣkindhā-Kāṇḍa, Sundara-Kāṇḍa and Yuddha-Kāṇḍa of the *Rāmāyaṇa* have been condensed by Kālidāsa and described in one canto i.e. eleventh canto of hundred and four verses. It must be pointed out here that Kālidāsa has dropped a number of episodes which the *Rāmā.* has depicted, viz. the part played by Mantharā at the time of Rāma's coronation, Rāvaṇa abducting Sītā in the guise of a hermit, the detailed episode of killing of Vālī and abuse of Sugrīva by Rāma when Sugrīva was not making efforts to institute a search for Sītā, etc. which Vālmīki has described.

A number of incidents in this canto would have given the poet an opportunity to develop the sentiment of pathos. But Välmïki has already described pathos in those situations. Besides Kälidäsa himself also has described pathos in similar situation in his other work e.g., he has described Pururavä's lamentations in his *Vikramorvašïyam* almost on the same lines on which Välmïki has described Räma's lamentations after Sïtä's abduction. Therefore, the artist in Kälidäsa seems to have refrained from repetition and avoided comparison with Välmïki.

11. **Canto Thirteen** of the *Raghuvamśa* is entirely devoted to the description of the return journey of Räma and Sïtä from Lankä to Ayodhyä. Here Välmïki had an opportunity of giving a picturesque description of the region over which they were passing. Välmïki did not avail of this opportunity, Kälidäsa did. In his *Meghadütam,* Kälidäsa has described the journey of the cloud in North India. In the *Raghuvamśa* he got an opportunity to give us a graphic description of South Indian region. In Kälidäsa's works nature is looked upon as a sentient being, playing its role like other characters. Thus while going back to Ayodhyä, Räma told Sïtä that the creepers, being unable to speak, yet through compassion for him, pointed out to him by means of their branches the path by which Sïtä had been forcibly carried away by the demon (*Rg.* XIII. 24); the female antelopes indicated to him, by casting their glances, the southern quarter by which she had been carried away (*Rg.*XIII.25). Räma told Sïtä how he shed tears and how the flowers of *Kadamba,* the cries of peacocks became unbearable to him in her absence (*Rg.* XIII. 26-28). In this way Räma was made to suggest his love for Sïtä. This is poetic justice done to the heroine who had suffered separation from her husband for a long time. Kälidäsa has used this situation skilfully and prepared emotional background which would be in sharp contrast with Sïtä's relentless abandonment by Räma, which he was going to describe in the next canto. That Räma, who was overwhelmed with emotion of love for Sïtä, became relentless and stern in order to save his family from disreputation.

12. **Canto Fourteen** of the *Raghuvamśa* describes Räma's benevolent rule and abandonment of Sïtä. According to the *Rämäyana,* Laksmana was ordered to abandon Sïtä outside the kingdom, and Välmïki came to know from the hermit-boys the pitiable condition of Sïtä. But according to the *Raghuvamśa,* Räma directed Laksmana to abandon Sïtä near Välmïki's hermitage. Kälidäsa's sympathy for Sïtä has directed him to introduce this change.

13. At the end of the fourteenth canto of the *Raghuvamśa,* after Sïtä was abandoned by Laksmana, she sent with him a message for all her mothers-in-law and Räma (*Rg.* XIV. 61-67). Välmïki's Sïtä also sent a similar message (*Rämä.* VII. 48. 10-17). In both the epics, Sïtä has

attributed her misery to her sins of the previous birth (*Rāmā*. VII. 48.4; *Rg*. XIV. 62). Through this message both the poets have brought out Sītā's nobility and her sincere love for Rāma. We have seen earlier that Kālidāsa did not repeat what Vālmīki has already said. But like Vālmīki's Sītā, Kālidāsa's Sītā also sent her final message to Rāma and his mothers. The reason is, probably, both the poets wanted to give an opportunity to their heroine to express her grief, and give vent to her feelings, and show to the world how even in the midst of calamity, Sītā's sincere love and devotion for Rāma were not shaken. Vālmīki's Sītā considered it her duty to wipe off infamy, stigma that Rāma has incurred, because Rāma was her last resort (*Rāmā*. VII. 48. 12, 13). Kālidāsa's Sītā declared to Lakṣmaṇa that after her delivery, she would practise severe penance so that in the next birth she would have Rāma for her husband without separation (*Rg*. XIV. 66). This is how sometimes two poets think alike.

14. **Canto Fifteen** of the *Raghuvaṁsá* describes the rule of Rāma after he had abandoned Sītā, Rāma's killing of Śambūka and restoring a Brāhmaṇa's son to life; Rāma's meeting with his sons at the time of sacrifice, Vālmīki's request to Rāma to accept Sītā, Sītā proclaiming her chastity and Pṛthivī taking away Sīta to Pātāla, and lastly Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa ending their life.

15. Incidents described in the Fifteenth Canto have been modelled on the *Rāmāyaṇa,* but Kālidāsa has preferred to be brief in describing them.

16. Kālidāsa, on the whole, seems to have based his version of the Rāma-story mainly on that of the *Rāmāyaṇa* with a few changes here and there.

17. Rāma-kathā in the *Rāmāyaṇa* ends with the end of Rāma's life. Vālmīki concludes his epic by glorifying the *Rāmāyaṇa* wherein he remarks — "the *Rāmāyaṇa* is equivalent to the *Veda,* it should be narrated at the time of a Śrāddha" (*Rāmā*. VII. 111.4). But Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṁśa* continues even after the end of Rāma's life. In **Cantos XVI and XVII,** Kālidāsa has described the rule of Kuśa and Atithi respectively. In **Canto XVIII** twenty two kings who succeeded Atithi have been described briefly; and in **Canto XIX** the rule of Agnivarṇa, the voluptuous, unrighteous King is described in detail. When the king Agnivarṇa died, his queen was pregnant. After his death she acted as a dowager queen.

18. Vālmīki has not referred to these kings. This shows that Kālidāsa has before him some Purāṇa version from which he has drawn upon the accounts of the post-Rāma kings of the Raghu dynasty.

19. Concluding Remarks

Both Vālmīki and Kālidāsa were poets of high merit; both were thinkers, but Kālidāsa was a dramatist as well. Vālmīki strikes us for his simplicity of language and clarity of thought, while Kālidāsa's language is high-flown language of a scholar, gifted with tremendous learning of his age. Kālidāsa has enhanced the beauty of his poetry by dramatic touches. He makes his readers take a pause for a while and ponder over his statements. Since he was later than Vālmīki by centuries, he had an advantage over Vālmīki, viz. that of being acquainted with many śāstras and systems of philosophy which had developed by his time. He has made use of this knowledge in his poem and imparted weight to it. He has thrown light on the political situation in the country in his age by alluding to foreigners such as the Persians (*Rg.* IV. 60), the Greeks (*Rg.* IV. 61), the Huns (*Rg.* IV. 68), he has also mentioned the Pāṇḍyas (*Rg.* IV. 49) and the Keralas (*Rg.* IV. 54), the South Indian rulers.

20. In his *Raghuvaṁśa*, Kālidāsa has not given us a rambling plot. The plot of the *Raghuvaṁśa* is well-woven. The kings chosen and the incidents chosen from their lives show that Kālidāsa wanted to describe the lives of perfect kings. The theme is sublime and it has afforded great scope for Kālidāsa's poetic genius. His desire to describe the lives of great kings in the Raghu dynasty shows that he earnestly wanted to convey to his readers certain ideology, certain philosophy of life, for which description of the *Raghuvaṁśa* is just a vehicle. He has succeeeded in doing it through his excellent art of suggestion, without being didactic, commanding the respect of his readers over several centuries, like Vālmīki.

Notes and References

1. *Rāmāyaṇa* - Nirnay Sagar Edition.

2. cf. para 2 above.

3 cf. para 5 above.

Abbreviations

1. *Rg.* = *Raghuvaṁśa*

2) *Rāmā.* = *Rāmāyaṇa*

THERIANTHROPOMORPHISM AND THE MULTIPLE-HEAD MOTIFS IN ANCIENT INDIA AND THE MIDDLE-EAST

SADASHIV A. DANGE

Cultural contact between ancient India and the Middle East has been an established fact, the reason being either trade-routes or early conquests, which facilitate migration of concepts and myths. Like the similarity in the case of myths from distant lands,[1] similarity of art-motifs may be ascribed to either independent origin or borrowing; and, it is difficult in many cases to fix the exact direction of dispersion. Especially, in the case of the topic in hand, this becomes further difficult, because, the idea of the theriomorph of a deity need not be a case of borrowing. In the same way, the one head developing into multiplicity could, very well, be a natural process, the reason being a fusion of various god-heads or concepts into one. On the Indian side the earliest literary records, in this context, go back to the *Rgveda* (*RV*), the period of this text being yet in dispute. The Western-oriented scholars take the period to be about 1500 B.C., which, however, is unacceptable. In the state of our present knowledge, sculptures relating to the Vedic data are hardly available beyond about the second century B.C. There has been dispute regarding the identity of the Rgvedic data and the finds from the Indus civilization. 'The present writer has expressed his opinion that the two do not tally in most of the cases)[2]. This being the case, it would be better to survey the two motifs, noted above, through the span mentioned in the title; the question of borrowing may be kept at rest, comparison being given ascendance.

The *Rgveda* describes the Year (Samvatsara) as a bull having three heads, or faces (*RV* III.56.3 *Vrsabhah... tryanīkah*). The fire-god is seen as being 'four-faced' (*RV* V.48.5 *catur-anīkah*); also, 'having four eyes' (*Ibid.* I. 31.13 *catur-aksah*), indicating that he has two heads. Obviously, the four faces in the case of Agni are in view of the flames of the fire being open to the four quarters. This idea gets developed, in the Puranic context, in the four faces of the god Brahmā; but, with a regular explanatory myth. According to the myth (which has its origin in the Vedic period), Brahmā sexually desired his own daughter, when she circumambulated him. To be able to fix his eyes on her, as she went round and in the four directions, he developed one head each in every quarter.[3] Traditionally, the three heads of the Year (Samvatsara) have been explained as the three seasons,[4] though it is not clear whether he is contemplated as a pure theriomorphic deity or a pure

anthropomorphic one, or a therianthropomorphic complex deity. The case of the fire-god should not pose a problem. Yet, in the description at the places noted above, there is no clear indication of his being an anthropomorph or a theriomorph, though in *RV* the deities are compared or identified with such beasts as the Bull or the Horse. Some men and gods are said to have 'seven mouths' (Brahmaṇaspati, *RV* IV.50.4; Aṅgirases, the seers, IV. 51.41). Even the cloud is seen as (a demon) having seven faces (*Ibid.* X.40.8). The first son of Tvaṣṭr (the older god, often believed to be father of the gods), and the elder brother of Vrtra, is described as 'three-headed', or is named so (Trisīrṣan). The *RV* does not mention whether the heads were theriomorphic or anthropomorphic. In the later texts he has normal (human) heads; but, from each of his heads cut by Indra various birds are said to have been created.[5] Indra is said to have impelled Trita Āptya to smite the 'three-headed' demon who wielded seven ropes, or fetters, to bind and subdue his opponents (*RV* X. 99.8 for Trisīrṣan; and *Ibid.* 8.8 the latter). A Gandharva (semi-divine human being) is said to be of the name Trisīrṣan (*Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa* I.125). It is clear, that he did not actually have three heads. However, the very name would reflect the belief in such a being — divine or demoniac — being current at that period; and this falls in line with the Rgvedic belief in a demon *(asura)* having three heads. The *Avesta* also speaks of a three-headed demon, Azi Dahāka, the three-mouthed serpent (*ahi* in Sanskrit), who was killed by Thraetaona. He is described as having three jaws and three heads, and having six eyes (Yasna, IX. 7-8). Here Thraetaona (=Vedic Trita) is said to be the son, or scion of Athwya in the Avesta,[6] while Trita, in the *Rgveda,* is himself Āptya (= Avestan Athwya); and Āptya is associated with water not only by Sāyaṇa (the commentator of the *Rgveda*), but also by modern scholars. However, this association should not be taken to make Āptya as identical with the god Apām Napāt. The picture of Azi Dahāka (i.e. *ahi daśaka,* 'the biting serpent') that we get from the *Avesta* is of a serpent who dwells in deep waters. The 'Three-headed demon', from the *Rgveda,* having six eyes, is not specifically said to be a serpent; but, he has all other traits exactly as the Azi Dahāka, which would show him as serpent. The fact that he is the elder brother of Vrtra, the serpent of the Vedic context, would support this image of the Rgvedic 'Three-headed' son of Tvaṣṭr. In the Avestan context, later in *Shahnamah,* Azi Dahāka came to be identified with the Chaldaean enemies of the then Aryan Iran.[7] All-the-same, his original image of a serpent demon in the deep waters does not get diluted. Azi Dahāka is said to have offered sacrifice to the goddess of water, Ardwisūra Anāhita, in the land of Bawri, which is the early name of Babylon. According to Darmesteter the origin of the Azi myths was in the southern coast of the Caspian sea.[8] In any case, there can hardly be any doubt that the Avestan Azi myth centred round the serpent of the deep subdued by a hero. Even in the case of the anthropomorphism of Azi in the later *Shahnamah,* his association with the

serpent form is clear. There he is depicted as a man from whose shoulders, on either side, a serpent is seen as springing.[9] This image would be therianthropomorphic, like the Nāgas of the Indian context. The latter, however, do not appear much before (the B. C. era) coming in connection with Mahāvīra or the Buddha. Comparing Indra and Trita in the myth of the killing of the 'Three-headed' demon, the position of Trita appears to be more popular as it obtains both in the *Rgveda* and the *Avesta*. In all probability, the Trita (Thraetaona)-serpent myth is older than the Indra-'Three-headed' / Vrtra myth; and it is certainly different from the concept and myths of Apām Napāt ('Foetus-of-Waters') who has rarely any association with the serpent in the *Rgveda* and the *Avesta*.

Now, while on the Indian side there is no therianthropomorphic imagery clearly associated with the serpent in the Vedic period, and even later upto the early Jaina-Buddhistic context, there is clear mention of Azi Dahāka as a therianthropomorphic being (Man-serpent) in the Middle-Easten theatre. Though the period of Jharathusta (Jarad-ustra) is taken to be 1500 B. C.,[10] there can be no doubt about the motif of the 'Three-headed' serpent (Azi Dahāka) being far older. Therianthropomorphism can be seen even in the case of the Tiamat-Marduk myth from the Assyrian-Babylonian context. The Babylonian influence on the Avestan image of Azi Dahāka can be seen from the mention of Bawri (noted above) in the *Avesta*. In Sumerian imagery the mixture of various animals is quite frequent, and it is not restricted to the serpent motif. Thus, Nintu, an aspect of the Mother-goddess Ma, was half serpent and half woman; but, in addition, she had a horn on her head. She also held a babe sucking her breast.[11] The one horn may be symbolic of fertility from the pre-agricultural stage, and indicative of the hoe that was used for ploughing. This therianthropomorphic goddess was a human, serpent and also a horned beast in one, the symbolic implication apart. The Sumerian king, Ea-bani, was deified as a human goat. His legs and hooves were those of a goat.[12] Lilith, the Sumerian goddess, was depicted as a woman (nude) with a hood on her head from which two wings came down covering her back and going below her waist. At her feet, on either side, there was an owl. Her feet were those of a bird, suiting the winged hood. In between each owl and her foot, on either side, there was some wild beast, its ears erect. These depictions go back to about 2000 B.C.[13]

The point is, whence is the therianthropomorphic motif? For this, we have to turn to the ancient Egyptian records. The chief god of the Egyptian pre-dynastic period was Ptah; and the region of lower Egypt where he was worshipped came to be called 'Hiku-Ptah' or 'Het-ka-Ptah' (= 'House of Ptah'), which came to be pronounced as Egypt (Hiku-ptah > Ikupta > Egupta > Egypt), by the Greeks. He was a dwarf; but got fused with another equally ancient god, Sokar (or Seker), who was conceived as a hawk-man. In the

dynastic period, especially by about the fourth dynasty (3000-2500 B.C.), just prior to the period of Chepos (Khufu), Sokar came to be the under-water god having three human heads, a serpent-body and having two mighty wings.[14] The combination of the serpent and the bird, or the fight between these creatures is almost a universal motif; but, it is more prominent in ancient Egyptian records. This is also the earliest of such records, as far as our knowledge stands at the present stage. The Vedic records do not strongly vouch a combination of a beast and a human. The position there, is of total identification with a beast or the birds like the hawk in certain descriptions.The pattern is more metaphoric, and, at the best, verging on theriomorphism rather than therianthropomorphism. This is not to say that this trend is never seen on the Indian scene. As a matter of fact, from the early centuries of the Christian era glimpses of this trend appear, and later myths show it prominently, as we shall see later. In ancient Egypt we meet a large number of gods and goddesses who are half-human half-theriomorphic. The jackal-headed god Anubis (termed 'Finder or Opener of the ways'), the cow-faced Hathor who is seen as frog-faced in her cruel form, Heket, and the cow-faced Isis are only some of the examples. To these may be added Bast, who was cat-headed and was regarded as a therianthropomorphic aspect of Isis.[15] According to an ancient myth, Horus (the son of Isis and Osiris) cut off the head of Isis and, substituted it with the head of a cow.[16] This is corroborated by her figure having the horns of a cow between which is shown the solar disk.[17] This myth corresponds to the Hindu myth of the head of an elephant on the human body of the god Gaṇeśa, or that of Viṣṇu Hayagrīva ('Horse-headed'), in the post-Vedic period. From the Vedic period we have the myth of the head of a horse on the body of the sage Dadhīc, which is, by far, the only example of this type indicative of therianthropomorphism.[18] The tenth dynasty Egypt shows a variety of such therianthropomorphic motifs, in the case of the chief god Her-Shef who was believed to be an aspect of the solar god Re (Ra). In one depiction he is seen as having four heads; one is that of a ram, the other that of a bull, while two heads are of hawks. Thus, he had a double-hawk head and two of beasts. The older motif of the serpent, or the serpent and a hawk, is changed at this period. In another depiction this god has a ram's head and wears a white crown of plumes.[19] In both the depictions, the body is that of a man. The second depiction is worthy of note, as it presents further details. His plume-crown is surrounded by two disks representing the sun and the moon. By the side are two serpents − one on either side − with disks on their heads. In the twelfth dynasty, the new god Amon Ra came to be represented as a frog-headed man, serpent-headed man, ram-headed man and also a purely human figure.[20] The period of the twelfth and the tenth dynasties comes roughly to the 20th to 18th century B.C. In the earliest phase in the Egyptian religious belief the serpent plays an important part, which is marked with other religions also. We have already

seen how Sokar was a combination of the human, serpent and the hawk. However, the serpent is more prominent as 'Son of the Earth' in his name of Sito having two necks and heads, or "Creator of the Earth" in his name of Iru. He is also the 'Provider of attributes",[21] like the Vedic Prajāpati; however, the latter is not seen as the serpent. The counterpart of the Egyptian Sito or Iru is the Vedic Ahirbudhnya ('Serpent of the Bottom') or the Śeṣa of the later Hinduism. The latter is said to be endowed with a thousand hoods, as he serves as the bed for Viṣṇu (*Mahābhārata=Mb.* Vana 272.38), who is the Puruṣa with equal number of heads. But this has to be taken as just extravagant description, without any indication of a definite number of hoods, like the 'thousand faces' of Puruṣa (*RV* X. 90.1). Ahirbudhnya has no multiple faces, nor is he said to be a serpent in *Mb.* and later. The Egyptian primeval serpent is the creator of multiplicity in its form of Sito, the 'provider of attributes.' In one depiction this "great surviving serpent, when all mankind has reverted to slime,"[22] is double-necked. According to the ancient Egyptian belief the serpent was the symbol of the cosmic ocean, and the world was enveloped by him, as he lay with his tail in his mouth. In the innermost shrine of Tutankhamen there is a strange mummy-like bearded figure. It is in the erect position, and has no hands (probably, they are covered due to its being a mummy). It is encircled by a serpent each at the head and the feet. These serpents have their tails in their mouths, while the feet of the figure are not separated, but from one whole appearing like a robust curved tail.[23] These two separate serpents, encircling one human bearded figure are a variant of the double-necked serpent noted above. In any case, it appears that the two heads, or the two separate serpents with their tails in the mouth, symbolize the beginning and end of the existence being controlled by the primeval serpent in his two aspects. Though not expressed in so many words, one suspects that there is a seed here of the motif of double/multiple heads. We do not have here a clear image of therianthropomorphism. In the double-necked serpent anthropomorph is absent; but, the other figure is suggestive of therianthropomorphism. The human figure does not have the serpents right from the shoulders; but, they are closely associated with it. A subtle instance of therianthropomorphism is seen in the 'Eye of Atum.' The Eye was worshipped in ancient Egypt as the 'most ancient female.' According to a myth Atum was alone in the primeval waters of the abyss. He created his children Shu and Thefnut; but, they got lost to him in the dark waters. So he sent his eye (presumably, he had only one eye) to search them out. When the eye came back with the children, it saw another in its place and got furious. He became a rearing cobra with swollen neck. Atum pacified the eye-cobra by tying it around his head, with its mouth to the front on the forehead, to guard his crown. This explains the custom of the crown of the Pharaos. As the eye went on flying through the primeval dark waters, it developed wings. So it developed a double morph; serpent and the bird. This way, the

eye with its lashes developed into a hairy serpent; and also into a winged creature, the hawk. This is the source of the 'uraeus' on the crown of the Pharaos. It is the combination of the human eye (of Atum conceived as a divine human) and the serpent.[24]

We leave away such instances of theriomorphs that were belived to be representatives, or symbols, of gods without a mixture of an anthropomorph. Osiris, for example, was represented variously as a gazelle, pig, a boar, and so on; or the crocodile which came to be regarded as the god Sebek. But the Bull form of Osiris, as the Apis, has to be particularly noticed. Though he had no anthropomorphic traits, he was a combination of creatures that had a long history of sacred adoration in the ancient Egyptian belief. He was to be carefully selected and kept in the temple at Memphis. He had to be black in colour, with a triangular white mark on the forehead (probably representative of the moon, as Osiris himself was). On his back there had to be the sign of an eagle; and under his tongue there was to be a lump resembling the beetle, called Khoprer (or khopri, as the creature was called in later dynastical period). Khopri, the beetle, was depicted in pictures from the pyramids as pushing up the sun for rise[25] from the underworld waters through which he had to travel in the night after sunset. Independently, Khopri symbolized Atum (the Creator god), as he (in the beetle-form) was seated on the mound of soft earth that he brought up. The mound of earth visible after the flood in the Nile receded was considered to be an aspect of Atum. One more peculiarity about the Apis Bull is that he had to be the only issue of his mother-cow.[26] It is not improbable that Osiris was worshipped as a Bull-headed human-bodied god in the origin. In that case, he would be therianthropomorphic. In the Apis Bull we have another phase of theriomorphism. It is not therianthropomorphism; but multiple theriomorphism. Like the Khopri, the eagle-hawk has a long tradition. As we have noted earlier, Sokar had the wings of the hawk (together with his serpent body and human faces) in the very early layer of Egyptian belief. The solar hawk that was brought by the Horus worshippers from the east got fused with the Sokar-hawk. The Sokar-hawk had already fused with the cult of Osiris, the moon-god; and, with the advent of the solar Horus-hawk, and its fusion with the Osiris cult, the latter became the father of Horus. The Apis Bull showed this merger with the eagle on its back; with the Khoprer Atum under his tongue, there was the representation of a further merger. Already in the earliest period, that of the god Ptah, gradually a merger came about among three gods; Ptah, Tanen and Osiris. Ptah was a dwarf, as already noted; he was an autochthon for that matter. Tanen was also an earth-god; and Sokar, with his serpent body was an autochthon; but, he had the mixture of the Solar/sky-god as indicated by his hawk-wings. What exactly was the nature of the three human heads is unclear. But they appear to indicate merger of three different gods, or powers.

The influence of the mixed motif of serpent, hawk and the human appears also in some of the Greek gods, though it is difficult to say if it is from Egypt or Assyrian-Babylonian context. For example, in the cave of Phigalia, the ancient figure of the Black Demeter was made of wood, seated on a rock. She had the face of a mare. Above it there were figures of snakes and other monstrous beasts. She had a dolphin in one hand and in the other she held a dove. At another place she is shown as goat-faced and having wings. Her body is short and columnar and she wears a spreading skirt. At yet another place she is shown as an eagle-lady, with prominent breasts.[27] This is her therianthropomorph, and it may be compared with that of the Sumerian Lilith, noted earlier, with the difference that in the case of Lilith the face is of a woman and she wears a feathered hood. In the case of the Minos-bull, the Minotaur, the head is of a bull while the body is of an anthropomorphic monstrous creature. According to a myth he was born from a bull; but his mother was a human, the wife of King Minos. In the case of the Sphinx guarding the entrance to Thebes we have a multimorph. This creature has the face of a woman, the body of a lioness and has wings.[28] The Minotaur falls in the pattern of Egyptian gods, where the face is of a beast and the rest of the body is human. The Greek Sphinx does not fit in the Egyptian pattern, generally, where the head of the Sphinx is of a man. The Great Sphinx, representing the head of a man upon the body of a lion is an example. In the case of Thefnut, the wife (and sister) of Shu, the head is of a lioness and the body of a woman. Moreover, the Sphinx near the pyramid of Gizeh shows the mutilated face of a lion; it does not appear to be that of a human. In the case of the Theban Sphinx, from Greece, unlike the Great Sphinx from Egypt, the head is of a woman (not of a man as in the Egyptian pattern). Also Thefnut is a lioness in her face, and not in her body as is the case with the Greek Theban Sphinx. Even so, the motif in the Greek Sphinx should be taken as showing the influence of the Egyptian Sphinx, not without, however, that from the Babylonian lion-headed eagle form of Nin-girsu. The wings of the Greek Sphinx betray the latter influence. A non-bird showing wings appears to be peculiar to the Middle-East. Apart from Sokar, hardly any other Egyptian god appears as a beast with wings. On the other hand Babylonia and Assyria show it freqently. Here Shedu was the destructive bull. He would kill anybody wantonly; but, he was the protector of the temples. Another bull, but having wings, was Lamassu. He had a human head and was believed to be protector of palaces.[29] The winged bull, with a human face appears also among the Persians and is seen placed at the entrance of their fire-temples in India. This has to be taken as due to the influence of the Lamassu, through ancient Persian practices. As such, the source has to be taken as the Middle-East. The influence of Assyria on ancient Persian architecture is seen even in the vast colonnades in front of the palaces, and also inside.[30] The winged horse of the Greek mythology,

Pegasus, appears to have been suggested from the winged bull of the Middle-East. It may be noted that the Zeus Bull, who carries Europa on his back, is not winged. And there is no winged bull in the Egyptian mythology. The winged sandals of Hermes, together with his low-crowned hat and his winged magic wand (Greek)[31] fall in a different category. Here we have faint anthropomorphic traits, as contrasted to the Assyrian instance of the bull mentioned above; for, in Lamassu there is mixed theriomorphism. The case of Icarus is different; as his wings are not natural; they were attached to him with glue, and were artificial.[32] In the ancient Persian context, and in Zoroastrianism, therianthropomorphism is seen in the figure of the Fravashi (sixth century B.C.) and the bearded winged figure (which is common with the bearded man-faced bulls at the entrance of the temples). Then we have the Griffins, that are winged lions with horns (fifth century B.C.). We also have the Ibex, which is a winged goat with long curved horns.[33]

If we compare the various forms of the gods mentioned above, together with the multimorphic beasts, with the data from the Vedic context, we see that in the latter the motif is not a very marked one. As we have noted above, we do have identification of gods with beasts; but, we have no sound ground to accept that gods were believed to be beasts or that a particular beast was taken to be a particular god. To believe that the various vehicles of gods were their theriomorphs is a blunt argument as there is no corroboration for it either through depiction or description. Even looking to the various victims the riddle does not get any solution; because a particular beast is not wholly reserved for a particular god. Even when it is said, for example, that a dwarf victim (goat) is to be offered to Viṣṇu (who was considered as a dwarf in the post Ṛgvedic texts;[34] he was not so considered in *RV*), a dwarf beast was never treated as Viṣṇu. A horse was said to be the beast for Varuṇa; also for Prajāpati; and it also symbolized the sun, and also Prajāpati (in the context of the laying down of the sacrificial fire).[35] It may be argued that the Vedic people were not worshippers of idols, and it is difficult to find traces of pictures or depictions as are available in ancient Egypt and Babylonia and Assyria. Even granting this, we expect literary descriptions, transmitted through the oral tradition, in the *Ṛgveda* and the later Vedic texts, of concrete god-heads to match the theriomorphic or therianthropomorphic representations from the Middle-East and Egypt. We have referred to the case of the 'Three-headed' demon, as a solitary case, coming in a later book (I) of *RV;* and we have compared it with the three-headed demon from the *Avesta* and from the earlier context of Egypt. The *Ṛgveda* mentions Agni (the fire-god) and the sun as having seven heads (*RV* III.5.5 and VIII.51.4 respectively). It also speaks of the faculty of reasoning (*dhīh*) as having seven heads (X. 67.1). Bṛhaspati is described, once, as having seven heads (or, properly, mouths), due to his manifold births by virtue of his roar (*Ibid.* IV. 50.4). This is due to his being the deity of hymns and songs (*sāmans*). The same

is the case with the band of divine seers, the Aṅgirases, who are believed to be having seven mouths as they have mastered the art of singing in the seven metres (*Ibid.* IV. 51.4). In all these cases the heads (or mouths) are metaphorical. Agni has three heads as he is seen in the form of the sun in the sky, in the form of the lightning in the cloud in the mid-region, and as the sacrificial fire on the earthly plane. This is the position in the *Ṛgveda;* and, to extend the image in the context of the later ritual, the three heads of the fire-god are: the Gārhapatya (house-hold) fire, the Dakṣiṇa (southern) fire, and the Āhavanīya fire (in which the oblations are offered with the invocations to various gods). Whether these faint presentations of the motif of multiple-heads would have influenced the pictures and images of gods having more than one head in the later Hindu tradition, as we shall see, is doubtful. The seven heads of the sun are sometimes seen as his rays, which epithet is transferred to the god Bṛhaspati (*RV,* IV. 50. 4). Even if it is granted that these instances of the motif of 'multiple-heads' might have suggested the later Hindu depiction of more heads than one in a figure, it is almost certain that the source of the therianthropomorphic figures and idols is not in the Veda. Of the mixed theriomorphic motif, the only clear example is of the horse, rising from the ocean, having the wings of a hawk and the fore-arms (or, fore-feet) of a deer (*RV* I. 163.1).

Some of the most prominent sculptural depictions on the Indian side involving the therianthropomorphic motif are : The Varāha, Hayagrīva and Nṛsiṁha from the Hindu context. All these are the forms of Viṣṇu; and in all these the face is of the beast while the lower body is of a man. These therianthropomorphic depictions are supported by literary evidence from the Purāṇa texts where some others are mentioned, though they are not associated with the cult of Viṣṇu. The fire-god is represented by a goat, or has the head of a goat and the body of a man.[36] Gaṇeśa has the head of an elephant. He is one of the *gaṇas* of Śiva; but there are other *gaṇas,* having various heads with human body covered with hair. Some of the heads are those of the lion, elephant, horse, pig, goat, donkey and even of a fish.[37] Nandī, the vehicle of Śiva is generally conceived as a *gaṇa* having the head of a bull, or a bull-vehicle of Śivà. An interesting variant is that he had the head of a monkey.[38] One of the best known therianthropomorphic examples is of the head of Dakṣa Prajāpati. His human head was cut and substituted by that of a goat.[39] Apart from these examples, there are others of local female deities, such as Mṛgīmukhī ('Deer-faced'), Barkarī (who had the head of a she-goat) and Ajeśvarī or Ajāpāleśvarī (indicating that the face was that of a she-goat).[40] And to these we may add the elephant-headed and the mare-headed Lakṣmī, and also Sarasvatī who is said to have assumed the form of Gaurī and was seen in the form of a mare.[41] The motif of the beast-head is not restricted to certain gods and their attendants. Even Fever is described as such. Fever was conceived as having three eyes in (each of) his three heads, and had

three legs. He was not a demon, but a deity of fevers, with sacred ashes applied to his fore-head. He was sought to be pacified with a regular *mantra* in the holy Gāyatrī metre.[42] Except for his beast-heads, he was an anthropomorphic god, and a fine example of therianthropomorphism together with the motif of multiple heads. In the case of Brahmā, in addition to the four heads (mentioned above), he is said to have also the fifth head; it was that of an ass according to one account, in view of the fact that with it he told a lie. It is also said to be of a horse; because, for his daughter, he had lust. It was, hence, cut by Śiva with his nail as a punishment (or chastisement!). According to another account it was that of a tiger.[43] In both the accounts this fifth head was cut, maintaining the original four heads, which were human. The fifth head made Brahmā an example of therianthropomorphism. Examples could be added.

We may take note of the Vaikuṇṭha and the Viśvarūpa motifs. In both cases Viṣṇu is the main deity. In the first case the heads are : (1) Saumya (i.e. normal and placid or complacent); this is the main face, and it is to the east (i.e. east-facing); (2) Narasiṁha (i.e. of the Man-lion); this is to the south; (3) Kāpila (i.e. of Kapila; it is said to be *raudra*, 'fierce'; demoniac); it is to the west; and (4) Vārāha (i.e. of the boar); it is to the north.[44] In the Pāñcarātra system these heads were adjusted as those of Vāsudeva (Kṛṣṇa=Viṣṇu originally, as indicated by the heads of the boar and Man-lion), which is the main head, the others being of Saṁkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha. On the very face of it, it is clear that the original idea was of the *avatāras* of Viṣṇu. But, even earlier the heads appear to have been simply of a man and three beasts. This doubt is supported by the fact that the head said to be Narasiṁha ('of the Man-lion') could not be really of a man with the head of a lion; because, only the head is shown and not the lower portion. Thus, it was just the head of a lion. This suggestion gets support from the same text (*Viṣṇudharmottara-purāṇa)*) which, in the same chapter, later, says that it should be 'of the appearance of a lion' *(siṁha-vaktrābham)*, calling it *jñāna-vaktra*, the quarter of the head being the same (south). In this place, *raudra* appears; not *kāpila*, as is the case at the first place (*Ibid.* III. 44. 11 and III. 44. 44^{cd} - 45). Generally there is the direction of the idol being prepared as showing four faces; but, the details differ in other texts. At the latter place the *Viṣṇudharmottara-purāṇa*, as noted, has the faces : (1) East – *Saumya*, the chief one; (2) South – Lionlike, which is *Jñāna-vaktra;* and (3) West – *Raudra*, which is said to be indicative of overlordship (*aiśvaryam*).[45] In a sculpture at Kharar, near Chandigarh, a figure of this type shows three faces, the face at the back being unseen or not shown. The central face is of a man; and it is flanked by the face of a lion and that of a boar.[46] It is not necessary to go into other details for our purpose here. In the Viśvarūpa sculptures there are five visible heads, with a circular arrangement of nine human heads. In the five visible heads the central is

that of man; it is flanked by the heads of Varāha (boar), Narasimha (actually, lion), Matsya (fish) and Kūrma (tortoise).[47] Without doubt, this is the *avatāra*-motif. But, the principle of therianthropomorphism is clear. The point is, where do we get the earliest mention and representation of this motif?

The idols of the Vaikuṇtha and the Viśvarūpa types appear more frequently from the ninth century A.D. and such types can hardly go before the fifth century A.D. In one representation of the Vaikuṇtha image, at Khajuraho, there is the head of a horse in place of the expected *Kāpila*.[48] Whatever might have been the reason for the interchange of the horse-head for the Kāpila, and inspite of the confusion between the Hayagrīva Viṣṇu and the demon named Hayagriva, one thing is sure. During the seventh and the ninth centuries A.D., the horse-head was gaining prominence. This is supported from the mention of the mare-faced goddess, said to be both Gaurī and Sarasvatī, at the Prabhāsa region. Likewise, there is a myth that once a brāhmaṇa girl slept on the bed of Viṣṇu, through childish curiosity and was cursed by Lakṣmī to be turned into a mare. When the brāhmaṇa, the girl's father, came to know of this curse, he counter-cursed Lakṣmī to have the head of an elephant (hence, she became *gaja-lakṣmī*).[49] The mare-faced goddess of this account is said to be stationed at the Hāṭaka region, which corresponds to the Prabhāsa (though Hāṭaka is variously identified). These accounts occur in the *Skanda-purāṇa*, which is dated from the seventh to the ninth century A.D. This will show that the underlying idea in the Vaikuṇtha images is dominantly of the aspects of Viṣṇu; and the adoption of it by the Pāñcarātra is a veneer. It is also clear that the multiple-heads motif here, together with that of theriomorphism or therianthropomorphism, does not go far back, as far as the present Indian sculptural evidence is concerned.

In the case of the Indus seals the case is a bit different. Though it is not quite certain if the seals were depictive of religious motifs or they were purely of commercial value, some of the figures are of interest for the point we are discussing. The most prominent is the so-called Śiva figure having three human heads with a headgear, which apparently is horned; and the horns appear to be those of a buffalo. This figure has been interpreted variously; but, there could be no difference of opinion about the point that it is the earliest of such figures in the ancient Indian region. Other figures that show multiple beast-heads are such as a bull with two antelope-heads, elephant with bull's head and so on.[50] These may go back to two thousand B.C., but do not come near to the heads in the Vaikuṇtha set.

In this context it will be pertinent to note the practice at the Vedic Agnicayana. The earliest clear mention of this practice occurs in the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*. The idea behind the Agnicayana was the symbolic construction of the cosmos. In the lowest layer, out of five total layers, four heads were placed in the fire-pan. According to this text the following were the heads : That of a

man, which was to be placed at the centre (it faced the east; however, it is not specifically so stated). To the east was placed the head of a horse; to the west was the head of a bull; also the head of a serpent was placed; but its direction is not mentioned. No head is specified for the north. Thus, in all there were four heads (*Taitt. Sam.*, V. 2.9. 2-4). Earlier (*Ibid.* V. 2. 8. 7) the sacrifice is said to be Visnu. Though the heads were without their bodies, and dead, they were sought to be made endowed with life by pouring curds and honey over them, and stuffing them with seven chips of gold. In essence, they were the heads of Visnu, the sacrifice, one anthropomorphic and the rest theriomorphic. Together they formed the therianthropomorphic multiheaded body of Visnu. It is not clear why there was no head on the north. The period of the *Taitt. Sam.* has to be taken as about 2000 B.C. or even earlier. The *Śatapatha-Brāhmana* prescribes five heads; but, the arrangement is different. The heads are to be in one line. The head of the man is to be at the centre. To its left side, to the north, the heads of the horse and the ram are to be placed; and to the right side of the man's head, i.e. to the south, there are to be the heads of the bull and the goat (*Śat. Br.* VI. 2.1.14). The practice must have been quite in vogue. Even to this day Agnicayana is performed[51] (though without the heads). At that early period, the Śrauta-texts continued the tradition. The memory must have continued, though the practice might have become less frequent. The myth of the *avatāras* of Visnu, together with this practice might have served as the basis for the Pāñcarātra concept of Vaikuntha and Viśvarūpa. Actually, the 'Viśvarūpa' of the *Bhagavadgītā* is far wider. It could not be taken to be the basis of the Pāñcarātra concept of Viśvarūpa,[52] which is narrow and limited to the beast-heads from the *avatāras* with a few more faces added. However, for the sculptural depiction of this motif one has to revert to the Middle-East for comparison, though the contexts differ. It will also be good to note that the first ever concept of Viśvarūpa, when it occurs in *RV* for an anthropomorph, is for Indra and the son of Tvastr (*RV* III. 38.4; II, 41.3; II. 11.19). In later texts, it is only the son of Tvastr who is so, and has three heads as noted above.

If the four heads at the Agnicayana be taken as forming the basis of the Vaikuntha and "Hayagrīva-in-the Vaikuntha " motifs, it could be said that the motif of the multiple heads goes back to at least the period of the *Taittirīya Sam.*, i.e. 2000 B.C. It will be of some interest to note that, by about the same period, the motif is seen in the throne of King Solomon. At its back was the figure of a bull; and on the two arms was the figure of a lion each.[53] The vision of Ezekiel showed that in the centre of a storm there were four living creatures in human form; but each had four faces and four wings. They had the hooves like those of a bull. In each the four faces were : human in front; a lion's at the right, a bull's at the left and an eagle's at the back.[54] Ezekiel lived in the 6th century B.C. There is reason to believe

that this composition of heads must have been suggested from actual experience in sculpture. Was the influence from the Indian region? Or, was the source of the motif in the Middle-East? We may mention here an Orphic cosmogonic myth. According to it, at the beginning of creation, from the mass of earth and slime, first there arose a dragon with the face of a god. He had wings on either side; and to his main face (which was human), on one side there was the head of a bull; and, on the other side, there was the head of a lion.[55] The period of this myth is prior to the 6th century B.C., as both Pythagoras and Plato were influenced by the Orphic mystery.[56] It would not be wrong, from what has been said until now, that the source of the multiple-heads motif was somewhere in the region between Egypt (cf. the two-necked cobra) and the Middle-East, whence it spread to Greece in the West and India in the east. This motif was an aspect of therianthropomorphism. It was used in Vedic ritual in the later Vedic period (i.e. after the Rgvedic and the Atharvavedic period). But in sculptures it was introduced in India not before about the 5th century A.D.

Notes and References

1. For the borrowing and stratification of myths see William Robertson, *History of America,* 1997; Hugh Miller, *Scenes and Legends,* London, 1835; Donald Mackenzie, *Myths of Pre-Columbian America,* Gresham Publishing Co. (no year), London, pp. 39-42; also Sadashiv A. Dange. *Towards Understanding Hindu Myths,* Aryan Books International, New Delhi, 1996, p. 14ff.

2. "Rgveda and the Indus Seals", *Journal of the Mythic Society,* Bangalore,Vol. LXXIV-1, Jan.-March, 1983, pp. 49-82.

3. *Skanda-purāṇa* I. 3.5. 49-62; also Dange, *Encyclopaedia of Puranic Beliefs and Practices (Encl. P. B. P.),* Vol. I, Navrang, New Delhi, 1986, p. 206 for similar accounts.

4. Commentary of Sāyaṇa, on *Rgveda* - IV. 56.3.

5. *Taittirīya-Saṁhitā (Taitt.Sam.)* II. 5.1.1-2. He was also named Viśvarūpa; cf. also *Mahābhārata* (Mb.) Śānti, 342. 32-34.

6. *athvyo... yo janat azim dahākām thri-japhnām thrikamārādhām.*

7. James Darmesteter, *The Zend Avesta* (SBE Series), pt. II. p. 60 n. 3. The period of the *Shahnamah* is 11th century A. D. It is an Iranian text.

8. *Ibid.*

9. *Ibid.,* n. 2.

10. Khojeste Mistree, *Zoroastrianism - An Ethnic Perspective,* Bombay, 1982, p. 5.

11. Donald Mackenzie, *Myths of Babylonia and Assyria,* Gresham, London, p. 75.

12. *Ibid.,* p. 135.

13. I am thankful to Ms. Vidya Kamat for this information; see also Asis Sen, *Animal Motifs in Ancient Indian Art,* Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, Calcutta, pl. XXXVIII.

14. Donald Mackenzie, *Egyptian Myth and Legend,* Gresham, London, p. 12.

15. *Ibid.,* p. 73.

16. Donald Mackenzie, *Myths of Crete and Pre-Hellenic Europe,* Gresham, London, p. 183.

17. H. A. Davis, *An Outline History of the World,* Oxford University Press, London, 1950 (1928). Fig. on p. 35. Isis has the Horus babe supported on her left lap by her left hand; cf. Nintu above.

18. *RV* I. 84.13-14. For a full description see Dange, *Towards Understanding Hindu Myths,* p. 242-252.

19. D. Mackenzie, *Egyptian Myth and Legend,* p. 190.

20. *Ibid.,* p. 197.

21. R. T. Rundle Clark, *Myth and Symbol in Ancient Egypt,* Thames and Hudson, London, 1959, p. 50.

22. *Ibid.,* p. 51, where the figure occurs.

23. *Ibid.,* p. 80.

24. *Ibid.,* p. 90.

25. In one depiction at Thebes (XVIII dynasty), this creature has wings. In a necklace from the tomb of Tutankhamen the figures of Khopri are set in precious stones, the period being 1358-1349 B.C. This necklace is from Cairo museum; and its picture is card-printed by Hermer Verlag (Hermer Publishing House), München, Germany.

26. D. Mackenzie, *Egyptian Myth and Legend,* p. 69.

27. D. Mackenzie, *Myths of Crete and Pre-Hellenic Europe,* p. 180.

28. Edith Hamilton, *Mythology,* Little Brown & Company, Boston, 1942, p. 376; cf. the winged lion from Persia mentioned earlier.

29. Winged bulls, with the face of a bearded man, appear also at the entrance to the throne-room in the palace of Sargaon II; cf. No. A 7369 at the Oriental Instt. Museum, University of Chicago. The date is 721-705 B.C.

30. H. A. Davis, *op. cit.* p. 64.

31. Edith Hamilton, *op. cit.,* p. 34; also p. 203.

32. *Ibid.,* p. 193.

33. Khojeste Mistree, *op. cit.* p. 41 and 48;32,122;30, 58.

34. *Śat. Br.* I.2.5.5. *vāmano vā viṣṇur āsa.*

35. *Ibid.* V.3.1.5; VII.3.2.14-16.

36. *Śiva-purāṇa* II. 42.7; R. C. Agrawal, "Agni in Early Indian Art", *Journal of Indian History*, Trivandrum, April 1965, p. 53, Fig. 2 and 3.

37. Dange, *Encl. P. B. P.*, Vol. IV, New Delhi, 1989, pp. 1314-1316.

38. *Ibid.*, Vol. III, 1987, p. 1053f.

39. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV. p. 1221; also *Śiva-p.* II. 42.7 *dakṣasya yajñaśīrṣno hi bhavatvajāmukham śirah.*

40. Dange, *Encl. P. B. P.*, Vol.III, p. 820; and 781;Vol.II,p.693.

41. *Ibid.*, Vol. II. p. 717,726; also *Skanda-p.* VI. 25.3 and VII. 1.185.2.

42. Dange, *Encl. P.B.P.*, Vol. II, p 515ff.; *Skanda-p.* VI. 149.33 *trinetras triśirā hrasvas tripādo barkarākṛtih; Agni-p.* 300.31.

43. Dange, *Encl.P.B.P.*, Vol. I, p. 201 (ass-head); p. 198 (horse-head) and tiger-head at the same place; for actual text, see p. 207 n. 6 and 8; p. 208 n. 12.

44. *Viṣṇudharmottara-purāṇa* (Gaikwad Or. ser.) III. 44.11. The date of this text is 400-500 A. D. according to R. C. Hazra. According to Kane it is 600-900 A.D. See P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. V, *BORI*, Poona, 1977 (Second ed), p 872 and p. 910.

45. *Viṣṇudharmottara-purāṇa loc.cit.*, vv 44^{cd}-45 See Devangana Desai, "Hayagrīva in the Vaikuṇṭha Pantheon of Khajuraho," *Colloquiem on Viṣṇu*, Birla Archaeological and Cultural Research Institute, Hyderabad, 1993, pp. 47-50; Devendra Handa, "Vaikuṇṭha Images from Panjab", *Ajayaśrī* (Prof. Ajaya Mitra Snastri Fel Vol.), Sunder Prakashan, Delhi, 1989, pp. 502ff.; Krishna Deva," Images of Hayagrīva as Vaikuṇṭha", *Viśvambharā* (Prof. V. S. Pathak Fel. Vol.), Harman publications, New Delhi, 1995, pp. 275-278.

46. Devendra Handa, *op.cit., loc.cit.*

47. Devangana Desai, "An Unpublished Viśvarūpa Sculpture in the Khajuraho Museum ", *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay*, Vol 72, 1997 (New Series), p. 53.

48. Devangana Desai, "Hayagrīva in the Vaikuṇṭha..." (noted at 45 above), p. 49, where she refers to Krishna Deva.

49. Dange, *Encl.P.B.P.*, Vol. II, p. 717;718 n.1;Vol. V, 1990, p. 1398; *Skanda-purāṇa* VI. 25.3;84. 4.ff. Mr. Lance Dane (from Bombay), who has a collection of terracotta figurines, informed me that one of these shows Viṣṇu's feet being massaged by a woman with the face of a mare. The period, according to him, may be early Sunga.

50. S. R. Rao, *The Decipherment of the Indus Script*, Asia Publishing House, Bombay (Calcutta, Delhi, Lucknow), 1982, pl. VII-A; XXI. 17 etc.

51. As in Malabar (Keral) India; see Fritz Staal, *Agni*, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1986, Vol. I 44 ff.

52. As Devangana Desai proposes in *JASB*, 72, 1997, p. 52, para 2.

53. *Good News Bible*, Delhi, 1988 (1970), p. 347 (Kings I. 14. 18f.)

54. *Ibid.*, p. 799 (Ezekiel I. 1.4-27).

55. Hajime Nakamura, *A Comparative History of Ideas*, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1992 (foreign 1975), p. 58; for details, Dange, *Towards Understanding Hindu Myths*, p. 10f; p. 33 n.19.

56. Clement C. J. Webb, *A History of Philosophy*, Thornton Butterworth Ltd., London, 1937 (1915), p. 33 and p. 37.

ANIMAL ALTER-MORPHS OF AGNI-PRAJĀPATI

SINDHU S. DANGE

Sacrifice, an important trait of the Vedic culture, is based on the indispensable triad, viz. (i) *Dravya* (material of offering); (ii) *devatā*, deity, to which offering is made, and (iii) *tyāga*, ritual of offerings, (*Kātyāyana Śrautasūtra* 1.2.2). The offering of oblation of the *dravya* to the deity is practically always accompanied by a *mantra* (chant). The offerings make the gods strong and the prayers boost them with encouragement. The *Ṛgveda* (*RV*) at several places clearly states that the deity gets strengthened with the oblations as well as the chants.

The *dravya* or the material which is offered in sacrifice, could be in the form of an animal or a simple corn-offering in the form of a sacrificial cake or a *caru* (rice, boiled with ghee), etc. Both, the animal and the sacrificial cake, are said to be having five constituents (*pāṅkta*).[1]

In the case of animal-offering, the animal offered is regarded as closely connected with the god, at times through its colour or form. And as the offering of the animal is given in fire (Agni), it could be taken as the very form of Agni or the sacrifice. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (*Śat. Br.*) in clear terms, elucidates this idea through a mythical account. Prajāpati thought of Agni's forms (*agnirūpāṇi*). He searched for Agni, who had entered different forms. And these were the five different animals, viz. man (*puruṣa*), the horse, the bull, the ram and the he-goat. Prajāpati was convinced about their being Agni (*Śat. Br.* VI. 2.1.5) and slaughtered them to place them in himself, as Agni's forms (*Ibid.* VI. 2.1.1-6; 18). Hence in the Agnicayana (rite of building the Great Fire-altar) the heads of these five animals are placed in the lowest layer. The *Śat. Br.* points out Prajāpati to be the first sacrificer to slaughter (these five animals), Śyāparṇa Sāyakāyana the last and in the interval period, several other people to slaughter these animals. But in later times, only two animals are sacrificially slaughtered–a hornless dark grey (he-goat) for Prajāpati (*Ibid.* VI. 2.2.1-2) and a white, bearded (he-goat) for Vāyu Niyutvat – Wind, having a group of horses (*Ibid.* VI. 2.2.6).

This mythical account, though a piece of *arthavāda*, is worthy of note, for it brings out the firm conviction of the ritualists, and the reasoning lying at its basis. The very Prajāpati has a desire to have Agni's forms fixed in himself. Hence the sacrificial slaughter. However, it has to be noted that slaughter of man is a debatable point. The remaining four domestic animals are definitely sacrificed. In this context, the *Taitt'rīya Saṁhitā* (*Tait. Sam.*) makes a mention

of four heads, that of a man, horse, bull and serpent (V. 2.9.2-5). Though the *arthavāda* passage, as seen above, mentions only five animals as the forms of Agni, all the animals, of which the oblations are offered in fire, can be regarded as standing for the very sacrifice or Agni and hence as its alter-morphs.

Of all the sacrificial animals, goat (*aja*) is regarded as the most prominent. A hornless goat (*tūpara*) is to be offered to Prajāpati, to beget offspring and cattle; for, such a goat is believed to possess the characteristics of the domesticated animals. The goat possesses beard, characteristic of man; lack of horns, of the horse; having incisors on one side only, that of cattle; having sheep-like hooves, that of sheep; and the goat-nature, that of goats (*Tait. Sam.* II. 1.1.5; cf. *Śat. Br.* VI. 2.2.15). Sāyaṇa in his commentary on the *Tait. Sam.* (II.1.1) and especially on the statement of injunction (*vidhi*) – 'He should offer a white (beast) to Vāyu' (*Ibid.* II.1.1.1), says that wherever there is no specific mention of a particular beast, the 'goat' alone is to be understood as the beast meant, due to the earlier mention of goat (in the statement of *vidhi*) not being refuted.

Hence, in the context of special animal-sacrifices, in the *Tait. Sam.*, at several places, the statement of injunction (*vidhi-vākya*) has to be taken as referring to a 'goat.' Of interest it is to find that in these statements of *vidhi*, the 'goat' to be offered gets connected to the deity by its colour and form. Some examples will stand testimony to this. To Prajāpati is to be offered a black-coloured beast (goat) having spots on its body and low (i.e. bent) horns. This black-coloured beast is believed to be the form of rain. Being spotted, it produces lightning and sheds rain. Having low horns, it brings down the rain for the sacrificer (*Tait. Sam.* II. 1. 8.5). It is clear that the black colour mentioned here, signifies the black colour of the rainy cloud and the belief here is – 'Like produces like', working on the lines of sympathetic or homeopathic magic. A dwarf beast (goat) is to be offered to Viṣṇu by a sacrificer, who is engaged in a struggle. The sacrificer then becomes Viṣṇu and conquers these worlds (*Ibid.* II.1. 3.1). Here the belief that by the dwarf beast, the deity Viṣṇu (in his form as a dwarf) will definitely be propitiated, is again based on the principle of sympathetic magic. A beast (goat) with black neck is to be offered to Agni (*Ibid.* II. 1.2.4,6-9) and a brown beast (goat) to Soma, for various purposes.[2] The beast with the black neck drives away darkness from the person who offers it and the brown colour of the beast for Soma, is believed to place splendour in that person (*Ibid.* II. 1.2.8). Brown beast also procures food for him, as brown is the colour of food (*Ibid.* II. 1.3.3) and also of Soma, thereby bringing prosperity (*Ibid.* II. 1.3.4). A beast (goat) of white colour is to be offered to Bṛhaspati for spiritual lustre—*brahmavarcas* – (*Ibid.* - II. 1.2.4), the white colour itself symbolising the purpose.

That the goat is an important sacrificial animal can be seen from a mythical account which occurs in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*. According to it, the sacrificial essence went out of man, entered subsequently the horse, then the ox, later on the sheep and then the goat. Thereafter it entered the earth, to come out in the form of rice and barley, of which is made the sacrificial cake, i.e. *puroḍāśa* (Śat. Br. I. 2.3.6.7). The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (*Ait. Br.*) states that as the sacrificial essence dwelt for the longest time in goat, goat is the most often employed of all the sacrificial animals (*Ait. Br.* II. 8=6.8). In the Horse-sacrifice, a goat is led before the horse. Here the goat is said to be the first share offered to the god Pūṣan,[3] and thus pronouncing the sacrifice to the gods. On the night previous to the rite of Agnyādhāna (rite of kindling and establishing the three fires, viz. Gārhapatya, Āhavanīya and Dakṣiṇa), a goat having dark spots on its skin is tied towards the north of the place for the Gārhapatya fire, with a *mantra*.[4] In the rite of Agnicayana, while preparing the fire-pan *(ukhā)* of clay, the sacrificer or the Adhvaryu priest mixes the clay with a goat's hair, for the goat is said to be the form of all cattle (*Śat. Br.* VI. 5.1.4), and the female goat is said to be Agni's dear form (*Tait.Sam.* V. 1.6.2).[5] The ritual-texts clearly vouchsafe the belief that goat is a form of Agni as also of Prajāpati, the deity of sacrifice. Goat is believed to have sprung from Prajāpati's head and Prajāpati is Agni (*Śat. Br.* VI. 5.4.16).

In the context of animal-sacrifices, the *Tait. Sam.* lays down an offering of a white beast (goat) to Vāyu. As Vāyu is the swiftest deity, he makes the sacrificer swiftly attain prosperity (*Tait. Sam.* II. 1.1.1). The *Śat. Br.* connects this white, bearded goat to Prajāpati, saying that such a goat to be offered to Vāyu Niyutvat (having a team of horses) has come into being from the seed of Prajāpati (*Śat.Br.* VI. 2.2.6). Having this goat-Agni-Prajāpati close connection in view, the tradition of the Śrautasūtras lays down offering of oblation on the right ear of a she-goat (*Bhāradvāja Ś. S.* IX. 4.5) or in the absence of a she-goat, on the ear of a he-goat (*Āpastamba Ś. S.* IX. 9.3). The *Mahābhārata* and the *purāṇas* also maintain this belief in regarding the goat to be a form of Agni.[6] Goat standing as a symbol of Fire (-god) is seen even in sculptures.[7] The same belief prevails while using a goat-hide in rituals. In the Vājapeya sacrifice, the goat-hide is spread, for it is none other than Prajāpati (the deity of sacrifice). The goats bring forth thrice in a year and produce two or three kids at a time. The sacrificer sitting on a goat-hide is made Prajāpati—the lord of generation (*Śat. Br.* V. 2.1.24; cf. *Taittirīya Br.* I.3.7.7) and also if he is desirous of prosperity, he should be anointed on a goat's skin (*Śat. Br.* IX. 3.4.14).

A fat ram (*meṣa*) is referred to in *RV* as being cooked, probably for being offered to the gods.[8] This speaks of a detail of the ritual that was lost afterwards.[9] Mini-replicas of ram (*meṣa*) and ewe (*meṣī*) made of barley,

are enjoined to be offered to Varuna in the rite of Varunapraghāsa in the Four-monthly (Cāturmāsya) sacrifices. The *Sat. Br.* states here that ram is Varuna's victim and by offering him to Varuna, the sacrificer releases the creatures from Varuna's noose. And so is the pair of ram and ewe offered for the same purpose (*Sat. Br.* II. 5.2.16). It is interesting to note that a ewe with complete teeth (*apannadatī*) is offered to the deity Sarasvatī by a person, who inspite of being a master of speech, cannot speak properly. The importance of the ewe having all teeth is, because of men uttering entire speech with all their teeth (*Tait. Sam.* II. 1.2.6,7). One whole hymn in the *Atharvaveda* (III.29) praises the *śitipād avi* (white-footed sheep), which is prescribed to be given before death and is believed to wash away sin (*AV* III. 29.10). A strainer for *soma*-juice was made of sheep-wool (*RV* IX. 78. 1 cd). In the Sautrāmaṇī sacrifice, they purify *soma* with a strainer made of goat's hair and sheep's wool. Such a stainer is regarded as a symbol of goats and sheep (*Sat.Br.* XII. 8.1.13). This is based on the principle of sympathetic magic, which in this case is — 'A part stands for the whole', the goat's hair and the sheep's wool standing for the respective animals, so closely connected with the sacrifice.

The sacrifice of a horse is traced to *RV* (I.162; 163). That the horse stands for the sun is clearly brought out, when the goddess Dawn (Uṣas) is said to lead a beautiful white horse (*RV* VII. 77.3b). There is a mention of some mythical horses in *RV.* Dadhikrā or Dadhikrāvan (*RV* IV. 38-40; VII.44), is taken to represent the orb of the sun, as the deity associated with it is Dawn (Uṣas).[10] Tārkṣya is another divine horse, which represents the sun.[11] The horse brought by the Aśvins to Pedu is called Paidva (*RV* I. 119.10; VII. 71.5 etc.). The horse Etaśa runs a race with the sun, and gets help from Indra to have a point over the sun. The sun however chooses Etaśa as a horse for his chariot.[12] All these horses have some divine hallow about them and they are associated with the sun; some stand for the sun. However their sacrifice is not mentioned.

The sacrificial horse is believed to have been created by the gods from the sun (*RV* I. 163. 2d; also *Ait. Br.* VI. 35=30.9). In the rite of Agnicayana, while going to bring clay for making a fire-pan, they carry a horse, donkey and goat. The horse is said to be the yonder sun, which acting as a thunderbolt made the gods drive off the *asuras* (*Sat.Br.* VI. 3.1.29; also *Ibid.* VI. 3.3.10). In the same rite, the horse is made to smell a layer of bricks. The horse is said to be the yonder sun and the bricks, the creatures on the earth or the worlds (*Ibid.,* VII.3.2.12,13). This horse has to be white,[13] for it is a form of the sun, which shines (*tapati,* lit. 'burns') yonder (*Ibid.,* VII. 3.2.16); and it should have a reddish mouth.[14] As the sun and Prajāpati (the deity of sacrifice) are believed to be the two forms of the same principle, viz. Agni,[15] horse is said to be the form of Prajāpati also. The Vedic ritual texts,

at every step, echo this belief.[16] While giving the etymology of the word
asva ('horse'), it is said that the eye of Prajāpati swelled and fell away. That
(eye) became a horse. As the eye swelled (*asvayat* fr. √ *svi,*) the *asva*
(horse) has its name.[17] In the rite of Agnyādhāna, when the horse is led
from the Gārhapatya fire to the east (to the site of the Āhavanīya fire), Agni
(who is indeed Prajāpati — *eṣa vai prajāpatiḥ / yadagniḥ*) also follows it,
as Prajāpati sees his own eye in the form of the horse (*Tait.Br.* I. 1.5.6).
In the rite of Agnicayana, when they go for bringing clay to make a fire-pan,
the sacrificer or the Adhvaryu priest offers two oblations on the foot-print
of the horse. It is said that horse is the same as Agni and these two libations
come to be offered over Agni (*Śat. Br.* VI. 3.3.22). When the fire-pan is
ready, he fumigates it with dried horse-dung, to protect it from injury, for
the horse is sacred to Prajāpati and Prajāpati is Agni. No one injures one's
own self (*Ibid.* VI. 5.3.9). The *Tait.Sam.* says that this serves to connect
the horse (through its dung) with its place of birth i.e. Prajāpati (*Tait. Sam.*
V. 1.7.1). In the same rite, i.e. Agnicayana, he makes the horse sniff the
'naturally perforated' (*svayamātrṇṇā*) brick. This is placing the horse's breath
in the Great Fire-altar and as horse is connected with Prajāpati, it is through
Prajāpati that he piles the Fire-altar (*Ibid,* V. 3.7.4).[18] However, at a couple
of places, horse is to belong to Varuṇa.[19] But barring such scanty references,
the horse is primarily believed to be the animal related to Agni-Prajāpati and
originally to the sun.

Hide of a black antelope is mentioned by the Vedic ritual texts in several
rites. These texts do not refer to the actual sacrifice of a black antelope,
unlike that of a goat or horse.[20] However, at various places, the hide of
a black antelope is equated with the sacrifice. The horn of a black antelope
is mentioned, but that too as connected with the sacrifice. The horn is to
be tied to the garment of the sacrificer, when he is to be consecrated for
the sacrifice. The reasoning for this occurs in a mythical account (*Śat.Br.*
III. 2.1. 18-28). Indra, becoming an embryo entered into the union of Yajña
and Vāc (Speech), and tearing off the womb, placed it on the head of Yajña,
which was none other than the black antelope. The horn of the black antelope
used in the rite of consecration is the same as that womb (*Ibid.* III. 2.1.28).[21]

That the black antelope was an undomesticated animal, is clearly brought
out in the *Tait. Sam.* The *Tait. Sam.* lays down, gathering of clay for making
a fire-pan, on the skin of a black antelope. This has a specific purpose.
If he were to gather the clay with the skin of the tame animals, he would
afflict them with pain. Hence he gathers it with the black antelope skin. So
the wild animals are afflicted with pain (*Tait. Sam.* V. 1.4.2,3). Obviously
the tame ones are saved.

An important point to be taken note of is, that the goat and horse are
not directly identified with Agni-Prajāpati, but are said to be his form or closely

connected with him. But the black antelope is said to be the very sacrifice and obviously Prajāpati, he being the deity of sacrifice. The *Tait. Sam.* relates a mythical account that the sacrifice did not resort to Śaṁyu, son of Bṛhaspati, entered fire and emerged from it in the form of a black antelope (*Ibid.* V. 2.6.4,5). The *Śat. Br.* states that once upon a time, the sacrifice escaped the gods and having become a black antelope roamed about. The gods finding it, stripped it of its skin, which they brought about with them (*Śat.Br.* I. 1.4.1).

The black antelope skin came to be looked upon as the very sacrifice,[22] though the black antelope to which it belonged, was not actually sacrificed. This skin is laid down for being used, in the rite of Agnicayana, while preparing a fire-pan, as the lump of clay is to be placed on it. This skin is regarded as the sacrifice (*Tait. Sam.* V. 1.6.2,3; *Śat. Br.* VI. 4.1.9). The hide stands for the animal on the principle of sympathetic magic, (a part standing for the whole); and it is to be placed in a particular way obviously with its hairy part above. So, in the rite of Pravargya (in which milk boiled in a particularly shaped pot, called Mahāvīra, is offered to the gods), the black antelope hide is spread out on the left (north) side, with its neck part to the east, the north signifying the quarter of humans and the east tending towards the gods (*Ibid.* XIV. 1.2.2; cf. also *Ibid.* IX. 3.4.14). In the New-moon and Full-moon sacrifices, while preparing the offerings, the black antelope skin is spread on the ground, with its neck part turned to the west, and the prayer is to Aditi (*Śat. Br.* I. 1.4.5). The *Tait. Sam.*, in the context of the rite of Agnicayana, enjoins for the sacrificer, wearing of shoes made of black antelope's hide. Both, metres as well as black antelope hide, stand for power. When he puts on these shoes, he clothes himself with metres and approaches the fire, to prevent injury to himself (*Tait. Sam.* V. 4.4.4; V. 6.6.1). Even the hair on the black antelope hide are thought to be important. The white and black hair represent the *ṛcs* and *sāmans* respectively or even *vice-versa*. The brown and the yellow hair represent the *yajuses*.[23] It is said that the *ṛc* and the *sāman*, unwilling to stay with the gods for sacrifice, departed from them taking the form of a black antelope. The white colour of the black antelope hide is the colour of the *ṛc* and also of the day, and the black colour of it, is the colour of the *sāman* and also of the night (*Ibid.* VI. 1.3.1). In the context of the Agniṣṭoma sacrifice, the *Śat. Br.* says that the white hair on the hide stand for the sky, the black ones for the earth or *vice-versa*, and the brownish yellow ones for the mid-region. The Adhvaryu priest consecrates the sacrificer, seated on this hide, at these three worlds (*Śat. Br.* III. 2.1.3).

Bull and cow, the familiar domesticated animals right from the Ṛgvedic times,[24] are mentioned in the Vedic rituals. The *Ṛgveda* mentions a ritual of cooking a spotted bull, with a note that these were the rituals of bygone times.[25] Again we find that *uksans* (stud bulls, kept for procreation fr. √*uks*-

to 'sprinkle'), *ṛsabhas* (= *vṛsabhas* - virile, sprinkler bulls fr. √*vṛs-vars* - 'to sprinkle') and *vaśās* (barren cows) are offered to Agni (*RV* VI. 16.47). However, a definite ritual of sacrificially killing a bull cannot be maintained in the ritual of the Brāhmaṇa-texts. The information about the Śūlagava-rite, in which a bull is sacrificed to Rudra, occurs in the *Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra* (IV.9.1-40). This tradition is much later than the ritual-tradition of the Brāhmaṇa-texts. However, though the definite sacrifice of a bull cannot be traced in the Brāhmaṇa-texts, the bull is said to be closely connected with Agni-Prajāpati. In the rite of Agnicayana, in the case of not getting white horse or any horse (to lead the procession of the sacrificer and the priests, from the Gārhapatya to the Āhavanīya), a bull could be chosen. The *Śat. Br.* enjoins this by saying that the bull is of Agni's nature (*Śat. Br.* VII. 3.2.16 - *āgneyo vā'anaḍvān*). This belief must have worked in several rituals, where the use of red bull hide is enjoined by the Gṛhya and the Śrautasūtras,[26] the red colour obviously standing for the blazing form of Agni and the hide for the bull. Both signify Agni. That the *vṛsabha (=ṛsabha)* 'sprinkler' bull is believed to be a progenitor *(prajanayitā)*, is clearly stated by the *Tait. Br.*, while laying down the use of its hide for a *vaiśya,* desiring for nourishment (i.e. prosperity). The *vaiśya* is to be anointed with curds, seated on the bull's hide, with the neck-part of the hide to the east and the hairy part upwards.[27] Thus like goat and horse, the bull also is regarded as closely connected with sacrifice.

Together with the bull, mention has to be made of cow, which is also closely related to the Vedic sacrifice. *Vaśā* was to be offered in the fire for getting food (*RV* VIII. 43.11). Sāyaṇa takes the word *vaśā* to mean a barren cow.[28] In the *Atharvaveda, vaśā* is deified and is praised in thirty-four *mantras* (*AV* X.10). She is said to be the wife of the god of Parjanya (*AV* X.10.6c) and is clearly the cloud-cow. The *Tait. Sam.*, in the context of special animal-sacrifices, enjoins offering of several types of *vaśās* (cows). It is said that when the Vaṣatkāra (the sound Vaṣaṭ) cleft the head of the Gāyatrī, the sap thereof fell away. The sap, which fell at first became a *vaśā* (cow) with a white back; the second (sap), a *vaśā* of two forms; the third, a *vaśā* of many forms. The blood became a fierce red *vaśā.*

These cows *(vaśās)* are offered to the deities, viz. Bṛhaspati (for splendour; the white colour of the cow's back suggesting that), Mitrā-Varuṇā (a dual deity; for getting rains for day and for night), Viśve Devāḥ (All Gods; for getting food, obviously of all forms), and Rudra (when a person practises witchcraft), (*Tait. Sam.* II. 1.7.1-7). The *vaśā* was sacrificially killed in the Puruṣamedha. After the concluding oblation (Udayanīya), eleven barren cows (*vaśās*), sacred to Mitrā-Varuṇā, Viśve Devāḥ and Bṛhaspati with a view to propitiate these deities are enjoined to be seized (*Śat. Br.* XIII. 6.2.16).[29] In the Horse-sacrifice, after the concluding rite (Udayanīya) twenty-one *vaśās*

sacred to the deities mentioned above (in the context of the Puruṣamedha), are laid down to be seized (*Ibid.* XIII. 5.4.25). In this very sacrifice, a cow wont to cast her calf, mentioned as one of the '*paryaṅgya*' animals (animals encircling the horse), is a sacrificial victim for Indra (*Ibid.* XIII. 2.2.9). One may be reminded of Indra's epithet *gārsteya* in the Ṛgveda (X.111.2b), as he was the son of *gṛsti* (*RV* IV. 18. 10b), *gṛṣṭi* being a cow, giving birth to only one calf.[30] However, the parallel is not exact. A barren cow called Anūbandhyā is enjoined to be offered to Mitra and Varuṇa in the Soma-sacrifice (*Śat. Br.* II.4.4.14; IV.5.1.5), another such cow to All-Gods and yet another to Bṛhaspati (*Ibid.* IV. 5.1.10, 11). In the Vājapeya sacrifice, a spotted sterile cow is to be offered to the Maruts (*Ibid.* V. 1.3.3).

Cow being important in the daily life of the Vedic Aryans, its image entered several spheres. The thundering cloud-cow is taken to be the symbol of the mid-region Speech, which makes a sound while showering rains.[31] The cow Somakrayaṇī—after giving which, Soma was purchased—stood as a symbol of Speech.[32] The *Tāṇḍya Mahābrāhmaṇa* mentions the Anustaraṇī cow, which is used for laying on a corpse at the cremation. Such a cow is aged, scurvy and hornless or a dusky one of two years with shorter fore-legs (*Tāṇḍ. M. Br.* XXI. 1.7). This cow is called Anustaraṇī, (fr. *anu* + √*str-* 'to place on), for it is immolated sacrificially and its limbs are placed on the corresponding limbs of the dead *āhitāgni* (the sacrificer who maintains the three fires), and the omentum on the face of that *āhitāgni*.[33] The Śrautasūtras[34] and the Gṛhyasūtras[35] provide all details in this respect.

The cow-hide is used at rituals right from the Ṛgvedic times. The stones for pressing the Soma-shoots are kept on the hide of a cow.[36] In the Mahāvrata-rite, which formed part of the Soma-sacrifice at the Summer or the Winter solstice, a *kṣatriya* is required to shoot three arrows consecutively in such a way, that they get stuck into a hide, that is kept stretched between two posts, with such a skill that the arrows just stick in the skin and do not pierce it through.[37] The very nature of the Mahāvrata being symbolic, the hide signified the earth to be 'fructified' by the 'shaft'. Again there is a sham fight for a round piece of white hide, between an *ārya* and *śūdra,* in which the former emerges victorious.[38] This hide symbolizes the 'sun' and thus there is an indication that the *ārya* will get all seasons good and fruitful. Though not mentioned here specifically, these hides used in the Mahāvrata-rite seem to be of a cow and bull respectively.

The killing of a four-eyed (having two natural eyes and two marks in the skin above the two eyes) dog is mentioned in the Horse-sacrifice. The *Śat. Br.* says that having killed the dog, it is made to float under the horse's stomach in between the fore and the hind feet. The dog here stands for the wicked enemy, which the sacrificer stamps down with the horse serving as a thunder-bolt. (*Śat.Br.* XIII. 1.2.9).[39] The killing of a dog here cannot

be regarded as a sacrificial offering. But the dog was sacrificed, as is clearly mentioned in *RV* (IV. 18.13) and *AV* (VII. 5.5).[40]

In the context of the Horse-sacrifice, there occurs a long list of hundreds of animals and birds, in the *Vāj.Sam.* (XXIV). These animals and birds, thirteen in each group, are to be brought and tied to the post, such posts being twenty-one in number and the interval spaces between these posts being twenty, where the animals and birds are to be brought. Kane states that the animals and birds, mentioned from Kapiñjala onwards (*Vāj. Sam.* XXIV. 20ff.) are let off, after fire is carried round them.[41] But this is the tradition of the Śrautasūtras, which are of later times as compared to the Brāhmaṇa-texts. Carrying of fire round the animals and birds obviously signifies their symbolic sacrifice and not the actual one. However, in the *Sat. Br.* a hornless goat and *gomṛga*,[42] the *paryaṅgya* animals (animals encircling the horse) and other animals are clearly enjoined to be immolated, together with the horse (*Sat. Br.* XIII. 2.2,1-19).

In the rite of Agnicayana, a live tortoise is enjoined to be kept at the lowest level (*Ibid.,* VII. 5.1.1) Though not directly mentioned as sacrificed, the tortoise could be taken so, for it is said to be originally a sacrificial cake, which is offered to the gods. In the context of the New-moon and the Full-moon sacrifices, a mythical account occurs in the *Tait. Sam.,* which states that the Aṅgirases were the last to go to the world of heaven. When the sages came to the place of sacrifice, they saw the sacrificial cake, creeping about having become a tortoise. When they asked it to be firm at one place, in the name of Indra, Bṛhaspati and All-Gods, it did not. On their instruction · to be firm for Agni, it became firm (*Tait.Sam.* II. 6.3.2,3). In the rite of Agnicayaṅa, a similar mythical account states further that the sacrificial cake becoming a tortoise crawled after the Aṅgirases, when they went to the world of heaven. So the (live) tortoise when placed (at the lowest level) leads the sacrificer straight to the world of heaven (*Ibid.,* V.2.8.4.5). In the same context, the *Sat.Br.,* while enjoining the placing of a live tortoise, says that Prajāpati having become a tortoise created the beings (*Sat. Br.* VII. 5.1.5). Agni-Prajāpati becoming a tortoise crept over the three worlds (*Ibid.,* VII. 5.1.9). Tortoise is also said to be the sun (*Ibid.,* VII.5.1.6). This gets related to the world-wide belief that tortoise is a solar animal,[43] and in the sacrificial context, it is closely connected with Agni-Prajāpati.

The shape of the Great Fire-altar to be built in the rite of Agnicayana is that of some large bird—probably an eagle or a falcon—flying towards the east, the gate of heaven.[44] In the context of laying down the piling of altars of different shapes, depending on the desire of the sacrificer for particular things, the *Tait. Sam.* says that as hawk (*śyena*) is the best flier among birds, when the sacrificer piles the fire-altar in hawk-shape, he becoming a hawk flies to the world of heaven (*Tait.Sam.* V. 4.11.1). The *Sat.Br.* clearly

states that the sacrificer fashions Agni (Great Fire-altar) into a beautiful-winged bird (*Śat. Br.* IX. 2.3.34... *suparṇam garutmantam cinoti...*). The *Śat. Br.* repeats this idea at other places (*Ibid.*, IX. 4.4.4.6) and says that according to some, the Great Fire-altar is built in this shape for a specific reason.By such altar, Agni, having become a bird shall bear the sacrificer to the sky (*Ibid.*, VI. 1.2.36). This shows that the image of a bird is always present before the Vedic ritualists, for no other creature could be thought of as going directly to the high heavens. In this sense even a bird has to be taken as an alter-morph of Agni-Prajāpati.

To come to the animals, the sacrifice of which is not distinctly mentioned in the Vedic ritual tradition. A single reference to monkey (*kapi*) occurs in the *Ṛgveda*, and that is to Vṛṣākapi-a hairy monkey of huge size (*RV* X. 86). According to Dange, the Ṛgvedic hymn speaks of a lost ritual of the sacrifice of a monkey.[45] There is a mention of *mahiṣas* killed for Indra (*RV* VIII. 12.8.) and their flesh cooked for him (*Ibid.* VI. 17.11.3). *Mahiṣa* here may signify a huge buffalo, but there is no trace of its being sacrificed for Indra.

Donkey referred to by the words *gardabha* and *rāsabha*, is mentioned in the *Ṛgveda*.[46] There is no mention of its sacrifice in the Vedic ritual tradition, though in the Dharmaśāstra tradition, the sacrifice of a donkey *(gardabha)* to the deity Nirṛti and wearing of the donkey's hide to cover the body while begging alms for one year, are enjoined for an *avakīrṇin* i.e. a *brahmacārin*, who has swerved from the vow of celibacy.[47] This sacrifice, however, is to be on the ordinary fires, which are not to be kindled with any *mantra*. This cannot be said to be a sacrificial killing, for the *avakīrṇin* is not regarded as entitled to perform a sacrifice.

The predominant thought in the context of animal-sacrifice is, that animals belong to Agni and therefore are offered to him. A mythical account occurring in the *Śat.Br.* states that once Agni went away from the gods and they searched for him by means of different kinds of cattle, with a thought that as Agni himself is (cattle or) an animal, he will become manifest unto his own form (*Śat.Br.* VI. 3.1.22). The *Tait Sam.* says that Agni is an animal (V.7.6.1). The gods deposit all their beasts, both domestic and wild, with Agni (*Śat. Br.* II. 3.4.1.2). The *Ait. Br.* states that the sacrificial victim was not willing to go to gods, as it saw death before it. It asked somebody to go before it. Agni went before it. Therefore it is said that every animal is connected with Agni, for it follows Agni and submits to it (*Ait. Br.* II. 6=6.6.) Thus in the Vedic ritual tradition, the animals to be sacrificed are closely connected with Agni-Prajāpati and are regarded as his alter-morphs, though no individual animal stands as an exclusive symbol of Agni-Prajāpati.

Notes and References

1. *Śat. Br.* I.2.3.5 – पशुर्हं वा एष आलभ्यते यत् पुरोडाश: I also *Ibid* I.2.3.8... पाङ्क्त: पशुरिति I

2. *Tait. Sam.* II. 1.2.6-9. These purposes for offering to Agni and Soma are : to have one's long illness cured; to win fame if one does not get it, despite one's study; to score victory, when there is a dispute for getting the position of a priest.

3. *RV* I. 162. 3 ab; 4cd. Sāyaṇa takes *puṣṇaḥ* as *poṣakasya agneḥ* probably having the later tradition in view; also *Ibid.* I. 163.12.

4. Vide Kane, P. V., *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. II. pt. II, Poona, 1974, p. 991; also *Śat. Br.* II. 1.4.3, for this practice.

5. also see *Tait. Sam.* V. 4.3.2 milk of the she-goat is offered in the rite of Agnicayana, for the she-goat is connected with Agni. In the Pravargya rite, he takes she-goat's milk, for the goat was produced from the heat, when the sacrifice had its head cut off.

6. *Mbh* Vana. 226.29; 228.3,5–Naigameya Agni becoming goat-faced to amuse Skanda.

   Also *Agni p.* 156. 10b शुद्धम् अश्वाजयोर्मुखम्
   Skanda p. IV. 40. 46ab - अश्वाजयोर्मुखं मेध्यम्

7. Agrawal R. C. "Agni in Early Indian Art," *Journal of Indian History,* XLIII, pt. I, Apr. 1965, p. 151ff, fig. on p. 153.

8. *RV* X. 27. 17a - पीवानं मेषमपचन्त वीरा:
   Sāyaṇa understands by the word vīrāḥ Aṅgirases, the sons of Prajāpati.

9. Such a ritual is noted in the *Rāmāyaṇa.* Vide *Rām.* Ayodhyā. 56. 19-30 While in exile, Lakṣmaṇa, for pacifying the place of residence made of leaves, kills a black deer (*aiṇa* or *kṛṣṇamṛga*) on the word of Rāma and throws that whole deer into the fire. The parts of that cooked (roasted) deer are offered by Rāma to the gods. The fact to be noted is that such a ritual of roasting the whole sacrificial victim (animal) is not referred to or mentioned in any ritual in later times. The ritual seems to be lost. also cf. *Old Testament,* "Numbers" chap. 19. 1-10. A red cow after being killed, with its blood sprinkled at the four quarters of the tent, is burnt in fire by (the priest) Eleazar, for its ashes to be dissolved in water to make it purificatory for being used at rituals. Here again there is a reference to burn the whole animal.

10. Macdonell, A. A., *Vedic Mythology,* (Hindi), Varanasi, 1961, pp. 281-283.

11. for Tārkṣya *RV* I 89.6; X.178.1. also *Vedic Mythology,* p. 284.

12. *Ibid.* p. 285.

13. See *Tait. Br.* III. 9.21. 1. The Ādityas and the Aṅgirases ran a race for heaven. The Aṅgirases then gave to the Ādityas, a dakṣiṇā (gift) of the sun in the form of a white horse.

14. *Śat. Br.* VII. 3.2.16. This white horse has, as it were, a scorched mouth (acc. to Sāyaṇa a reddish mouth). The mythical account relates that when Agni went away from the gods and entered the water, Prajāpati becoming a horse went in search of him. When Prajāpati found Agni on a lotus-leaf and eyed him, Agni scorched his mouth. *Ibid.* VII. 3.2.14.

15. The principle of Agni (Fire) is believed to be manifest in three different forms at three levels viz. Sūrya (sun) in the highest heaven; Vāyu or Indra.(indicating the lightning fire) in the mid-region; and Agni (terrestrial fire, also sacrificial fire) on the terrestrial level. cf. *RV* X. 158. 1; also *Nirukta* VII. 5. In the context of sacrifice, the lightning-fire has significance, for, the sacrificial sticks to be used, have to be from such a tree which has been struck with lightning (*Tait. Br.* I. 1.3.12). And the sun and Agni-Prajāpati (the sacrificial fire imagined as a deity) are regarded as the two forms of Agni.

16. *Tait.Br.* III. 9.8.2- (in the context of Horse-sacrifice) प्राजापत्यो वा अश्व: also *Ibid.* II.7.2.3; Jaim. Br. II. 129 - प्रजापतेर्वा एतद् रूपं यदश्व: । *Śat. Br.* VI. 3.3.22 - अग्निरेष यदश्व: ।

17. *Tait. Sam.* V. 3. 12.1; also *Ibid.* V. 3. 12.2 (In the context of Horse-sacrifice), they cut from the horse on the left side, for it was the left eye of Prajāpati that swelled. aslo *Jaim. Br.* II. 68.

18. cf. *Tait. Sam.* III. 2.6.3. The horse is made to sniff the speckled butter used in the Soma-sacrifice, and the horse is connected with Prajāpati.

19. *Śat. Br.* V. 3.1.5; *Tait.Br.* III.9.16.1. also Eggeling, J., The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, pt. v. *SBE* vol. 44, Delhi, 1978 (1900), Intrn. pp. xix-xx.

20. Dange, Sadashiv A., "The Riddle of the Black Antelope" *Abhinandana-Bhāratī (Prof. K. K. Handiqui Fel. Vol.)*, Gauhati, 1982, pp. 27-33.

21. also *Tait.Sam.* VI.1.3.7 for Indra wrapping the womb in his hand, depositing it among wild beasts, it becoming the horn of the black antelope; *Ibid.* VI. 1.3.8 the sacrificer casting away the horn of the black antelope in the pit, the latter being the sacrificer's womb and sacrificer thus throwing womb in womb.

22. *Tait.Sam.* V. 1.4.2; V.1.6.3. *Śat.Br.* VI. 7.1.6; IX.3.4.10; XII. 8.3.3; XIV. 1.2.1,2 etc.

23. *Śat. Br.* I. 1.4.2; VI.7.1.6,7; XIV. 1.2.2.; *Jaim. Br.* states that the black antelope hide is the form of all Vedas, the white hair on it standing as the form of the *sāmans* and the black ones as that of the *r̥cs*.

24. *RV* III. 53. 18ab-Indra invoked to give strength to the bulls; *Ibid.* X. 59. 10a-Indra invoked to impel cow and bull; *Ibid.* X. 85. 10cd reference to two lustrous bulls in the context of Sūrya going to the house of her husband.

25. *Ibid.* I. 164. 43cd उक्षाणं पृश्निमपचन्त वीरास्तानि धर्माणि प्रथमान्यासन् ॥

26. Dange, Sindhu S., *Hindu Domestic Rituals-A Critical Glance,* Delhi, 1985, pp. 82,83.

27. *Tait.Br.* II.7.2.2 and Sāyaṇa explaining the Vaiśyasava 'ritual for *vaiśya'*, quoting from one Sūtra.

28. *RV* VI. 16. 47d-Say. वशाभि: वन्ध्याभिगोंभि: *Ibid.* X. 91. 14b - Say. वशा: स्वभाववन्ध्या:

29. Eggeling, J., *op.cit.* p. 411, n 3.

30. *RV* X. 111. 2 b Say. on the word *gārṣṭeyaḥ* - सकृत्प्रसूता धेनुर्गृष्टि: ।

31. *Ibid.* I. 164.41 a - गौरीर्मिमाय सलिलानि तक्षती and Say. गौरी गरणशीला माध्यमिका वाक् ।

32. *Sat. Br.* III. 2.4. 10, 15 वाग् वै सोमक्रयणी also *Ibid.* III. 3.1.16. Such a cow is without any bodily defect, is uniform (*ekarūpā*), for Speech is uniform (and perfect).

33. *Śrautakośa*, ed. by Dandekar, R. N., and Kashikar, C. G., Eng. Tr., Vol. I-ii, Poona, 1958, p. 1067.

34. *Ibid.* p. 1053, p. 1071.

35. Ram Gopal, *India of Vedic Kalpasutras*, Delhi, 1959, pp. 360-361.

36. *RV* X 94. 9b. Say. takes the word *gavi* to mean *adhiṣavaṇacarmaṇi*. Yāska also has given the same meaning. *Nirukta* II. 2.

37. *Śāṅkhāyana Ś. S.* XVII. 15; also Ram Gopal, *op.cit.*, p. 170.

38. *Ibid.*

39. Kane. P. V., *op. cit,* vol. II, pt. II, Poona, 1974, p. 1230.

40. Dange, Sadashiv A., *Sexual Symbolism from the Vedic Ritual,* Delhi, 1979, pp. 161-176.

41. Vide Kane, P. V., *op.cit.,* vol. II, pt. II, p. 1234, where he refers to *Kāty. Ś. S.* XX.6.9; *Āp. Ś. S.* XX. 17.5.

42. Eggeling, J., *op.cit.* pt. V, p. 338, n.1.

43. Dange, Sindhu, S., *Bhāgavata Purāṇa–Mytho-social Study,* Delhi, 1984, pp. 240-241.

44. Eggling J., *op.cit.* pt. IV. *SBE,* Vol. 43, Delhi. 1978 (1885) Intrn. p. xxi.

45. Dange, Sadashiv A., "A Virility-Charm (Rgveda X.86), *Vedic Concept of "field" and the Divine Fructificatin,* Bom. Uni. Pubn., Bombay, 1971, pp. 49-67.

46. For *gardabha, RV* I. 29.5 and also Sāyaṇa on it–Indra invoked to kill a donkey i.e. donkey-like enemy, who slanders openly; *Ibid* III. 53. 23-Viśvāmitra pointing out that Vasiṣṭha cannot compete with him, for people never carry a donkey in front of a horse. For *rāsabha, Ibid.* I. 34.9 cd; VIII. 85.7 *rāsabhas* are yoked to the chariot of the Aśvins.

47. Kane, P. V., *op. cit,* Vol. II. pt. I, Poona, 1974, p. 374.

THE DATE OF DHAṄGADEVA'S VIŚVANĀTHA
(MARAKATEŚVARA) TEMPLE INSCRIPTION OF KHAJURAHO

DEVANGANA DESAI

King Dhaṅgadeva was a powerful ruler of the Candella dynasty of Jejākabhukti (Bundelkhand region) which included larger parts of Madhya Pradesh and southern Uttar Pradesh. He was the first independent Candella ruler who did not acknowledge the overlordship of the Gurjara-Pratihāras of Kannauj. He had the title of *"Śrī Kālañjarādhipati"* — Lord of Kālañjara. Kālañjara was a strong fort, the possession and control of which was considered strategically important in the power politics of the northern Indian states. We first hear of Dhaṅga in the Khajuraho inscription of the Vaikuṇṭha (Lakṣmaṇa) temple of A.D.954 (V.S.1011), when he consecrated this temple built by his father King Yaśovarman, as the latter had passed away before its consecration rite was performed.[1] Dhaṅgadeva is said to have lived for a hundred years. Inscriptions of his successors take note of stability and growth of arts during the long reign of Dhaṅgadeva.[2]

A large stone slab bearing a Sanskrit inscription eulogizing King Dhaṅgadeva and his grand Śiva temple at Kharjūravāhaka (Khajuraho) was discovered by Captain T. S. Burt of Bengal Engineers in 1838 when he visited this place on a day's trip from Chhatarpur.[3] Burt found this inscribed stone slab lying at the entrance of a big Śiva temple, then locally called the Lālājī's temple, and since General Alexander Cunningham's visit in 1864 known as the Viśvanātha temple.

The Viśvanātha temple inscription relates at length an account of the Candella dynasty, praises the mighty King Dhaṅga who constructed the magnificent temple of Śiva (Śambhu, Pramathanātha) and installed in it two *liṅgas,* one of emerald *(marakata)* and the other of stone. In the inscription the temple is called Marakateśvara — the Lord of the Emerald Liṅga, and also Pramathanātha.[4] The emerald *liṅga* was already missing in 1864 when General Cunningham visited Khajuraho. But "in spite of this difference in name," Cunningham writes: "I think it is almost certain that this Śaiva inscription must refer to the Śaiva temple now called Viśvanātha."[5] Similarly, Krishna Deva also says: "Although the stone *liṅga* alone has survived there is no doubt that the inscription refers to the Viśvanātha temple itself, which by its architectural grandeur and sculptural grace and exuberance, easily impresses as a monument worthy of a king."[6]

The inscription covers a space of 5 ft. 2 inches by 2 ft. 10 inches
and consists of 34 lines in Nāgarī characters. F. Kielhorn, who has published
the Sanskrit text of the inscription in Volume I of the *Epigraphia Indica* (1892),
says that the earlier edition of the inscription by J. C. Sutherland in *Journal
of the Bengal Asiatic Society*, Vol. VIII, 1839, was based on the impression
carelessly taken by Captain Burt. Subsequently, Kielhorn got the fresh rubbings
of the inscription by J. F. Fleet and edited its text in 1887 and 1892.

Alexander Cunningham had also published a photolithograph of this
inscription and read, perhaps directly from the stone slab, the date on the
line 32 as Saṁvat "**1056**" corresponding to A.D.999,[7] but Kielhorn read
the date from the rubbings as Saṁvat "**1059**", corresponding to A. D. 1002.[8]
Kielhorn's reading, published in the *Epigraphia Indica*, has been accepted
by most of the scholars writing on Khajuraho and the Candella dynasty including
S. K. Mitra, R. K. Dikshit and Krishna Deva. I had also taken this date for
granted in my papers written before 1987.

But in 1987, I visited the Viśvanātha temple of Khajuraho along with
the epigraphist Dr. Arvind K. Singh, who in my presence directly read from
the stone slab (not from the impression or rubbing) the date of the inscription
as very clearly and certainly as Saṁvat "**1056**", equivalent to A.D. 999,
which agrees with Cunningham's reading.[9] I give here a photograph of the
lower portion of the inscription slab (Plate I), in which we can read "Saṁvat
1056" written in Nāgarī characters in the second line from below, on the
right side.

The year V.S.1056 or A.D.999 as the consecration · date of the
Marakateśvara temple is also supported by other historical evidence.

First, on the lunar eclipse of the Kārttika of the year Saṁvat 1055
corresponding to November 6, 998, Dhaṅgadeva issued at Kāśī a grant of
a village to Bhaṭṭa Yaśodhara, who is described as belonging to the Bhāradvāja
gotra and a follower of the Vājasaneyī Śākhā, as recorded in a copper-plate
found from Nanyaura (Hamirpur district), now in Asiatic Society, Calcutta.[10]
This *śāsana* (charter) ends with the signature of Śrī Dhaṅgadeva. Bhaṭṭa
Yaśodhara, the donee of the Nanyaura Copperplate grant, as Kielhorn also
agrees, is the same Bhaṭṭa Yaśodhara, the Royal Priest and Administrator
of Justice, who got engraved the eulogy of the Marakateśvara temple after
the death of Dhaṅgadeva. It is not unlikely that after visiting Kāśī in November
of A.D.998, where he issued the grant, the aged Dhaṅgadeva went to Prayāga,
Allahabad, where he is said to have ended his life at the Saṅgam, the confluence
of the Gaṅgā and Yamunā rivers. This incidence has been recorded in the
Markateśvara temple inscription. The verse 55 of the inscription relates :

जीवित्वा स(श)रदां स(श)तं समधिकं श्रीधंग पृथ्वीपति: ।
रुद्रं मुद्रितलोचन: स हृदये ध्यायन्ज(न्ज)पन् जाह्नवी-
कालिंद्यो: सल्लिले कलेवरपरित्यागादगान्निर्वृतिं ॥

"When Dhaṅga had ruled the whole earth over which he alone had sway, and lived rather more than a hundred years, he abandoned the body in the waters of the Gaṅgā and Yamunā, and entered into beatitude, closing the eyes, fixing his thoughts on Rudra and muttering holy prayers."

So Dhaṅgadeva died some time after 6th November 998, and the inscription of his Marakateśvara temple was put after his death by the Chief Priest Bhaṭṭa Yaśodhara while consecrating the temple.

Secondly, the inscription of Gahapati Kokkala of V.S.1058 or A.D.1001 found from a nearby temple, which is now fixed in the porch of the Viśvanātha, does not mention Dhaṅga as the ruler. This suggests that Dhaṅga was not living in A.D.1001.

Thirdly, a recently found copper-plate inscription from the village of Kundeshwar in Tikamgarh district records the donation by Satyabhāmā, the Chief Queen of the Candella Vidyādhara, the grandson of Dhaṅgadeva and son of Gaṇḍadeva, on the occasion of the solar eclipse of the month of Śrāvaṇa of V.S.1060,[11] corresponding to Friday, 8th of July, A.D.1003.[12] This means that Vidyādhara was ruling in A.D.1003. His father Gaṇḍadeva seems to have ruled for a short period between A.D. 999 and 1002. Gaṇḍadeva by this time was an old man himself when his long-lived father Dhaṅga passed away. Inscriptions of later Candella rulers found at Mau and Mahoba do mention that Gaṇḍadeva succeeded Dhaṅgadeva on the throne.[13]

The Kundeshwar Copper-plate provides definite evidence for Vidyādhara's rule in A.D.1003 and further indicates the end of Dhaṅga's rule much before A.D.1002.

The reading of the date of the Viśvanātha temple inscription as Saṁvat 1056 (A. D. 999) thus fits in with other historical evidence.[14]

Notes and References

1. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, pp. 122-35.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 195-207.

3. T. S. Burt : Account of his visit to Khajuraho in *The Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. VIII, 1839.

4. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, pp. 137-47, verses 48-51 & 60.

5. A. Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey of India Reports 1864-1865*, Vol. II, p. 424.

6. Krishna Deva. "Temples of Khajuraho in Central India", *Ancient India,* No. 15. 1959.

7. Cunningham, *ASIR,* Vol. II, p. 423; Vol. XXI, Plate xviii.

8. *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. I, p. 147.

9. Also Arvind Kumar Singh, "Fresh Readings of Four Small Khajuraho Inscriptions", in *Prāchya Pratibhā,* Vol. XIII, 1985-87, p. 101, and fn.1. I have followed this date in my book *The Religious Imagery of Khajuraho,* Franco-Indian Research. Mumbai, 1996, pp. 1, 14.

10. F. Kielhorn in *Indian Antiquary,* Vol. XVI, pp. 202-204; R. K. Dikshit, *The Candellas of Jejākabhukti,* 1977, pp. 184-85.

11. *Indian Archaeology 1971-72, A Review,* p. 55. No. 22.

12. S. K. Sullerey, "Mahārājñī Satyabhāmā kā Kundeshwar Tāmrapatra, Varṣa 1060", in *The Journal of the Bihar Purāvid Parishad,* Vols XI & XII, 1987-1988. pp. 109-113. Also see his article, "Fresh Light on the Chronology of the Candellas", in the present issue of our Journal.

13. *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. I, p.197, verse 4; p 221, verse 9.

14. I am happy to note that the recently published *Encylopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture, North India : Beginnings of Medieval Idiom,* Vol. II, Part 3, Edited by M. A. Dhaky, American Institute of Indian Studies, and Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts, New Delhi, 1998, has recognized A. D. 999 as the date of the Viśvanātha temple of Khajuraho.

Illustration

I. The Stone Inscription of Dhaṅgadeva's Viśvanātha Temple, Khajuraho, lower portion of the slab. "Saṁvat 1056" in Nāgarī characters can be read in the second line from below.

The Stone Inscription of Dhaṅgadeva's Viśvanātha Temple, Khajuraho, lower portion of the slab. "Saṁvat 1056" in Nāgarī characters can be read in the second line from below.

A Harasur, Gulburga District, Karnataka. *Trikūṭa-basadi,*
Yakṣa Sarvánubhūti. Cālukya *c.* late or early 11th century.

B. Harasur *Trikūta-basadi*, Yakṣī.
 Cālukya. *c.* late 10th or early 11th century.

JAINA SCULPTURES IN HARASUR TEMPLE

M. A. DHAKY

The *trikūṭa-basadi* of Jina Pārśvanātha in Harasur (Harasūr) near Gulburga, Karnataka,[1] preserves some medieval Jaina sculptures inside its three sancta as well as in their shared *gūḍhamaṇḍapa* or closed hall and the *antarāla*-vestibules between. The relatively more significant among these are illustrated and discussed in this paper.

Seemingly the earliest in the ensemble are the Yakṣa Sarvānubhūti (Plate II, A) and some Yakṣī (Kuṣmāṇḍī ?) (Plate II, B) placed in the northern quarters of the hall, both stylistically dating from about the earlier decades of the Cālukyas of Kalyāṇa. Both figures reflect innate dignity and poise. The bronze-like, corpulent, and seated-at-ease Sarvānubhūti's ornaments are somewhat schematic, going well with the relaxed vigour of the body at rest (Plate II, A). His *karaṇḍamukuṭa* apparently is an earlier version of the later more closely and sharply laminated Cālukyan type.

The present *trikūṭa-basadi* of Harasur is an edifice of the Cālukya period of c.A.D. 1096-97.[2] As indicated by the surviving basal *kumbhaka* moulding beneath the much plainer, straight, later walls, there may have been an earlier building at the site, possibly of the late Rāṣṭrakūṭa times or probably very early years of the Cālukya period, perhaps destroyed during one of the Coḷa invasions of the years in early 11th century. The above-noted Sarvānubhūti image plausibly may be one of the few survivals of the ill-omened eventualities which shook the Kuntala empire intermittently during the years ranging from those of Satyāśraya to Āhavamalla Someśvara I (c.A.D.1000-1069).

As against this portly and stately example, the image of Sarvānubhūti from Kollur (Plate III, A), located as it also is in the Gulburga region, even when it betrays the iconic generalities of the former, is in style and for ethnic features definitely different and earlier, of the heydays in Karnataka of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas to be precise. The ornaments in this case are even more schematically rendered, the postural details also differ; and the Yakṣa, moreover, holds a clearly shaped lotus flower in right hand and a fruit in the left in a manner distinctively different from the Harasur instance. The Yakṣa's burly but youthful body contains its taut vigour by withdrawing the limbs, occupying as it does the minimal space against an unample seat-back. The image may be dated to c. mid 9th century A.D.

Coming back to Harasur, and now turning to the Yakṣī figure (Plate II,B),

her neck ornaments, like the large necklace of the Yakṣa there, show details of gems and their metal-setting. Heavy ring-shaped earrings, little larger and more elaborate in workmanship than those of the Yakṣa, seem gracefully to dangle from her elongated ears. The *dhammila*-circlets of the hair-do, pushed at the back of her head, curiously look like the head-wear of Śiva-Vṛṣabhāntika noticeable in some Pallava and Coḷa stone and metal sculptures. Terse concentration of inwardly focused energy surfaces on the image's exterior as congealed solemnity; the body reposed in *ardha-padmāsana* is in total equilibrium (Plate II,B). From the standpoint of style, the Yakṣī, too, dates from the same period and belongs to the same school of sculpting as does the Yakṣa figure in Plate II, A.

Contrasting to this early pair is another in this Harasur assemblage, of Yakṣa Dharaṇendra and Yakṣī Padmāvatī (not illustrated), placed in the *antarāla*-vestibule of the southern one of the three shrines. Both are four-armed, wielding as they do noose (upper left) and goad (upper right), and fruit (lower left) and flower (lower right). Both are seated in *ardha-padmāsana* on a lotus throne. Small plain halo further emphasises their divine character, while their *nāga-yoni* is indicated by the pentacephalous cobra spreading the five hoods as canopy above the head. Stylistically, the images apparently were sculpted by the same artist, seemingly schooled in carpentry as well as smithy. They may date from any year inside the first half of the 12th century and, in any case, before the last quarter of the 12th century when most of the Jaina temples in northern Karṇāṭa were defiled and sacked by the Vīra Śaivas. Artistically, they are the products of the late days of the Cālukyas, strictly representing the iconic formula with no pretension at achieving beyond that need, nor even the vaguest intention to transcend that limitation.

The third piece (not illustrated), in the same style and spirit (and hence the period) as the preceding two, is a stele bearing the standing figures of Dharaṇendra and Padmāvatī, each with the lower body shown in serpentine form. This representation is clearly an adoption of the motif of the *nāga-nāginī* steles often noticed in the precincts of the Brahmanical temples of the Cālukya period, particularly in Gulburga area. A tiny, but crude, figure of Jina Pārśva is shown between the cobra-hood canopies of the divine pair, leaving no doubt about their intended identification in the Jaina context. Their attributes in the upper arms are the same as those held by the preceding two seated figures of Dharaṇendra and Padmāvatī.

Next are to be considered two images of Pārśvanātha in this *trikūṭa-basadi* which follow the typical southern mode of representing a Jina in Majesty, the better one is illustrated in Plate III, B. There is, first, the *siṁhāsana* or lion throne, the suavely swaying *cāmara* bearers behind the throne's back, and next the triple umbrella above the septacephalous Dharaṇendra canopying the Jina's head; and finally the *caitya*-tree is shown behind as spreading

above the Jina.[3] A pillow unobtrusively lies behind the Jina. Thanks to stylistic and ethnic affinity of the *cāmara* - bearers with the Yakṣa-Yakṣī pair discussed in the foregoing, this image may also date from early 11th century.

The second Pārśvanātha (not illustrated), with the same attendant four *protihāryas*, is having a too short forehead (and perhaps a retooled visage) : it is somewhat stuffy, stolid, and shoddy looking as compared to the well-proportioned and serenely beautiful preceding figure of the same Jina shown in Plate III, B. It apparently dates from *c*.A.D.1096-97.

The third image of some Jina (not illustrated) − this is in the hall-part close to the central shrine − is what in western Indian Jaina inscriptions often called *caturvimśati-Jina-paṭṭa* with standing figures of Pārśva and Supārśva at the bottom and the very tiny seated figures of attendant Yakṣa and Yakṣī beside the large central seated figure of Jina. The remaining 21 Jina figures are symmetrically distributed in the surround, eight tiny ones (set in the loops of the upsurging twining vine) along each lateral side, five above the Jina's head − where the central three are in *kāyotsarga* posture − and two more but smaller, standing Jinas further above make the total 24. While the central Jina, rendered in strong relief, possesses fleshy, earthy, and well-nourished looking body, his elegant flywhisk-bearers are carved to some extent in somewhat thinner relief, almost painterly and epiphanic. Their figural idiom is that of the Nāgendra figures in the doorframe of the southern *basadi* of the group.[4] It is likely that this Jina image may originally have been inside the sanctum of that temple. (The *caitya-vṛkṣa* is omitted here in order to provide space for the group of 5+2 Jinas above the *chatra-traya*) The central figure perhaps represents Jina Mahāvīra. It may date from the 11th century.

There was one more image of Arhat Pārśva from Harasur,[5] whether in the temple that may have preceded the present *trikūṭa-basadi* or from some other Jaina shrine in the village, but in terms of style earlier and of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa period, it seems to be of the ninth century (Plate IV). The central Jina figure, impassively sits in faintly contemplated expression reflecting total control on body and self, the head in this instance is graced by a *bhāmaṇḍala*-halo behind and the triple umbrella above. The *simhāsana* is lost but in the original setting it could have been there. The somewhat smaller figures of the *cāmara*-bearers are a little slantingly shown in relief but on the whole succeed in balancing the composition. An *āndola* class of *toraṇa* which, as a type and to all seeming was invented in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa times, defines the upper periphery of the throne-back. The throne possesses the pillarettes flanked at each side by a *vyāla* figure and topped by a *makara*. The composition reminds of a verse from the hymn by the Digambara epistemologist Pātrakesarī (*c*. early 7th century).[6]

The above-described three figures of the Jinas, all seated in

ardha-padmāsana posture, may be compared with the Jina image (Plate V) that came perhaps from one of the Jaina temples of Sedam in the same district.[7] This latter image, if anything, is even more gorgeous and impressive for its setting and composition. The *candra-prabhā-maṇḍala* (moon-halo) insertion, seems to enhance the dignity of the figure. Symbolic mango tree beside the *chatra-traya* above the handsome head of the Jina[8], is intended to represent his *caitya-vṛkṣa*. The stately *cāmara*-bearers are formally symmetrical in their flexure, formal alike in attire and ornamentation and, physiognomically, they seem very typically Cālukya, of the late years of Vikramāditya VI. The Jina is shown sitting above the lotus, now partly broken. And behind his back is placed a pillow, more prominently delineated than in the earlier discussed two instances. The *siṁhāsana* proper is either buried in the soil of the compound or else is lost. The flanking pillarettes of the throne-back show *vyāla* and *makara* figures. Above the *chatra-traya* — it is nicely bedecked with pearl festoons — is shown a *grāsamukha*-head spewing a stylised creeper symmetrically fanned on either side. The image, to all seeming, belongs to the earlier half of the 12th century. Its "representation formula" has been convincingly realised, and it is indeed creditable for, just as it is a notable achievement of, that later age in northern Karnataka.[9]

Notes and References

1. I have discussed the architecture of this main *basadi* and two identical neighbouring *basadis* of the group in a paper entitled "Jaina Temples in Harasūr," *Kusumāñjali* (Shri C. Sivaramamurti Commemoration Volume), Mysore 1987, pp. 197-200. Subsequently, it has also been included in Chapter no. 34 entitled "Cālukyas of Kalyāṇa : Phase II", *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture*, Vol. I, Part 3, New Delhi 1996, pp. 203-206. The present paper, in its original form and with 9 photographic illustrations, had been sent to the Director, Department of Museum, Museums and Picture Gallery, Vadodara (Baroda), on the 18th of May 1982, as a contribution to a felicitatory volume they had planned for Dr. U. P. Shah. The volume never came through; and my paper, too, could not be traced when I enquired about it after long years of waiting. Luckily, in February 1998, while scanning through the older files, I noticed the file-copy of this paper. With small revisions, and after reducing the number of illustrations from ten to six (as suggested by the Editor), I sent this paper to be published in this *Journal*. For some years now, I have stopped writing on iconography and sculptures in the descriptive style, but this old paper carries the impress of its own 'time' and 'fashions' in writing with an allusion to the artistic aspects as well and, being useful in Jainistic studies, I decided to allow it to appear in print and indeed largely as it was.

2. cf. P.B. Desai, *Jainism in South India and Some Jaina Epigraphs*, Sholapur 1957, pp. 336-337 and 423.

3. The presence of these four attendant "excellences" or "glory phenomena" *(atiśeṣas, atiśayas)* reminds us of the highly liltful and vibrant description in the *Bhaktāmara-stotra*

A Kellur, Gulburga District, Karnataka
   Yakṣa Sarvānubhūti, Rāstrakūta, *c.* mid 9th century

3. Harasur. *Trikūta-basadi,*
   Jina Pārśvanātha Cālukya, *c* late 11th century.

III

Jina from Harasur, Government Museum, Gulburga Rāṣṭrakūla, *c.* mid 9th century.

of Mānatuṅgācārya (c. late 6th or early 7th century A.D.) cited below.

सिंहासने मणिमयूखशिखाविचित्रे

विभ्राजते तव वपु: कनकाऽवदातम् ।

बिम्बं वियद्विलसदंशुलतावितानम्

तुंगोदयाद्रिशिरसीव सहस्ररश्मे: ॥२९॥

कुन्दावदातचलचामरचारुशोभं

विभ्राजते तव वपु: कलधौत-कान्तम् ।

उच्चैःशृङ्गशुचिनिर्झरवारिधार-

मुच्चैस्तटं सुरगिरेरिव शातकौम्भृम् ॥३०॥ .

छत्रत्रयं तव विभाति शशाङ्ककान्त-

मुच्चै: स्थितं स्थगितभानुकरप्रतापम् ।

मुक्ताफलप्रकरजालविवृद्धशोभं

प्रख्यापयत् त्रिजगत: परमेश्वरत्वम् ॥३१॥

उन्निद्रहेमनवपङ्कजपुञ्जकान्ति

पर्युल्लसन्नखमयूखशिखाऽभिरामौ ।

पादौ पदानि तव यत्र जिनेन्द्र ! धत्त:

पद्मानि तत्र विबुधा: परिकल्पयन्ति ॥३२॥

(This hymn has appeared in scores of publications. For the latest one, see Madhusudan Dhanki (M. A. Dhaky) and Jitendra Shah, *Māntuṅgācārya aur unke Stotra* (Hindi), Ahmedabad 1997, pp. 116-117).

4. I have discussed this doorframe in detail in the aforenoted illustrated paper as well as in Chap. 34, *EITA*, Vol. I, Part 3, p.205.

5. At present it is in the Government Museum, Gulburga.

6. सुरेन्द्रपरिकल्पितं बृहदनर्घ्यसिंहासनं

तथाऽऽतपनिवारणत्रयमथोल्लसच्चामरम्

वशां च भुवनत्रयं निरुपमा च नि:संगता

न संगतमिदं द्वयं त्वयि तथाऽपि संगच्छते ॥६॥

(*Humbuj-Śramaṇa-Siddhānta Pāṭhāvali*, Jaipur 1982, pp. 61-62).

7. This image is placed in the compound of the Government Museum, Gulburga.

8. At some point in the development of Jaina iconography, different trees were allotted to different Jinas as *caityas-vṛkṣas*. The Jina's excellently rendered head in this instance curiously harks back to the late tenth century Gaṅga Jina heads from Kambadahalli near Śravaṇa Belagola.

9. This formula has been used in the different schools of Karṇāṭan medieval Jaina representations; these are met with in the art and styles patronized by the Sāntaras of Humca and the Hoysalas of Dorasamudra, besides those of the Gaṅgas of Talakāḍu, Nolambas of Hemāvatī, and of Eastern Cālukyas of Veṅgi.

List of Illustrations

II, A. Harasur, Gulburga District, Karnataka. *Trikūṭa-basadi,* Yakṣa Sarvānubhūti. Cālukya, *c.*late 9th or early 11th century.

II, B. Harasur. *Trikūṭa-basadi,* Yakṣī. Cālukya, *c.* late 9th or early 11th century.

III, A. Kollur, Gulburga District, Karnataka. Yakṣa Sarvānubhūti. Rāṣṭrakūṭa, *c.* mid 9th century.

III, B. Harasur. *Trikūṭa-basadi,* Jina Pārśvanātha. Cālukya, *c.* late 11th century.

IV. Jina from Harasur, Government Museum, Gulburga. Rāṣṭrakūṭa, *c.* mid 9th century.

V. Jina from Sedam (?), Government Museum, Gulburga. Cālukya, *c.* 12th century.

(The illustrations reproduced here are by courtesy and kindness of the American Institute of Indian Studies, Gurgaon).
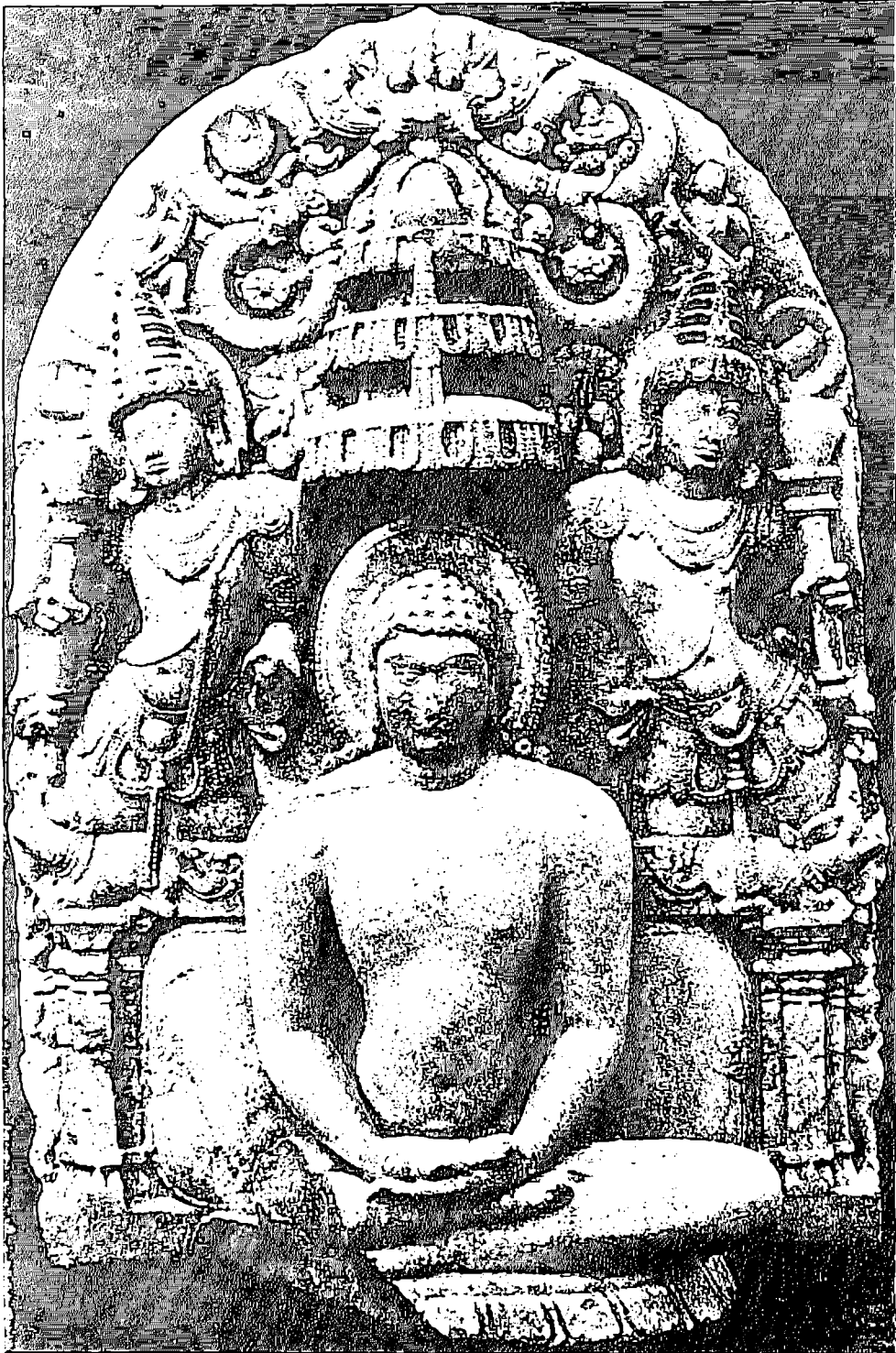
Jina from Sedam (?), Government Museum, Gulburga. Cālukya. c. 12th century.

Terracotta figurine from Sirsa (Haryana).

THE ANTIQUITY OF TABLA IN INDIA

DEVENDRA HANDA

The antiquity of Indian music goes back to the hoary past. The *Sāmaveda,* the oldest liturgy in India, indicates the importance attached to the chanting of the hymns in the Vedic times. The *Rgveda, Yajurveda* and *Atharvaveda* refer to various musical instruments like *Āghāṭi* (cymbal), *Dundubhi* (drum), *Gargara, Karkarī* (lute), *Vādana* (plectrum of a harp), etc.[1] Socio-cultural and ethno-geographical diversities in this vast country seem to have led to a variety of musical instruments in the ensuing period. The range of the Indian musical instruments may be witnessed in the art also.

Amongst the Indian percussion instruments, *mṛdaṅga* is an important form which has come down to us from fairly ancient times. The word *mṛdaṅga* literally means 'having limb/s of clay.' It may thus be presumed that originally this instrument had a clay body. It is said to have been devised by Brahmā for an accompaniment to Śiva's dance at the time of his triumph over the demon Tripura, and Gaṇeśa was the first to play upon it. Ancient Indian literature, stone sculptures, terracottas and murals depict various types of drums — *aṅkya* (lap drum), *aṅkya ūrdhva* (placed vertically in the lap), *āliṅgya* (embracing), *muraja* (having braces), *mardala* (braced clinging drum), *ḍamaru* (kettle drum), *paṭaha* (Ḍaph) etc.[3] Even in the present days, the *mṛdaṅga* and its derivative, the sweet sounding *tablas,* are the most popular percussion instruments. The latter have become almost an indispensable accompaniment to both, the vocal and the instrumental music.

Though *ūrdhvaka* type of drums have been shown in Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda sculptures and even vertically placed double drums have been depicted at Sanchi and Ajanta,[4] yet there is nothing resembling the tabors known as yet in ancient Indian art. So *tabla* is generally believed to be a Mughal innovation in India. But the illustration of a small terracotta figurine from Sirsa in Haryana (Plate VI) would convince anyone of its existence in ancient times even.

Sirsa (29^0, 82' N & 75^0 2' E) situated on the right (northern) bank of the dry bed of the Ghaggar (generally identified with the ancient Sarasvatī river), about 75 km. south of Bathinda and 82 km. northwest of Hisar on the Bathinda-Hisar sector of the Northern Railway (and on Delhi-Fazilka highway), is one of the oldest places of North India. There is a large number of ancient mounds at and around Sirsa which testify to the great antiquity

of the site. The present name of the town has been derived from *Sīrsa* and has been identified with the ancient city of *Sairīsaka* mentioned in Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Divyāvadāna*. We thus see that Sirsa must have been a flourishing city during the early historic period. References to Sirsa in later literature, the discovery of Kuṣāṇa, Yaudheya and later coins, old inscriptions, sculptures and terracottas from its ruins suggest its almost continuous occupation to the present times.[5]

The interesting small terracotta figurine was picked up from the ruins of Sirsa many years ago.[6] It shows a monkey-like figure wearing a typical Kuṣāṇa *kullah*-type cap, sitting slightly turned to his right, with legs stretched backwards and two tabors placed on the thighs. His right hand is playing on the respective tabor while the left is broken below the elbow. That it was touching the tabor placed on the left thigh is indicated by a portion of the chipped off surface of the instrument. The right foot of the figure is also broken and the left leg and arm too have suffered cracks and have actually been rejoined to the piece. It bears traces of white paint. The workmanship is rather rough and crude. Stylistically, however, this terracotta may be assigned to the Kuṣāṇa period without any doubt.

The tabors placed on the thighs can easily be recognised as they do not differ much from their modern counterparts. Their bodies, however, seem to have been made of clay like the ancient *mṛdaṅgas.*

It is difficult to identify the monkey-like figure but it is interesting to note that similar monkeys have been shown in Bharhut sculptures as playing on different instruments.[7] Depicting the *tablas* for the first time and taking back the antiquity of the instrument to the Kuṣāṇa period, the terracotta, though small in size, is great in importance.

Notes and References

1. See for details K. Krishna Murthy, *Archaeology of Indian Musical Instruments,* Delhi, 1985, p. 3.

2. P. Sambamoorthy, *Catalogue of the Indian Musical Instruments in the Madras Govt. Museum,* Madras, 1955, pp. 22-23.

3. Krishna Murthy, *op.cit.,* pp. 42 ff.

4. *Ibid.,* Fig. III.5 & Pl.19; Fig. IV.5 & Pl.27; Fig.I.2 & Pl.2 and Fig.VI.8 & Pl.33 respectively.

5. Devendra Handa, "Some Important Towns of Haryana : A Study of their Ancient Past - 3," *Journal of Haryana Studies,* Kurukshetra, Vol. III, No. 2 (July 1971), pp. 4 ff.

6. It formed part of collection of (late) Pt. Lila Dhar Sharma of Sirsa who sold his material to the Department of Archaeology and Museum, Haryana, Chandigarh where

it is preserved now. We are thankful to the Director of the said department for the photograph published here.

7. Krishna Murthy, *op.cit.,* Fig. II. 2-6, Pls. 12-13.

Illustration

Plate VI. Terracotta Figurine from Sirsa (Haryana).

THE PHILOSOPHY OF CREATION AND APPRECIATION OF A LITERARY ART-FORM*

V. N. JHA

The universe of our experience is partly given by God and partly created by man. A tree is given, a chair is created; the mud is given, a pitcher is created; cotton is given, a thread is created; flowers are given, garland is created; voice is given, music is created; language is given, poetry is created. There is something which is given to man which he has not created and there is something which he creates out of the given. Therefore, our world of experience consists of both, the given and the created.

The Given

The philosophers in the past have made thorough analysis of this given world. Take for example the analysis presented by the Indian logicians (*Nyāya Vaiśeṣikas*). For them, the world is a *padārtha* or an entity which can be a referent of a linguistic term (*padasya arthaḥ*). Such an entity can be either positive (*bhāva*) or negative (*abhāva*). Please note that *abhāva* is an entity. Thus, a tree is an entity and the absence of that tree elsewhere is also an entity.

A positive entity is classified in six sets of entities such as substance (*dravya*), quality (*guṇa*), action (*karman*), universal (*sāmānya*), particular (*viśeṣa*), and inherence (*samavāya*). Each one of these sets is further divided into sub-sets. Thus, substance is of seven kinds, namely, earth (*pṛthvī*), water (*āp*), fire (*tejas*), air (*marut*), ether (*ākāśa*), time (*kāla*), space (*diś*), soul (*ātman*), and mind (*manas*). Qualities are twenty four : colour (*rūpa*), taste (*rasa*), smell (*gandha*), touch (*sparśa*), number (*saṁkhyā*), measure (*parimāṇa*), contact (*saṁyoga*), division (*vibhāga*), separateness (*pṛthaktva*), moisture (*sneha*), heaviness (*gurutva*), fluidity (*dravatva*), remoteness (*paratva*), nearness (*aparatva*), knowledge (*buddhi*), happiness (*sukha*), unhappiness (*duḥkha*), desire (*icchā*), hatred (*dveṣa*), volition (*prayatna*), merit (*dharma*), demerit (*adharma*), impression (*saṁskāra*) and sound (*śabda*).

Actions are of five kinds namely, going upward (*ūrdhvagamana*), going downward (*adhaḥpatana*), shrinking (*ākuñcana*), spreading (*prasāraṇa*) and going (*gamana*).

Class property or generic property or universal (*sāmānya*) is only one, like potness, treeness and so on.

Particulars (*viśeṣa*) are endless and they are found in all permanent substances. These particulars distinguish one permanent substance from the other permanent substance.

Inherence (*samavāya*) is a single permanent relation which is accepted in the following five cases :

a) Between a quality and its locus

b) Between an action and its locus

c) Between a universal and its locus

d) Between a whole and its parts, and

e) Between a particular (*viśeṣa*) and its locus.

Absence (*abhāva*) is broadly of two kinds, mutual absence (*anyonyābhāva*) and absolute absence (*atyantābhāva*). Absolute absence is further divided into three types : pre-absence (*prāgabhāva*), relational absence (*saṃsargābhāva*) and destruction (*dhvaṃsa*). This is our given world with which we behave. But behavior presupposes knowledge of that with which we behave. Naturally, we would like to know how do we know this given world. The Indian logicians therefore took up the issue of the process of knowing the world. This is what is known as epistemology. The logicians arrived at the conclusion after analysis that there are four ways of knowing the world : (1) Perception (*pratyakṣa*), Inference (*anumāna*), Analogy (*upamāna*) and Language (*śabda*). Let us see briefly how these instruments of knowing work.

We are given five external sense-organs made of five primordial elements (*pañca-mahābhūtas*) to have direct access to the external world and the sixth sense-organ called 'mind' to have direct access to our internal world like cognition, desire, volition, happiness, unhappiness, hatred, love, kindness, merit (*puṇya*), demerit (*pāpa*) and our impressions left behind by our experience.

It is not the case that we have access to the world, both external and internal, only, when, it is in direct contact with these six sense-organs. We can know them even if sometimes the world is beyond the reach of a sense-organ. The instrument or the process of knowing in such a situation is inference. An inference works on the basis of an invariable relation (*vyāpti*) between the ground (*hetu*) and on the basis of which we want to know the world (*sādhya*).

We also know the world through language. But the understanding of language depends on the knowledge of the relationship between a sign and what a sign stands for. The tradition has discussed this issue in detail and has discovered various ways of knowing this relationship between a word and its meaning. The following verse presents a list of such means of knowing that relationship :

शक्तिग्रहो व्याकरणोपमानकोशाप्तवाक्यव्यवहारतश्च ।
वाक्यस्य शेषाद्विवृतेर्वदन्ति सान्निध्यत: सिद्धपदस्य वृद्धा: ॥

<div align="right">(शब्दखण्ड:; न्यायसिद्धान्तमुक्तावलि:)</div>

Śakti here means the primary relationship between a word or to be very precise, between a morpheme and its referent.

One can know this relationship by grammar, *upamānapramāṇa*, dictionary, sentence of a reliable person, elder's usage, scriptural description, paraphrase, and by the proximity of a known word.

It may be noted that *upamānapramāṇa* is one of the means of knowing the relation between a morpheme and its referent.

Similarly, language is one of the means to know the world.

The Prācīna Nyāya tradition has presented a beautiful analysis in this context. Gautama defines *pratyakṣa* as follows:

Indriyārtha-sannikarṣotpannaṁ   jñānam   avyapadeśyam,   avyabhicāri vyavasāyātmakaṁ pratyakṣam (*Nyāyasūtra* 1.1.4)

'A cognition which is produced out of the contact between a sense-organ and an object and which is not expressible in language, which is not erroneous, and which is determinate in character is *pratyakṣa*'.

While interpreting the clause *avyapadeśyam* the Bhāṣyakāra Vātsyāyana writes :

यदिदमनुपयुक्ते शब्दार्थसम्बन्धे अर्थज्ञानं, न तन्नामधेयशब्देन व्यपदिश्यते; गृहीतेऽपि च शब्दार्थसम्बन्धे अस्यार्थस्य अयं शब्द: नामधेयमिति । यदा तु सोऽर्थो गृह्यते तदा तत्पूर्वस्मादर्थज्ञानान्न विशिष्यते तदर्थविज्ञानं तादृगेव भवति ।

This analysis amounts to saying that language comes to play only after a congition has arisen. In other words, a speaker encodes his cognition after it has arisen. Thus, a cognition can arise prior to language. Obviously, this is the refutation of the view that no cognifion is possible without language, which has found expression later on in the following verse of Bhartṛhari, the celebrated author of the *Vākyapadīya*.

न सोऽस्ति प्रत्ययो लोके यः शब्दानुगमादृते ।
अनुविद्धमिव ज्ञानं सर्वं शब्देन भासते ॥ I. 123

This implies that a speaker first acquires his knowledge or cognition and then verbalizes it by encoding it in a language known to him. This gives rise to following model of analysis :

World	→	Knowledge of the world	→	Encoding of that knowledge	→	Verbalisation
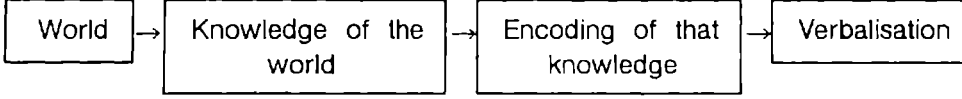
Once the verbalization has taken place through the utterance or writing of a sentence, it reaches a hearer or reader and another process begins and that is the process of decoding. This process of decoding is called the process of *śabdabodha* (understanding of the sentence-meaning). A sentence, when decoded, results into verbal understanding or knowledge. The following is the process discovered by the Mīmāmsakas and the Indian logicians :

Stage I   reception of a sentence (*padajñāna*)
Stage II   remembering the referent of each morphemic constituent
                 of that sentence (*padārtha-smaraṇa*)
Stage III   inferring the intention of the speaker (*tātparyajñāna*)
Stage IV   relating the remembered meanings (*padārtha-anvaya)*
Stage V   understanding the relations among the remembered
                 referents (*śābdabodha)*

Suppose, there is a sentence (a+b+c+d) consisting of four morphemes — a,b,c, and d. The following will arise with regard to the process of verbal understanding :

Step I   a + b + c + d
Step II   a + b + c + d
                | | | |
                a'   b'   c'   d'

where a', b', c', and d' are the referents remembered from a, b, c, and d through a relation indicated by the vertical line above. Sometime it may so happen that any of the elements of the sentence may remind two referents, say,   a

                 a' a" where both a, a" are not intended

by the speaker. This will be settled in the next step by knowing the intention of the speaker and thereby eliminating either *a'* or *a"*. Thus

Step III   a + b + c + d
                | | | |
                a'   b'   c'   d'

where a" has been eliminated after knowing the intention of the speaker.

Step IV   a + b + c + d

            I   I   I   I

           a' - b' - c' - d'

where relations among a', b', c' and d' have been identified.

Step V $\boxed{\text{a'-b'-c'-d'}}$

where the rectangular box is the resultant knowledge or verbal understanding of the sentence-meaning (*anvayabodha*).

This knowledge of the hearer or reader is expected to be identical with the knowledge of the speaker or writer for establishing rapport between them. Unless this happens, there can be no rapport between a speaker and hearer and consequently no communication can take place. This model of communication can be presented as follows :

```
┌──────────────┐      ┌───────────────────────────┐
│ Speaker      │─────▶│ World                     │
├──────────────┤      ├───────────────────────────┤
│ Verbal       │──┐   │ Knowledge of the World    │
│ understanding│  └──▶│                           │
├──────────────┤      ├───────────────────────────┤
│ decoding that│      │ Encoding that knowledge   │
│ sentence     │      │                           │
├──────────────┤      ├───────────────────────────┤
│ Hearer       │◀─────│ Sentence                  │
└──────────────┘      └───────────────────────────┘
```
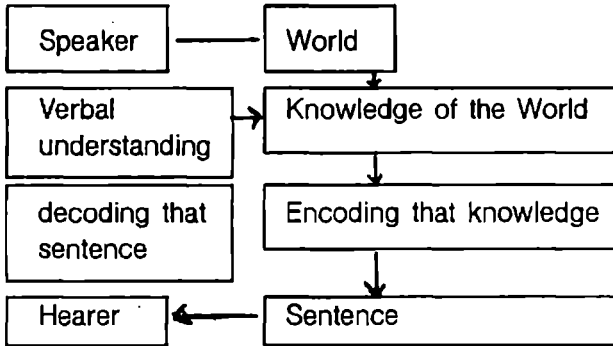
This is the story of communicating with ordinary language with the ordinary given world of our ordinary experience. With this analytic background, now we shall turn to the analysis of the world of literary art, aesthetic experience of that world of art, language of art appreciation of an art-form and finally establishing a rapport between an artist and a connoisseur.

The Created

As against the given world of our experience, there is the created world of experience. An art-form, be it music, or dance, or painting, or sculpture or a literary art-form like drama, poetry, short story, novel, and the like is created by human being unlike the ordinary world of our experience which is given by God and not created by any human being.

That the world of literary art is created by a literary artist is clearly stated in the following oft-quoted verse :

अपारे काव्यसंसारे कविरेक: प्रजापति: ।

यथास्मै रोचते विश्वं तथेदं परिवर्तते ॥

शृङ्गारी चेत् कवि: सर्वं रसमयं जगत् ।

स एव वीतरागश्चेत् सर्वं नीरसं हि तत् ॥ quoted in ध्वन्यालोक

Here काव्य means literary art-form. काव्यसंसार means the world of literary art. कवि stands for a literary artist and he is the creator (प्रजापति) of the world of his literary art-form. विश्व here stands for the ordinary world of our experience. An artist's creation is conceived here as transformation of the given. Thus it is clear that an artist does not create from nothing, rather he transforms the given into his world of art. He creates his world of art out of the experience of the given world. As a matter of fact there is transformation at all levels and components. We can easily conceptualize the model of this transformation as follows :

कवि — काव्यसंसार — काव्यसंसारानुभव — काव्यभाषा — सहृदय
↑　　　　↑　　　　　↑　　　　　　　↑　　　　　↑
वक्तृ — विश्व — विश्वानुभव — भाषा — श्रोतृ
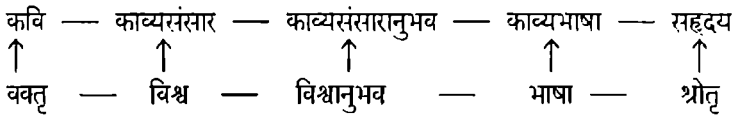
A literary artist (कवि) is a transformed state of an ordinary speaker (वक्तृ); काव्यसंसार is the transformation (परिवर्तन) of the given world (विश्व); aesthetic experience (काव्य-संसारानुभव) is again a transformation of the ordinary experience (विश्वानुभव), the language of literary art is also prepared out of the ordinary language and the listener or reader of literary art (स-हृदय) is also not an ordinary listener (श्रोतृ), but a transformed listener i.e. a connoisseur (स-हृदय).

Thus, creation is transformation. Now the question is how does this transformation take place? The Indian traditional philosophers of art are quite clear about this, when they discuss the causal factors in the process of materializing a literary art-form (काव्य-हेतु). Mammaṭa puts it as follows :

शक्तिर्निपुणता लोकशास्त्र-काव्याद्यवेक्षणात् ।

काव्यज्ञशिक्षयाभ्यास इति हेतुस्तदुद्भवे ॥　　उल्लास । कारिका 3

An ordinary speaker attains the state of a literary artist (कवि) due to various factors like प्रतिभा, अभ्यास, etc. His encyclopaedic knowledge and the philosophy of life and worldview coupled with the most prominent factor called the कारयित्री प्रतिभा bring about the desired transformation or elevation from an ordinary speaker (वक्तृ) to a literary artist (कवि).

These very factors coupled with the faculty of sensitivity (भावयित्री प्रतिभा) bring about the desired transformation even in ordinary listener or reader elevating him or her to the level of a connoisseur (सहृदय).

The literary artist (कवि-प्रजापति) gives an aesthetic shape to the given world, through a beautiful arrangement and rearrangement and thus transforms an

ordinary world into a world of art. Thus, his creation is nothing more than a beautiful arrangement and rearrangement of the given.

A literary artist is both an ordinary speaker as well as a literary artist. He is already born with capacity of encoding his ordinary experience of an ordinary world and when he creates a world of art, he extends this capacity to encode an aesthetic experience into language. He finds difficulty in encoding the aesthetic experience into an ordinary language and thus he also creates a language of literary art by transforming again the ordinary language into the language of art. Here too he brings about the desired transformation through various arrangements and rearrangements giving rise to various ornaments of speech (*alaṅkāra),* modes, dicta (गुण, वृत्ति etc.) which can give joy to a sensitive connoisseur (स-हृदय).

As an ordinary language is required to encode an ordinary experience of an ordinary world of our experience, so also a literary language is required to give expression to an aesthetic experience of the world of art. This distinction was clearly known to the Sanskrit poeticians.

Bhāmaha defined *kāvya* as 'शब्दार्थौ सहितौ काव्यम्' and said that it is the वक्रोक्ति of both *śabda* (form) and *artha* (content) that makes the literary art palatable and charming. He cannot think of any other mode that attributes charm to a literary form. He says :

वक्रशब्दाभिधेयोक्ति: अस्ति वाचामलङ्कृति: ।

implying thereby that it is only the aesthetic arrangement of both *śabda* and *artha* that gives rise to the decoration to that arrangement and says:

कोऽलङ्कारोऽनया विना ।

He is very clear about the distinction between ordinary language and literary language, when he says:

गतोऽस्तमर्क: भातीन्दु: यान्ति वासाय पक्षिण: ।
इत्येवमादि किं काव्यं वार्तामिनां प्रचक्षते ॥

Thus, Bhāmaha knows that language of mere report i.e. the language of ordinary communication is different from the language of aesthetic communication.

We find the same definition of काव्य of भामह which is taken for elaboration by कुन्तक in his वक्रोक्ति-जीवितम्. It runs as follows :

शब्दार्थौ सहितौ वक्रकविव्यापारशालिनि ।
बन्धे व्यवस्थितौ काव्यं तद्विदाह्लादकारिणि ॥

While elaborating on सहितौ he observes that it is true that *śabda* and *artha* always remain together but that togetherness is meaningful so far as it is an ordinary language. Hence that is not intended in the case of literary language. Not only the togetherness (साहित्य) is different here, but both *śabda* and *artha* are also not the ordinary *śabda* and ordinary *artha*. He says,

वाच्योऽर्थो वाचक: शब्द: प्रसिद्धमिति यद्यपि ।
तथापि काव्यमार्गेऽस्मिन् परमार्थोऽयमेतयो: ॥
शब्दो विवक्षितार्थैकवाचकोऽन्येषु सत्स्वपि ।
अर्थ: सहृदयाह्लादकारिस्वस्पन्दसुन्दर: ॥

While paraphrasing काव्यमार्गे in his वृत्ति he writes (अस्मिन् *अलौकिके* काव्यमार्गे) indicating thereby that literary art form is not an ordinary form.

And then he turns to the concept of साहित्य and says,

साहित्यमनयो: शोभाशालितां प्रति काप्यसौ ।
अन्यूनानतिरिक्तत्वमनोहारिण्यवस्थिति: ॥

Again the word अ-लौकिक (not ordinary) is employed in the वृत्ति of this verse. It runs as under : सहितयो: भाव: साहित्यम् । अनयो: शब्दार्थयो: कापि *अलौकिकी* चेतनचमत्कारकारितायाः कारणम् अवस्थिति: विचित्रैव विन्यासभङ्गी । कीदृशी —— अन्यूनानतिरिक्तत्वमनोहारिणी परस्परस्पर्धित्वरमणीया । यस्यां द्वयो: एकस्यापि न्यूनत्वं निकर्षो न विद्यते, नापि अतिरिक्तत्वमुत्कर्षो वा अस्तीति ।

One may also mark here the phrase 'विचित्रैव विन्यासभङ्गी' which is at the root concept with regard to the creation of a literary art-form.

The वृत्ति over the same verse continues to clarify the word *śabda*. It says, शोभा सौन्दर्यमुच्यते । तया शालते श्लाघते य: स शोभाशाली, तस्य भाव: शोभाशालिता, तां प्रति सौन्दर्यशालितां प्रति इत्यर्थ: । सैव सहृदयाह्लादकारिता तस्या स्पर्धित्वेन यासौ अवस्थिति: परस्परसाम्यसुभगम् अवस्थानं सा साहित्यमुच्यते ।

As a matter of fact even a slight imbalance either in the arrangement of *śabda* or that of *artha* will destroy which is the ground for enjoyment or charm.

The वृत्ति further says, परमार्थत: पुन: उभयोरपि एकतरस्य साहित्यविरहोऽन्यतरस्यापि पर्यवस्यति । तथा च अर्थ: समर्थवाचकाभावे स्वात्मना स्फुरन्नपि मृतकल्प एवावतिष्ठते । शब्दोऽपि वाक्योपयोगिवाच्यासम्भवे वाच्यान्तरवाचक: सन् वाक्यस्य व्याधिभूत: प्रतिभाति ।

Thus, what is required is both, the form and the content, should be arranged in such a way that the desired effect of rendering joy to a connoisseur manifests automatically.

उभावेतावलङ्कार्यौ तयोः पुनरलङ्कृतिः ।
वक्रोक्तिरेव वैदभ्यभङ्गीभणितिरुच्यते ॥

The वृत्ति says,

कासौ — वक्रोक्तिरेव । प्रसिद्धाभिधानव्यतिरेकिणी विचित्रैव अभिधा ।

It is an expression which is different from the ordinary mode of expression.

Ācārya Ānandavardhana too underlines this distinction between the given and the created when he categorically says that the *śabda* of a literary form is different from that of an ordinary language and the same is the case with the meanings that constitute the world of art. To put it in his words -

सोऽर्थस्तद्व्यक्तिसामर्थ्ययोगी शब्दश्च कश्चन ।
यत्नतः प्रत्यभिज्ञेयौ तौ शब्दार्थौ महाकवेः ॥

The वृत्ति over it makes it further explicit by saying :

व्यङ्ग्यव्यञ्जकाभ्यामेव हि सुप्रयुक्ताभ्यां महाकवित्वलाभो महाकवीनां, न वाच्य-वाचक-रचनामात्रेण ।

With all this what I wanted to demonstrate is that the world of art is different (अ-लौकिक) from ordinary world and it is created by the artist not from any vacuum but from the very ordinary world of his experience and this he does by bringing about transformations. He keeps on searching various modes of transformations with full vigilance. *Dhvanyāloka* 1.9 says -

आलोकार्थी यथा दीपशिखायां यत्नवान् जनः ।
तदुपायतया तद्वद् अर्थे वाच्ये तदादृतः ॥

Once the lamp is in his hand, he does not require any other lamp to illumine the lamp in his hand.

Here I conclude the discussion on the philosophy of creating a literary art form with the following statement of the 9th century logician Jayantabhatta :

कुतो वा नूतनं वस्तु वयमुत्प्रेक्षितुं क्षमाः ।
वचो विन्यासवैचित्र्यं केवलमवधार्यताम् ॥

न्यायमञ्जरी (Āhnika-1)

Appreciation of literary art-form

Let us now turn to the other issue of our theme namely, the philosophy of appreciation of literary art-form.

We have already seen that the appreciation of a literary art form can be done only by a स-हृदय. A स-हृदय is one who is equal in all respects with the creator. He is with an appreciative genius (*bhāvayitrī pratibhā*). He

is not an ordinary श्रोतृ. He is a transformed स-हृदय. He alone is capable of visiting the world which is being shown by the creator. He alone has access to the world of art because he alone is capable of knowing the relationship between a literary language and its relation to the world of art. He alone is capable of understanding the symbols, metaphors and imageries employed by the creator artist to bring about the desired transformation. This is the reason that the Sankrit poeticians always say that the art-form should be सहृदयाह्लादकारी or तद्विदाह्लादकारी.

Since we are concerned here with the literary Art-form, the process of appreciation has to begin from decoding the sentence and understanding the sentence-meaning. Here the process of decoding will remain the same as that of decoding an ordinary sentence. May be, we might require additional relations between a unit of a sentence and its intended referent. As we need to know the intention of the speaker to know the meaning of his sentence, here we will require to know the purpose or ultimate intention of the literary artist to properly grasp the meaning of his art-form.

What is most important is to have rapport with the artist. This is possible only when the understanding of the connoisseur matches the aesthetic experience of the artist.

Creation of an art-form is an intentional act and the creator must therefore, have some purpose behind his creation and unless one is successful in getting at the intention of the artist, one cannot feel satisfied that he has understood the art-form. There is no guarantee that if a particular understanding of an art-form has been palatable to a connoisseur, he has understood the intended meaning of that art-form. But logically seeing, the meaning of an art-form has to be only that which is intended by an artist. A sentence may have several meanings, but all the meanings are not intended by the speaker at a time. Therefore, the sentence can have only one intended meaning at a time. The same is true with a literary art-form also. Whatever is intended by the artist is the meaning of this art and not all possible meanings of that art, because creation of a literary art is an intentional act. Therefore, the understanding of the स-हृदय must match the aesthetic experience which the artist wanted to communicate through his art-form. A सहृदय must try hard to get at the intention of the artist by all means before he passes any judgment on the appreciation of that art-form. The following diagram may make the point clear :

कवि → काव्यसंसार → काव्यसंसारानुभव → काव्यभाषा → सहृदय
काव्यसंसारानुभव ←
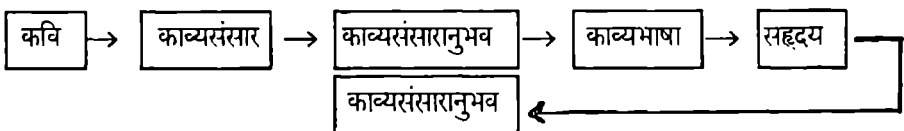
To sum up : It is very clear from whatever we have discussed so far

that the Indian analytic Sanskrit traditions of Indian poetics are in search
of answers to two questions : (1) How is a literary art-form created? and
(2) How is it appreciated? The attempts to get answers to these questions
as found in different *Alaṅkāraśāstra* texts are sufficient ground to show that
a literary activity is not a mystic activity.

PARSIS IN MARITIME TRADE ON
THE WESTERN COAST OF MAHARASHTRA

MANI KAMERKAR

The Arabian Sea and the Indian Ocean were active trading areas from very early times and involved South Asia as a whole. Foreign merchants, travellers and mariners in large numbers were to be found in all parts of the Indian Ocean with India forming an important centre. From about 20 B.C. we have found records of Roman contacts with the Pandya rulers of Madurai. The Coromandal and Malabar coastal states were in close contact with South East Asian countries from the 2nd and 3rd centuries right upto the 12th and 13th centuries. South Asian traders had reached upto the Mekong Delta and entrepots had developed along the entire trade route. Foreign merchants and communities were encouraged to settle and enrich the Indian states. Jews, Nestorians, Christians, Arabs, Persians all had their separate living areas in all major ports of the Indian Ocean by the sixth and seventh centuries.

The western coast of India, Gujarat and Maharashtra has been developing in the same direction. Konkan was known to earliest travellers, especially from across the Arabian sea. Descendents of immigrant Parsis, Jews, Abbysinians and Arabs are still found in considerable number.[1] In fact there is a strong belief that the Chitpavan Brahmans are descendents of early Persian Zoroastrian settlers on the Konkan coast. From mythological sources one finds reported that they entered the Konkan by sea, either as shipwrecked survivors or as traders. One of the beliefs is that they were brought back to life by Paraśurāma.[2] Wilford states that they were Persians descended from the sons of Khushro Parvez.[3] Thus the Persian (Parsi) connection with India is very old. Profits of trade must have brought them to western India at first and this grew closer after the Arab conquest of Iran. Persians were the chief traders in Indian Ocean. In fact, according to Troyer[4], the Khalif Omar established Basra for trade as well as to prevent Indian Princes, probably from the Konkan and Gujarat giving help to Persians (Zoroastrians) against the Arab onslaught in 638 A. D. A fleet was also despatched against the Thane coast.[5]

After the exodus in the seventh century from Iran, the refugees settled not only in Sanjan on the Konkan coast but also in the villages around Thane and Chaul. There is also a mention of a Fire temple in Chaul.[6] Thus Parsis seem to have formed one of the chief elements in the population of North Konkan which includes Sanjan. Here, by the 12th century they appear to have become 'rich, warlike, hardworking and clever.'[7]

After the entry of the western rulers in the Konkan the Parsis nearly disappeared from here. There is an account of them fleeing from Thane to Kalyan to avoid conversion and of establishing a Fire temple in Kalyan. However, Timur's assault on Persia in 1384 A.D. and on north India in 1398 sent a new wave of refugees to Western India, particularly to the Gujarat coast.

Later in the 18th century we hear of Parsis again settling in and around Thane. Once a settlement is secure, one finds Parsis building a Fire temple and a *dokhma* (Tower of Silence) and this is what we find in Thane, where a Fire temple was built in 1788 and a *dokhma* in 1790.

Maharashtra began again to attract Parsis who started to move south from Gujarat to Bombay and Salsette with the arrival of the Portuguese, and later the British. It was in Surat and Navsari in Gujarat, and then in Bombay and its surroundings, that the Parsis made their major impact on the economy and trade of the region. By 1820, grants of lands in Salsette were given to Parsis by the British : 14 in Salsette, 19 estates were also developed by the Parsis in North Konkan, 2 in Mahim and 3 in Dahanu. They had close contact with the Marathas and were important as revenue collectors for the Peshwas in North Konkan.

The port of Thane during the early centuries was the main centre for the collection of food and textiles from the interior of Maharashtra. In the beginning the Parsis were doing trade here on a small scale along with the Hindu merchants. We find mention of settlers from these areas in the Persian Gulf and presume that Parsis too must have been part of them, as already there was contact between the Zoroastrians in Iran and Parsis settled in the Western Indian ports during the early 13th century.[8]

From the 13th century, the emphasis in trade shifted to the coast of Gujarat and Maharashtra where there was a flowering of maritime trade. The ports became centres from where goods were sent in large numbers to West Asia and thence to Europe. With the Muslim domination during this time, we see an increase in Arab and Persian trade in this region. Trade with South East Asia also continued through indigenous and foreign merchants along the Western Coast.[9]

The next three centuries, the 15th to the 18th, saw many changes in the economy of the Indian Ocean lands. The markets already developed in this region by the inhabitants were now to be infiltrated by European traders and merchants and it is here that the Parsis really started coming into their own. The arrival of the Europeans did not destroy the Indian trade. In fact in the beginning there was good collaboration between indigenous merchants and the newcomers. What they opened up were new trading networks in the Atlantic and Pacific. This period may be said to be a transitionary period before the coming of imperialism and its consequences.[10] The first Europeans

to come to India were the Portuguese. They first concentrated on the Malabar Coast, then took Goa and spread northwards towards Bombay, and Surat, Broach, Daman and Diu in Gujarat. At this stage, Europeans did not dominate the indigenous traders, but got as much out of them as possible. They were all dependent on the local merchants and traders for the purchase, procurement and sale of goods. In this the Parsis were their main agents in the ports of Gujarat and in Bombay to a small extent at the beginning. For the Portuguese this trade became an important life-line. Though the official Portuguese policy was to discourage employing Indian Agents, the men on the spot had no alternative considering their ignorance of the local languages and the working of indigenous trade.[11] Indians were referred to in derogatory terms and were generally despised by the Portuguese. Inspite of this, they employed about 30,000 'vanias', this included Parsis, who were included in the generic term, in their Indian territories to do their commercial work.

The whole Portuguese system was in fact dependent on acquiescence and cooperation of various groups of Indians.[12] The Portuguese were dependent on Asian manpower and expertise. Food for Goa came from Gujarat and Maharashtra in Indian ships, owned by Indians. Indian merchants also provided loans to the Portuguese State in the early 17th century.[13] In fact the Portuguese economy in India depended on their sea trade based on products of the interior along the Western Coast.

The Europeans in search of direct contact with producers found the Parsis excellent brokers, and also politically useful as intermediaries with the established authorities. They, along with Hindu Banias were economic assets to the State and were gaining considerable weight with the authorities.

By 1580 the Portuguese, Dutch, French and English Companies all appointed Parsis as agents and this increased their economic viability in the financial and political sphere.

By the end of the 17th century the accumulation of merchant finance and capital and the consequent increase of political clout and prestige, gave the Parsis a prominent position in the society of Gujarat, and then in Bombay and its environs.[14]

Thus we see that Parsi traders had been active in Bombay much before the development of Bombay by the British. With the rise of Bombay as the main British port in the early 18th century, an exodus started from Surat of traders and merchants, foremost amongst them being the Parsis. Bombay had through the centuries been an important port of the Konkan region with extensive trade. It had been used to an extent by the Portuguese and the Marathas, and was then developed in the 18th century by the British. The new financial and colonial policies of the British revived commerce with the Persian Gulf, the Red Sea and the Malabar Coast, and Bombay became the

chief centre of English commerce in Western India, and became an asylum in the troubled 17th and 18th centuries for traders and merchants of Gujarat. Also in a way the English, Dutch, Danes and French, unlike the Portuguese who remained insular, were firmly linked with the new international commercial network beyond the confines of the Indian Ocean and thus had a wider world view.[15] This opened up new areas for maritime trade for the Indian merchant traders whose cooperation was essential to European enterprises.

Bombay was the centre of the commercial revolution which was taking place with the coming of British dominance in the Indian Ocean. Now it was they who dominated the main trade routes of this region. Bombay was the beginning of their establishment of a large British Empire in the Indian Ocean. Also the demands for goods were changing. Instead of pepper and spices, the Europeans were demanding cotton, textiles and opium from South Asia. Tea was another important commodity whose demand grew rapidly.

These products of South Asia—textiles, cotton and opium were sold for silver and pepper to South East Asia and then exchanged for tea in China. Later, opium was directly shipped to China for tea. These changes were facilitated by the change in political power brought about by the growing British empire in the 18th and 19th centuries.

Indigenous merchants along the Konkan coastline, had to adjust to the decline in fortunes of the local rulers and aristocracy, and to the emergence of European commercial domination. A major change was the development of trade with China. By the middle of the 18th century, exports from China were much in demand. Bombay began to grow rapidly from the early 18th century and induced and attracted artisans and traders to it. Many inducements were offered by the East India Company to weavers, shipbuilders, traders and merchants to come to Bombay from Surat and other parts of Gujarat. The group to migrate in rapidly growing numbers from the end of the 17th century were Parsis. They were the first indigenous group to adjust to the new circumstances and align themselves to the new political structure, and therefore came up foremost during the next two centuries. The first Parsi family to land in Bombay was in 1640 when Dorabji Nanabhai Patel came with his family and worked as an Agent for the Portuguese. Probably he had worked in Surat earlier as their agent and his abilities of obtaining the necessary commercial benefits for the Portuguese were known to them, and he also spoke Portuguese.[16]

When the English took over the Island in 1665, he was inducted into the service of the East India Company. He proved a great asset to the British who were totally ignorant of local languages, customs and tradition. He was put in charge of revenue collection of Rs. 6.33 from each Koli family on the Island, which he is said to have done very successfully, and thus he

established the credibility of the Parsis with the British. He was followed slowly by others of the community. Sorabji Kavasaji came in 1663 and Khurshedji Pestonji in 1665, with their families.[17] By 1700 about seven families had settled in Bombay and, according to Streysham Master, they were mostly weavers.[18] Amongst the early settlers we also find the Pestonji family who were building suppliers (contractors) and the Ghadiali family who established themselves as watchmakers. We also see the emergence of traders amongst the Parsis, when Bhikaji Behramji established the Limji Behramji and Company, which traded in British wines and other goods.[19] But the Parsis in Bombay took some time to emulate their ancestors in Surat and Cambay, and their emergence as traders and merchants took nearly half a century after their first arrival. In the 18th century they began to emerge as important shipbuilders, traders, carpenters, weavers, cabinet makers and makers of artifacts of Ivory and Agate.[20] As early as 1688 the Company had reported that ' 'they had brought to Bombay the principal part of the trade of Surat, where from 4000 families when the Company took possession, are since increased to many more.''[21]

It was as shipbuilders that the Parsis first came into real prominance in Bombay from the early 18th century. In 1736 Lowji Wadia of the wellknown shipbuilding family of Surat was persuaded by the British Government to come to Bombay and work for them. He came here with 10 carpenters.[22] From 1736 to 1764 Lowji became master shipbuilder of Bombay and the city became known for the best ships that the East India Company had ever bought. He and his descendants ran the Bombay dockyard upto 1885.

Alongwith shipbuilding, the Wadias and other Parsis took to buying ships and doing trade with the Malabar Coast, South East Asia and China and later, East Africa, avoiding competition with the British in Europe. The commercial genius of the community produced eminent results. Along with trade, they acted as agents for most of the British and European Companies. By 1800, as reported by Milburn, they were considered 'active, industrious and clever' with considerable local knowledge, and he placed them next to Europeans in rank and status. Each of the European Agency Houses had one of the principal Parsi merchants connected with them in their foreign speculations. They became the brokers and Banias of the Europeans. The factors belonging to these different houses resident in China, Bengal, etc. were also generally Parsis, as were the servants attached to Europeans in the Presidency. Milburn also reported that they were considered ' 'the best in India.''[23] Thus shipbuilding, ship ownership, trade and agency work were intertwined and the Parsis were foremost amongst them. The financial power of the Parsis seemed to have evoked a fear in the English mind that 'the Parsi sway makes our credit subservient to theirs and gives them a power too dangerous to our trade.[24]

The dockyard of Bombay became so active under the Wadias that Bombay

became the foremost shipbuilding yard of the British Empire. They had become so renowned for the quality of their ships that they were even exported in parts to be built in Britain, to pacify British workers, who feared the loss of jobs. It is well known that teak wood, with which the Bombay ships were made, was more durable and lasted for more than 60 years. It is even reported that vessels were 'fully tight and servicable over a century."[25] Inspite of the irrefutable superiority of India-made ships, imperial compulsions and the introduction of steam brought Indian shipbuilding to an end by 1857. It was revived only after independence. From 1736 to 1857, 267 ships were built. They were built for the East India Company, the Bengal Pilot service and for private trade. The majority of private shipowners in the beginning were Parsis alone, or in partnership with Hindu/Muslim traders. It is this that really launched the Parsis as foremost maritime traders. By 1792 Parsis owned about twenty large ships in the country trade of which two were of one thousand tons. Most of the ships were built in the Bombay Docks. The Wadia family owned seven, the Readymoneys three and others the remaining ten.[26] All of them developed trade with China, Burma and East Africa. Upto the establishment of steam communication the prosperity of the Parsis had reached the highest level. They embarked on what was a very lucrative trade between India and China with great risks and great returns. They carried an extensive business in cotton, opium and other merchandise and amassed enormous wealth. The total amount of trade with China from India in 1805 was of exports to China worth Rs. 1,50,60,577 of which cotton amounted to Rs. 94,52,619 and opium was worth Rs. 32,94,570. The imports into India were worth Rs. 1,26,76,519, thus giving India a good balance of trade.[27] The results from 1802 show that the same proportion of profits was available to the Indian traders.[28]

This will give an idea of the type of profits available in the 18th and early 19th centuries in the China trade and the profits that were made by Parsis and other traders. The main China traders in the early days were the Banajis who were amongst the first to settle in China for trade in the middle of the 18th century. Parsis had invested and gained so much in the China trade that by 1840 (opium war) practically the whole of the Indo-China opium trade was in their hands. The profits as shown had been colossal and so also were the losses during the war when the Banaji firm alone sustained a loss of Rs. 20 lakhs. The chief ports of English trade were Canton, Amoy, Souchou and the Portuguese port of Macao. Cotton export to China was mainly done by private traders, both European and Indian, with the East India Company sending some amount to China. The figures of exports available from 1801 are an indication of the growth of the trade and the profits made. Cotton trade with China started accelerating from about 1770.

Parsi merchants who traded in cotton with China also put up their own

presses to press the cotton into standard bales and exported them in their own ships. The export of cotton amounted to about 80,000 bales, totalling 30 mlbs.[29], and at an average amount of Rs. 65 lakhs from the late 18th century to the beginning of the 19th century[30] when the China trade was at its most flourishing stage. The Opium trade with China also was extremely profitable, and the average amount exported per year for the same period rapidly rose from Rs. 37,708 in the early 19th century to 1 1/2 crores in the 1840's.[31] In the beginning more opium went to China from Bengal, but later the interiors of Gujarat and Central India also began to produce abundant opium which was shipped from Bombay.

Parsis, therefore were in the forefront of trade and commerce much earlier then the other communities, who caught up somewhere in the 1850's after which Parsis competed successfully on equal terms throughout the 19th century. Along with the supremacy in the Maritime trade they also acquired supremacy as chief agents and brokers for British firms and also had by 1802 set up their own Merchant Companies. By 1800 there were 5 European Houses of Agencies all of whom had Parsis as their chief brokers. There were sixteen Parsi Merchants as compared to fifteen Hindu, four Muslim, four American, four Portuguese. The China Agents too were Parsis and the shipbuilders and owners were mostly Parsis. (Appendix 2)

The commission that the Agents received was very substantial. The Parsis also acted as bankers and the Europeans borrowed considerable sums of money. They probably produced the largest part of the capital.[32] The main outcome was that through their contacts from these firms the Agents and their family were able to carry on independent trade with foreign countries, including England and Europe along with East Asia. In addition to being brokers to the English firms, the Parsis also acquired more wealth as middlemen in the trade between the British and Indians. This involved some maritime trade when goods were brought from the Gujarat and Malabar coasts. With the opening up of free trade by the British in 1813 there was a boom in export and imports into Bombay, and almost all the private trade entering Bombay upto 1840s passed through Parsi hands.[33]

Apart from the China trade, Parsi merchants from very early times did trade with the Persian Gulf countries and along the Malabar Coast.

The first Parsi to start trading on the Malabar Coast was in 1690, when Banajee Lavjee started a company named Banaji Limjee and began to prosper by trading on the Malabar and Coromandel coasts and took up the business of the East India Company. It is said that he monopolised this trade. He also bought two large vessels called the Gunjawar and Prem which he used for this trade. At first he traded in spices and piecegoods. His family prospered further when the shipyards opened in Bombay, and teak from Malabar was

urgently needed. They were thus, along with other Parsis, foremost in timber trade as well. They were the same family who were leaders in the China trade too. Another interesting and again risky trade entered into by Bombay Parsis was in the buying and selling of Arab horses from the Persian Gulf and even Australia in the early 19th century. This trade amounted to about 2 lakhs to 6 lakhs per year. Parsis imported the horses and kept stables from where they were sold.[34]

By the 1840s therefore the success of Parsis as enterpreneurs was well established. It was estimated that by now they owned half the Island of Bombay.[35] With the enormous wealth accumulated through their trading successes, they owned land, controlled shipping, lived in elegant style and mixed socially with Europeans. At the same time they used their wealth for great acts of charity, not only for their own community, but for all, building schools, helping largely during natural calamities, like floods, famines, fires in and around Bombay.

This prominant position of Parsis in Bombay was slowly giving way to Hindu and later Muslim enterpreneurs and changes were taking place in the economic and financial structures.

Internal changes were taking place due to the emergence of new international and domestic finance capital. Imperial considerations were becoming more dominant, both internationally and nationally. The development of industrial capitalism in the middle 19th century began to change imperial policies, and industrialisation increased the market in Western Europe for raw material and foodstuffs. South Asia gradually lost its indigenous industries. Commercialisation of agriculture went apace in tea, coffee, rubber, which was now added to cotton and jute as major commodities to be exported. The direction of trade shifted from south-east and far-east to Europe and America. The maritime trade of the Indian ocean was thus affected by external changes. As Mcpherson pointed out, the Indian Ocean World system was made peripheral to and dependent upon the economies of western Europe. With the evolution of industrial capitalism, western capital had triumphed and had destroyed the relative economic selfsufficiency of the Indian Ocean World.[36]

This meant that the maritime trade of India was becoming more tied to serving western interests, and was being slowly dominated by European entrepreneurs. Thus it was that indigenous merchants found their fortunes declining during the late 19th century. Europeans arrived with a range of new technologies, both scientific and commercial, and overwhelned the rest of the world.[37] Communication engineering, and scientific discoveries all made competition with the Europeans difficult. Colonial regimes like the British began to make laws to restrict the activities of Indian entrepreneurs. On the whole the rise of new Imperial finance capitalism restricted the development of an

indigenous class of capitalists and undermined the extent of indigenous commercial activity, though new areas in a restricted manner were opened up. New ways of doing business were affecting the commercial structure of Bombay. Other communities were eager to participate in new trading activities. Many Parsi magnates found themselves at a disadvantage for the time being. The China trade was affected by the Treaty of Nanking 1842. Steam navigation and the opposition of the British dockyards ended the dominance of Parsi shipbuilding. According to Dobbins, the Parsi merchants were also hit by the new invention of railways and the telegraph, which cut into their function as intermediaries.[38] However, the decline of their status was restored to a large extent by their entering new spheres of activity such as banking, insurance, joint stock companies, manufacturing, and the rise of professional careers though restricted by imperial compulsions.[39]

What were the reasons for this prominence of the Parsis in the first stage of British rule ? They made their amazing fortunes mostly through maritime trade mainly with China. The sea voyages could be undertaken by them without fear of excommunication. In fact the sons of the traders were sent to be appointed in Canton to study the trade and learn the intricacies involved. The owners themselves made many journeys on their ships and were familiar with the ships they owned and had a mariner's knowledge of the facts of shipping. The wellknown fact that Parsis lacked caste restrictions regarding mixing with others and about work gave them greater flexibility, as Hinnell says, than other communities.[40] Traditionally, and by religious precepts, the Parsis believe in hard work, honesty and integrity. Because of their exposure to the outside world, they were able to accept new liberal ideas and western education.

On the other hand the Hindus were restricted by caste from many trades. The social restrictions of caste also prevented their close contacts with the new financial leaders. The Parsis saw the advantages of overseas business and maritime trade opening up to them and here they did not face the competition that they had to face in internal trade, where other communities were dominant.

The success of the community added to their strength and gave a greater chance for survival and continuity.[41]

Appendix I

PARSI SHIPOWNERS OF BOMBAY

(Source : W. H. Coates, The Old Country Trade, pp. 88 to 92)

	Place	Year	Tons	Other Details
	Wadias			
'Gungamur'	Pegu	1788	680 tons	
'Milford'	Bombay	1786	625 tons	
'Taj Bux'	Bombay	1789	815 tons	
'Lowjee Family'	N. A.	1790	926 tons	
'Upton Castle'	N. A.	1793	N. A.	Burned 24 years later.
'Cornwallis'	N. A.	1790	740 tons	
'Asia'	N. A.	1797	740 tons	
'Bombay Merchant'	Damaum	1801	439 tons	
'Dadabhoy'	Cochin	1803	400 tons	
'Duncan'	Beypour	N. A.	600 tons	
'Hannah'	Bombay	1811	492 tons	
'Hormusjee Bomanjee'	Bombay	1829	757 tons.	Wrecked 1836.
'Ann Bombay'	Details not available			
'Hero', 'Surat Castle', 'Bombay Castle', etc.				
	Lascaris (Hormusjee Dorabjee Lascari)			
'Minerva'	N. A.	1790	953 tons	
'Shah Ardesir'	N. A.	1789	869 tons	
'Lord Castlereagh'	N. A.	1802	785 tons	
	Readymoneys			
'Hornby'	Bombay	1780	823 tons	
'Royal Charlotte'	Bombay	1774	608 tons	
'Shah Minocher'	Bombay	1789	1040 tons	
'Shah Kai Kusru'	Bombay	1799	1045 tons	
'Alexander'	Bombay	1802	600 tons	
'Charlotte'	Bombay	1803	691 tons	
'Bombay Castle'	Bombay	N. A.	N. A.	
	Patels			
'Scaleby Castle' (ex H. E. I. Co.)	N.A.	1798	1603 tons	
'Sir Charles Malcolm'	Mazgaon	1798	850 tons	

'Vansittart'	N. A.	1813	1311 tons
'Pershotan'	N. A.	N. A.	N. A.
'Shah Jehangir'	N. A.	N. A.	N. A.
'Albion'	N. A.	N. A.	N. A.
'Edmandton'	N. A.	N. A.	N. A.
'Bombay Hormesji	N. A.	N. A.	N. A.

Seth Dada Nusserwanjee

'King George'	N. A.	1786	1022 tons
'Shah Ardesir'	Bombay	1787	839 tons
'Friendship'	Daman	1794	872 tons

Ardesir Dady Sett

'Minerva'	Damaum	1790	858 tons
'William'	N. A.	1801	749 tons
'David Sest'	N. A.	N. A.	N. A.
Cowasjee Dady Sett			

Cowasjee Dady Sett

'Elizabeth'			
'Scaleby Castle'	1830-1836		
'Pascoa'			

Merwanjee Nourojee Narielwala

'Shah Byram'	Bombay	N. A.	N. A.
'Earl of Clare'	Bombay	1832	910 tons
'John Bannerman'	Surat	N. A.	N. A.

Camas

'Sir Henry Compton'	Bombay	1835	347 tons
'Ardesser'	Bombay	1836	422 tons
'Emma'	Brought from Banajis		
'Batavia'			
'Admiral'			
'Elizabeth Ainslie'			
'Cowasjee Family'			

Framjee Nanabhoy Davur

| 'Gunjawar' | Pegu | 1788 | N. A. |
| 'Cartier' | N. A. | N. A. | N. A. |

Cowasjee Shupurjee

'Robert Spenky'	N. A.	N. A.	N. A.
'Captain Burney'	N. A.	N. A.	N. A.

Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy

'Good Success'	Daman	1817	550 tons
'Bombay Castle'	Cochin	1823	500 tons
'Fort William'	Calcutta	1827	800 tons
'Albert Victor'	N. A.	N. A.	N. A.
'Margaret Crowford'	N. A.	N. A.	N. A.

Edulji Framji Karam

'Jamshetjee Jeejeebhoy'	N. A.	1833	N. A.

Appendix II

MERCHANTS AND HOUSES OF AGENCY

(Source : Bombay City Gazeteer, Vol. I, pp. 413-414)

Bombay

European Houses of Agency

Bruce Fawcett, and Co.   John Leckie
Forbes and Co.   S. Beaufort
Shotton and Co.

Wine Merchants And Shopkeepers

Baxter, Son and Co.   Wooler and Co.
John Mitchell, and Co.   R. M. Lean and Co.

Portuguese Merchants And Agents

Joseph Pereira and Co.   R. D. Faria
De Souza and Co.

Armenian Merchants And Agents

Joseph Arratoon   Martyrus Sarkies
Martyrus ter Stephens   Gregory Johannes

Parsi Merchants

Pestonjee Bomanjee   Bhickajee Merjee
Hormuzjee Bomanjee   Dadabhoy Cowasjee
Dhunjeebhoy Sorabjee   Framjee Cowasjee
Nasserwanjee Monackjee   Pestonjee Rustomjee

Framjee Nanabhoy

Cursetjee Monackjee

Burjorjee Dorabjee

Muncherjee Nowrojee

Bomanjee Nasserwanjee

Cursetjee Ardaseer

Jahangeer Ardaseer

Sunker Sinoy

Hindoo Merchants

Kessoordass Runsordass

Vituldass Kessowram

Mandowdass Ramdass

Sunkersett Baboolsett

Dhackjee Dadajee

Ragoonath Dadajee

Tricumdass Lalldass

Ramchunder Sunker Seny

Narondass Tulsidass

Luckmichund Poojaraz

Kessowjee Shamjee

Purshoram Bhowan

Virzlall Tulsidass

Purmanaun Ragoonathdass

Soorasir Dunasir

Mussulman Merchants

Noorbhoy Nathabhoy

Mulluckjee Cassimjee

Shaik Tyab Rossuljee

Hyder Alley Cossimjee

China Agents

Hormusjee Dorabjee

Eduljee Cowasjee

Ship Builders

Jamsettjee Bomanjee

Rustomjee Manockjee

Ruttonjee Bomanjee

Nowrojee Jamsettjee

Lowjee Framjee

Cursetjee Rustomjee

Notes and References

1. *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I., p. II, 1896 p. XII.

2. *Ibid*, p. 99.

3. *Asiatic Research*, IX, p. 239.

4. *Gazetteer, op. cit.*, p. 248.

5. *Gazetteer, op. cit*, p. 248.

6. Elliot - 1.97 fn. p. 218, *Gazetteer*, op. cit.

7. *Jaubort's Idrisi* : p. 172, fn. *Gaz., op. cit.*, p. 248.

8. See the *'Revayets'* : Letters between Parsees and Iranian Zoroastrians during 14th to 16th centuries.

9. B. Schrieke, 1966, p. 24, quoted in Kenneth Mcpherson, *The India Ocean : A History of People and the Sea*, Oxford 1993.

10. Mcpherson, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

11. See K. N. Chaudari : *Trading World of Asia and the English East India Company 1660-1760*, Cambridge, University of Cambridge Press, 1978.

12. Mcpherson, *Coastal Western India*. p. 104. Concept, New Delhi, 1981.

13. *Ibid* p. 84.

14. *Ibid* p. 105.

15. Mcpherson, *op. cit.*, p. 192.

16. Rattanji Framji Wacha. *Mumbai no Bahar* Vol. I, Union Press, Bombay, 1874, (Guj) pp. 249-257.

17. *Ibid* .

18. Quoted in M. D. David, *History of Bombay 1661-1708*, Bombay, 1973, p. 434.

19. R. F. Wacha. *op. cit.*, pp. 279-280.

20. Capt. Alexander Hamilton, *A New Ace Out of the East*, London, 1727, pp. 161 ff.

21. William Milburn, *Oriental Commerce   The East India, China and Japan*, London, 1813, p. 173.

22. *Surat Factory Diaries, 1622*, p. 3.

23. Milburn, *op. cit.*, p. 17·1.

24. Ashin Das Gupta, *Indian Merchants and the Decline of Surat*, Weisbaden, F. S. Verlag, pp. 180-193.

25. R. A. Wadia, *The Bombay Dockyard and the Wadia Master Builders*, Bombay, 1957, Neville N. Wadia, p. 179.

26. W. H. Coates, *The Old Country Trade*, Bombay, 1905, p. 51, Also see Appendix-I.

27. W. Milburn, *op. cit.*, p. 482.

28. *Ibid* . p. 27.

29. *Ibid* .

30. *Ibid* . p. 482.

31. *Bombay City Gazetteer*, 1909, App. IV, p. 515.

32. Valentia George, *Voyages and Travels to India and Ceylon*. London, W. Miller, 1809, Vol. 2, p. 187.

33. John R. Hinnells in *K. R. Cama Oriental Institute Journal*, 1978 No. 46 pp. 5-17

34. W. Milburn, *op. cit.*, p. 211 and *Bombay City Gazetteer*, App. V. p. 58.

35. Christine Dobbins, *Urban Leadership in Western India 1840-1885*, Oxford University Press, London, p. 12.

36. Mcpherson, *op. cit.*, p. 220.

37. *Ibid* .

38. Dobbins, op. cit. p. 16.

39. The American Civil War of 1862 opened up new trading opportunities in the export of raw cotton to England for Parsis and other communities, which was eagely seized upon. A Number of Parsis became wealthy magnates through this trade. For instance the Camas were so successful in this that they opened an office in London in 1895. Along with this, Parsis from Bharuch and Ankleshwar came to Bombay and started ginning factories to clean the cotton and also instituted packing presses. Each bundle of cotton fetched a profit of Rs. 200/-, an extremely handsome sum in those days. Another field in which Parsis prospered were as timber merchants, in which they established a monopoly. Most of the timber was supplied by Parsis from the South Gujarat region.

40. Hinnells, *op. cit.,* p. 15.

41. The present, very small community came as refugees to India from Iran in the 7th and 9th centuries, to escape persecution and conversion by the Arab invaders. They had a strong motivation to protect and preserve their religion   Zoroastrianism. A strong committed priesthood kept the community intact and gave the necessary leadership during the early years. Hindu acceptance of different religious leaders as divine, and the close connection between early Avesta and Rigveda had from the beginning made it possible for a sort of co-existence. Also, the much reviled caste system, proved to be to the community's advantage, in that the Parsis were looked upon as a separate caste whose internal affairs were not challenged and their identity as a separate distinct group accepted.

ABHINAVABHĀRATĪ TEXT : RESTORED
NĀṬYAŚĀSTRA CH. XIX : SANDHINIRŪPAṆA

V. M. KULKARNI

The *Nāṭya-Śāstra*[1] *(NŚ)* of Bharata is the oldest available work on Dramaturgy. It also deals with related subjects like Poetry, Prosody, Dance, Music, Dialects, etc. Later writers regard Bharata with great reverence as the sage *(muni)* and accept him as supreme authority. Modern scholars, however, point out in their works that the printed text of *NŚ* is not always clear and that 'there is confusion, complexity and repetition in the work.[2]

There is only one commentary on *NŚ* available today. It is written by Abhinavagupta and is popularly known as *Abhinavabhāratī*[3] (*A. Bh.*). Its great merit completely eclipsed older commentaries and made them to disappear altogether. Like Bharata his great commentator Abhinavagupta (Abhinava) too is regarded as the greatest authority on Sanskrit Aesthetics by later authors. The text of the *A. Bh.* is badly preserved and the printed text abounds in misprints and worse still, corrupt readings. It is, therefore, very essential to present his text as correctly as humanly possible with the help of external sources and intensive stndy of the text.

Amongst external sources, Hemacandra's *Kāvyānuśāsana*[4] *(Kāś)*, the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa*[5] *(ND)* of Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra and *Kalpalatāviveka (KLV)* of Ambāprasāda (?) are the major works which have borrowed clearly and closely from the *A. Bh.* a large number of passages whenever and wherever necessary. They go a long way in helping us to restore the text of the *A.Bh.* A recent work in Marathi of Professor R. P. Kangle (Kangle) *Daśarūpakavidhāna*[7] (DRV); *NŚ* Chs. XVIII and XIX, which provides translation of the text and its commentary along with Notes, is also a valuable source in finally settling the readings. With the aid provided by these works it is proposed to improve the corrupt readings in the chapter called *Sandhinirūpaṇa* (*NŚ*, Ch. XIX)

1) *Text p. 6 : I 1*   read व्यापारः परिस्पन्दो   (Kangle p. 162)

2) *Text p. 6 I 6*   read लक्षयितुम् for दर्शयितुम्   (Kangle, p. 163)

3) *Text p. 8 Last para*   read दैवमवजानानानां for वजानानां   (Kangle, p. 168)

चार्वाकादिमतमुपेयुषां for मतमेयुषां   (Kangle, p. 168)

4) *Text p. 14 Last but one line* read मुखसन्धेरेव *प्रभृत्यात्मानम्* for प्रवर्त्या- (cf.

केवलं बीजं मुखसन्धेरेव *प्रभृति* निबध्यते, *ND,* p. 41)

5) *Text p. 15 l. 3* read सचेतनानुसंधाना पताकासिद्धि: प्रधानस्योपकारिणी । (Kangle, p. 184)

6) *Text, p. 15, l. 4* read रामादिनो *पक्रियमाणो* रामादेरात्मनश्चोपकाराय

7) *Text, p. 15, l. 5.* read *प्रभवमानो*

(cf : रामादिनोपक्रियमाणो रामादेरात्मनश्चोपकाराय भवन् ND, p. 39). In the light of the reading preserved by *ND.* Kangle's emandation 'रामादिनाऽर्थक्रियामारभमाणो' deserves to be rejected.

8) *Text, p. 16, para 2, l. 7* read 'पताकाप्रकर्यौं अविवक्षिते एव' for पताकाप्रकर्येऽविवक्षिते एव । cf. पताकाप्रकर्यौरल्पत्चेऽभावे वा ---- । *ND,* p. 43.

9) *Text, last line* read प्रधानसिद्धावायत्तसिद्धौ च (बध्यमानायां p. 17.) This correct reading is available in the transcript used by Kangle.

10) *Text, p.17, line 9* read पताकावृत्तरस्य as the printed reading—प्रवृत्तरस्य ill suits the context.

11) *Text, p.18, line 6,* (from below), read यद्यप्यभिसंभानमस्ति (Kangle, pp. 93-94)

12) *Text, p. 20, ll. 2-3* read यथा नागानन्दे जीमूतवाहनरस्य *शङ्खचूडादप्रामवध्यपटस्य कञ्चुकिना वासोयुगलार्पणम् ।* Kangle (p. 196-98) emends *शङ्खचूडादप्राम* to *शङ्खचूडग्राप्य.* But the reading *शङ्खचूडादप्राम* preserved by the *ND* (p. 40) is decidedly to be preferred. For it has all the appearance of being original.

13) *Text, p. 21, para 2, line 1* read [काव्यरूपं] कथारूपं वा

line 3 read सुष्ठु [युक्त:]

14) *Text, p. 22, ll. 3-4* read पताकाशब्देन for *चतुष्पताकाशब्देन* for the word चतुष् is, through scribal mistake, repeated. Cf. अथ *पताकाप्रस्तावात्* पताकास्थानकानां सामान्यलक्षणं भेदांश्चाह – *ND,* p. 39.

15) *Text, p. 22, para 3, line 1* read पताकास्थानकेन for पताकानायकेन (Kangle, p. 202, p. 204).

16) *Text, p. 23, line 4* read तत्र मुखस्य (? मुख्यस्य)

17) *Text, p. 23, line 4 (from below)* read यावत्यर्थभागराशौ for यावत् क्रियावत्यर्थभागराशौ (Kangle, p. 206).

18) *Text, p. 23, line 4 (from below)* read बीजस्य मुख्योपायरस्य for बीजस्य मुखोपायरस्य; cf. बीजोत्पत्तेर्मुख्योपायोपक्षेपस्य – *ND,* p. 48.

Of the five *artha-prakṛtis* (=*upāyas*) the two *bīja* and *bindu* are regarded as *mukhya* (principal, major) *upāyas* :

Abhinava says : बीजं च मुखसन्धेरेव प्रवर्त्य ? (? प्रभृति) आत्मानमुन्मेषयति बिन्दुस्तदनन्तरमिति विशेषोऽनयो: द्वे अपि तु समस्तेतिवृत्तव्यापके – p. 14. The ND (p. 41) too says : बीजवत् समस्तेतिवृत्तव्यापकत्वमाह । केवलं बीजं *मुखसन्धेरेव प्रभृति निबध्यते, बिन्दुस्तु तदनन्तरम् इति ।*

19) *Text, p. 23, lines 9-13 :* प्रागारम्भभावित्वान्मुखमिव *मुखं, यावत् क्रियावत्यर्थभागराशौ* बीजरय *मुखोपायस्य* सम्यगुत्पत्ति: शरीरेण प्रारम्भात्मना अनुगता भवति, नानाभूतोऽर्थवशात् प्रसङ्गायतो रससंभवो *य: स्यात् ।* एतदुक्तं [भवति] — प्रारम्भोपयोगी यावानर्थराशि: प्रसक्तानुप्रसक्त्या *विचित्रास्वाद आपतित:* तावान् मुखसन्धि: । The words in bold type need to be corrected. Kangle (pp. 206-207) emends the text as follows :

मुखमिव मुख *मिति* यावत् । यावत्यर्थभागराशौ बीजस्य *मुख्योपायस्य...* अनुगता भवति । नानाभूतो... रससंभवो *यस्याम्* ।... For logical connection of words Kangle inserts the word *iti* between '*mukham*' and '*yāvat.*' The expression *mukhopāyasya* is corrected and rightly so, to *mukhyopāyasya.* For *bīja* and *bindu* are admittedly the two principal *(mukhya) upāyas.* He emends य: स्यात् to यस्याम्, He however, leaves the words "विचित्रास्वाद आपतित:" as they are. The *ND* (p. 48) however, reads : (प्रसक्तानुप्रसक्त्या) विचित्ररससंनिवेश: p. 24 lines 16-17 : भीष्मवधाद् दृष्टम् अभिमन्युवधान्नष्टम् । *अत्रापि वेदितमिति केचित् ।* Kangle (p. 207, p. 209) emends the text as भीष्म... *नष्टमिति वेदितव्यमिति* केचित् । His emendations suit the context all right.

20) *Text p. 24, lines 20-21 :* एवं संमृष्टोपम *विकास* उत्तरापेक्षयेति *मन्यते,* अत्रापीवार्थो न संगच्छत एव, *न कार्यजननशक्त्या ।* Kangle (p. 207, p. 209) reads these lines as follows : एवं संमृष्टोपम *विकास* उत्तरापेक्षयेति *मन्यन्ते ।* अत्रापि इवार्थो न संगच्छत एव, *न कार्यजननं शक्यम् ।*

Kangle rightly corrects 'manyate' to 'manyante' as the statement is attributed to 'kecit' which is in plural. He emends 'śaktyā' to 'śakyam.' He, however, frankly admits neither 'śaktyā' nor the emendation 'śakyam' suggested by him makes the meaning clear. In this confusing and confounding situation the *Kāś* of Hemacandra who freely borrows from the *A.Bh* comes to our help in solving the mystery of the words 'na kāryajananaṁ śaktyā', which are totally disconnected in the given context. The following comparison between the two corresponding passages, one from the *A. Bh.* and the other from the *Kāś*, completely removes the confusion and renders the passage as clear as daylight :

A.Bh. Vol. III, p. 24, lines 20 to p. 25 line 8	Kāś, p. 451 lines 19 to p. 452 lines 3-4

तस्मादयमत्रार्थः एवं संमृष्टेपमविकास उत्तरापेक्षयेति *मन्यते,* अत्रापीवार्थो न संगच्छत एव, न कार्यजननं शक्त्या । तस्मादयमत्रार्थः दृष्टं नष्टमिव कृत्वा तावन्मुखे न्यस्तं भूमाविव बीजं, अमात्येन सागरिकाचेष्टितं वसन्तोत्सव-कामदेवपूजादिना तिरोहितं नष्टमिव सागरिकाचेष्टितस्य हि बीजस्येव तदाच्छादक -मप्युत्सवादिरूपं **भूमिरिव प्रत्युद्बोधकम् ।** तस्य दृष्टनष्टतुल्यं कृत्वा न्यस्तस्य, अत एव कुङ्कुम-बीजस्य यदुद्घाटनं तत्कल्पं, यत्रोद्घाटनं सर्वत्रैव कथाभागसमूहे तत्प्रतिमुखं, **प्रतिराभिमुख्येन यतोऽत्र** *वृत्तिः ।* पराङ्मुखता हि दृष्टनष्टकल्पनानिदर्शनम् ।
रत्नावल्यां - परपेसत्तणदूसिदं मे सरीरं एदरस दंसणेण अज्ज मे बहुमदं संपण्णं इत्यादि सागरिकोक्तेरनङ्गाङ्गात् (प्रथमाङ्कात्) सुसङ्गतारचितराजतत्समागमपर्यन्तं काव्यं द्वितीयाङ्गतं प्रतिमुखसन्धिः ।

बीजस्योद्घाटनमिति । अयमर्थः दृष्टनष्टमिव कृत्वा तावन्मुखे 'द्वीपादन्यस्मात्' (रत्नावली, प्रस्तावना, श्लो. ६) इत्यादिना न्यस्तं भूमाविव बीजम्, अमात्येन सागरिकाचेष्टितं वसन्तोत्सवकामदेवपूजादिना तिरोहित्वान्नष्टमिव, न हि तन्नष्टमेव । सागरिकाचेष्टितस्य हि बीजस्येव तदाच्छादकमप्युत्सवादिरूपं **भूमिवत् प्रत्युत कार्यजननशक्त्युद्बोधकं,** तस्य दृष्टनष्टतुल्यं कृत्वा न्यस्तस्यात एव कुङ्कुमबीजस्य यदुद्घाटनं तत्कल्पं यत्रोद्घाटनं सर्वत्रैव कथाभागसमूहे स प्रतिमुखम् । **प्रतिराभिमुख्ये ।** *मुख्यस्याभिमुख्येन यतोऽत्र वृत्तिः ।* पराङ्मुखता हि दृष्टनष्टकल्पता । तथा हि रत्नावल्याम् -
परपेसणदूसिदं पि सरीरं एदरस दंसणेण अज्ज मे बहुमदं संपण्णं । (रत्नावली १.२३-२४) इत्यादि सागरिकोक्तेरनन्तरं सुसङ्गतारचितराजतत्समागमपर्यन्तं काव्यं द्वितीयाङ्गतं प्रतिमुखसन्धिरुद्घाटितत्वाद् बीजार्थस्य ।

This comparison clearly shows how closely the *A. Bh.* passage is followed by Hemacandra. The copyist of the MS., on which the printed text of the *A. Bh.* is based, has through oversight or carelessness, misplaced the words 'pratyuta kāryajananaśaktyudbodhakam' and that too in an incorrect form. The correct readings should, therefore be thus restored :

भूमिरिव । भूमिवत् प्रत्युत कार्यजननशक्त्युद्बोधकम् । - dropping the phrase 'pratyud - bodhakam' (p. 25, line 2).

It goes without saying that we have to read on p. 24 *(A.Bh.)* :

अत्रापि इवार्थो न संगच्छत एव । and drop altogether the next line : न कार्यजननं शक्त्या ।

The *A.Bh.* gives the etymological explanation as प्रतिराभिमुख्येन यतोऽत्र वृत्तिः ।

The *Kāś* gives it in the words : प्रतिराभिमुख्ये । मुख्यस्याभिमुख्येन यतोऽत्र वृत्तिः ।

The *ND* (p. 48) य: प्रधानवृत्तांश: स मुखस्याभिमुख्येन वर्तते इति प्रतिमुखम् ।

The three explanations are essentially identical. Hemacandra has probably added the words प्रतिराभिमुख्ये । for the sake of clarity of meaning. Most probably, the original reading was... : तत्प्रतिमुखम्, मुखस्याभिमुख्येन यतोऽत्र वृत्ति: ।

21) *Text, p 25 para 2, lines 5-6* : प्राप्ति: अप्राप्तिरन्वेषणमित्येवंभूताभिरवस्थाभि: पुन: *पुनर्भवन्तीभिर्युक्तो* गर्भसन्धि:, प्राप्तिसंभवाव्याव्ययावस्थया युक्तत्वेन फलस्य गर्भीभावात् । Hemacandra p. 452, lines 5-7 adopts this passage word for word : प्राप्तिरप्राप्तिरन्वेषणमित्येवंभूताभिरवस्थाभि: फलस्य गर्भीभावात् । The *ND* (p. 49) reads लाभालाभगवेषणै: *पुन: पुनर्भवद्भिर्युक्त:* प्रधानवृत्तांशो गर्भसन्धि: । Here the ND paraphrases and simplifies what the *A.Bh.* says.

Kangle (p. 211) argues that the word 'bhavantibhih' is redundant. But it is evident from the readings adopted by the *Kāś* and the *ND* that *'bhavantibhih'* of the printed text is a genuine and authentic reading.

22) *Text p. 26, lines 7-8* : अवमर्श: त्वप्राप्तेरेव प्रधानता प्राप्त्यंशस्य च न्यूनतेति विशेष: । The Editor in a footnote (p. 26, lart three lines) however remarks. 'अवमर्शे तु प्राप्तेरेव प्रधानता, अप्राप्त्यंशस्य च न्यूनता' इति पाठ: स्यात् । This remark is uncalled for. Hemacandra, who follows *A.Bh.* has the same reading as given in the printed text above. विमर्शे त्वप्राप्तेरेव प्रधानता, प्राप्त्यंशस्य च न्यूनतेति विशेष : । He only uses *vimarśa* for *avamarśa*. So we should without any hesitation reject the editor's proposed emendation.

23) *Text p. 27, para 2* : अन्ये त्ववमर्शो विघ्न इति विदन्ति । *स च* व्याख्याने बीजशब्देन तद्बीजफलं अर्थशब्देन निवृत्तिरुच्यते । तेन *गर्भनिर्भिन्नप्रदर्शितमुखं* यद्बीजफलं तस्य योऽर्थो निवृत्ति: पुनस्तत्रैव *संपादनं निष्प्रत्यूह्यप्राणतया* फलप्रसूति:, *तच्छब्देन यत्रेत्याक्षिप्तम्,* सा च निवृत्ति: क्रोधेन च निमित्तेन लोभेन वा... संग्रह: । The passage, as it stands, is certainly confusing. The words *'Sa-ca'*, it would seem, are misplaced. The other expressions in italics too are rather confusing. Hemacandra, who has borrowed this passage is of great help in understanding it better. He reads :

गर्भनिर्भिन्नेति । बीजशब्देन बीजफलम् । अर्थशब्देन निवृत्तिरुच्यते । तेन *गर्भनिर्भिन्नं प्रदर्शितमुखं* बहिर्नि:सरणोन्मुखं यद्बीजफलं तस्य योऽर्थो निवृत्ति: *पुनस्तत्रैव च प्रवेश इव* यत्र स विमर्शसन्धि: ।

स इति । तच्छब्देन यत्रेत्याक्षिप्तम् । सा च निवृत्ति: क्रोधेन वा निमित्तेन लोभेन वा व्यसनेन वा शापादिना वा । अपिशब्दाद् विघ्ननिमित्तान्तराणां प्रतिपदभशक्यनिर्देशानां संग्रह: ।
- p. 454, lines 13-15, 16-18

From Hemacandra's text, it would seem, we should read in place of *'sa ca' 'sa iti'* and that we should place it before the expression 'tacchabdena yatretyākṣiptam' that occurs before 'sā ca nivṛttih'. From Hemacandra's explanation it is clear that the expression *garbhanirbhinnam*

is explained as *pradarśitamukham.* So we have to correct the text of the *A. Bh.* as (tena) *garbhanirbhinnam pradarśitamukham.* Hemacandra explains the word *'nivṛttiḥ'* as *punastatraiva ca praveśa iva'* omitting altogether the explanation given in *A.Bh. : 'punastatraiva sampādanam niṣpratyūhaprāṇatayā phalaprasūtiḥ* which is obscure.

24) *Text, p. 28, lines 10-11* विदूरकारणसंपातात्मकत्वं In the corresponding passage the *ND* (p. 50) uses the expression *vighnahetusampāta.* Most probably the original reading in the *A. Bh.* was not *vidūrakāraṇasampāta* but *vighnakāraṇasampāta.*

25) *Text, p. 29 lines 3-4 :* नानाविधै: सुखदु:खात्मकै: हासशोकक्रोधादिभावैरुत्तराणां Hemacandra (p. 455, I 17) and the ND (p. 51) add *rati* before hāsa.

p. 29, para 3 lines 3-5 : यदा च सुखप्राप्ते: फलत्वत्वं तदा रतिहासादिबाहुल्यं प्रारम्भादीनां, दु:खहानेरन्तु फलत्वे क्रोधशोकादिदु:खात्मक *भावाद् बाहुल्यं,* Hemacandra (p. 455, line 24) correctly reads : क्रोधशोक (भय-जुगुप्सा-स्थायि) *भावबाहुल्यम्.* The *ND* (p. 51) too reads क्रोधशोक... *भावबाहुल्यम्*

The reading in the *A. Bh 'bhāvād bāhulyam* makes no sense.

26) *Text, p. 42, last two lines* and *p. 43, first line :* तेन वीरप्रभानेषु रूपकेषु *प्रतिमुख एव ह्यास्था रतिरूपेण* उत्साह: । सम्यग्विषया समीहा चेष्टा *विलास इति मन्तव्यम् ।* As pointed out by Kangle (p. 246) the words *'prati mukha eva hyāsthā ratirūpeṇa'* are not found in the Ms of the *A. Bh.* and that they are absolutely out of place and that through carelessness of the scribe have crept in there from a line above (कागफलेषु रूपकेषु *प्रतिमुख एव ह्यास्थावत्वेन (?* ह्यास्थाबन्धत्वेन) *रतिरूपेण* भाव्यम्). Keeping this fact in view as well as the corresponding passage in the *ND* (p. 62) the printed text in the *A. Bh* should be corrected as follows :

वीरप्रभानेषु रूपकेषु उत्साहसंपद्विषया समीहा चेष्टा विलास इति मन्तव्यम् ।

27) *Text p. 48, lines 7-9 :* युक्तिस्तु नियतप्रतिपत्तिपर्यन्तेति विशेष: । रूपमिति चानियता आकृतिरुच्यते । *तत्र विशेषप्रतिपत्तिरिहापि* तथोपचाराद् व्यपदेश: ।

Kangle (pp. 254-255) emends the text as *'tatrāviśeṣapratipattiḥ'* to suit the context.

28) Text, p. 49, lines 7-9 : भावस्य भाव्यमानस्य वस्तुनो भावनातिशये सत्यूहं **प्रति** भावनादिबलात् **स्यात्** या परमार्थोपलब्धि: सा क्रम: । बुद्धिर्हि तत्र क्रमते न प्रतिहन्यते । यथा — ह्रिया सर्वस्यासौ... [रत्नावली, 3.4]

The words in bold type 'ūham', 'prati', 'bhāvanādibalāt', 'syāt' do not combine well grammatically and fail to yield consistent or coherent meaning. The ND, which often borrows passages from the *A. Bh.,* comes to our help in restoring the passage. It reads :

'क्रमो भावस्य निर्णय: ।

भावस्य पराभिप्रायस्याथवा भाव्यमानस्यार्थस्योह [भाव्यमानस्यार्थस्य+ऊह] – प्रतिभादिवशान्निर्णयो
यथावस्थितरूपनिश्चय: क्रम: । बुद्धिस्तत्र क्रमते न प्रतिहन्यते इत्यर्थ: । यथा...

रत्नावल्याम् ह्रिया सर्वस्यासौ... [रत्नावली 3.4]

Keeping in view the readings in the borrowed passage we may restore
the *A. Bh.* passage as follows : भावस्य भाव्यमानस्य वस्तुनो (= अर्थस्य) भावनातिशये
सति, ऊह-प्रतिभा-भावनादिबलाद् या परमार्थोपलब्धि: सा क्रम: । बुद्धिर्हि तत्र क्रमते न
प्रतिहन्यते । यथा...

ह्रिया सर्वस्यासौ... [रत्नावली 3.4]

Kangle has rightly pointed out that of the two words 'syāt' and 'yā' in
the 8th line of the printed text 'syāt' ill suits the context and deserves
to be dropped.

29. Text p. 49, last three lines : *अनुमानं रूपानुरूपगमनम्* इति । रूप्यमानेन प्रत्यक्षावुपलभ्यमानेन
रूपस्य व्यापकस्याविनाभाविना गमनं ज्ञानमनुमानं **निश्चयात्मकत्वादूह:**, उपायायुक्तेरन्यत्वात् ।

The last sentence in this passage is unintelligible. Kangle attempts to make
it intelligitle by effecting emendations. He reads :

... अनुमानं निश्चयत्वादूह: उपाय:, युक्तेरन्यत्वात् । (p. 256)

In the notes he observes : 'उपाय: युक्ते:' is an emendation of 'उपायायुक्ते:'
as such a compound is impossible. He further observes that the idea
seems to be that *anumāna* means *ūha* and that *ūha* is used as *'upāya'* -
a means. The *aṅga* called *yukti* is not, however, so used. This is the
difference between the two *anumāna that is ūha* and *yukti*, the *aṅga*
described above (earlier). This emendation and explanation are both
unconvincing and therefore unsatisfactory. The ND which has retained
the correct original reading of *A.Bh.* removes all doubt and confusion.
In the *Vṛtti* on the definition of *anumā* the *ND* says :

लिङ्गाद् हेतोर्नान्तरीयकस्य लिङ्गिनो निश्चयोऽनुमानम् । निश्चयरूपत्वादेव चोह (च + ऊह)
रूपाया युक्तेर्भिद्यते ।

A. Bh. distinguishes 'anumāna' from *'yukti.'* The former is of the nature
of definite and true knowledge whereas the latter lacks definiteness and
certainty in knowledge.

Incidentally it may be pointed out that the *ND* reads 'niścayarūpatvāt'
for 'niścayātmakatvāt of the *A. Bh.* Both the readings mean the same
thing. So Kangle's conjecture that the original reading might have been
'niścayatvāt' or 'niścitatvāt' is only a conjecture without any basis.

30. P. 50 || 8-9 ... समुचितो **भावस्थद्विषया** या प्रकर्षेणाभ्यर्थना सा प्रार्थनाख्यमङ्गम् ।

'Bhāvastha - ' is obviously a misprint for 'Bhāvastadviṣayā.' Abhinavagupta is explaining the word 'prārthanā.' We expect the reading 'prakarṣeṇārthanā' in place of 'prakarṣeṇābhyarthanā', as pointed out by Kangle (p. 258).

Incidentally, it may be pointed out that the readings 'tadādau' and 'hi tarām' in the stanza "tīvraḥ smarasantāpo" etc. (*Ratnāvalī*) need to be corrected as 'tathādau' and 'nitarām' respectively.

31. P. 51, lines 1-3 : ... स चावेगो हर्षात्, क्रोधात्, अन्यतोऽपि वा । भिनत्ति यतो हृदयं ततस्तोटकम् ।

Kangle (pp. 258-59) reads in place of the second sentence :

(अन्यतोऽपि वा) भावी निर्गतो हृदयतो ततस्तोटकम् ।

The following line from the *ND* (p. 81), based on *A. Bh.* however, supports the printed text :

क्रोभ-हर्षादि-संभूतावेग-गर्भितं वचनं **तोटयति भिनत्ति हृदयमिति तोटकम्** ।

32. P. 51, ll. 7-8 **परस्परवचनप्रवृत्तयो**:...

The context demands that the reading here ought to be **'parasparavañcana-pravṛttayoḥ'** The *ND* (p. 79, line 1) supports this emendation.

33. P. 51, l. 1 : अरिशब्दान्नाचिकादि ।

'Nācikādi' is obviously a misprint for 'nāyikādi.'

34. P. 51, last line : Read the Prakrit sentence as follows :

णं अम्हाण जीविदसंसओ (ननु अस्माकं जीवितसंशयः) - इत्यादि ।

35. P. 52, line 1 (NŚ) 'विद्रय:' is obviously a misprint for 'विद्रव.'

36. P. 54, line 3 : Read : .... **हेतवो** ये तेषां संभव: **प्रासिर्व्यवसाय:** ।

'एक्को उण खेलओ अवरसं पेक्खिदव्वो

The 'tu' in 'hetuvo' in the printed text is obviously a misprint. Kangle (pp. 263-64) has rightly corrected the expression 'prāptivyavasāyaḥ' of the printed text to 'prāptirvyavasāyaḥ.' He points out that the word 'sambhavaḥ' (in the present) context means 'prāptiḥ' and so corrects the printed text as : " - sambhavaḥ prāptir vyavasāyaḥ."

37. P. 54, lines 6-7, Read यथा वासवदत्ता — 'उज्जइणीए आअदो त्ति अत्थि मे तस्सिं इंदआलिए पक्खवादो'

38. P. 54, line 10 : Read आ दारीए उत्त इंदआलिअ

39. P. 54, lines 12-13 : मदश्रेष्ठा... त्युभयोऽपि यावत् ।

Read as मनश्रेष्ठा... खेद इति । मानस: कायीयश्चेत्युभयोऽपीति यावत् ।

40. P. 54, line 14 : Read जाने for जाते

    line 15 : Read पतनाकर्णनोदित for पतनाक्रर्णनोदित —

41. P. 54, last line, Read यावदरया for यावतरया

42. P. 55, line 4, Read ईप्सितार्थप्रतीघात: for - प्रतीयात:

43. P. 55, lines 4-6, यथा रत्नावलीवृत्तान्तवर्णने ईप्सितार्थप्रतीघाते बाभ्रव्येण प्रस्तुते तस्य प्रतिघातोऽन्तःपुरदाहेन ।

As the word 'pratighāta' is repeated through oversight twice Kangle (pp. 265-266) rightly corrects the sentence as

यथा...वर्णने ईप्सितार्थे बाभ्रव्येण प्रस्तुते... ।

44. P. 55, lines 9-10 : अत्र हि कार्ये वासवदत्ता सागरिकाप्रेमविस्रम्भरयात्ययो विनाशमुपगत: ।

This sentence, as it stands, is unintelligible. Kangle (pp. 266-67) effecting emendations reads the sentence as follows :

अत्र हि कार्ये **वासवदत्ताया: सागरिकां प्रति** विस्रम्भरयात्ययो **विनाश:** उपगत: प्राप्त: । – p. 266.

In his notes he observes : The reading 'vināśam' in the printed text is not correct. This word ('vināśa') is used to explain the meaning of 'atyaya.' This argument is indisputable. He informs us that the original reading in the MS 'Vāsavadattā' he has emended to 'Vāsavadattāyāḥ' with a view to meeting the grammatical connection with 'visrambhasya.' He also remarks : the printed expression 'sāgarikāpremavisrambhasya' is not correct as Sāgarikā's love (for the king) or the king's love for Sāgarikā is not under discussion ('prastuta')

45. P. 55 last but one line : 'अपमानकृतं वाक्यं छादनम्' इति ।

Kangle informs us that the Ms. reads *avamāna-kṛtaṁ'* and remarks that probably it was also the reading of Abhinavagupta. It may be pointed out that some of the later textbook writers also use the word 'avamāna' or 'avamānana.'

46. P. 56, lines 7-8 : अत्रोद्देशक्रमत्यागे यत्केषांचिदङ्गानां लक्षणं तत्क्रमानियमसूचनार्थः ।

The expression 'sūcanārthaḥ', obviously needs to be emended as 'sūcanārtham.'

47. P. 56, last three lines : अन्ये तु त्रयोदशाङ्कत्वेऽप्यस्य निर्वहणसन्धावपि **प्रसक्ते**रितिवृत्तान्तभूतत्वेन गणनमन्याय्यमिति त्रयोदशाङ्कत्वात् चतुःषष्टिसंख्यां समर्थयन्ते ।

Now, the word 'prasakti' is obviously a scribal error − as the MS has that reading; and the printed edition (p. 56) retains that reading without giving any thought to its use in this context. The word 'prasakti', in the

present context, makes no sense at all. The word intended by Abhinavagupta is, beyond any shadow of doubt, 'praśasti'. So we should read 'praśasteriti'

It is not necessary to emend 'antarbhūtatvena' to 'itivṛttāntarbhūtatvena'; 'anantarbhūtatvena' for the sentence as it stands, yields the same meaning : In the 'nirvahaṇa-sandhi' also it is not proper to count 'praśasti' (conferring of blessings on the audience — a prayer for peace to the king and the country and other good things) as a member - part of the 'itivṛtta' (plot). The *ND* too (p. 101), it would seem, supports the present reading :

इयं (प्रशस्ति:) चावश्यं निबन्धनीया । तथेतिवृत्तान्तभूता चेयम् (? नेयम्) ।
तेनास्या: पृथग्गणने चतुष्षष्टिरप्यङ्गसङ्ख्या भवति ।

P. 57, l, 2, correct सन्धीति to सन्धिरिति ।

P. 57, l.13 correct सागरीका : which is obviously a misprint to सागरिका.

48-49 : Kangle (pp. 270-271) in his notes observes : The illustrations of the two 'aṅgas', 'upakṣepa' and 'nirṇaya' appear to have been lost from the MS and that the illustrations in the printed text are supplied by the Editor. Kangle does not find them to be apt ones and provides other examples from the same play *Ratnāvalī*.

The writer of the present paper, however, would venture to suggest that the two lost illustrations are **probably** drawn, one from *Veṇī*. and the other from *Puṣpadūṣitaka* and that the *ND* (pp. 92-93) which frequently borrows from the *Abhinavabhāratī*, has adopted them from the *A.Bh.* :

ग्रथनम् । यथा — वेणीसंहारे —

भीमसेन: — पाञ्चालि, न खलु मयि जीवति संहर्तव्या दु:शासनविलुलिता वेणिरात्मपाणिना ।
तिष्ठतु तिष्ठतु स्वयमेवाहं संहरामि'। इति ।

- Veṇī, VI. 37-38

In the *Veṇī*, Act I.v.21, Bhīma promises Draupadī that he would himself tie up with hands gory with Duryodhana's blood her dishevelled hair. This 'kārya' — purpose — kept in view throughout is here in this passage referred to by Bhīma.

निर्णय :... यथा वा **पुष्पदूषितके** प्रकरणे...

Samudradatta, the hero, narrates *a past· incident or experience in his life*, in the sixth act of *Puṣpadūṣitaka*, in order to establish the fact that he himself is the father of the child born of Nandayantī, his wife. For details the reader is referred to The Lost Sanskrit Drama *Puṣpadūṣitaka*, ed. H. C. Bhayani, L. D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad-9, 1994.

50. Text, p.59, third line (from below) : यद्यपि **तदार्थेऽपि** संग्रहाख्यमिदमङ्गमुक्तं तथाप्यत्र स्थानेऽवश्यं **प्रयोक्तव्यता** ख्यापयितुं पुनरुपादानं शब्दान्तरेण च ।

The reading 'tadārthe'pi' makes no sense. Kangle (p. 275) points out that MS has the corrupt reading 'garbhopa' and rightly emends it to 'garbhe'pi'. Abhinavagupta himself says that this 'aṅga' is called 'saṅgraha.' This 'saṅgraha-aṅga' occurs in the 'garbha-sandhi'. It therefore helps us to restore the corrupt reading 'garbhopa' to 'garbhe'pi' keeping in view the context.

Read 'prayoktavyatāṁ' for 'prayoktavyatā' to meet the demand of grammar.

(P. 59, last line and p. 60, first line : Read — ' देवि स्थाने देवीशब्दमुद्रहसि ', इति साम । दानं तु)

51. P. 60, lines 3-4 : अन्ये मन्यन्ते – आदिशब्देन भेददण्डादेरुपायान्तरस्य संग्राह्यत्वं, तस्य **वेग (चेह)** स्थाने स्पष्टेन पथानौचित्यात्।

Kangle (pp. 274-75) observes : "vega' is the reading in the MS. The Editor emends it to 'ceha.' But this emendation is not apt." So he rightly emends 'vega' to 'tveha' (tu+iha). As the view of 'Anye' is being refuted, Kangle (p.275) rightly emends 'anaucityāt' to *anaucityam.*

(P. 60, line 4 : Correct गर्भसन्भयुक्त to गर्भसन्भ्युक्त –)

52. P. 61, l.4 आकल्पान्तं **क्रियायाः** क्रमसमुपचितं संगमं सज्जनानां

This word-form does not suit grammatical order (*anvaya*) The editor has therefore suggested that it should be replaced by the form 'kṛṣīṣṭa.' Kangle's suggestion to replace it by 'ca kuryāt' pp. 275-76 is far more satisfactory.

53. P. 61, lines 11-14, ततश्च यद्यथा यद्वस्यानुपयोगि तदरोचकिनो... **सुन्दरतदुचितरस...** कल्पपादपकल्पनायै कल्पते ।

The readings in bold type in the above passage do not yield a coherent meaning. The passage, as corrected by Kangle, yields satisfactory meaning. With his corrections the passage reads :

ततश्च **यथा** यद्वस्योपयोगि तदरोचकं .... **सुन्दरतरोचितरस...** कल्पपादपकल्पनायै कल्पते।

54. P. 61, last line, P. 62, first line   एतानीति । **तान्यङ्गानि** लिखितानि विवक्षित**रसभावादिसंपूर्णभाव**भाञ्जि भवन्ति

In view of the reading 'etāni' in the text we should read 'etānyaṅgāni'. Kangle corrects the reading 'rasabhāvādisaṁpūrṇabhāvabhāñji' to 'rasavibhāvādisaṁpūraṇabhāñji.' It would be more reasonable to retain the phrase 'rasabhāvamapekṣya' that occurs in the text above (P. 61, v. no. 105). His correction of 'sampūrṇabhāva' to 'saṁpūraṇa', however,

seems to be justified.

55. P. 62, lines 1-2 : **यानि** त्वेकरसावहितमनसो यत्नान्तरनिरपेक्षतयैवाहमहमिकया समुचितभावेन बन्धशय्यामनुवर्तन्ते ।

The printed text ''[ए]तान्यङ्गानि... भवन्ति यानि... बन्धशय्यामनुवर्तन्ते ।'' reads this as one sentence. If we complete the sentence at 'bhavanti' then we will have to read 'tāni' for 'yāni.'

Kangle (pp. 277-78) however reads :

एतान्यङ्गानि लिखितानि विवक्षितरसविभावादिसंपूरणभाञ्जि भवन्ति तद्यौगपद्येन । **ते तु** ... बन्धशय्यामनुवर्तन्ते ।

In his notes (p. 278) he sets forth reasons for suggesting the 'corrected' readings.

56. P. 62, lines 3-4 : **इति वृत्ताविच्छेदोऽपि** हि रसरयैव पोषक:, अन्यथा विच्छेदे स्थाय्यादेस्त्रुटितत्वात् क्व रसवार्ता ।

The printed 'इति वृत्ताविच्छेदोऽपि' should be corrected as 'इतिवृत्ताविच्छेदोऽपि'.

Kangle (p. 277) reads the latter half as :

अन्यथा विच्छेदे स्थाय्यदेरेव त्रुटितत्वात् क्व रसवार्ता ।

It is not known whether 'eva' he himself has added or whether the MS itself has that reading.

In this connection it would be quite relevant — proper to draw the attention of readers to the following passage from the *ND* (p. 102) *which is clearly based on the A.Bh.*

सर्वसन्धीनां चाङ्गानीतिवृत्ताविच्छेदार्थमुपादीयन्ते । इतिवृत्तास्याविच्छेदश्च रसपुष्ट्यर्थ:, विच्छेदे हि स्थाय्यादेरत्रुटितत्वात् कुतस्त्यो रसास्वाद: ? ततो रसविभानैकतानचेतस: कवे: प्रयत्नान्तरानपेक्षं यदद्भुजम्यन्ते तदेवोपनिबद्धं सहृदयानां हृदयमानन्दयति । अङ्गानि च स्थायि-विभावानुभाव-व्यभिचारिरूपाणि द्रष्टव्यानि ।

P. 62, l. 6, ''प्रवृद्धं यद्वैर''मिति

Read this as ''प्रवृद्धं यद्वैरम्'' (वेणी. 1.10) इति ।

P. 62, l. 7, ''चञ्चद्भुज'' इति

Read this as ''चञ्चद्भुज'' (वेणी. 1.21) इति ।

P. 62, l. 8 : ''अणुगह्णन्तु एदं ववसिदं देवदाओ''

Read this as ''अणुगण्हंतु एदं ववसिदं देवदाओ'' (वेणी 1.21-22)

57. P. 62, lines 6-7 : ... व्यभिचारिणो रौद्रे स्थायिन: **स्वरूपं प्रत्युज्जीवक:** परिकर:,

Kangle corrects the reading as **स्वरूपप्रत्युज्जीवक:** परिकर: ।

58. P. 62, lines 9-11 : ... इत्यादि विलोभनम् । **अतो निवृत्त्यौत्सुक्यहर्षमतिस्मृतिप्रभृति व्यभिचारि,** *स चायं सन्धानभूर्यः*

Kangle (pp. 277-78) shows in his notes how the readings in bold type above make no sense and corrects the sentence as follows :

विलोभनं मनोनिर्वृत्त्यौत्सुक्यहर्षमतिस्मृतिप्रभृतिव्यभिचारिभावसंभानभूर्यम् ।

59. P. 63, line 3 : यथा भीमसूनोर्वसुनागरस्य **कृते**...

The reading 'krte' needs to be emended as 'kṛtau' The *ND* (p. 102) supports this emendation :

यथा भीमसूनोर्वसुनागरस्य **कृतौ प्रतिमानिरुद्धे**

60. P. 62, l. 3 (from below) : तेनैकमपि सन्ध्यङ्गं तत्रैव सन्धौ द्विस्त्रिर्वा कर्तव्यम् ।

The *ND* (p. 102) when adopting this sentence slightly changes it: तेनैकमप्यङ्गं रसपोषकत्वादेकस्मिन्नपि सन्धौ द्विस्त्रिर्वा निबध्यते ।

61. P. 63, lines 3-4 : यथा **प्रतिमानिरुद्धे**... कृते (? कृतौ) उपक्षेपानन्तरमेवं न परिकरः, आद्येनैव कृते परिन्यासदर्शनम् ॥

The *ND* (p. 102) adapts this in these words :

यथा... वसुनागरस्य **कृतौ प्रतिमानिरुद्धे** परिकरार्थस्योपक्षेपेणैव गतत्वान्न तन्निबन्धः ।

62. P. 63 ; एवं त्रियोगः, यथा भेजल-विरचिते **राधाविप्रलम्भे** रासकाङ्के **उपक्षेपेणैवहि** ''लिअलीरसा'' इत्यादि परिकरपरिन्यास**कार्यगुरुभूते** पालिते एकोदेशेन (?) (विलोभन *निरूपण* । एवं चतुरङ्को **यात्** सन्धिर्भवतीति ।

We must read 'hi' separately (उपक्षेपेणैव हि). The Prakrit word 'lialīssā'' is unintelligible.

Kangle (p. 279) reads *parikara*, etc. as परिकरपरिन्यासकार्ये गुरुभूते. He understands 'kārye' as nominative dual form of the neuter word 'kārya'; 'gurubhūte' as qualifying 'kārye' and 'pālite' as a predicate. 'Yāt', as it stands, is devoid of any meaning. It is obviously a misprint for 'yāvat.'

The *ND* (p. 102) while adopting this passage reads :

एवमङ्कत्रयेणापि । यथा भेजलविरचिते **राधाविप्रलम्भे** रासकाङ्के परिकर-परिन्यासयोरुपक्षेपेणैव गतत्वान्न तन्निबन्धः । एवं परस्परान्तर्भवि चतुरङ्कोऽपि क्वापि सन्धिर्भवति ।

63-68. P. 63, para 2, para 3, P. 64, para 1.

Note : The *ND* (p. 102) after dealing with the sixty-four 'sandhyaṅgas' observes :

अत्रान्तरे च केचिदेकविंशतिं सन्ध्यन्तराणि स्मरन्ति –

and reproduces a list in anuṣṭup metre of the twenty-one 'sandhyantaras.' These 'sandhyantaras' are originally given in

Bharata's *Naṭyaśāstra* (ch. XIX 107-109). There is only one variant reading :

'भीर्मया' for 'हीर्मया'

The *ND* in its 'Vṛtti' completely ignores the second paragraph of the *A.Bh.* Consequently, for correcting the wrong readings in this paragraph we have no external aid. Kangle (pp. 281-82), however, has corrected the wrong readings, which deserve to be adopted, as they yield satisfactory meaning :

(i) Para 2, l. 2 : अन्तरं छिद्रं सन्धिरिति । तदङ्गमात्रं - तात्स्थ्याच्च तत्स्थान्यं corrected as अन्तरं छिद्रम्, सन्धिरिति तदङ्गमात्रम्, तात्स्थ्याच्च तत्स्थानीयम् ।

(ii) Para 2, ll. 3-4 : तेन सन्ध्यङ्गच्छिद्रवर्तित्वात् सन्ध्यन्तराणि, अत एव चाङ्गानां संबद्धानि । ननु किं शेषमात्रेण । Corrected as तेन सन्ध्यङ्गच्छिद्रवर्तित्वात् सन्ध्यन्तराणि, अत एव च अङ्गानां संबद्धानि । ननु किं श्लेषमात्रेण ।

(iii) Para 3, ll. 1-2 : अन्ये मन्यन्ते — य एवोपक्षेपाद्या सामान्या उक्ता: तेषामेवैतद्विशेषा अवान्तरभेदा: ।

Corrected as अन्ये मन्यन्ते — य एवोपक्षेपाद्या: सामान्येनोक्ता: तेषामेवैते विशेषा अवान्तरभेदा: ।

(v) P. 64, para 1, ll.3-4 न तु तदतिरिक्तं जगति किंचिदस्ति प्रयोगे । प्रयोगोज्ज्वलत्वोपयोगाय

Corrected as न तु तदतिरिक्तं जगति किंचिदस्ति प्रयोगोज्ज्वलकम् । तत्रोपयोगाय

The following passage, occurring immediately after the list of the 21 'sandhyantaras' in the *ND* (p. 102) which echoes some of the ideas, expressed by Abhinavagupta in the corresponding passage deserves to be reproduced :

'एषु च केषांचित् सामादीनां स्वयमङ्गरूपत्वात् केषांचिन्मत्यादीनां व्यभिचारिरूपत्वात् दूत-लेखादीनामितिवृत्तरूपत्वाद् अन्येषामुपक्षेपाद्यन्तर्भावाच्च न पृथक् लक्षणप्रयास: । तथाहि गर्भसन्धौ सामदानादिरूपसङ्ग्रहोऽङ्गम् । मत्यादयो व्यभिचारिषु लक्षयिष्यन्ते । दूतलेखादीनामितिवृत्तरूपता दृश्यते । ... एवमन्येऽप्यङ्गेष्वन्तर्भाव: कीर्तनीय इति ।

Notes and References

1. *Nāṭyaśāstra* with the commentary of Abhinavagupta, ed. M. Ramakrishna Kavi, Vol. III, Oriental Institute Baroda, 1954.

2. *The Sanskrit Drama* by A. B. Keith, Oxford University Press 1964, p. 291.

3. See above no. 1.

4. *Rasa-bhāva vicāra* (Marathi), Translation with Notes, *Nāṭyaśāstra* Chapters VI and VII, with Abhinvabhāratī by Professor R.P. Kangle, pub. Maharashtra Rajya Sahitya Sanskriti Mandal, Mumbai, 1973.

5. *Daśarūpakavidhāna* (Marathi), *Nāṭyaśāstra*, Chapters XVIII and XIX. Translation with Notes of the text with Abhinavabhārati by Professor R. P. Kangle pub. Maharashtra Rajya Sahitya Sanskriti Mandal. Mumbai, 1974

6. *Kāvyānuśāsana of Ācārya Hemacandra*, ed. Prof R. C. Parikh and Dr. V. M. Kulkarni, pub. Śrī Mahāvīra Jain, Vidyālaya, Bombay, 1964.

7. *Nāṭyadarpaṇa of Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra*, ed. G. R. Shrigondekar and Pt L. B. Gandhi, 2nd edn., Oriental Institute Baroda, 1959.

8. *Kalpalatāviveka* by an anonymous author, ed. M. L Nagar and Harishankar Shastry with an English Introduction by P. R. Vora, pub. L.D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad, 1968

9. Article — "Abhinavabhāratī" : Professor R. P. Kangle's Emendations in *Vāṅgmaya* - Vol 2, No. 1, pub. Gujarat Sahitya Akademi, Gandhinagar (Gujarat state).

ŪRUBHAṄGA AND THE CRITICAL EDITION OF THE MAHĀBHĀRATA

M. A. MEHENDALE

The fighting on the eighteenth day of the epic battle did not end for that day immediately after the fall of Śalya but continued for sometime. During the turmoil, Duryodhana felt tired and was a little dismayed. He thought of retiring from the battle. With a mace in his hand he left the battlefield alone and hid himself in a pond.[1] When the Pāṇḍavas learnt about his hideout, they went to the pond and challenged Duryodhana to come out and fight.[2] Duryodhana agreed on one condition, viz. that the Pāṇḍavas fight with him singly and not all of them together. The condition was accepted and a duel followed between Bhīma and Duryodhana with a mace as their weapon.

The duel, with occasional periods of rest, lasted for quite sometime.[3] The fight went on strictly according to the rules, no one showing any inclination to take undue advantage of the adverse situation of the other. On one occasion, for instance, Bhīma forced Duryodhana to kneel on the ground and, on another occasion Duryodhana even fell on the ground. On both these occasions, Bhīma did not hit Duryodhana while he was unconscious. Only when Duryodhana regained consciousness and was in a position to continue fighting, the duel was resumed.[4] Similarly, when Duryodhana had an upper hand and he succeeded in felling down Bhīma and in breaking his armour he did not hit Bhīma as long as the latter lay down on the battlefield.[5]

By that time, however, Kṛṣṇa noticed that the duel had reached the stage when Duryodhana had an edge over his opponent. Bhīma had lost his armour. Kṛṣṇa realized that that was the time to throw some hint to Bhīma. He plainly told Arjuna that if Bhīma continued the fight as he was doing, i.e. fighting strictly according to the rules, there was no chance of his coming out victorious. Bhīma must take recourse to some unlawful act.[6] Arjuna too realized the need and he secretly stroked his thigh hinting what Bhīma should do. Bhīma understood the hint and when he found an opportunity he threw his mace at Duryodhana. Duryodhana, however, succeeded in dodging the hit. When Bhīma showed his inclination to hit Duryodhana again, the latter planned to jump up to avoid the hit. Bhīma guessed correctly what Duryodhana intended to do and threw his mace exactly at the point where Duryodhana's thighs would be if he really jumped up. This time Bhīma did not miss the mark. The mace broke Duryodhana's thighs and he lay on the battle field, his thighs broken.[7]

Thus came to an end the duel. Bhīma violated an important rule of the

fight, viz. that one should not strike the opponent below the navel (*adho nābhyā na hantavyam iti śāstrasya niścayaḥ* 9.59.6).

Now according to the epic narrative, Bhīma, on an earlier occasion, had vowed to break the thigh of Duryodhana with his mace. This incident which occurred in the *sabhā* of the Kauravas is wellknown. When Duryodhana bared his left thigh in the *sabhā*,[8] Bhīma vowed to break it.[9]

Duryodhana was also cursed by the sage Maitreya for his misbehaviour. According to this curse Bhīma was destined to break the thigh of Duryodhana in the battle.[10]

However, on reading the detailed account of the battle one gets the impression that none of the epic heroes—not even Bhīma or Duryodhana—had the faintest idea of either the vow or the curse. During the war Bhīma never challenged Duryodhana for a duel with a mace. This is what one would expect him to do if he had vowed to break Duryodhana's thighs.

Kṛṣṇa, on one occasion, incited Arjuna to kill Duryodhana with an *arrow* and end the war, and Arjuna agreed.[11] On another occasion Arjuna himself assured Kṛṣṇa that he would kill Duryodhana with his sharp *arrows* if the latter did not run away from the battlefield. Kṛṣṇa had given his consent to Arjuna's proposal.[12]

On both occasions Arjuna, for one reason or the other, could not carry out his resolve to kill Duryodhana with his *arrows*. But his intention to kill Duryodhana was quite clear. The question then arises, if Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna had known of either the vow or the curse, how could they think of finishing Duryodhana with *arrows*?[13] Could they think of depriving Bhīma of the opportunity to fulfil his vow to break the thigh of Duryodhana with his mace? This only shows that both of them had no knowledge of the vow or the curse.

When Duryodhana came out of the pond where he lay hiding and accepted the challenge of the Pāṇḍavas, Yudhiṣṭhira, on his own, offered three concessions to him. He permitted Duryodhana to choose his weapon. He allowed him to name the Pāṇḍava with whom he would fight. And, finally, he said that if Duryodhana won the duel, the rest of the Pāṇḍavas would accept defeat and that would mean the end of the war. No other Pāṇḍava would continue the fight with Duryodhana.[14]

These concessions were disastrous for the Pāṇḍavas. They prove how reckless Yudhiṣṭhira was. Once before, at the time of the game of dice, he had gambled away everything in a single stake at the game. Now, by making these concessions, he almost handed over victory to Duryodhana for asking. Duryodhana had only to name the weapon—the mace—and any one of the Pāṇḍavas except Bhīma for the duel and that would be the end of the matter.

The concessions clearly show that Yudhiṣṭhira had no knowledge of either the vow or the curse. If he had, he would have asked Duryodhana to get out of the pond and fight with mace with Bhīma so that the latter could fulfil his vow.

Kṛṣṇa took Yudhiṣṭhira to task for his thoughtlessness.[15] The Pāṇḍavas were, however, very lucky. Duryodhana did not take the easy way to victory. He was too proud for that. He no doubt chose mace as the weapon, but did not challenge any one of the Pāṇḍavas since he considered all of them inferior to him for a mace-duel. He, therefore, said: "Let any one of the Pāṇḍavas who could think of fighting with me lift up his mace and step forward."[16] Bhīma took up the challenge and a duel between the two began.[17]

We now come to the two heroes engaged in the duel to see whether they showed any knowledge of the vow (or the curse).

A few days before the duel, there was an occasion for Bhīma to refer to the vow. When Bhīma killed Duḥśāsana and started to drink the blood from Duḥśāsana's chest he declared loudly : "Today I have fulfilled my vow related to Duḥśāsana. I shall also today cut Duryodhana to pieces like a sacrificial animal and give offerings."[18] That is surprising. If Bhīma had taken the second vow he should have rather declared : "Today I shall also break Duryodhana's thighs with my mace and fulfil my vow related to him." He then should have proceeded to seek Duryodhana out and challenge him for a duel. But this did not happen.

In the description of the duel itself we do not find anything that might even distantly suggest that Bhīma was looking for an opportunity to hit Duryodhana's thighs. The description rather gives the impression that he was fighting strictly according to the rules. It was only when Arjuna, at the instance of Kṛṣṇa, gave a hint to him that he threw his mace at Duryodhana's thighs. The vow had nothing to do with it. Bhīma thus had no knowledge of the vow.

Duryodhana too is never seen conscious of either the vow or the curse. He never mentioned it, nor was he ever worried about it. While fighting his decisive duel with Bhīma he is not described taking special care of his thighs. On the other hand, he even once wished to jump up in the air to avoid being hit by the mace of Bhīma.[19] This act meant exposing his thighs and Duryodhana would certainly not have wished to do that if he knew of Bhīma's vow. The way Bhīma had fought the duel must have convinced Duryodhana that he (Bhīma) was not going to violate the rule of the duel and hit him below the navel. Unfortunately for him his understanding of the situation was not correct. Bhīma had decided to act on the suggestion received by him from Arjuna. When Duryodhana, therefore, did jump in the air, Bhīma got his golden opportunity to bring Duryodhana down. The hero with broken

thighs took this as an act of wilful violation of the rule and not as an inevitable result of a vow – (or a curse).[20]

The only conclusion that can be drawn from the above account is that the two episodes related to the vow and the curse must be interpolations. The interpolations occurred very early in the oral epic tradition giving them time enough to spread to all the versions. And since they are now found in all the versions they could not be set aside and have found place in the critical edition of the epic. The critically edited text is no doubt free from the obvious interpolations which were revealed by the comparison of the versions, but the critically edited text is not free of all interpolations. Dr. V. S. Sukthankar has asked the readers to take note of this fact. He writes that there are many old and new elements in the critically edited text, sometimes even side by side.[21] It is now for the future scholars to bring to light the hidden interpolations by a careful reading of the text.

The motivation for the interpolation of the vow and the curse is not far to seek. Bhīma's act of hitting Duryodhana below the navel was inevitable on account of his inferiority to Duryodhana in a mace duel. But the act involved *adharma*. In order to absolve Bhīma from the sin of this *adharma* an incident was interpolated in the Sabhāparvan in which Duryodhana bared his thigh to show it proudly to Bhīma. This enraged Bhīma to proclaim his famous vow. Apparently, at some stage, it was felt that the vow was not quite enough to fully absolve Bhīma from the *adharma*. It is true that as a Kṣatriya it was his duty to fulfil the vow. But why did he, even in a fit of anger, take the vow which involved *adharma*? Hence another incident was interpolated in the Āraṇyakaparvan in which Duryodhana stroked his thigh in the presence of the sage Maitreya. Duryodhana was cursed by the sage for his insolence,[22] and the curse of the sage must prove true. Now there was no question whether Bhīma was inferior to Duryodhana or not, or whether he had taken the vow or not. Even if Bhīma was superior to Duryodhana, and could bring him down by fighting strictly according to the rules, and even if he had not taken the vow, Duryodhana's thighs had to be hit by his mace so that the words of the sage proved true.

It was said above that the account of the war as reported in the epic does not show that any one of the principal characters involved in the war was aware of the vow of Bhīma. There are, however, a few exceptions.

One exception is found when Kṛṣṇa suggested to Arjuna that Bhīma must take recourse to some *adharma* to win the duel.[23] He then made a casual reference to Bhīma's vow, but not to the curse.[24] It is quite clear that Kṛṣṇa would have welcomed Bhīma's winning the duel without having to take recourse to *adharma*. He waited for quite some time to see if that could happen. It was only when he realized that that was not possible that he alerted Arjuna.

But if Bhīma were to defeat Duryodhana lawfully, how was he going to fulfil his vow? This shows very clearly that Kṛṣṇa's reference to the vow is secondary and the stanzas in question are interpolated.

Another exception is found in Kṛṣṇa's words addressed to Balarāma to appease his anger. He told his brother that after all the Pāṇḍavas were their friends and relatives. Balarāma should also remember that Bhīma had vowed to break the thighs and it was the duty of a Kṣatriya to fulfil his vow. In addition, there was the curse of Maitreya to the same effect. Finally, what Bhīma did was to some extent due to the fact that the Kali era was about to set in.[25] These words of Kṛṣṇa contain a reference to the vow, as well as to the curse. If Bhīma's act was the result of the vow and the curse, there was no reason for Kṛṣṇa to refer either to the relationship between the Yādavas and the Pāṇḍavas or to the impending Kali age. The reference to the vow and the curse in the words of appeasement of Kṛṣṇa is therefore interpolated. A reference to the curse, beside one to the vow, in these words of Kṛṣṇa indicates that the curse episode was interpolated after that of the vow.

Finally, we come to an implied reference to Bhīma's vow made by Duryodhana. While criticizing Kṛṣṇa for his role in the war[26] Duryodhana said: "Do I not know what you told Arjuna while asking him to secretly remind Bhīma to break the thighs?"[27] This statement contains an implied reference to the vow since it speaks about reminding Bhīma. But Duryodhana's remark raises various questions. In the first instance, if Bhīma took the vow, is it believable that he needed reminder about it? There was no need, for instance, to remind Bhīma about his vow with reference to Duḥśāsana. Secondly, we know that Kṛṣṇa had said nothing about breaking the thighs. He only said in a general way that Bhīma had to take recourse to *adharma*. The specific nature of the *adharma* viz. hitting the thigh, was the idea of Arjuna. Thus, Duryodhana's accusation has an element of untruth. Thirdly, if Duryodhana knew that a suggestion had been secretly conveyed to Bhīma to hit the thigh, why did he jump up in the air and expose his thighs? Finally, Kṛṣṇa was not so naive as to suggest something to Arjuna so vividly that Duryodhana could understand it. It is, therefore, clear that the stanza of Duryodhana is an interpolation which occurred after the addition of the vow incident.

In order to understand the spuriousness of the vow incident, it is very instructive to take note of the conversation between Gāndhārī and Bhīma. She asked Bhīma how he dared violate the rule. She told him that what had angered her was not the killing of her sons but his striking Duryodhana below the navel.[28] In reply, Bhīma confessed to Gāndhārī that whatever he did was out of fear and in self defence. It was impossible for him to defeat Duryodhana otherwise. If he did not take recourse to *adharma*, he would have died and his brothers would have been deprived of the kingdom. He

implored Gāndhārī to forgive him for his misdeed.[29] Bhīma made no reference
to Duryodhana's alleged misdeed in the *sabhā* and his (Bhīma's) consequent
vow. Bhīma's own admission to Gāndhārī leaves no doubt about the spurious
nature of the vow (and also the curse).

Notes and References

1. 9.28.18, 24-25, 52;9.29.53,61,64;9.30.4.18.

2. 9.30.17,20,27,29-34.

3. 9.56.6,7.

4. 9.56.53,61-62.

5. 9.56.63-64,67.

6. 9.57.4.

7. 9.57.40-45.

8. *abhyutsmayitvā rādheyaṁ bhimam ādharṣayann iva / draupadyāḥ prekṣamāṇāyāḥ
   savyam ūrum adarśayat //* 2.63.12. The stanza has been misunderstood. It is
   taken to mean that Duryodhana bared his thigh to show it to Draupadī. This
   is not true. The genitive absolute construction *draupadyāḥ prekṣamāṇāyāḥ* is intended
   to convey Duryodhana's disregard for Draupadī's presence in the Sabhā (Pāṇini
   2.3.38). A similar construction is found in *vaidarbhyāḥ prekṣamāṇāyāḥ paṇakālam
   amanyata* (3.56.8) where Nala is described as agreeing to play the game of
   dice with Puṣkara in spite of the presence of Damayantī. In such instances the
   verbs *prekṣ-, dṛś-, miṣ-* are used only to indicate the presence of the person
   concerned. The above stanza (2.63.12) really means that Duryodhana bared his
   thigh to show it to Karṇa, which made him smile *abhyutsmayitvā)*, and to Bhīma
   as if to assail or challenge him *(ādharṣayann iva)*. This he did in spite of the
   presence of Draupadī.

9. 2.63.13-14.

10. 3.11.32-34.

11. 7.77.7, 10,20.

12. 9.23.47;9.26.9,24.

13. For unsuccessful attempts made also by Yudhiṣṭhira and Dhṛṣṭadyumna to kill
    Duryodhana see 8.20. 6-31; 8.40. 20-38.

14. 9.31.24-25;52-53.

15. 9.32.1-7.

16. 9.31.60.

17. 9.32.15-18.

18. 8.61.16.

19. 9.57.41.

20. 9.63.10.

21. Cr. edn. Vol. 1. Prolegomena, p. CIII.

22. 3.11.28-34.

23. 9. 57.4, 8, 17.

24. 9.57. 6-7.

25. 9.59. 11-16, 21.

26. 9.60. 26-38.

27. *ūrū bhindhīti bhīmasya smṛtiṁ mithyā prayacchatā / kiṁ na vijñātam etan me
    yad arjunnam avocathāḥ // 9.60.28.*

28. 11.13.16-19.

29. 11.14. 1-4, 6, 11. It is well to remember that when Gāndhārī next asked Bhīma
    about his drinking blood of Duḥśāsana, Bhīma in his reply did refer to his vow.
    He, however, assured Gāndhārī that not a drop of blood went beyond his lips
    and teeth; he only made a pretence of drinking blood (11.14.12-18). How, in
    that case, Bhīma could be said to have fulfilled his vow is a moot point.

TRADITIONAL INDIAN ART : DR. ALICE BONER AND AFTER

R. N. MISRA

In Puri (Orissa), back in 1957, Boner's search for principles of constituted form in Indian sculpture and her intuitive vision of it, received a categorical textual confirmation.* When this happened in 1957 Boner was no novice in her pursuits either as an artist or as an art critic. She had behind her, much acclaim-distinguished works of art adorning public places and private collections in Europe; a critically positive review of her works by the sculptor Carl Burckhardt; a rich art education received in Brussels, Munich, Basel and Paris; a chiselled mind and a consciousness in pursuit of form both in its conceptual and visual categories; and much more, besides a restless soul yearning for insights "to understand everything through the form-language of sculpture." India Diary[1] of Boner well reveals artist in her as well as her deep empathy with artists' encounter with form. As her scholarship matured she seems to have repudiated some notions of form that disturbed her and rehabilitated others that had come to her through her own process of education and introspection. She speaks of Indian artist's "vision of secret, absolute existence of thing" and that, "to him (art) is another form of reality, also created by God." And she very carefully tried to interpret it. This was her answer to the contrasting perceptions in art elsewhere where, as she said, "the world of appearance is so far away from the original; over-refined; severed; fastened in arbitrariness, in utility; so that the subtle elements, the *tanmātras*, are no longer recognisable."[2] Boner had received her "first impressions of India through form, through art..., through Udai Shankar's dance which was living source of Indian sculpture."[3] No wonder, her search for symbolic form and its representational modes read like a 'pilgrim's progress' for discovering the truth which was ultimately revealed to her in a moment of enlightenment al Ellora (1941), and fully realised by textual and contextual correlations in Orissa (1957).

The life and work of Alice Boner, an artist and a scholar, are remarkable for what they hold in terms of her quest for meanings in form, her discovery of essence in symbolic expressions and representational modes and among other things, for her deep sympathy for a civilisation that she co-opted as she grasped it first on the fringes and then on to the core. She is today remembered for her inimitable enunciations of principles of figural compositions,

---

* The paper was first presented at Bhubaneshwar on 27 January, 1995, as 'Dr. Alice Boner Memorial Lecture' sponsored by the Lalit Kala Akademi (New Delhi).

for her keen insights into rhythm, gestures, movements, harmony and their interactive logic in art forms, specially their correlation, and also for her seminal works which were published in two decades from 1962 to 1982. Intuitive logic did not worry her; images, colours, gestures and movements were insatiably internalised in her varied experience of India vibrating her in tune with "the constant eternal rhythm of this country."[4] She had regarded India as "the country in which her artistic visions must fulfil themselves,"[5] and she poignantly wrote later, that "whatever I do here gets true meaning."[6] It is difficult to categorise Boner's work, for, in it, one finds a tireless search for meanings tempered by artistic vision and scholarly intervention. This is particularly noticed in her interpretations of symbolic form, specially sculptures and reliefs of varying kinds, with all the richness of its ritual content, metaphysical symbology, cosmic and cosmological articulations and spiritual fulfilment. The points are significant, for in these perceptions lie the interpretations of creativity, or more specifically, answers to the questions as to how does an artist create, how experience in the consciousness is turned into reality in the visual imagery that he creates of those experiences ?

These questions have been raised in Indian tradition in the past, and it may be relevant here to make a passing reference to these. It appears that such propositions were appropriately organised in the works of the Buddhist logicians Diṅnāga and Dharmakīrti.[7] These relate to meaning in form, specially artistic form, and the principles governing its implied identity in that particular form.[8] The *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* interrogates as to whether and how a stone (image) could imply the Buddha and if so, which particular one, out of his many constructs like *nirmāṇakāya, sambhogakāya, dharmakāya*?[9] In his epistemological discourse in the *Kāvyālaṅkāra*,[10] Bhāmaha picked up the proposition of the Buddhist logicians in reference to the validity of creative compositions and the arguments relating to the plausibility inherent in the intended object, so composed. Unlike Diṅnāga and Dharmakīrti he argued in favour of cognition by the proof of *pratyakṣa* as the proof of the intended meaning in the object for, by it were superimposed the *upādhis* (adjuncts) like *jāti, guṇa, kriyā, dravya* and *nāma* on the object, thus making plausible the symbol's identity with the symbolised. For an object to be cognised it was essential that it should be endowed with *rūpa* (form). Thereby, he said, the *pratyakṣa pramāṇa* operates in the case of the person so endowed with the *upādhi (upādhi viśiṣṭa vyakti)*.[11] This statement answers the earlier query on *rūpa* in a symbolic language with epistemological overtones.

As for *Rūpa,* in ancient Indian texts it signified an ideal form as well as its counterpart, and combination of the two is interpreted in terms of *rūpa pratirūpa, tathārūpa sādṛśya, pratibimba,* etc. The conjunctions imply that every subsequent manifestation of the ideal *rūpa* must have in it the inherent plausibility of the being so represented. It therefore tends to convey the correspondence

of the formal and representational elements by a rhetoric of implied suggestions. Thereby *rūpa* is made open to cognition through the *indriyas* or through *darśana*. Textual sources envisage mainly a notional correspondence between idea and image and the intensity of this correspondence seems to rest in the *pratibhā* of an artist on the one hand and 'inference' of the *sāmājika* (witness), on the other; for whatever they perceive is only a reflection in the manner of "moon reflected in water" (*jale candramasaṁ yathā*). These propositions, regarding *rūpa* occur in the *Divyāvadāna* and in the *Aparājitaprcchā*.[12] The *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* describes it similarly as "shadow in the mirror" and as the *sattva* (essence) of the object, as it were.[13] Its realisation is posited through its shadow, whether latent or *prakṣipta* on the *paṭa* or on water, or consciously drawn by *karṣaṇa* (drawing) on a panel. I mention these points to show how close Boner was to such basic formulations regarding form in Indian tradition when she worked it out first in her early studies on cave sculpture and then again in the Atharvāṅgiras tradition of the *Vāstusūtra Upaniṣad*. There will be more to it a little later. Suffice it to say here that, her interpretation of Indian art, both in general and in particular, from artists' perspective, remains singular in content and aesthetic today. And this comes out clearly in all her works in the *New Light on the Sun Temple of Konark*, (1972); in the *Principles of Composition in Indian Sculpture*, (1962); in the *Śilpa Prakāśa : A Medieval Orissan Sanskrit Text on Temple Architecture*, (1966) and in the *Vāstusūtra Upaniṣad, The Essence of Form in Sacred Art*, (1982; posthumously published). In generalities and in specifics, or conceptually, in particularities or principles, these works go deeply in interpreting the entire creative process in sacred art on principles which had artist at the centre stage. This concern is particularly noticed in her book on Konark (in collaboration) which, for the first time, provided a day-to-day account of organisational network and constructional processes involved in temple building in which each functionary — the patron, priests and, in particular, the artists and craftsmen — performed a series of roles through different contingencies and processes which were meticulously monitored and recorded. It is a 'shorthand' account of a work on a grand scale, exemplifying planning; management of men and materials, tools and equipments; methods and modes of construction and sculpting; the skills and their application, conflicts and tensions; gifts, payments and grants and much more, which brings alive the entire gamut of activities even as a temple, grand in conception, took shape. It provides rare insights into the role of artist in actual work-situation and identifies individual work of art with their creators who would have remained anonymous but for this excellent record brought to light by Boner and her associates.

Looking back in retrospect, it seems that Boner's intellectual response to Indian art and its appreciation was shaped partly by her own quest for meaning in form and partly by the writing of Coomaraswamy and others.

She was equally influenced by Havell whose writings about 'high art' of India along with those of Coomaraswamy at the turn of the 20th century had seriously challenged the 'Orientalist Canon' of Indian art and civilisation. These constructs of Indian art have been historically contextualised today. Yet Boner's work is different from the polemics of such controversies, in a distinct way. The *India Diaries* of Boner reveal her persistent concern and enquiry into the meaning of form in Indian sculpture. And, in this pursuit, her training and perceptions as a sculptor along with the influence of her mentor Carl Burckhardt on her seem to have been major sources of inspiration to her. These led her on to almost an unbeaten track where her intellectual enquiry and artistic vision enabled her to explore and establish the principles and paradigms of symbolic form very specifically in Indian art and the artists' ways of handling them. In this presentation we wish to explore into this aspect of her studies. The details follow:

Enquiries into the compositional structure of form in Indian context started with Godwin Austin's ethnographic notice of practices in Ladakh, in his publication — "On Systems Employed in outlining the Figures of Deities and Other Religious Drawings as practised in Ladakh, Zaskar etc." (1864). This was followed by the works of Hadaway (1914-15) and T. A. G. Rao (1920) and then by Boner herself from 1962 to 1982. One finds a spate of other publications after Boner's *Principles of Composition in Indian Sculptures* (1962). These include the writings of Ruelius (1968-74), Ganapati Sthapati (1970), Meister (1979, '85), Siromoney, Bhagavandas and Govindaraju (1980, 1982), Jones (1981), Kapila Vatsyayan (1983), Maxwell (1988) and finally Mosteller (1991).[14] This succession indicates the concerns generated by Boner's study on compositional grammer of sculptures or those even independent of her line of thought. This was a subject which had few takers before her but which she assiduously and relentlessly pursued. Boner's studies in this domain are rendered ever so meaningful in light of her discovery later of the *Vāstusūtra Upaniṣad*[15] (*VSU* hereafter) which was posthumously published in 1982. This work is important for many reasons, but most significantly in that it uncovers a lost tradition even as it offers the *śāstric* basis of compositional diagrams of sculptures as well as their artisanal connections, as were perhaps in practice. It also conjoins the *śāstra* with *prayoga*. Among other things, significance of this work lies in its elucidation of the Atharvāṅgiras tradition in the *Atharvavedic* lineage through Paippalāda. Thereby the *VSU* restores a lost tradition, for the Paippalāda recension of the *Atharvaveda* is not known in its entirety. Boner's study of this text unfolds her final enunciations on form in Indian sculpture based on the aphoristic prescriptions which substantially explain the process of figural composition by artisans (*sthāpakas*) and its validation by the priests of the (Atharva) Vedic tradition (*VSU, commentary,* Sūtra 1). Thus emerged the form in sculptures. Thus emerged also a well-reasoned, consummate study of form in her last publication on *VSU.*

Her concerns in this sphere date back to 1941 though 1962 which saw her first publication on the subject. The *VSU* regulates concretisation of form out of a ritually valid *pañjara* (compositional diagram, cage, literally, skeleton) in terms of lines, squares, circles, intersecting points, triangles, *bindu, nābhi* etc. which tended to become the rallying points of creative surge through a compositional methodology. The making of *pañjara* by a *sthāpaka* was supposed to be a ritual act simulating the process of creation : a creation which had a macrocosmic reference point. In this entire setting a *vṛtta* (circle) was not merely a spherical shape but the symbol of the Universe as well as Time thus constituting the dimensions of time and space (*savṛtta kālaḥ; vṛttam iti viśvam*) with *bindu* immanent in its centre like *ātman* in body and carrying within it the supportive base (*kṣetradhara*) from which originated all forms juxtaposed along the lines (*rekhānvaye sarvāṅgāni nyāsaya*). In that manner a *pañjara* purposely and consciously integrated the *ādhibhūta* with the *ādhidaivat,* the fundamental elements with those of gods. In this order, the *karṇa,* rhombus, inverted triangles, horizontal and vertical lines (*madhyarekhā* and *madhya prastha*) and other such elements had an equally significant meaning, impregnated with a deep ritualistic symbolism, which rendered the manifested or manifestable configuration totally conversant with the diagrammatic arrangement (*nyāsa*). It brought forth a diagrammatic network wherein lay the rudiments of form in whole and in parts, waiting to sprout with the touch of the *sthāpaka. Pañjara* is conspicuous for its network of compositional layout. It served as the locus of figure (*rekhāvāsa*) even as it internalised and integrated the *marma* (vital points), the *aṅga-prayoga* (arrangement of parts), the *bhāvas* (emotional dispositions evoked by the compositional *nyāsa*), and the *sambandha-prabodhana* (explanation of relations). The *sūtras* in the *VSU* prescribe that the carving should be undertaken with intense introspection and meditation (3rd *prapāṭhaka*), with devotion and skill, to be able to bring out the form whether *utthita* (raised) or *kūṭa* (depressed), placid (*saumya*) or terrific (*raudra*), along the lines in conformity with contingent realisation.

The *VSU* details on *bhāvarūpa, aṅga-prayoga, sambandhaprabodhana* etc., as also on *rūpa* and the series of its interconnected experiences like *tattvabodha, dhāraṇā, dhyāna, gāthā* and *kathā* seem to tie up well with the *śilpa* and *kāvya*-based aesthetic in the larger contexts of Indian art tradition. Conjunctions repeatedly occur between the *VSU* and that broader Indic tradition, as, for instance, in the postulates about inter-dependence of ideal and its counterpart, in the case of Chāyā, the deity and *chāyā,* the 'dark shadow' of the ideal. The imagery happily ties up with similar enunciations about *rūpa* and *chāyā* combination in Kuntaka, Abhinavagupta and others. Kuntaka regards *chāyā* as an effulgence or brilliance : *chāyāmātra maṇikṛtāśma sumaneraśmatvamevocitaṁ.*[16] His discussion encompasses a whole range of aesthetic experience right from the point of its revelation in the *citta* to its

inspired transfusion into a work of art. In this totality, the *VSU* tradition relates to both technique and aesthetic experience. Aestheticians' formulations are more concerned with the aesthetics of experience. Thus, according to Kuntaka experience involves revelation in the *citta;* revelation stems from *pratibhā,* a quality which illumines the universe "merely by the turn of a momentary instance" (*yadunmīlana śaktyaiva viśvaṁ unmīlati kṣaṇāt, svātmayatanviśrāmtāṁ tāṁ vande pratibhāṁ Śivāṁ*), Abhinavagupta, accepts *chāyā's* conjunction in *pratibhā* in symbolising the *bhāvas,* so as to create *rūpa* as result of the *kāma* of the subconscious : *pratīyamāna bhāvacchāyā antar-madanodbhedana hṛdaya saundaryarūpā...*[17] Cognition of form by *pratibhā* on the analogy of *chāyā,* and emphasis on *bhāvarūpa* as the essence of ideal *rūpa* indicate the conceptual bearings of *rūpa* in tradition in the *VSU* as well as in the larger art tradition relating to aesthetics. In the ideology of its comprehension and its epistemological discourse in terms of cognition, *rūpa* (or form) is basically realised on intellectual premise of particularity, based on *pramāṇa* (proof).

These discussions, as we noticed earlier, do not deny the value of technical, manual or diagrammatic composition. This is clearly in evidence in the body of Sanskrit texts in their elucidation of *lakṣaṇas* and *vyañjana.* Textual discourse on the sets of *lakṣaṇas* refers to many a generic category and their respective *guṇas,* defined as *sāttvika, rājasika* and *tāmasika.* Anthropomorphic basis of such categories generally explains their construction and they find a support in the *Śilpalakṣaṇa* of Nagnajit whose antiquity like that of *Śilpa Kaśyapa* is Vedic. Often, as for instance in the *Rāmāyaṇa,* anthropomorphic imagery is symbolic even as it provides a value-oriented compositional programme as the representational device. Rather than seeing the symbolic form and its representational counterpart as distinct, the whole ideology offers arguments of their conjunction. Boner's studies identified the principles and substance of such conjunction. Other evidence supports it further.

Compositional structure as an artistic device often tends to work hand in hand with philosophical premises of art experience and symbolisation. Some examples should explain this conjuction. For instance, the *Mahāvaṁśa,* a Buddhist text, and its commentary describe the ritual and symbolic details concerning a *lohaprāsāda.*[18] The details also indicate that this was built according to a design which was first drawn in red ochre perhaps like a *pañjara.* Similarly the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*[19] refers to *karṣaṇa* i.e. 'engraving with a sharp instrument', whereby the *sattva* 'essence' of the form is obtained. It is, therefore, assumed that forms are to be understood in their symbolic and representational aspects as well as in terms of the aesthetics underlying them. The act of *karṣaṇa* mentioned in the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* confirms their homology. So does the *Vāstusūtra Upaniṣad.* Field data likewise seems to support these textual propositions about *pañjara* as well as its drawing with

the help of a measuring rod and a cord (*khadira daṇḍa hasto darbharajju karaḥ, tad rajju veṣṭitaṁ idaṁ*).[20] Instances from central India are quite explicit in details on this point. Of these, the first relates to a geometric design (*pañjara*) which we noticed at Pacharai (Tehsil Lakhanadon, M. P.) on the floor of a ruined temple. When last seen by us in 1991, it described a shorthand lay-out in the form of a *pañjara*; the other monument at the same site suggests that the elevation of the temple, built on the surviving floor, must have conformed to the *pañjara* carved on its floor. It is safe to make this assumption on the basis of strategically chiselled marks delineating the positions of *karṇa*, *bhadra* and the locus of doorway etc., on the periphery of the floor. In addition, a vertically disposed *vardhakī kāṣṭha*, engraved, close to the *pañjara*, on the same slab, offers remarkable evidence of proportional standards possibly applied in the construction of this temple. This *daṇḍa*, carved on the slab of the said floor, was found appropriately marked with horizontally chiselled, small, but regular units of measurement. The presence of a *pañjara* as well as a *daṇḍa* together, in this case, exemplifes the proportional standard *(tālamāna)* which possibly determined the subdivision of both the vertical and horizontal lines and regulated the dimensions of the temple as planned. The chiselled marks at their specifically determined locations confirm that the layout and the points of subdivision, encoded in the *vardhakī kāṣṭha* and in the *pañjara*, were indeed meant to identify the location of specific series of features like the *karṇas, bhadra* etc. These examples provide an explicit link between the proportion and morphology, something which Boner discovered in 1941 and confirmed once again in the *VSU* posthumously published in 1982.

Similar, but somewhat less explicit evidence about constructional methods is available in the Gargaj temple at Indor (Distt. Shivpuri). This is a ninth century temple, circular in plan, with nine buttressed spines *(bhadras)* on the graduated curve of the circle at regular intervals. Twelve such segments seem to have been demarcated on plan, out of which nine were converted into buttressed spines on elevation, and the remaining three were further expanded on front, to form a doorway and a small *mandapa*. The plan in shape of a *pañjara* is not noticed in the temple. But the foundational stones, at every strategic location, invariably describe chisel marks of the masons — the marks which guided its elevation, on plan, along the angles of 40 and 60 degrees consecutively. By this arrangement of dividing a circle into twelve segments and carrying out the elevation accordingly, the temple obtained a circular form.

This field data, in combination with other studies since and after Boner, help in exemplifying the seminal character of her premises and their application. New dimensions have been added to such studies in recent years with the addition of other and different operative systems of compositional devices in different contexts. Boner did anticipate this situation as early as 1962

in her *Principles of Composition in Indian Sculptures,* which deals with the cave sculptures of Ellora, Badami and Mahabalipuram. She had interpreted those cave sculptures in reference to circular field around a central point, containing a network of vertical, horizontal and oblique connecting cords. She came to the conclusion that figures were composed along and within those components so as to symbolise the space and time sequence as well as the dispersal of stresses and movements. The conclusion so much conforms to the subsequently discovered prescriptive formula of the *Vāstusūtra Upaniṣad* (III. 10) which recommends the scheme thus - *Nābhau kūpakarma prārambhyate.* This text is explicit on the point, and says that "As in the creation of the world arise the five elements, similarly, *with circle as the support,* Śilpa Kaśyapa and other priests of art conceive and dispose the features of beings and elements."

Even as Boner anticipated and applied such formulations in her studies she also admitted the possibility of other operating systems that could have been current elsewhere in other cases. The evidence of the *Śilpaprakāśa,* which she and her associates discovered, offered the first confirmation of her proposition of alternative compositional typology. This text propagates a quadrilateral *yantra* of a tripartite divisional system, unlike the principles applied by Boner in the case of cave sculptures in her earlier study. Further variations have been added to such devices in other studies in recent years. Kapila Vatsyayan, for instance, has postulated the "practical nature and validity of such artistic devices in artistic work", and she "regards the *śilpapañjaras* as the product of a set of principles for evolving patterns of abstract design which govern all kinds of compositions".[21]

Mosteller's study[22] of "systemic complexities" in the variation-oriented formalistic compositions adds further to Boner's formulations. Mosteller's study brings out a vertical compositional programme of form and its measure. Adhering to a vertical system of diagrammatic format they yet admit the measurement of *pramāṇa, parimāṇa, unmāna* and *upamāna,* i.e., width, circumference, depth and interspace, respectively. Mosteller also points to different identities of the generic figure related to the ideal form-construct in specific reference to Bodhisattva or Cakravartin or Viṣṇu or Vāsudeva or to nobody in particular. These have been enunciated in the *Pratimālakṣaṇa, Citralakṣaṇa, Matsya Purāṇa* and *Agni Purāṇa* respectively. Alternatively, the *Bṛhat Saṁhitā* describes Puruṣa in different models like *haṁsa, bhadra* etc.

As in sculpture, so in the *dhūlicitra* techniques in Mahabalipuram, a vertical compositional system was discovered by Jones.[23] The system is denominated as *śiraspada* and it represents a surviving tradition.

These variations in the compositional network of form, taken together, have introduced rich variety into 'formalistic' studies on Indian art and their

underlying principles — a discipline which Boner had pioneered.

Her concerns on the *bhāvapakṣa* of form still impart a different genre to her studies, adding to it a distinct aesthetic altogether. And this approach appears very much in conformity with the basic symbolism of form as consistently conceived in tradition, time and again, as for instance in the *Rāmāyaṇa*[24] where ideal *rūpa* is described in its essence in terms of the *lakṣaṇas* like — *tristhira, trilamba, trisama, tri-unnata, tritāmra, trisnigdha, trigambhīra, trivalī, tri-avanata, triśīrṣa, catuṣkala, caturlekha, catus-kiśku, catus-sama, caturdaśa -samadvandva, catuṣdanṣṭṛ, caturgati, pañca-snigdha, aṣṭavaṁśa, daśa-padma, daśa-bṛhat, ṣaḍ-unnata, navatanu,* and thus endowed with glory, splendour and authority.

In underscoring the form in terms of its 'inner meaning' even as interpreting the *yantra, pañjara, nyāsa* and *koṣṭaka* — the diagrammatic compositions of form — Boner, more than anyone else seems nearer to tradition which emphasised *rūpa* so much as *bhāvarūpa* that the Brahmavādins perceive;

pasyanti bhāvarūpaśca jale candramasaṁ yathā,

tadvad citramayaṁ sarvaṁ paśyanti Brahmavādinaḥ[25]

And therein, among other things, rests the breadth of her vision for ultimately she seems to have found out compositional methods that concretised their symbology.

Notes and References

1. Georgette Boner, Luitgard Soni and Jayendra Soni, Eds. *Diaries : India 1934-1967,* Delhi, 1993.

2. *Ibid.* p. 249.

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Ibid.* p. 232.

5. *Ibid.* p. 227.

6. *Ibid.* p. 253.

7. For instance, see discussions about the voidness of the World's appearance and the same of all the *dharmas,* qualities and characteristics - *śūnyatānutpādādvaya niḥ sambhāva lakṣaṇam sa dharmānām, Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* p. 31 (Nalanda Ed. 1963). Also : *tadyathā mahāmate citrakāra kṛtapradeśa animnonnatāh santo nimnonnatā balaih kalpyante, evameva mahāmate anāgatena' dhvaṁ tīrthyadṛṣṭi vāsanāsaya prativikalpa puṣṭāh, Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* (Nalanda Ed. 1963). p. 38.

8. Dharmakīrti's *Pramāṇavārtika* III. 57 : *abhiprāyaviṣamvadāt api bhrānte pramāṇatā / gatipyantadṛṣṭā pakṣaścayakṛtottaraḥ*

9. For details regarding *kāyas*, cf. Maryla Falk, *Namarupa and Dharmarupa : Origin and Aspects of An Indian Conception*, University of Calcutta, 1943, pp. 151-154, 108-125, etc; also *rūpa kāya*, pp. 113 ff.

10. cf. Batuk Nath Sharma and Baldev Upadhyaya Eds. *Kāvyālaṁkāra of Bhāmaha*, Varanasi 1928.

11. *Ibid.*

12. cf. V. S. Pathak and R. N. Misra "Words and Image in Reference to Technique in Indian Art", *The Journal of Asiatic Society of Bombay*, Vol. 56-59 (1981-84) (Combine (N.S.) Bombay 1986, pp. 282-287.

13. *Ibid.* p. 282.

14. For details, cf. John F. Mosteller, *The Measure of Form : A New Approach for Study of Indian Sculpture*, (Abhinav) New Delhi 1991.

15. Boner-Sarma-Bäumer, *Vāstusūtra Upaniṣad : The Essence of Form in Sacred Art*, (1982) New Delhi, Rep. 1996.

16. *Vakroktijīvita* quoted in *Kāvyaprakāśa*, Shastri, (Chowkhambha), Varanasi, 1973, p. 394.

17. cf. Locana Commentary, pp. 475-476 on *Vakroktijīvita* 37, S. K. De, Calcutta, 1961.

18. R. N. Misra, *Ancient Artist and Art Activity*, Simla 1975, p. 22.

19. *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* II. 15-18; p. 22; *raṅge na vidyate citraṁ na bhūmau na bhājane sattvānāṁ karṣaṇārthāya raṅgaiścitraṁ vikalpyate.* v. 18.

20. *Vāstusūtra Upaniṣad*, Sū I. 4 (Commentary) p. 158.

21. Quoted in John F. Mosteller, op.cit.

22. John F. Mosteller, *op.cit.*

23. cf. Mosteller (1991), p. 15, fn. 8.

24. Chaturvedi Dwarka Prasad, *Tr. Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa*, Allahabad 1949, V. 35. 15-20.

25. *Aparājitapṛcchā*, p. 224.

LOOSENING THE LINKS :
GENDERED DIMENSIONS OF DEVELOPMENT SINCE 1947*

GAIL OMVEDT

"Every woman in this country is dishonoured, degraded,
With your hand on your heart, say, how can such a country be free?
In this country, they say, there are goddesses without number,
But not a single link of our chains could they loosen.
Have we gained anything of honour from the veil ?
Behind the veil we smothered, behind the veil we burned !
Make the veil into a flag, unfurl it everywhere,
We will bring humanity's rule to the land !
The power of women cannot be challenged,
Now we resolve to take on even the form of mother Kali."

(Kamala Bhasin)

This Urdu feminist song, a product of the vigorous Indian women's movement which has spread since the 1970s, expresses both the despair and hope of women's condition in India. Today, as we celebrate nearly 25 years of this movement and 50 years of India's independence, it is necessary to ask : what has been accomplished, how many links of the chain, in the words of the song, have been loosened since India achieved *swaraj*?

In many ways, differences are dramatic. To sum up its implications, I can recall the time in 1975 when we were organizing one of the first women's conferences, the Samyukta Stri Mukti Sangarsh Parishad, held in Pune with Prof. Nalini Pandit in the chair. It was not a big "chair" though, because we initiated some trends, no huge platforms, discussion groups rather than simply speeches from above, and so on. The organizers also decided to exclude men from the conference hall, though many had been helpful as activists in bringing adivasis, agricultural labourers and others from far-flung villages, in order that women could speak more freely. The conference was an inspiring success. Afterwards though, when we looked for newspaper publicity we could find none. Only some snide comments appeared in the *Times* about one of our resolutions: "Women demand men help with housework." Finally, when we complained, we were told, "but you wouldn't let our reporters in the hall." In other words, the major local newspapers, Marathi and English, had no women reporters!

These things have changed. Women can be found today everywhere in the life of the country. They are police chiefs, collectors, professors, entrepreneurs, editors and political leaders.[1] Sonia Gandhi, Jayalalitha, Mamta, Mayawati, etc., are at centre stage. Women are asserting their rights, and there is in some ways a newfound consciousness in the younger generation. Now issues such as women's political empowerment, women's property rights, are on the agenda of the women's movement and have been brought to the fore in political circles as a whole. And we have a woman novelist, Arundhati Roy, who has been smashing the records of all the famous male English-language writers of the region.

But we have to go deeper. Much in India has not yet changed, and when we look out of our windows and see ragpickers rummaging through garbage bins, we can remind ourselves that studies show that these are still largely women, and not only women, *dalit* women. Those maids who clear our houses are very often accompanied by their young daughters. Child labour, now being heavily challenged, is in fact most heavily girl child labour, as it is girls who are most deprived of educational rights.

So let us look at some of the statistics of the "gendered dimensions" of socio-economic development since 1947. Here we can rely on the excellent contributions of the UNDP's Human Development team, as well as such recent studies as Jean Dreze and Amartya Sen, *India : Economic Development and Social Opportunity.*

Halting Human Development

First, let us look at the overall picture. India's economic growth rate was roughly 3 1/2% per year (the famous "Hindu rate of growth") between 1950 and 1980, going up to about 5% in the 1980s and to a fluctuating 7% or so after 1991. However, it seems that the slightly rising growth rates (a significant improvement compared to the pre-independence period but much lower than those of southeast and east Asian countries) have been only partially translated into gains in welfare.

Life expectancies have risen from 44 in 1960 to 61.3 in 1994 (only marginally different between men and women). This is about average for developing countries as a whole, where life expectancies rose from 46 to 62 years (UNDP 1997, Table 1).

Overall poverty rates, which were relatively stable in the first two decades after independence have declined in recent years : according to the most thorough study by Tendulkar and Jain, the combined poverty rate declined from about 55% in 1973-74 to 36% in 1993-94; rural poverty which was slightly higher, from 56% to 37% (George, 1997 : 111). Still, by official rates, by 1993-94 about 320 million people were living in poverty, hardly

a satisfactory achievement.

Per capita food availability, as measured in terms of grams per day of foodgrains (cereals and pulses), has gone from 394.9 in 1951 to 468.7 in 1961, 468.8 in 1971, 454.8 in 1981, 510.1 in 1991 and 501.9 in 1995 (George, 1997:80). In terms of daily calorie supply, which was given at 2,395 in 1992, food availability rose marginally from 72% of that of the North in 1965 to 77% in 1992. This was less than the rise for all developing countries from 72% of the North in 1965 to 82% in 1992 (UNDP, 1997 : Tables 9, 14). Per capita availability of milk and fish more than doubled between 1950-51 and 1995-96; that of eggs quintupled (George, 1997:634). Since we would like to know how inequality lies under these averages, it might be noted that the important 1994 survey of rural households by NCAER showed a minor gap in terms of poverty line : measured in terms of kilograms of foodgrains per month, the poorest quartile of households had an average consumption of 13.7 compared to 15.4 for the highest quartile; while Scheduled Tribes averaged 13.7 kg., Scheduled Castes 14.4, and "others" 14.5 (NCAER, Table 3.31).

While infant mortality rates in India declined from 165 to 74 per 1,000 live births between 1960 and 1994, the average for all developing countries : was 149 and 64. The percentage of underweight children under five declined from 71% (1975) to 53% between 1990-96, compared to a decline from 41% to 32% for all developing countries : here India showed a greater decline but still a much larger percentage of malnourished children than the average for developing countries, and it is sobering to realize that still an estimated half of all children in the country were malnourished (UNDP, 1997, table 8).

Adult literacy rates in India have risen, from 34% in 1970 to 51% in 1993; this compares to 43% and 64% for all developing countries; it is far behind those of faster-growing southeast and east Asian countries : literacy rates in East Asia (including China) went from 88% to 98%, and in Southeast Asia and Pacific from 65% to 86% in the same period. Even in sub-Saharan Africa literacy rates rose faster, from 27% to 55% in the same period (UNDP, 1997 : Table 9).

Public expenditure on education according to the *Human Development Report,* rose from 2.8% of GNP in 1980 to 3.7% in 1992 (this was 11.9% of total government expenditure). But this compared to a rise from 3.7% to 4.3% in east Asia, 2.8% to 3.4% in southeast Asia, and 3.9% to 5.2% for all developing countries, while developing countries spent an average of 15.5% of total government expenditure on education. And of this expenditure in India, 65% was on primary and secondary education, compared to 73% for all developing countries (UNDP 1997, Tables 14 and 47). Jean Dreze

and Amartya Sen point out in this connection that expenditure is still far lower than the targeted goal of 6%; it is of course much lower than what would be needed if the goal of universal primary education were taken seriously; and the rise in expenditure in the 1980s was eaten up in teachers' salaries. The student-teacher ratio at the primary level has sharply increased and is estimated by them to be now at about 58 children per teacher in primary schools (Dreze and Sen, 1993:123)

Expenditure on health which was 0.5% of GDP in 1960 went up to 1.3% in 1990; but this compared with a growth from 0.9% to 2.1% for all developing countries (HDR 1997, Table 13). India is again behind.

Thus if we look at the overall dimensions of human welfare since independence, there have been gains in terms of life expectancy, some reduction in poverty, and some rise in food availability. These should not be minimized. Nevertheless, in terms of the crucial measures of human development, India has been significantly behind the developing country average, not to mention the faster-growing economies of southeast and east Asia. And, if we go further, and ask what share women have had of this halting human development, the picture is worse. Unfortunately, the statistical data we have indicate that the impoverished, caste-defined ragpickers are more typical of women's position than the IAS officer.

The Gendered Dimensions of Development

The most stark specific failures of achievement are in education, though it is important to stress the tremendous regional and state variations within India on this as well as on other indicators. Noting that while male literacy rose from 24.95% in 1951 to 64.13% in 1991 while female literacy rose from 7.93% to 39.29%, Dreze and Sen comment,

"In comparative international terms, however, India's record in this respect remains dismal...the available estimate suggests that adult female literacy is higher even in sub-Saharan Africa than in India. A comparison with China (let alone Southeast Asia) is even more sobering : in India, half of all females in the 15-19 age group are illiterate, compared with less than 10% in China" (133).

The most recently available statistics show that the adult literacy rate for women in India in 1994 was only 36.1% (64.5% for men) compared to 60.3% (78.4% for men) for all developing countries — and 44.4% for women and 64.3% for men in sub-Saharan Africa (UNDP 1997 : Table 2).

Dreze and Sen further show that in 1987-88 only 40% of rural girls between 5-9 years and 42% between 10-14 years were attending school, while 51% of rural girls between 12-14 as compared to 26% of boys of

the same age, had *never* been enrolled in school (Table 6.1, p. 112)[2]. This is quite aside from the quality of most rural and urban government schools, the problem of teacher absenteeism, especially in rural areas, unrealistic and overloaded school syllabuses, and the over politicization of educational institutions.

What of health ? In regard to maternal mortality rate, the *Human Development Report* and *World Development Report* give different figures : the HDR gives 570 for 1993 compared to 471 for all developing countries (per 100,000 live births (UNDP, 1997 : Table 12), the WDR gives 437 for 1989-95), down slightly from 500 in 1980 (World Bank 1997: Table 6, 1990, Table 32). Here the WDR notes that "because deaths during childbirth are defined more widely in some countries and because many pregnant women die from lack of suitable health care, maternal mortality is difficult to measure consistently and reliably across countries. Clearly, many maternal mortality rates go unrecorded" (World Bank 1997 : 255). In any case, India is behind.

In terms of health and malnutrition, significant regional variations exist again within a context of better conditions for boys. One Indian study shows that malnutrition in children under four has come down in most states between 1974-79 and 1992-93, according to studies, but it remains in most cases higher for girls (Gopalan, 1995).[3]

Work participation, or employment is an important indicator of the status and opportunities open for women; it is a crucial factor in what Dreze and Sen call "women's agency." At an overall level, by official statistics it has been relatively low in India, and not only low but declining : according to *World Development Reports,* in periods in which women's work participation was increasing in general in societies throughout the world, it was declining in India : women were 30% of the labour force in 1970, but only 25% in 1992, as compared to 38% and 40% for all developing countries (World Bank 1997 : Table 4.)

Of course there is tremendous undercounting of women at work : as we know from the phrase, and as numerous studies have shown, women's work "is invisible" even (or especially) to census takers. However we can confidently say that statistics for the organized sector are better than for the unorganized sector and these show an ever lower participation of women : in 1995 women were 13.36% of those employed in the public sector (a larger number in state and local bodies as opposed to central government;) and 20.20% of the private organized sector (a relatively larger number, 24% were in smaller establishments). In terms of industry, women were better represented in plantations, in manufacturing, in financing and business services and in community, social and personal services (nurses, teachers etc.). In small scale industry, women were 12.2% of total employment in 1988,

exceeding 20% only in hosiery and garments, and in chemical products (George, 1997 : 448-451).

In other words, the bulk of women's employment has been, throughout the period of independence, in the informal sector, particularly in agriculture. And these are sectors that have shown the slowest rates of economic growth and of income of those working in them. For instance, again according to Dreze and Sen, the real wages of agricultural labourers grew at an average of 2.9% in the years between 1970-71 and 1990-91 (faster in the 1980s), while the earnings of public-sector employees grew by 4.6% a year in the same period (Dreze and Sen, Table A. 4).[4]

Women are not only employed more in agriculture, but the gender gaps in agricultural wages are also higher. When I began living in Kasegaon, a large village in the heart of the southern Maharashtra sugarcane belt in 1979-80, wage rates for agricultural labourers were four for men and two for women; they rose steadily after that to 6 and 3, 8 and 4, 10 and 5, etc., and today they stand at about Rs. 50 for men and Rs. 30 for women. This can be compared with overall statistics given by Hanumantha Rao, who argues that the spread of the Green Revolution has resulted in both higher wage growth in the poorer (low-wage) areas and higher growth rates for women's wages (Hanumantha Rao, 1994:57). The gain looks impressive in some cases in terms of percentage rise, but because the beginning point was low, it still leaves women's wages significantly behind those of men.

And women continue to be excluded from many of the new informal sector occupations the young men in villages are entering : an impressionist look at Kasegaon, again shows that growing jobs in house construction, rickshaw driving, courier services, managing STD booths (not to mention leg work during election campaigns which are a temporary bonanza of employment) are monopolized by young men. The educated sections of rural women may be improving their position slightly : young women are seen now in banks and post offices and even beginning computer work. But overall, both statistical evidence and experience would suggest that the income gap betweeen men and women at various levels of the economic hierarchy has increased, not decreased, in the last 50 years. The *Human Development Report's* estimate is that women's share of earned income was 25.7% in India in 1994 compared to 31.7% for all developing countries – however this is likely to be an overestimate for India (and an underestimate of the variation among developing countries) since in the crucial case of agriculture the report could only estimate an across-the-board ratio of 75% for female to male wages (UNDP 1997, Table 2).

The continuing ability of men in India to claim the best of new employment opening up – as contrasted to the "feminization" of the labour force in many

southeast Asian countries — is undoubtedly one factor behind growing dowry demands. If dowry is an indicator of the relative status of women, its growth over the decades tells its own story.

There is of course, tremendous variation by states, but overall there is troubling evidence to indicate that the gap between men and women in terms of income and life chances, is not declining but in many ways growing.

More and More Women are "Missing"

The most devastating indicator of this growth in inequality and of the deadly nature of women's subordination in India and in some other societies (notably China) lies in the ratio of women to men in the society, the "sex ratio". It is normal to have slightly more women in any society (who thus "hold up half the sky"), resulting from the fact that girl babies and children have a higher endurance and survival rate than boys. In South Asia, however, and in China, there are fewer women alive than men. The figure for the 1991 census in India was 927 women for every 1000 men.

What this means is quite simply that due to various aspects of patriarchy, there are countless women who could be living but are not alive today. How many ? We owe to Amartya Sen, the great Indian economist, a feminist award for giving us a numerical estimate. Sen estimated how many more women would be alive if India and other patriarchal societies had a sex ratio equivalent to "normal" — the developed countries, African societies etc. These are what he calls the "missing women." His earliest estimates — 38-40 million for India, nearly 50 million for China, 100 million for the world as a whole! (Sen, 1989). Sen's original articles resulted in critiques and follow-ups, but none has disputed the overall range. The current estimate is 37 million (Dreze and Sen, 1995 : 141). This, then, is the ultimate cost of patriarchy — born unevenly in India (the sex ratio is lower in the north than in the south) but largely by the women of the poor, *dalits* and OBC castes.

It is also striking that development since independence has not resulted in any fundamental change in these figures. The sex ratio declined through the colonial period and by and large continued to decline after independence, from 972 in 1901 to 946 in 1951 to 929 in 1991; the only very slight rises were from 945 in 1941 (which was anyway an inaccurate census) to 946 in 1951, and from 930 in 1971 to 934 in 1981; otherwise the decline has been continuous and almost as high after independence as before (Nagaraj, 1991).

In their most recent discussion of the "missing women" phenomenon, Dreze and Sen show that there is not only wide variation between states (by and large, Kerala and the southern states as a whole have a better record), but the bulk of the decline is accounted for by the age group 30

and above, especially the years before 1971, where apparently men rather than women benefited from health factors leading to declining mortality. (This, they point out, is unique to India : In most countries in the world women have benefited more than men from declining mortality rates). In other words, it is not simply preferential family treatment of boys, but the ability of adult men to claim access to food and health care at the expense of adult women, that results in the shocking incidence of missing women (Dreze and Sen, 1995 : 141-154). While domestic violence, abandonment, dowry deaths and sati stand at the top, this ongoing mistreatment of both the girl child and the adult working woman is the submerged 9/10 of the iceberg of patriarchy in India.

Explanations : Development Marginalizes Women

How do we explain this dismal state of affairs ? What are the crucial factors behind this interweaving of economic development and women's status ? The first approach to "women in development" was spearheaded by Esther Boserup's 1970 pathbreaking study, *Women's Role in Economic Development* which argued that women have been systematically excluded from the benefits of economic developing. This led to the theme of "integrating women into development" and with rising concern about women's status following the rise of new women's movements in developing countries and the beginnings of world conferences on women in 1975 have resulted in many government programmes "targeting women." Most have made little impact on the overall situation.

By the late 1980s a new theme has taken over, that the development process itself systematically marginalizes women. Spearheaded by concerns at the 1985 Nairobi conference and the DAWN document (Sen and Gown, 1987) we now hear increasingly analyses of distorted development, notably in regard to both environmental degradation and the "feminization of poverty", linked it is often said, to the new triad, of "globalization, liberalization and privatization" as being anti-women.

But, given that concerns about the development process itself are justified, just what forms of development are destructive ? What type of development will really help women ? This is not such a simple question.

There have been two broad paradigms dominating the sociology of development. The first has been *modernization theory* linked to liberal market-oriented economic policies, and seeing international trade and investment as mechanisms for spreading technology and stimulating economic growth; barriers to growth are identified largely in terms of internal structural obstacles and traditional values, but it is generally argued that the overall process of economic development is one of spreading industrialization and "modernization". This paradigm has been dominant in the U.S. and at the global level in recent

years.

The opposing paradigm is **dependency theory,** which sees trade and international linkages as leading to increased dependence of the developing countries on the industrial world, and either distorted development or the "development of underdevelopment." The overall global process is said to be characterized not by the spread of technology and industrialization but by widening inequalities and the marginalization of many sections of the world's population. This paradigm, drawing inspiration from Soviet-style planning, prescribes a heavily protected and state-controlled economy following autarchic policies. In the form of the "Nehru model" it has dominated for 30 years in India.

In their extreme forms, neither paradigm is accurate. Leaving things simply to the market, multinationals and financial flows does not work; but the statist economies have been even more stark failures. Further, simply applying either model as the reason for the backwardness of women in India cannot explain two simple facts : first, some societies (East and southeast Asia and Sri Lanka) have shown much better results for women, in spite of some ongoing problems, and second, in India, women's relative backwardness has continued on through the years of the "Nehru model" (1950-1980), the beginnings of liberalization under Rajiv Gandhi in the 1980s, and the more systematic (but still not thoroughgoing) liberalization since 1991. In particular, in regard to the "feminization" of poverty, it seems necessary to point out that there is no increasing process ("ization"); poverty has **always** had a heavily feminine face.

In recent years a third alternative has been put forward, that of the UNDP's **human development paradigm.** As the *Human Development Report* put it in 1993,

"Heated ideological discussions have often marred an objective analysis of the relative roles of markets and the state. Some believe in the benevolence of the state and the need for constantly correcting the ill effects of the market. Others glorify the virtues of the market-place and argue that the economy should be liberated from the dead hand of state bureaucracy... In practice, both state and market are often dominated by the same power structures. This suggests a more pragmatic third option : that people should guide both the state and the market, which need to work in tandem, with people sufficiently empowered to exert a more effective influence over both" (UNDP, 1993 : 4).

How in fact to do this? The *Human Development Reports* have many concrete suggestions, stressing the creation of "people-friendly markets" (specifically including pulling down trade barriers in the developed countries) through promotion of small enterprise, credit provision, social spending etc.

In more recent years spokesmen of this perspective such as Amartya Sen have centered on promoting education and health.

We can also argue that both "statist" and "marketist" models can be oriented either to a heavy industrial-oriented development or an agriculture and informal sector focus. If the state is to play a role, it can either promote capital-intensive and high technology industries run either by the state or big business; or it can focus its support to a dispersed agro-industrial development, by sufficient (and environmentally sustainable) investment, by allowing it scope in trade (intelligent liberalization) and by assuring renunerative prices which lead to a growth for the majority who are in agriculture, primary sector and artisanal industries — and thus a growth in demand at the "bottom" levels of society and not simply among the rural and urban "middle classes."

In the case of India, it would seem that both the Nehru years and the years of liberalization have had a heavy-industrial bias. The Nehru year planners explicitly took a Soviet approach as an ideal, seeing the building up of capital intensive industries as central and taking agriculture only as a source of supply of cheap labour, raw materials and food. The rhetoric of support for small scale industries or Khadi enterprises has only succeeded in rendering these thoroughly helpless and dependent on the state. The "liberalization years" have brought few changes since, in contrast to China (where economic reforms in the first period, 1978-85, which were most successful in bringing down poverty, concentrated on agriculture) restrictions on agriculture in India have been the last be lifted. The State in the years of liberalization as much as earlier has sought to get food as cheaply as possible from Indian farmers, and the continuing inclinations to import millions of tons of food-grains contrasts radically with swadeshi slogans for business.

In other words, it can be argued that no really pro-women development model has come into existence in India; that if it does it will have to favour agriculture, spend sufficiently on education and health.

But is this enough?

Why are Women Marginalized? "Building a Castle on a Dung Heap"

Here we should return to Esther Boserup's theme : no form of development will help if there are systematic processes that marginalize women as such. The problem with the simple theme that "women are excluded from development" was not so much that it was wrong, but that it treated this as a policy matter to be solved by schemes targeting women, while failing to investigate and uproot the deep structural processes of patriarchy. These patriarchal "deep structures" have to do with the lack of women to access and control of income, property and power; their subordination within a patrilineal and patrilocal family; and heavy caste-related controls over their sexuality.

Here we can remember that the years of independence began with one major bill before the first Lok Sabha, the Hindu Code Bill. And just as he had headed the committee to restructure India's political life with a new Constitution, so as Law Minister Dr. Ambedkar headed the effort at restructuring kinship systems.

"The Hindu Code was the greatest social reform measure ever undertaken by the Legislature in this country. No law passed by the Indian legislature in the past or likely to be passed in the future can be compared to it in point of its significance. To leave inequality between class and class, between sex and sex which is the soul of Hindu society untouched and to go on passing legislation relating to economic problems is to make a farce of our Constitution and to build a palace on a dung heap. This is the significance I have attached to the Hindu Code." (p. 1326)

Leaving aside the question of whether simply legislative reform is significant, Ambedkar was here putting his finger on the crucial problem : that central to the caste-structured hierarchies of traditional brahmanic Hinduism has been the control of women's sexuality and labour. *Roti-beti-vyavahar* is to be within the *jati;* which means rigid controls on the marriages of girls; and this has continued to structure child marriage. Patrilineality has meant that land, property, family name have all gone through the male line. Patrilocality, almost equally important, has meant that girls married into far-away villages have had few resources to fight for economic power; this for instance may well be a major factor in the relatively better performance of the southern states where kinship systems – as Iravati Karve showed long ago – mean that girls marry into their own or very close villages.

When the Shetkari Sanghatana and its Mahila Aghadi began to take up the campaign of women's land rights, many leftists responded with the feeling that property rights was a bourgeois issue, that in the rural areas especially they concerned primarily landed farmers – an elite. But it is not only true that the majority of Indian farming families are small landholders (fully landless labourers are relatively few by South American standards!) but that even in landless families property is a crucial feature of women's subordination. In her autobiography Bebi Kamble has described the plight of an elderly landless *dalit* woman – depicting in vivid personal terms the social structures behind the statistics of "missing women" given to us by economists.

"Rural women haven't got happiness at any time in their life... even if they get old. She has no right to her house... There are two elderly people, Shankar and Sharda. She is tall, black, the two have a small hut. The husband has been lying crippled on his mat for 12 years now. She has to get up in the morning, take care of all his needs, give him some warm food and work all day to fill their stomachs. Even then she

doesn't get anything to eat in the afternoon. If someone gets compassionate and gives her a morsel, she has to eat it with a glass of water. At five o'clock with whatever money she earns she will bring tea and water and make tea for her husband. If she hurries to inquire about the next day's work and gets late, her husband is ready to take a cudgel and beat her. If she speaks sweetly and goes closer, she gets two blows. 'Whore, where did you go and leave me at night?' She says, 'Oh, shouldn't I see if there's work? I work in the village to get money and give it to you and you beat me?' He says, 'Whore, get out of my house! Are you living out of your father's village? You're eating from my village.' During the rainy season they starve. There's no work. The wife, tired of hunger, says, 'Now we've gotten old, I can't get work, let's sell off what we have.... where are our children?' He says, 'Woman, get out of here. I'm the owner, what do you own in it? Go away from my house!' Such is the power of even a decrepit old man fallen lifeless on his mat. And she is in the end a powerless slave who takes what she can get and eats like a sparrow. She has no power at all. She has no right even over her husband's hut." (Bhagwat, 1987)

"My house," "my village" : these are the claims that marginalize women. "Girls are not ours, they belong to other people" has been a traditional saying in our southern Maharashtra region. Patrilocality and patrilineality have together, along with the caste-related heavy barriers on women's sexuality (it is striking, for instance, that Arundhati Roy has characterized caste barriers in her novel as "love laws"), combined to constitute the deep structures of patriarchy that have oppressed and marginalized women in India even into the present era of global rights and global claims to freedom, democracy and equality.

Forward to the Millennium

It would be highly depressing if India were to enter the new millennium without at least a beginning of a strong attack on the patriarchal and class — caste structures that have kept women resourceless, propertiless and powerless — without beginning to clear what Ambedkar so strongly described as the "dung heap." Special "schemes for the girl child" or other such nonsense only mean building bungalows, not even castles, on the dung heap. What is needed is an all-around effort, and given the fact that the Indian economy is growing, given the talents and real resources that do exist in the country, it is not impossible.

Three points — out of many — can be suggested that should form the centre of such a massive all around effort to wipe out centuries of backwardness and discrimination against women.

(1) A rational economic system focused on development oriented to the occupations of the majority of the population : agriculture, small-scale industry,

crafts, the whole pattern of dispersed agro-industrial growth. This does not mean discrimination against large-scale industry, but it should mean not giving either big industry or bureaucracy the massive subsidies they have enjoyed up to now. It is not the Ambanis and Bajajs who need a "level playing field" but rather the producing rural and urban poor. Government spending on infrastructure, yes; on social services, yes; but not thousands of crores of rupees on military budgets or on keeping the elite employed in government offices doing little but shuffle papers and trouble producers.

(2) Access to resources, including property rights in land and household for women, requires an intensive all-round campaign. This means not simply legal reform and state action but for all the institutions of civil society, including trade unions, civic groups, to take up the issue of assuring and generalizing women's right to property and control over resources.

(3) Universal compulsory primary education : here the role of the state in terms of spending is crucial; but this has to be accompanied by more decentralization, more local control — so that teachers report not only to distant educational bureaucracies, but to the parents of the children they are teaching. Something like the "parent-teacher associations" needs to be activized in every village, and the practices of constant political transfers of teachers should be halted.

Accompanied by an all-around campaign for a genuine equalitarian and democratic culture, drawing not only on modern Enlightenment and revolutionary social values but equally on the great indigenous traditions represented by Phule and Ambedkar in the current era, by the *śramaṇa* traditions of Buddhism, Jainism and Lokayat materialism, and by the Bhakti and Sufi movements of equalitarian devotion, there is no doubt that the "gendered dimensions of development" can be qualitatively transformed and revolutionized in the 21st century. The links of the chains that bind women can not only be loosened, but broken.

Notes and References

1. Satara district is even said to have a *stri-rajya* since all five top bureaucrats, including the Collector and the DSP, are women.

2. Here it is necessary to note that they and also Myron Weiner, whose earlier study makes many of the same points, reject official government statistics; these are inflated due to the fact schools receive grants according to enrolment and thus continue to show any number of students enrolled who are never in the classroom.

3. Eight states were surveyed. Malnutrition rates for girls under four decreased from 65.4% in 1974-79 to 51.1% in 1992-93 in Andhra Pradesh, from 73.9% to 46.1% in Gujarat, from 71.9% to 55.8% in Karnataka, from 59.3 to 28.3% in

Kerala, from 70.1% to 49.1% in Madhya Pradesh, from 71.2% to 54.0% in Maharashtra, from 62.0% to 53.4% in Orissa and from 68.1% to 49.7% in Tamilnadu. In five of the eight states surveyed, girls' malnutrition rates remain higher than those of boys; in Kerala and Orissa rates are about equal, and only in Madhya Pradesh are boys more malnourished than girls.

4. After 1991 the growth rate in agricultural real wages was negative in the first year and then higher than the earlier average :- 06.15% (1991-92), + 5.24% (1992-93), + 5.39% (1993-94) and + 4.72% (1994-95), according to Dev and Ranade (1997 : 75).

Bibliography

Ambedkar, B.R., 1995, *Dr. B.R. Ambedkar Writings and Speeches, Vol. 14,* Government of Maharashtra.

Bhagwat, Shobha, ed. 1987, *Dalit Purushancya Atmacharitratil Stri Pratima,* Pune.

Boserup, Esther, 1970, *Women's Role in Economic Development,* New York, St. Martin's Press.

Dev, S. Mahendra and Ajit Ranade, 1997, "Poverty and Public Policy," in Kirit Parikh, ed. *India Development Report 1997* New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Dreze, Jean and Amartya Sen, 1995, *India : Economic Development and Social Opportunity,* Oxford University Press.

Gopalan C., 1995, "Nutrition and Food Security," *Economic and Political Weekly,* December 30.

Hanumantha Rao, C., 1994, *Agricultural Growth, Rural Poverty and Environmental Degradation in India,* Delhi, Oxford University Press.

George, T.S., ed., 1997, *India at 50: Facts, Figures and Analyses 1947-1997,* Chennai : Express Publications.

Nagaraj K., 1991, "The Missing Women", *Frontline,* May 25-June 7.

National Council of Applied Economic Research (NCAER), 1994, *Human Development Profile of India,* Vol. I : Main Report, November.

Sen, Amartya, 1989, "Women's Survival as a Developmental Problem", *Bulletin of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences,* 43.

Sen, Gita and Caren Gown, 1987, *Development, Crises and Alternative Visions,* New York : Monthly Review Press (the DAWN document : Development Alternatives for Women in a New Era)

United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), 1997, *Human Development Report, 1997,* Oxford University Press.

Weiner Myron, 1988, *The Child and the State,* New Delhi : Oxford University Press.

World Bank, 1997, *World Development Report 1997,* Oxford University Press.

A NOTEWORTHY VAIKUṆṬHA IMAGE

PRATAPADITYA PAL

Among the rich and varied temple sculptures from India in the Norton Simon Museum at Pasadena is an unpublished stele of Vaikuṇṭha Viṣṇu (Plates VII, VIII) which is noteworthy for several reasons. Not only is it remarkably well preserved, affording us a complete example of such images from the central region of the country, but it may throw much light on the original icon installed in the famous Lakṣmaṇa Temple at Khajuraho over a thousand years ago. It is also a handsome specimen of the kind of sculptural composition that usually graces a prominent niche in the external walls of Vaiṣṇava temples, especially those associated with Pāñcarātra worship.[1]

In the stele under discussion, the well proportioned figure of Viṣṇu dominates the composition. He wears the usual *dhoti* secured with a girdle with two tassels or swags ending in heart-shaped pendants. A sash surrounds his thighs which would make movement rather difficult. His stance, as he stands on a lotus, shows a slight flexion of the body to his right. A long bejewelled garland, although not of wild flowers (*vanamālā*) as required by texts, comes down to his knees. He has all the other usual ornaments, including anklets on his feet, a crown and the diamond-shaped symbol, probably the jewel known as *kaustubha* on his chest. Prominently tucked in his sash is a dagger.

The god has three heads rather than the four prescribed for Vaikuṇṭha in the texts.[2] The frontal head has a placid (*saumya*), normal, human face while projecting on his right is a lion's head and on the left that of a boar. Among other meanings, these heads represent the Narasiṁha and Varāha *avatāras* of Viṣṇu. The fourth head at the back known as Kapila (literally angry), is absent. Instead, in the front, a beautifully carved lotus contained in a recess with a raised pearl border forms a halo behind the trinity of heads. At the back (Plate VIII), the nimbus is a solid mass but the stele has been carved away completely to reveal Viṣṇu's figure fully. Although no details have been delineated, one can get a sense of the figure's volume. For those interested in the technical aspects of a sculpture one can also view the chisel marks very clearly.

Two of Viṣṇu's hands prominently display the lotus and the conch shell. The other two arms extend down to rest on the clearly visible club (*gadā*) on his right and wheel (*cakra*) on his left. In addition, these two emblems are personified as a woman and man. As Gadānārī or Club-woman, known also as Kaumodakī, she holds a fly whisk with the right hand and a pot

with the other. Cakrapuruṣa, or Wheel-man, known alternately as Sudarśana, also grasps a fly whisk with the right hand while the left rests on the thigh. Behind Gadānārī in a recess is a male guardian, while behind Cakrapuruṣa is the completely human Garuḍa who can be identified by the snake band around his hairdo.[3] Above these two figures is the ubiquitous *gajavyāla* motif while the bracket of the rectangular columns above support two flying celestials. Each carries a lotus and a pot as offerings for the god. Between Viṣṇu's feet must have been the tiny figure of the goddess which is now broken.

As far as the artistic evidence is concerned, the cult of Vaikuntha seems to have originated in the Mathura region during the Gupta period (*c.* 320-500 C.E.), from where it spread to the northwest, probably in the sixth century or a little earlier. It then reappears in the Khajuraho region in the tenth century when an image of Vaikuntha was installed in the sanctum of a temple (known now by the misnomer Lakṣmaṇa) by the Candella ruler Yaśovarman (*c.* 925-950 C.E.). The image installed by Yaśovarman was a war trophy which the monarch acquired from Hayapati Devapāla of the Pratihāra dynasty. However, the Lakṣmaṇa temple inscription of 954 C.E. is unusually informative in giving the earlier history of this icon. Apparently, the image was seized by Devapāla's father Herambapāla from the Shahi king of Kira who had obtained it from Bhoṭanātha or a Bhoṭa ruler living in the Kailash region.

Devangana Desai has very thoroughly discussed the implications of this important epigraphical passage and made some cogent suggestions.[4] It is clear that the present stone image of Vaikuntha in the temple is a later replacement and is of local workmanship. Secondly, she has suggested that the image installed by Yaśovarman must have been a work in metal rather than stone, very likely of the type still in worship in the Harirai temple in Chamba. About 150 years after its installation by Yaśovarman the image seems to have disappeared for some reason and the decision was taken to replace it with a much more elaborate stone image. What is curious is that no attempt was made to remain faithful to Yaśovarman's war trophy. Instead, the new royal patron or priests allowed for an icon that not only omitted the face at the back—a major omission with theological implications – but made other significant modifications and additions. So the present image in the temple is not of much help in determining what the original looked like. This is the case with several other versions of the form that are available in Khajuraho. Most are in fact, in poorer states of preservation than the late eleventh century sculpture in the Lakṣmaṇa temple. This is where the Simon image becomes a great asset.

As Desai has noted, the original image must have looked very much like those that were used in a large area of the northwest of the subcontinent from Afghanistan to Himachal Pradesh. A typical example is the easily portable bronze in the Heeramaneck collection in Los Angeles which was dedicated

around *c.* 850 C.E. (Plate IX). The resemblances are overwhelming. The composition and disposition of the three principal figures are remarkably alike. Both Gadānārī and Cakrapuruṣa stand with a pronounced sway and tilt their heads identically to gaze admiringly at Viṣṇu. Both even hold the fly whisk in an identical manner in the two sculptures. The left hand of Cakrapuruṣa is also similarly placed in the *katihasta* posture, but that of Gadānārī differs in that she holds a bowl. It should also be noted that she does not wear a blouse in the Simon stele and Cakrapuruṣa is not a pot-bellied figure. The three heads and four hands of Viṣṇu are arranged in an identical fashion in the two sculptures. As a matter of fact, the Simon Viṣṇu holds the lotus and the conch shell exactly as does the Los Angeles Viṣṇu. The manner of holding the lotus with the blossom facing the viewer is typical of the northwestern iconographic tradition and is seldom encountered in Central Indian images, where the lotus is frequently omitted altogether.[5] It should be noted that the Khajuraho Museum Vaikuṇṭha holds the flower in a similar fashion, but his other arms − and those of the other Vaikuṇṭha representations − are broken.

Two other features that link the Norton Simon Vaikuṇṭha directly to the northwestern images is the inclusion of the dagger and the design of the tiara. Although the dagger is not included in the bronze, it occurs frequently in the stone images of Viṣṇu from Kashmir (Plate X). Significantly, the dagger is not an appendage in any of the other representations of Viṣṇu in general or Vaikuṇṭha in particular in the Candella realm. As to the tiara of the Simon Vaikuṇṭha, although slightly damaged, that it consists of three circular crests or lobes in imitation specifically of the Kashmiri rather than Himachal Pradesh Viṣṇu images is clear enough. In the latter, the crests are triangular. In all the Khajuraho Vaikuṇṭha images the god wears the more conventional tall crown known as *kirītamukuṭa*. Two other minor details that point to a closer relation with the Kashmiri rather than the Himachal tradition are the loop of the sash around the thighs and the diamond shaped emblem on the chest.

Stylistically as well the figure of the Simon Viṣṇu differs from the other Candella representations of Vaikuṇṭha, both of the tenth and eleventh centuries, in its somewhat squat proportions and plump physique reminiscent of the figure in the Kashmiri bronze (Plate IX). The *gajavyāla* motif, the *pañcaratha* plan of the base with the lotus, the plain moulded brackets, and the lotus halo surrounded by a pearl border are all features that occur in tenth-eleventh century sculptures in a wide area of central India including Haryana, Rajasthan, Uttar and Madhya Pradesh but not in Kashmiri images. Noteworthy are the thigh swags with their heart-shaped pendants. They are unlike those seen in Khajuraho sculptures where they are beaded and not as they are here like plain straps. The belt of the Simon figure is adorned in a distinctive fashion with a chain of diamonds, a more elaborate variation of which can

be seen in a Viṣṇu attributed to central eastern Madhya Pradesh and the early eleventh century.[6]

While Madhya Pradesh remains a possibility for the provenance of the Simon Vaikuṇṭha, one cannot rule out the Haryana region where strong influences from the north would not be unusual. If, however, the sculpture was carved in the Khajuraho region then it must have been a very close copy of the "Bhoṭa" image that was brought back by Yaśovarman in which case it was carved in the second half of the tenth or early eleventh century.[7] On the other hand, it may have been the creation of a sculptor in the realm of Pratihāra Devarāja from whom it was snatched by Yaśovarman, in which case Uttar Pradesh would be the likely provenance. Nor can one rule out Himachal Pradesh where sculptures combining local iconography and Pratihāra style are not uncommon[8]. Indeed, some substantiation for a northerly attribution seems to be suggested by the stone as well. According to Newman, the stone is a medium grained, brownish gray schist.[9] This kind of stone is more familiar in the lower Himalayan belt than in the central plains. However, schist is also not uncommon in Rajasthan and the Deccan.

No matter where it was made, the sculptor must have used a Kashmir model, but for some unknown reason, decided to omit the ferocious face behind, which seems to be the case with a majority of the representations surviving from the Candella domain. The precise theological reason for this omission is not clear, except to say that in the Gupta period Mathura images, as well as in the well-known Berlin bronze, the ferocious head is not included. What does seem clear is that the war trophy was very likely an image belonging to the Kashmiri tradition and may originally have been installed in a kingdom in the Himalayas whose ruler was known as Bhoṭanātha.

In conclusion, a few observations about the original image of the Lakṣmaṇa temple will not be out of place. Based on the inscription, Desai has concluded that the original image must have had four heads. However, this is not at all clear from the relevant verse whose translation as used by Desai is as follows:

> "May that Vaikuṇṭha protect you who frightened the whole world
> with his roaring and who slew the three fierce demon chiefs Kapila
> and others, who were possessed of one body bearing (i.e.
> producing) the howl (ārava) of a Boar and Man-Lion, and the
> (body) which on account of a boon from Brahmā (Aja) could be
> slain only by an identical form."[10]

Firstly, I do not see any specific mention of four heads in this passage. Rather, the number seems to me to be three in reference to the asura chiefs. Only one of them is named as Kapila which may signify the Sāṁkhya teacher while the other two unnamed may refer to two other such philosophers. It

is doubtful if one can conclude definitely that the passage implies four heads, and so it would be prudent not to take this as a literal description of the original icon. Rather, it seems to offer a somewhat unclear explanation of the mythology, if not the theology, behind the three heads of Viṣṇu. Nevertheless, if the original image was from the northwest, then it is likely to have had four heads.

The forty-third verse of the inscription, as Desai has discussed, does state that the image installed by Yaśovarman belonged originally to Bhotanātha, the ruler of Bhoṭa in the Kailash region. Here again I don't think we can accept the statement at face value. The Kailash region was part of Tibet proper and it is unlikely that there was a temple of Viṣṇu Vaikuntha in that region at any time. More likely, the reference must be to the region northeast of the Kashmir Valley (including Ladakh) to which access is gained by the Zoji-la pass and which was known as the land of the Bhautta from which comes the word Bhoṭa.[11] As a matter of fact, the image could have come from Avantipur itself from where it may have been carried off by a Bhoṭa ruler who then gave it to a Hindu Shahi monarch of Kira. A Buddhist Bhoṭa ruler would have had no particular religious use for a Hindu image.

As to Kira, it should be noted that Varāhamihira (c. 500 C.E.) mentions them as a neighbouring tribe of Kashmir.[12] In the Chamba copper plate grant of Asata, Sāhilladeva of Chamba achieved a victory over the Kiras who are mentioned between the Dogras and Trigartas.[13] This would indicate a region between Jammu and Jalandhara. Very likely, the Kangra district is meant since Kiragrama is an alternate name of Baijnath. The area may have been attacked by the Pratihāra ruler Herambapāla, who took the image away as a trophy. By the time it was installed in Khajuraho, it had become legendary and its precise origins vaguely remembered. How much more romantic to associate it with the distant but holy land of Kailash and the mysterious people called Bhoṭa to give it more cache.

In a very interesting article about such war trophies involving religious images, Richard Davis has mentioned the Lakṣmaṇa temple icon as an example.[14] He refers to the original image as being of "solid gold", which seems not to have been noted by Desai who simply emphasizes its portable nature and tentatively suggests that it may have been made of metal or precious material.[15] While there is no evidence for a firm conclusion, one should not ignore the possibility that the image was made of stone. Carting heavy stone sculptures for long distances was not uncommon on the subcontinent.[16]

What is clear is that the appropriated image placed in the Lakṣmaṇa temple must have been regarded as a very potent spiritual entity and not simply an object of symbolic significance to assert political and military valour. As discussed by Davis, the practice of looting images in India goes back

God Viṣṇu as Vaikuṇṭha, provenance unknown, *c.* 10th century.
Norton Simon Art Foundation, Pasadena.
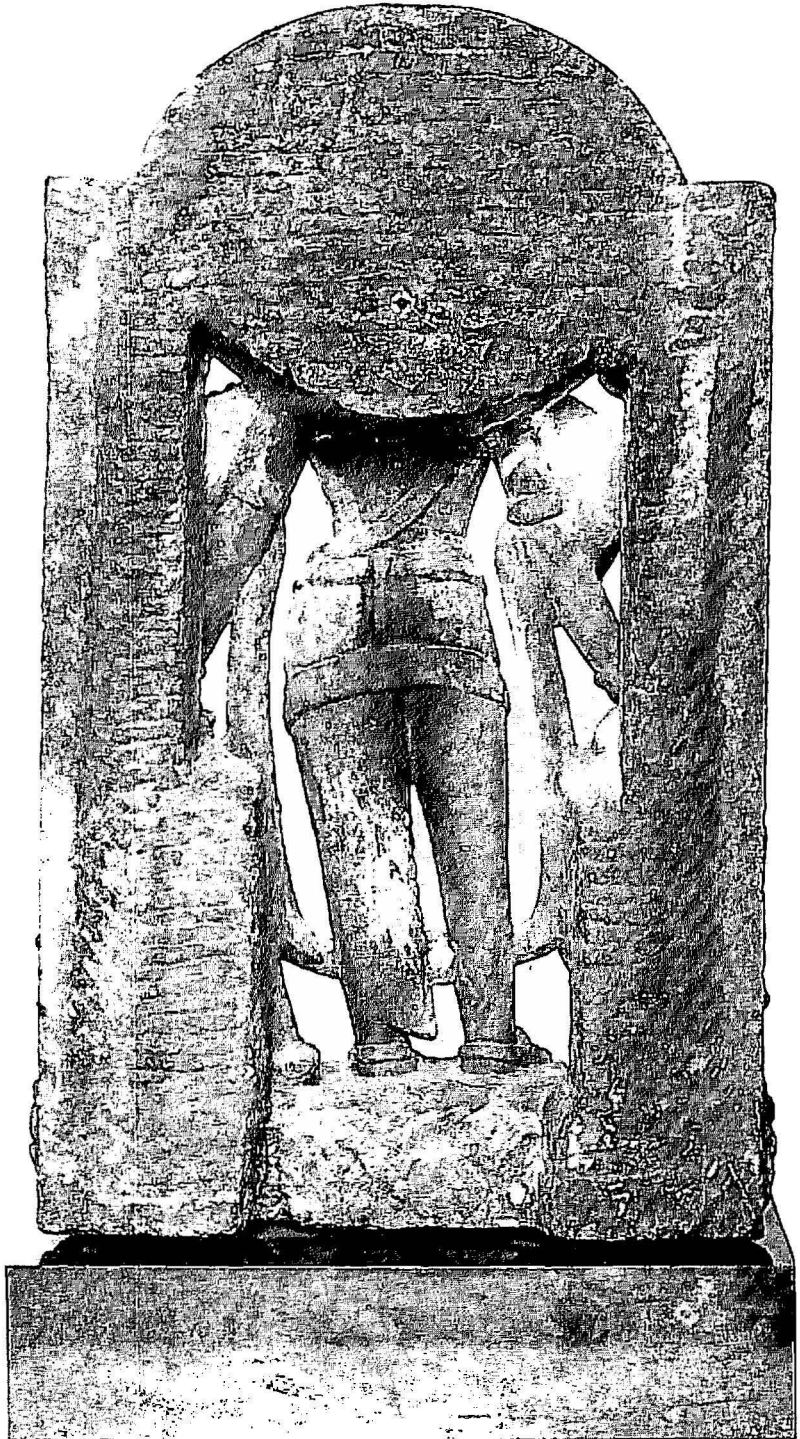
Reverse of Plate VII.

God Viṣṇu, Kashmir, c. 850, brass inlaid with copper,
Los Angeles County Museum of Art.

God Viṣṇu as Vaikuṇṭha, Kashmir, A. D. 875-900. Private collection.

to the time of the Buddha, if not earlier and remained popular with Hindu rulers in particular for a long time. It is even possible that the Bhoṭa ruler, being a Buddhist, may have been uncomfortable as well as superstitious about usurping a Hindu image, which he perhaps did so to destroy the power of its original owner. So he got rid of it by giving it to the Kira ruler, perhaps in recognition of services rendered. By the time Herambapāla snatched it, the prestige of the image had obviously increased and spread. In his turn the Candella ruler had to acquire it both to assert his superiority over his Pratihāra opponent as well as to share in the image's spiritual power. The trophy seems not to have survived much longer than a century and half in the Candella realm and its final fate will never be known. But that it proved to be of major iconographic and theological importance in an extensive area of central India is amply demonstrated by the surviving versions at Khajuraho and the Simon sculpture. Furthermore, it is clear that the copies or adaptations were not slavish imitations but reflect alterations due to different theological needs. The Simon image demonstrates this in the omission of the fourth head, but otherwise appears to be the closest to the original Kashmiri style statue known so far.

Notes and References

1. See D. Desai, *The Religious Imagery of Khajuraho* (Mumbai, 1996) for a detailed discussion and extensive bibliographical citation.

2. Readers interested in the symbolic and theological significance of these heads should read Desai's book cited in note 1 as well as other references given there.

3. In some of the Khajuraho steles (D. Desai, *op.cit.,* fig. 50), in which the ten *avatāras* are included, this position is occupied by Balarāma.

4. *Ibid.,* 21J-217.

5. For other examples of Kashmiri Viṣṇu or Vaikuntha images where the god holds the lotus in this distinctive manner see P. Pal, *Indian Sculpture,* Vol. 2 (Los Angeles, 1988), cat. nos. 17 and 23.

6. V. Desai ·and D. Mason, *Gods, Guardians and Lovers* (New York, 1993), cat. no. 27.

7. D. Desai has suggested that girdles (*mekhalā*) with a double series of pendant loops do not appear before the mid-eleventh century in the Khajuraho region (see "The Date of the Vaikuntha Image of the Lakṣmaṇa Temple, Khajuraho", in *Khajuraho in Perspective,* edited by K.K. Chakravarty, M.N. Tiwari and K. Giri [Bhopal, 1994], p. 122). However, in other regions such loops and pendants are common by at least the ninth century. Also, the Simon Vaikuntha Viṣṇu has only the anklets (*nūpura*) and not the additional ornament (*pādāṅgada*) seen on the Lakṣmaṇa temple Viṣṇu and images of the later eleventh century.

8. See V.C. Ohri, ed., *Arts of Himachal* (Simla, 1975), pp. 139-147.

9. R. Newman, *The Stone Sculpture of India,* (Cambridge. MA, 1984), p. 91.

10. D. Desai, *The Religious Imagery of Khajuraho,* pp. 212-213.

Assuming that the translation is correct, it should be paraphrased as follows to make it more comprehensible :

May that Vaikuntha protect you. (He) frightened the whole world
with his roaring and slew the three titan chiefs Kapila and others,
who were possessed of one body which produced the howl of a Boar
and a Man-lion and which could be slain only by an identical form
because of a boon they received from Brahmā.

11. See M.A. Stein, *Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī,* 2 vols. (Delhi, 1979), I, pp. 46-47 and II, p. 408. In Indian geographical literature there is a great deal of vagueness about the land of the Bhoṭas and usually the entire Himalayan region between Kashmir and Assam is meant. Scholars, however, should be careful in translating the expression Bhoṭanātha as king of Tibet, as some have done.

12. Stein, *op. cit,* II, p. 365.

13. *Ibid.,* pp. 217-218.

14. R. Davis, "Trophies of War : The Case of the Chālukya Intruder" in *Perceptions of South Asia's Visual Past,* edited by C.B. Asher and T.R. Metcalf (New Delhi, 1994), pp. 161-177.

15. D. Desai, *op. cit.,* p. 214. In his article, cited in f.n. 14, Davis asserts, following Kielhorn's study of the inscription, that the original image was made of "solid gold." I have not been able to find the relevant passage in the text of the inscription published by D. C. Sircar (*Select Inscriptions,* Vol. II [Delhi, 1983], pp. 258-267). Neither does Desai mention it and she is a thorough scholar.

16. Examples abound. Apart from the Cālukya Dvārapāla discussed by Davis, mention may be made of the large statues from Mathura transported all over northern India.

List of Illustrations

BUDDHA - THE NINTH INCARNATION OF VIṢṆU

HARIPRIYA RANGARAJAN

Among the founders of religions Buddha, "The Enlightened", was the only teacher who did not claim to be other than a human being. He founded the religion according to which he is not considered to be an incarnation. On the other hand, Buddha is regarded as the ninth incarnation of Viṣṇu according to Hindu religion and is mentioned in the list of *avatāras* in some Purāṇas. Even though the list of *avatāras* has been fixed quite early as ten yet their names given in the early Purāṇas vary. For example, in the *Vāyu Purāṇa* the list enumerates ten incarnations of Viṣṇu as follows : Pṛthu Vainya, Nṛsiṁha, Vāmana, Dattātreya, Māndhātā, Paraśurāma, Rāma, Vedavyāsa, Kṛṣṇa and Kalki. Here there is no mention of Buddha. The *Matsya Purāṇa* includes the *avatāra* of Buddha and deletes Balarāma. In the case of the *Agni Purāṇa,* the *avatāra* of Buddha is included and Kṛṣṇa is deleted. The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* enumerates the names of twenty-four incarnations of Viṣṇu in the skandhas I, II and XI and in all the three contexts the *avatāra* of Buddha is included in the list. The Purāṇas such as *Agni, Matsya, Bhāgavata* and *Viṣṇu* narrate the mythology of Buddha in detail.

According to the *Agni Purāṇa,* in the war between gods and demons the former were defeated by the latter. Therefore the gods went to Īśvara for protection. Then the Supreme Viṣṇu in order to help the gods assuming an illusory form was born as the son of Śuddhodana. He captivated the *daityas* and made them relinquish the religion of the Veda. They in turn induced others to forsake Vedic religion and became the staunch followers of the son of Śuddhodana who was none other than Buddha. The *Agni Purāṇa* says that because they abandoned Vedic religion they became Pāṣaṇḍinas, i. e. irreligious people. This Purāṇa says that once the *asuras* were divorced from the Vedic religion, the religion of Buddha started flourishing.[1]

In the *Matsya Purāṇa*[2] the incarnation of Buddha is described in a nutshell. It says "for the establishment of righteousness and the destruction of *asuras,* through asceticism there was the ninth incarnation in the form of Buddha of divine splendour, with his eyes as beautiful as the lotus and with the sage Dvaipāyana Vyāsa as the officiating priest." The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*[3] explains the *avatāra* of Buddha in three occasions. In skandha I, ch. 3, śl. 24, it clearly says that at the full advent of the Kali age the Supreme Lord will be born with Buddha as his name and as a son of Ajana in the Kīkaṭa country.[4] In skandha II, ch. 7, śl.37, the description is even more specific.

According to it, seeing the *asuras* who follow the path of Vedas will harass the world, in order to prevent them from attaining the spiritual powers, the Supreme will assume the disguise of a heretic and confuse their mind by explaining to them the heretic doctrines.[5] In skandha XI, adh. 4, śl. 22 it mentions the name of Buddha again as the incarnation of Viṣṇu. It says that the Lord would incarnate Himself as Buddha and would delude and infatuate the *daityas* by his deputations and dialectics. He would make them ineligible to perform sacrifices.[6]

The detailed narration of the Buddha *avatāra* in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* is very interesting. It says there was formerly a battle between the gods and demons in which the gods were defeated by the demons.

When the mighty Viṣṇu heard the request of the gods for their protection he emitted from his body an illusory form 'māyāmoha' which he gave to the gods and spoke to them "that his deceptive vision would fully divert the *asuras* from the path of the Vedas and put them to death." The reason he gave was that whoever would be opposed to the authority of the Vedas would be perished by his might for the sake of the preservation of the world. Then the Great Delusion (Māyāmoha) proceded to earth in the form of a naked mendicant with his head shaven and carrying a bunch of peacock's feathers. He approached the *daityas* engaged in ascetic penances upon the banks of the Narmadā river and addressed them gently. He asked them why they were practising such acts of penance. Was it with a view to attain any reward in their lifetime or in another? The *daityas* replied that they pursued the penances to obtain a reward after their life. Then the deceptive ascetic told them that if they wished to have the final emancipation they should attend to his words. He would teach the duties which would be the secret path of liberation and that they were worthy of receiving those teachings. Thus by such persuasions and misleading arguments this delusive being misguided the *daityas* from the tenets of the Vedas. He confused them by stating simultaneously contradictory things. For example, he taught that the same thing might be for the sake of virtue or of vice, might be truth or untruth, might or might not contribute to liberation; might be effect and not be effect; might be manifest or not be manifest; might be the *dharma* of those who go naked or who go clothed in much raiment. Thus by listening to the preacher the *daityas* were seduced from their proper duties and they were called Arhatas which means worthy of this great doctrine, that is of the false doctrine which he persuaded them to embrace. These *daityas* thus induced by the delusive person emanated from Viṣṇu became in their turn teachers of the same heresies and prevented others from the practices enjoined by the Vedas. As a result in a short time the Vedas were deserted by most of the *daitya* race. Again the same deluder persuaded them from massacre of animals for sacrifice. He also told them about the non-existence of the world. In this

manner, he asked them 'Do you know (Budhyadhvam)' and they replied 'it is known (Budhyate).' Thus these *daityas* were induced by the arch deceiver to deviate from their religious duties through his repeated arguments and variously urged persuasions. When the *daityas* had thus declined from the path of the holy scriptures, the deities once again fought with them and killed them. The armour of religion which had formerly protected the *daityas* had been discarded by them and this could lead to their destruction. The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* calls them *'nagna'* which means naked. Here the word naked does not mean throwing off the robes. Naked here refers to those who have thrown off the garment of the Vedas, which means giving up their original belief in the Vedas. According to the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa,* the *Ṛgveda,* the *Yajurveda* and the *Sāmaveda* are the threefold clothing of the several castes and the person who throws off these is called *nagna* which means naked or an apostate.[7]

So far we have narrated the description of the Purāṇas of Buddha as an incarnation of Viṣṇu with the purpose of destroying *asuras* by weaning them away from the Vedas. It is clear that the Buddha was at one time being accepted by the Brahmanical society as one of the incarnations of Viṣṇu even though, as already indicated, the purpose of the *avatāra* according to the Purāṇas was to misguide the *asuras.* The teachings of Buddha were given a mischievous twist in the Purāṇas. We may now look at how the image of Buddha as a teacher of Buddhism also underwent a transformation in the Buddhist literature.

There is no question that the system preached by Buddha is one of the most original in its fundamental ideas and philosophy. He was born in about 560 B.C., in an age of speculative chaos, full of inconsistent theologies and vague wranglings. Rhys Davids in his American lectures has stated that according to the *Brahmajālasutta* there were sixty-two theories prevalent in the society at the time of Gautama Buddha.[8] The teacher Buddha realized the need of a change in the society and his new path came to be known as Buddhism.

With the rise of Mahāyāna Buddhism in the first century A.D., Buddhism experienced a change with new ideas and practices which made the Buddha an object of worship and pious devotion as any other deity. The Mahāyāna, while trying to Hinduize Buddhism, also attempted to humanize the old discipline, "so as to make Buddhism more suitable for the cultured Indian layman and for the men of many races then crowding into the community."[9] In the Mahāyāna book the *Saddharma Puṇḍarīka* Buddha is made as almost an eternal being of omnipotent power like Viṣṇu who incarnates himself again and again to protect the good and punish the bad.[10] According to Farquhar, Mahāyāna philosophy was so much influenced by the Vedānta and *Gītā* that the concept

of Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu was fully accepted in the Buddhist conceptions. It borrowed many titles of Hinduism like Supreme Spirit, Self-existent, Great Father, Ruler of the Triple world, World Father, Creator, Destroyer and Physician.[11] The reason is that brahmanical views had infiltrated Mahāyāna Buddhism to such an extent that there were no longer any differences in the social basis of Mahāyāna Buddhism and Vaiṣṇavism. The Mahāyāna book called the *Lalitavistara,* datable to the 2nd or 3rd century A.D., repeatedly describes Buddha as 'Nārāyaṇa Sthamavan.' It means having the strength of Nārāyaṇa.[12] In this text Buddha is often referred to as Nārāyaṇa (ch. VII, pp. 109-10; XV, p. 234; ch. XX. p. 291; ch. XXI, p. 211), Mahānārāyaṇa and Mahāpuruṣa (ch. XXII, p. 353, ch. XXVI, p. 426).[13] This shows that identification of Buddha with Nārāyaṇa was not the result of a clever machination on the part of the Brāhmaṇas to absorb Buddhism but the result of a movement rooted in the then prevailing social conditions. According to Raychaudhuri while the early Buddhists did not identify their master with Nārāyaṇa, a rapprochment was apparently initiated by Mahāyāna Buddhism.[14] In the beginning the Vaiṣṇavite priestly class was not ready to accept the concept of Buddha's being identified with Nārāyaṇa. In fact they did not recognise Buddha as an incarnation of Viṣṇu. However, the *Sāttvata Saṃhitā* and the *Ahirbudhnya Saṃhitā* described Buddha as Śāntātmā. In the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā* (58.19), he is mentioned as Śāntamanas. The *Agni Purāṇa* calls him Śāntātmā (49.8).

शान्तात्मा लम्बकर्णश्च गौराङ्गश्श्याम्बरावृतः ।
ऊर्ध्वपद्मास्थितो बुद्धो वरदाभयदायकः ॥

Agni Purāṇa, 49, 8.

Regarding the date of assimilation of Buddhism with Bhāgavatism and its *avatāra* cycle, we can say that it might have taken place between the first century B.C. and second century A.D. This bold step could have been taken by some progressive priests. The reasons could be twofold: i) the improvement in the economic condition of the lower *varṇas* in the society, and ii) influx of foreign hoarders causing a threat to the existing social order. Therefore (i) in order to restore the social equilibrium, and (ii) in order to reestablish the sanctity of the brahmanical way of life, the then popular god Buddha was adopted as one of the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu. The assimilation helped the brahmanical society to once again send the Message of the brahmanical precepts of social and moral conduct to the masses through their worship of Buddha in the form of Viṣṇu's incarnation. There is no doubt that the doctrine of *avatāra* of Vaiṣṇavism played an important role in bringing closer the brāhmaṇas and other castes. Even though the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* belonging to the Gupta period mentions Buddha as 'māyāmoha', the Saṃhitās and the *Agni Purāṇa* which belong to the later period clearly treat Buddha as part of the *avatāra* cycle. This finds a very good expression in the *Gīta Govinda* where it is mentioned:

निन्दसि यज्ञविभेरहह श्रुतिजातम्
सदयहृदयदर्शितपशुघातम्
केशव धृतबुद्धशरीर
जय जगदीश हरे -

गीतगोविन्द, सर्ग 1 श्लोक 9.

Notes and References

1. बक्ष्ये बुद्धावतारञ्च पठत: श्रृणवतोऽर्थदम् । पुरा देवासुरे युद्धे दैत्यैर्देवा: पराजिता: ॥ रक्ष रक्षेति शरणं वदन्तो जग्मुरीश्वरम्। मायामोह दैत्यांस्तांस्त्याजितान् वेद धर्मकम् । ते च बौद्धा बभूबुर्हि तेभ्योऽन्ये वेदवर्जिता: ॥ आर्हत: सोऽभवत् पश्चादार्हितानकरोत् परान् । एवं पाषण्डिनो जाता वेदधर्मादिवर्जिता: ॥

Agni Purāņa, ch. XVI, śl.1-4. (Eng tr.) Manmatha Nath Dutta Shastri, pp. 70ff. Varanasi, 1967.

2. *Matsya Purāņa,* adh.46, śl.247, (Eng tr.) Satyavrat Shastri, The Sacred Books of Aryans, Vol. I, Delhi, 1972.

3. बुद्धो नाम्नाजनसुत: कीकटेषु भविष्यति । अत्रासौ युगसंख्यायां दस्युप्रायेषु राजसु ॥

Bhāgavata Purāņa, sk. I, ch. 3, śl.24. (Eng. tr.) G. V. Tagare, Ancient Indian Tradition and Mythology Series, Vol. 7, Part - I, Delhi, 1976.

4. Kīkaṭa country is placed in the southern part of Magadha. In the purāņic literature Kīkaṭa is essentially connected with the Gayā region. D. C. Sircar, *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India,* p. 107.

5. लोकान् घ्नतां मतिविमोह मतिप्रलोभं वेषं विधाय बहु भाष्यत औषधर्म्यम् । *Bhāgavata Purāņa,* sk. II. ch. 7, śl.37.

6. भूमेर्भरावतरणाय पदुष्वजन्मा जात: । करिष्यामि सुरैरपि दुष्करणि ॥ वादौर्विमोहयति यज्ञकृतोऽतदर्हान् । शूद्रान् कलौ क्षितिभुजो न्यहनिष्यदन्ते ॥ *Bhāgavata Purāņa,* sk. XI, ch. 4, śl.22.

7. इत्युक्तो भगवांस्तेभ्यो मायामोहं शरीरत: । समुत्पाद्य ददौ विष्णु: प्राह चेदं सुरोत्तमान् ॥ मायामोहोऽयमखिलान्दैत्यांस्तान्मोहयिष्यति । ततो वध्या भविष्यन्ति वेदमार्गबहिष्कृता: ॥ स्थितौ स्थितस्य मे वध्या यावन्त: परिपन्थिन: । ब्रह्मणो ह्याधिकारस्य देवदैत्यादिका: सुरा: ॥ तद्गच्छत न भी: कार्या मायामोहोऽयमग्रत:। गच्छन्नद्योपकाराय भवतां भविता सुरा: ॥ *Vişņu Purāņa,* Book III, ch. 17, śl.41-44.

8. S. Radhakrishnan, *Indian Philosophy,* Vol. I, p. 353, n. 2.

9. J. N. Farquhar, *An Outline of the Religious Literature of India,* pp. 111 ff.

10. *Ibid,* p. 112.

11. *Ibid,* p. 114.

12. *Ibid,* p. 107.

13. Jaiswal Suvira, *The Origin and Development of Vaişņavism,* New Delhi, Second edition, 1981, p. 131.

14. *Ibid,* p. 131.

JAYANTA BHAṬṬA'S NYĀYAMAÑJARĪ : AN APPRAISAL

NAGIN J. SHAH

Kashmir has produced great thinkers and theoreticians in the fields of Indian poetics and philosophy. Ānandavardhana's and Abhinavagupta's contribution to Indian poetics is matchless.Similarly, Jayanta's contribution to Indian philosophy is remarkable and brilliant. He flourished in the reign of Śaṅkaravarman (A. D. 885-902), a king of Kashmir. His son Abhinanda who has written *Kādambarī-kathāsāra* informs us that Jayanta's great-grandfather was a minister of King Lalitāditya (A. D. 750). Again, from him we learn that his ancestors hailed from Gauḍa. They settled in Kashmir. And Cakradhara (*c.* 10th century A. D.), a Kashmiri pandit, in his *Nyāyamañjarīgranthibhaṅga* (*NMG*) notes that Gauramūlaka was Jayanta's *abhijanagrāma*. Moreover, he writes that by the command of King Śaṅkaravarman Jayanta stayed for many years in Khasadeśa. Jayanta's three works have so far been recovered and published. They are *Nyāyakalikā, Āgamaḍambara and Nyāyamañjarī* (*NM*). *Nyāyakalika* is a short commentary on *Nyāyasūtra. Āgamaḍambara* is a satirical Sanskrit drama. And *NM*, though a commentary on *Nyāyasūtra,* is of the nature of an independent original Nyāya work.

Like many great men, he too wrote his masterpiece *NM* in a prison. Most probably King Śaṅkaravarman had thrown him into the prison for some reason not known to us. *NM* is a voluminous work written in prose and verse style. It occupies a unique place among the Sanskrit works on Indian logic and philosophy. It evinces Jayanta's mastery over various branches of traditional learning, especially Vedas, Purāṇa, Dharmaśāstra, Vyākaraṇa, Mīmāṁsā, Nyāya, Vedānta and Bauddhadarśana. It is famous not only for its stupendous scholarship but also for its charming ornate style. Sweetness of language, lucidity of diction, profundity of thought, depth of scholarship and cogency of arguments are the salient features that characterise this wonderful work. In Jayanta's times a triangular contest among the Nyāya, Mīmāṁsā and Buddhist schools of logic dominated the Indian philosophical scene, and of this contest one can form a very precise idea from Jayanta's treatment of various issues. His presentation creates a vivid picture of the problems of Indian philosophy and their solutions offered by the said schools. His discussions are penetrating, pregnant and profound. In *NM* he has so arranged his material that he has somehow or other and at some place or other found occasion to discuss whatever most important problems pertaining to logic, ontology, ethics, theology, he had in mind to discuss. Thus he covers all the important issues of Indian philosophy and examines all the important

theories formulated by the different systems of Indian philosophy. His acqaintance with the subject is deep and extensive and his treatment is arresting. His thorough grasp of the subject along with his clear presentation makes his *NM* a comprehensive treatise on Indian philosophy and logic. So here is a work which no serious student of Indian philosophy and logic can afford to neglect.

The only extant commentary on *NM* is *NMG.* But *NM* had attracted attention of many scholars prior to Cakradhara, the author of *NMG.* Some of them had composed commentaries which are not extant now. Cakradhara has consulted them. So he in his commentary *NMG* gives different interpretations, offered by other commentators, of the textual portions of *NM* and records different readings accepted by them.

In what follows is presented the analysis of the subject matter, and while doing so some select topics are concentrated upon in order to give some idea of Jayanta's philosophical acumen, intellectual powers and vast erudition.

NM is divided into twelve chapters called *'āhnika.'* In the first chapter Jayanta formulates his own definition of *pramāṇa,* examines the rival definitions advanced by the Buddhists, Mīmāṁsakas and Sāṅkhyas, and refutes the views of those who recognise more or less *pramāṇas* than those accepted by the Naiyāyika, viz., perception, inference, verbal testimony and analogy. He criticises the Mīmāṁsā position that *arthāpatti* (implication) is an additional *pramāṇa* and establishes that it is a case of inference. He refutes the Kumārilite position that *abhāva* (meaning absence, also called *anupalabdhi* meaning non-cognition) is an independent *pramāṇa.*

The early Nyāya authors employed the term *'pramāṇa'* for valid cognition. Though they understood that one type of valid cognition differs from another because the two have got different causes, yet the concept 'cause of valid cognition' was not made a distinct topic of discussion. But it was this concept that became central in the logical enquiries of the later Nyāya, authors with whom the word *'pramāṇa'* stood not for valid cognition as such but for cause of valid cognition. When a deep probe was undertaken into the concept 'cause of valid cognition', the distinction began to be made between cause and chief-cause (lit. the most efficacious cause) and it was given out that *pramāṇa* means not just cause of valid cognition but chief-cause of valid cognition. And *karaṇa* (instrument) which by nature possesses operation is the chief (=most efficacious) cause. In the whole history of Nyāya school Jayanta is famous for his outright rejection of this whole approach towards the problem of defining *pramāṇa.* He conceded that *pramāṇa* means not valid cognition as such but cause of valid cognition. But he refused to distinguish between a chief cause and the subsidiary causes and maintained that the total causal aggregate — inclusive of factors physical as well as mental —

which produces valid cognition is to be called 'pramāṇa'. He anticipates all the possible objections against his view by an opponent and refutes them strongly.

Jayanta attacks the Buddhist thesis on pramāṇa. According to the Buddhist, a cognition bears the form of its object while it is of the nature of an apprehension of this object; and he maintains that the cognition insofar as it bears the form of its object is pramāṇa, the same in so far as it is of the nature of an apprehension of this object is pramāṇaphala (=the result produced by pramāṇa). In other words, the Buddhist contends that it is the very nature of cognition that no type of it can ever cognise an object directly but always by way of cognising itself and finding itself to bear the form of this object. Jayanta strongly criticises the famous Buddhist position that a cognition bears the form of its object. He first takes exception to the Buddhist contention that unless a cognition bears the form of its object there will be no way to distinguish cognition-of-x from cognition-of-y. He means that cognition-of-x is itself a cognising of x and not something which when cognised results in a cognising of x. Jayanta remarks that the position that a cognition bears the form of its object the Buddhist maintains with a view to lending support to idealism. For he argues that the fact that cognition-of-x is caused by x while cognition-of-y is caused by y should suffice to distinguish these two cognitions just as according to the Buddhist this fact suffices to explain why the former cognition bears the form of x, the latter bears the form of y, his point being that the thesis of 'formed' cognition possesses no advantage over the rival thesis of 'unformed' cognition. And Jayanta's submission that the thesis of 'formed' cognition has been maintained with a view to lending support to idealism is valid inasmuch as that is one serious use that the Buddhists have made of this thesis; for supporting the idealist standpoint they have actually argued that there is no warrant to posit an external object when all that we ever cognise is not this object itself but a cognition bearing the form of this object. However, from the standpoint of logical studies the more particular criticism against the Buddhist stand is that it makes no sense to say that x is cognised not directly but by way of cognising cognition-of-x. This criticism too Jayanta levels against the Buddhist thesis. He submits that the Buddhist claiming to be realist has no right to posit an external object inasmuch as on the latter's supposition such an object can be cognised neither through perception, nor through inference, nor through implication. Jayanta criticises one more aspect of Buddhist definition of pramāṇa (valid cognition). The Buddhist defines valid cognition as that cognition which receives confirmation in practice, e.g. if a cognition identifies an object as x and if in subsequent practice this object is found to behave as x then this cognition is valid cognition. By way of clarification it is added that a cognition can be valid cognition even in case relevant practice is not undertaken, for the necessary thing is that this cognition should receive confirmation in case such

practice is actually undertaken. All this seems sound commonsense and yet Jayanta takes exception to it because he feels that the Buddhist in view of his advocacy of momentarism has no right to say this. The difficulty is that the Buddhist's case crucially depends on the consideration whether a cognition identifies its object rightly or otherwise, but he is also of the view that all identification of an object, being a task performed by thought, is somehow false of this object; and against thought as thus understood is pitted perception — that is, bare sensory experience — which is supposed to reveal an object in all its true particularity. As a result, his explanation of how perception and inference, the two types of valid cognition admitted by him, manage to be true of their respective objects is extremely cumbersome; this becomes at once clear from Jayanta's presentation which is fairly trustworthy.

The Kumārilite Mīmāṁsaka is with the Naiyāyika in attacking the Buddhist position. But then he parts company with this fellow-fighter. For the Kumārilite attributes the designation 'cognition' not to what results from the operation of a cognitive organ but to this operation itself, whereas according to the Naiyāyika cognition is a quality produced in the soul concerned as a result of this operation. Again, on the Kumārilite's showing what results from the operation in question is a property called 'cognizedness' belonging to the object concerned. Lastly, it is his understanding that the operation in question is not something observable but posited by way of implication in order to account for this 'cognizedness' which in its turn is something observable. This whole position maintained by the Kumārilite Jayanta seeks to assail. Jayanta suspects the Kumārilite thesis to be a product of fear against Buddhist idealism. Thus beginning with the position that an object is cognised not directly but by way of cognising a cognition that bears the form of this object the Buddhist ended with the position that there is no object apart from cognition; to Jayanta, it seems that the Kumārilite fondly seeks to avoid such a degradation by maintaining that a cognition is cognised not directly but by way of drawing an inference from the fact that the object concerned has become a cognized object (it is a fond endeavour because an object cannot be cognized as something cognized unless the cognition concerned is already cognized). Jayanta perhaps correctly fathoms the psychological motivation of the Kumārilite concept of object-cognizedness. On his showing this concept might mean that the object concerned has been made an object of cognition or that some new property has been produced in this object; the former alternative is rejected on the ground that in that case object-cognizedness cannot be cognized without cognition itself being cognized, the latter on the ground that in that case object-cognizedness should be a public property. As a matter of fact, object cognizedness is a property not of the object concerned as such but of it as related to the cognizer concerned; but this alternative is rejected by substituting for the phrase 'object cognizedness' the phrase 'object revealedness' and then arguing that a revealer like a lamp must reveal a

thing for everybody (the fact that cognition, unlike lamp, is a subjective type of revealer is just ignored). Then Jayanta considers an altogether different aspect of the Kumārilite definition of *pramāṇa.* Thus according to this definition the object of *pramāṇa* must be something that was hitherto uncognized, a stipulation which Jayanta finds untenable. Hence he refutes this position.

Jayanta briefly criticises the Prabhākarite's position on *pramāṇa.* The Prabhākarite maintains that pramāṇaship belongs to *jñāna* which is something unobservable and is to be inferred from the result produced by it, a position apparently the same as the Kumārilite position. But the two positions are only apparently the same because the Prabhākarite's word for cognition is *'samvedana'* while his word *'jñāna'* means the operation undertaken by the causal aggregate that produces *samvedana.* So Jayanta's only criticism against the Prabhākarite is that the operation undertaken by the concerned causal aggregate is not something unobservable but he also points out that the words *'jñāna'* and *'samvedana'* are in fact synonymous. Then Jayanta refutes the Prabhākarite's view that cognition is self-cognitive. Since according to Jayanta a cognition is perceived not by itself but by an immediately emerging cognition, this is but natural. He reminds the Prabhākarite that his theory of error requires that a memory be cognized but not as memory, a requirement that cannot be fulfilled if all cognition is self-cognitive; again he reminds him that since he does not share the Buddhist view that a cognition bears the form of its object no purpose of his is served by maintaining that all cognition is self-cognitive.

Lastly, he attacks Sāṅkhya position on *pramāṇa.* On the Sāṅkhya view a sense-organ undergoes transformation-bearing-the-shape-of-the-object-concerned and in its wake the *buddhi* undergoes a corresponding transformation while the *buddhi* as thus undergoing a transformation is *pramāṇa,* the *puruṣa* as thus coloured is *pramātṛ.* Jayanta's difficulty with this whole theory is that here the entire cognitive operation of the form of *pramāṇa* is attributed to the *buddhi* which is something unconscious while the *puruṣa* (which is something conscious) is declared to be *pramātṛ* even if it has nothing to do with the cognitive operation in question. The suggestion that for some reason or other the *buddhi* and the *puruṣa* share each other's characteristic features is rejected on the ground that such sharing must be something illusory and so can constitute no real explanation of any sort. Lastly, it is pointed out that the thesis on the *buddhi* undergoing transformation-bearing-the-shape-of-the-object-concerned is akin to the Buddhist thesis on 'formed' cognition and is opened to similar difficulties.

The second chapter is devoted to the exposition of perception, inference and analogy. While dealing with perception Jayanta examines four definitions of perception — one by the author of *Nyāyasūtra,* another by the Buddhist, the third by Kumārila and the fourth by the Sāṅkhya.

Jayanta states and explains Gautama's aphorism containing the definition of perception. It is as follows : *indriyārthasannikarṣotpannaṁ jñānam avyapadeśyam avyabhicāri vyavasāyātmakaṁ pratyakṣam* / Jayanta takes the aphorism as presenting the definition only. He does not think that it presents the divisions also. Even Uddyotakara is of this view. This represents the old Nyāya tradition. But we have strong evidences in favour of the view that it is Trilocana, Vācaspati's teacher, who initiated the new tradition of interpreting this aphorism as presenting both the definition and divisions. Vācaspati and Udayana admit this fact in their *Tātparyaṭīkā* and *Pariśuddhi* respectively. Ācārya Hemacandra in his *Pramāṇamīmāṁsā* clearly writes : *atra pūrvā-cāryakṛtavyākhyāvaimukhyena saṅkhyāvadbhis Trilocana- Vācaspatipramukhair ayam arthaḥ samarthito yathā indriyārthasannikarṣotpannaṁ jñānam avyabhicāri pratyakṣam ityeva pratyakṣalakṣaṇam /... vibhāgavacanam etat 'av-yapadeśyaṁ vyavasāyātmakam'* / It is not that Jayanta does not recognise indeterminate perception. But while explaining the concerned aphorism he is faithful to the aphorist Gautama as also to the old Nyāya tradition.

Jayanta takes up one by one the different words occurring in the Nyāyasūtra definition and considers their precise import. While considering the significance of the word *'jñāna'* he states that since the mental states like pleasure etc. too are possibly born of a sense-object contact they will not be excluded from the purview of the present definition unless it explicitly describes perception as a type of cognition. This gives rise to an important discussion primarily because the Buddhist maintains that pleasure etc. are of the nature of cognition. Jayanta refutes the Buddhist position. He considers the significance of the word *'indriyārthasannikarṣotpanna.'* In this connection he gives thought to the following seven questions : (1) What is a sense-organ ? (2) What is an object ? (3) How many types of sense-object contacts are there ? (4) Why is sense-object contact necessary for perceptual cognition ? (5) How is perceptual cognition caused by a sense-organ and an object ? (6) How to cover under this description the perception of a mental state ? (7) How many conjunctions between cognitive organs take place in a process of perception ? Jayanta next considers the significance of the word *'avyapadeśya'* (=non-verbal). The precise import of the word is obscure but this very circumstance led to a lively controversy as to what it means; this controversy Jayanta reports in considerable details and is truly revealing in its own manner. The divergent views cited in this connection are four in all, the first attributed to a body of persons called 'old Naiyāyikas', the second to one called 'Ācāryas', the third to one called 'Vyākhyātṛ-cum-Pravaras', the fourth to no one in particular. MM. Phaṇibhūṣaṇa rightly observes that Nyāyabhāṣyakāra Vātsyāyana seems to be the representative of old Naiyāyikas. Cakradhara in his *NMG* clearly states that by the term 'ācāryaḥ' Jayanta refers to those who wrote *vivṛti* on (the *vārtika* of) Uddyotakara and further writes that among them Rucikāra was foremost. Again, he informs us that Jayanta employs the term

'vyākhyātr' for Pravara, the author of *Bhāṣya vivaraṇa,* and his followers. All these four views commonly maintain that the word *'avyapadeśya'* (='non-verbal') is aimed at eliminating from the purview of the definition something that is born of sense-objcet contact and yet somehow verbal; but as to what this something is they differ widely. The precse points of difference are in brief as follows:

(1) The upholders of the first view note that a perceptual cognition born of sense-object contact is often given the designation 'cognition of colour', 'cognition of taste' or the like. And it is their contention that this perceptual cognition as thus verbally designated is what the word *'avyapadeśya'* (=*vyapadeśāviṣayam)* seeks to eliminate from the purview of the proposed definition. Let us make the point more clear. Only those cognitions born of sense-object contact, which are disposed to grasp the external objects, colour, taste, etc., could be considered as perception. But when these very cognitions are later on designated by the names of their objects, they, leaving their nature of perception acquired through their act of grasping the external objects, assume the nature of object *(viṣaya)* due to their becoming the object of words. Such perceptual cognitions that have turned into objects of designation are excluded by the term *'avyapadeśya.'*

(2) The upholders of the second view note that when a thing is shown to a novice and its name told the resulting cognition, even if born of sense-object contact, is of the nature of verbal cognition because it is generated by words spoken by an instructor *(vyapadeśyam = vyapadeśāt jātam).* And it is their contention that this cognition is what the word *'avyapadeśyam'* seeks to eliminate from the purview of the proposed definition.

(3) The upholders of the third view contend that the word *'avyapadeśya'* is included in the definition to exclude cognitions born of sense-object contact, which involve employment of words *(vyapadeśya).* This means that for them there are cognitions born of sense-object contact, which do not involve employment of words and are at the same time determinate *(vyavasāyātmaka).* Which are those cognitions ? It seems odd to maintain that there are cognitions born of sense-object contact, which, though determinate, involve no employment of words.

(4) The upholders of the fourth view note that a cognition born of sense-object contact might involve no employment of words or it might involve it; again, it might involve employment of words in one of so many ways; but they emphasise that in all cases a cognition born of sense-object contact is something different from verbal testimony *(vyapadeśya* = a cognition generated by an instrument of words). And it is their contention that the word *'avyapadeśya'* occurring in the proposed definition is aimed at emphasising this very point. The point is that a determinate cognition born of sense-object contact, though

involving employment of words, is a case of perception, not a case of verbal testimony because the former does and the latter does not invariably require the services of a sense-organ. By way of elaboration it is said that in a deferminate cognition born of sense-object contact the memory of a word comes to the assistance of a sense-organ just as a lamp comes to the assistance of an eye.

Jayanta examines these four views in detail, raises many pertinent questions and discusses them.

He next considers the significance of the word 'avyabhicārin (=non-erroneous)'. Quoting the instance of desert-sands which, when seen from a distance in summer sunshine, are mistaken for water. Jayanta submits that a mistaken cognition like this which though born of sense-object contact, is erroneous inasmuch as it is not true of the object concerned is eliminated from the purview of the proposed definition of perception by inserting in this definition the word 'avyabhicārin.' Here he incidentally refutes two contentions made by the Buddhist logician Dignāga, viz. (1) that all nirvikalpa (thought-free) cognition is necessarily non-erroneous and (2) that post-nirvikalpa cognition, which might doubtless be erroneous or otherwise, is not of the form of perception inasmuch as it is not immediately born of sense-object contact.

Jayanta lastly considers the significance of the word 'vyavasāyātmaka' (='certain'). Thus on his showing when a thing coming in contact with a sense-organ is found to exhibit what happen to be the common features of x and y but not either what are the specific features of x or what are the specific features of y then there arises a doubtful cognition to the effect 'this thing might be x or it might be y'; this sort of cognition, though born of sense-object contact, is not certain and so is eliminated from the purview of the proposed definition of perception by inserting in this definition the word 'vyavasāyātmakam (=certain).' Here also he considers some interesting points.

Jayanta's criticism of the Buddhist definition of perception is penetrating. According to the Buddhist, perception is that type of cognition which is devoid of all thought while thought is a cognition capable of being associated with words. For him thought is no pramāna (valid cognition). Jayanta asks him, ''Granted that thought is that type of apprehension-of-an-object which is capable of being associated with words, but why should it be denied the status of pramāna ?'' The whole reply the Buddhist gives is somewhat strange. For what it is able to prove is that sensory experience and thought are two distinct types of process, each produced by its own distinct type of causal aggregate, so that even when the two are produced together a sensory experience is a sensory experience, a thought is a thought.

Jayanta's criticism of the Kumārilite definition of perception does not raise

very many issues of fundamental importance. For this definition is virtually the same as Jayanta's own. Thus in essence it says that perception is that cognition which is born of a sense-object contact; and against it Jayanta's only criticism is that it contains no word that should eliminate from its purview the cases of erroneous or doubtful cognitions that are born of sense-object contact. This is not an important aspect of his criticism. The heart of his criticism lies elsewhere. It lies in his criticism of an important aspect of the Kumārilite understanding of the phenomenon of perception. Thus Kumārilite submits that he is not interested in offering a fool-proof definition of perception but in just arguing that since all perception is born of a sense-organ's contact with a present object no perception can grasp what constitutes one's religious duty, a duty enjoined by such imperative Vedic sentences as 'One ought to perform *yajña.*' Obviously, the argument was theologically motivated but it involved an important question of logic, viz. whether it is possible for perceptual cognition to take place without a sense-organ coming in contact with the object concerned. Really, even the *Nyāyasūtra* definition of perception should rule out such a possibility, but in the course of time the Naiyāyikas began to grant it. And so Jayanta finds fault with the present Kumārilite argument on the basis of considerations that are largely sophistical.

Having completed his treatment of the problem of perception Jayanta takes up the problem of inference. He discusses fivefold nature of a probans, the problem of invariable concomitance, possibility of inference, the *Nyāyasūtra* definition of inference and cognition of time and place. Jayanta defends his school's thesis on the fivefold nature of a probans against the Buddhist thesis on its threefold nature. Regarding invariable concomitance, Jayanta maintains that it should suffice to say that the relation between the probans and probandum is the relation of invariable concomitance while the Buddhist further demands that one must precisely define the conditions that make possible this relation of invariable concomitance. The Buddhist is of the view that x can act as a probans for inferring y only in case either x is identical with y or x is produced by y. When the Buddhist says that probans and probandum are identical with each other what he means is that they are two features of an identical object. This happens in what the Buddhist calls *svabhāva-anumāna.* In the cases of *svabhāva-anumāna* the concerned invariable concomitance is established not on the basis of a causal experimentation but on the basis of a conceptual analysis. Jayanta's polemic against *svabhāva-anumāna* shows that he is blind to this important point. While discussing the *Nyāyasūtra* definition of inference Jayanta offers two sets of interpretations of the terms viz. *pūrvavat, śeṣavat* and *sāmānyatodṛṣṭa* occurring in the definition and standing for the three types of inference.

Having dealt with inference Jayanta explains the Nyāya position about analogy and criticises the Mīmāṁsaka's view of analogy.

The third chapter first deals with verbal testimony. Jayanta states and explains the *Nyāyasūtra* definition of verbal testimony which runs as follows: 'Verbal testimony (*śabda*) is the teaching (*upadeśa*) of an authoritative person (*āpta*). In the course of his discussion he makes two pertinent refutations, both directed against the Buddhist. Thus it is first argued that the Buddhist is wrong to maintain that verbal testimony is a case of inference, then that he is wrong to maintain that a word has nothing to do with things real. In connection with the question as to how verbal testimony is a *pramāṇa* (valid cognition), the Mīmāṁsakas have raised the question as to whether the validity of a cognition is intrinsic or extrinsic. So, Jayanta next begins his discussion of this question. The Mīmāṁsā thesis that all cognition is intrinsically valid is defended by the Kumārilite and the Prabhākarite in two very different ways; so Jayanta first presents and criticises its Kumārilite version and then the Prabhākarite version. While presenting his own case the Prabhākarite criticises rival theories which somehow or other grant the possibility of false cognition and elaborates his own theory which grants no such possibility. Jayanta's criticism of both the versions is sustained, penetrating and brilliant. He strongly demonstrates that no cognition whatsoever has a right to be declared valid without being tested through the application of the criterion of successful practice. Having completed his discussion of the question whether the validity of a cognition is intrinsic Jayanta has to make transition to his discussion of the question whether God exists and to his discussion of the question whether a word is an eternal verity. This transition is made by way of arguing that a cognition born of verbal testimony is valid not intrinsically but only in case the speaker concerned is an authoritative person. More particularly it is argued that a Vedic testimony is valid because the author of Vedas is God. Hence the need for demonstrating the existence of God. Again, the Mīmāṁsaka has argued that Vedic testimony is valid because Vedas are an authorless text existing since ever, and he has sought to buttress his argument by maintaining that all word is an eternal verity. Hence the need for demonstrationg that a word is no eternal verity. Jayanta's demonstration of God's existence should not be dismissed off-hand. Regarding eternity of a word, according to the Mīmāṁsaka when a letter is heard an two occasions it is one and the same letter that is made manifest twice. Jayanta tells him, ''On your logic one can as well say that there exists one eternal cow, while two particular cows appear to be different because two different manifesting agents make manifest the one eternal cow.'' Jayanta is right in pointing out that this Mīmāṁsaka view runs counter to his acceptance of the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika theory of universal.

In the fourth chapter Jayanta is exclusively preoccupied with theological matters. He refutes the Mīmāṁsaka view that Vedas are an authorless composition and establishes the Nyāya position that they are a composition by God. His performance to prove that the *Atharvaveda* is on par with, rather

superior to, the remaining three Vedas is surprising. Then he considers the question of the validity of non-Vedic scriptural texts. He suggests some sort of gradation among the non-Vedic scriptural texts. Thus on one extreme stood the scriptural texts coming from quarters like Buddhists, Jainas etc. which openly repudiated the authenticity of Vedas, on the other extreme stood the texts like Purāṇas and Dharmaśāstras which commanded the loyalty of all the Purāṇists; and in between stood the scriptural texts belonging to the Purāṇist sub-sects like Śaiva, Pāśupata, Pāñcarātra, etc. Jayanta presents before us a Purāṇist's typical attitude towards three groups of non-Vedic scriptural texts. He reports about three rather liberal atiitudes which could have been adopted by certain circles in this connection — one according to which all scriptures are authentic for some reason or other, another according to which all scriptures are authentic owing to their origination from God, a third according to which all scriptures are valid owing to their being based on Vedas. Having finished this topic, Jayanta elaborately defends the efficacy of the cult of Vedic ritual as also the validity of each single word of Vedas. The last question discussed is the question whether all Vedic statements are injunctive. Jayanta establishes the equal authenticity of the injunctive as well as descriptive parts of Vedas.

The fifth chapter is broadly divided into two sections. The first section considers as to what an individual word stands for, while the second considers as to what a sentence stands for. In the first section Jayanta takes up the much debated problem of the reality or otherwise of a 'universal.' The debate had, of course, something to do with the problem of word-meaning. For the Nyāya and Mīmāmsā thinkers were of the view that a noun-word stands for a 'universal' which is one eternal independent real residing in all individuals of a class which are denoted by this word, a view countered by the Buddhist by arguing that a 'universal' thus conceived is something fictitious while a noun-word supposed to stand for such a 'universal' in fact stands for nothing real. For the Buddhist a word stands for 'exclusion of the opposite' which is certainly common to all the members of the class concerned. The arguments Jayanta adduces against the Buddhist theory of 'exclusion' and for the Nyāya theory of 'universal' are very strong and deserve close study.

In the second section we are first affered the Kumārilite account of what a sentence means and then its Prabhākarite account, the two accounts being followed by certain independent observations of Jayanta himself. As a matter of fact, the Kumārilite and the Prabhākarite were most interested in enquiring as to how it is that a Vedic injunctive sentence impels one to act in an appropriate fashion; with this end in view they considered the question as to what is the precise import of an injunctive verbal suffix but they talked as if this import is what a sentence as a whole means. Jayanta does not approve of this procedure. But he is interested in one aspect of the discussion, which considers the question whether one follows injunctions to get certain

result. He emphasises that one follows an injunction never except under the conviction that one would thereby get this or that result, a point which he develops in some details after having reported about the corresponding Kumārilite and Prabhākarite theories.

In the sixth chapter Jayanta refutes *Sphoṭa* theory, considers how a word or a sentence as a whole is grasped letter by letter or word by word though letters or words get destroyed as soon as they are uttered, and examines theories of sentential meaning, formulated by Kumārila and Prabhākara, known as *Abhihitānvayavāda* and *Anvitābhidhānavāda* respectively.

Jayanta explains *Sphoṭa* theory as follows. That from which meaning is manifested is *sphoṭa*. It is not a word made up of letters. It is different from such word. It is called *sphoṭa* or word-*sphoṭa*. It is an eternal entity which is made manifest when on this or that occasion an appropriate sound is made. It is not something audible, for what is found heard is not *sphoṭa* itself but the sound that makes this *sphoṭa* manifest. A word made up of letters or a sentence made up of such words cannot serve as the instrument of verbal cognition because it is impossible for man to cognise a word as a whole or a sentence as a whole. This has led to the positing of corresponding eternal impartite *śabda-sphoṭa* and *vākya-sphoṭa*. The letters supposed to compose a word, since they are uttered one after another, are never present together and so it is impossible for them to be perceived together. So it becomes necessary to maintain that the instrument fo verbal cognition is not a word made up of letters but *sphoṭa* which is impartite, eternal, orderless and inaudible. It is true that verbal cognition never takes place unless letters are uttered, but it should be borne in mind that the letters are required not because they are the instrument of verbal cognition but because they make manifest the eternal *sphoṭa* which is actually such instrument.

In refutation Jayanta observes that the stand that a word as a whole can never be grasped is untenable and unsound. A word as a whole can be grasped. The procedure as to how a word as a whole is grasped letter by letter is as follows. There is first grasped the first letter and this grasping produces a mental impression, then is grasped the second letter and this grasping produces a mental impression stronger than the first, and thus proceeding there is lastly grasped the last letter and this grasping produces a mental impression strongest of all; now this last mental impression produces a memory having for its objects all the earlier letters arranged in due order, and this memory added to the direct cognition of the last letter (a cognition that yet persists) is what is called the grasping of the whole word. So there is no need of positing *sphoṭa* which is neither ever perceived nor can ever be inferred. Again, Jayanta submits that even on accepting the hypothesis of *sphoṭa* one must face the type of difficulties here being urged; for even in that case one must show how one single *sphoṭa* is made manifest by

letters uttered one after another, Jayanta's point being that the nypothesis in question is an unwarranted hypothesis with no saving grace whatsoever.

Then Jayanta takes up *abhihitānvayavāda* and *anviiābhidhānavāda* one by one for consideration.

Kumārila maintains that first words of a sentence yield their respective meanings by their denotative power (*abhidhāśakti*), then these meanings get associated with one another in accordance with felt-need, proximity and ability. So sentential meaning is the association of word-meanings. Kumārila's point is that the denoter-denoted relationship obtains between an individual word and its meaning while the meaning of a sentence is got by combining the meanings yielded by the individual words occurring in a sentence. This means that according to Kumārila the instrument of sentential meaning is not the words concerned but the word-meanings concerned. This contention he makes on the following two grounds : (i) It will be too much of a burden for the words of a sentence to yield the word-meanings concerned as also the sentential meaning, particularly when it can easily be supposed that the sentential meaning is yielded not by these words but by these word-meanings themselves. (ii) By the time one hears the last word one had forgotten, longer or shorter ago, the earlier words, so that these words are in no position to yield sentential meaning.

In refutation of Kumārila's theory. Jayanta makes the following points. (i) If the words of a sentence really cease to operate after yielding their respective meanings then sentential meaning cannot but cease to be something verbal. In other words, if the instrument of sentential meaning is not words concerned but the word-meanings concerned then how can sentential meaning be regarded as verbal ? (ii) Words of a sentence singly or independently yield their respective meanings but jointly yield the sentential meaning. What is the harm in accepting this ? Words mutually expecting one another get together. And a group of such words is a sentence. This sentence itself yields sentential meaning. So, Kumārila should accept that words of a sentence yield their own respective meanings as well as the meaning of this sentence just as fuel etc. jointly undertate the operation called cooking and severally the operations like burning etc. Kumārila himself has seen the truth in this position and hence at places he himself concedes this point.

According to Prabhākara the mutually expectant and hence associated words denote the associated meanings, that is, sentential meaning. In other words, a sentence *denotes* sentential meaning. The individual words outside a sentence have no meaning. They have no denotative power of their own because they are never employed single, that is, outside a sentence. Only words associated with one another, (that is, a sentence) have denotative power (*abhidhāśakti*). Prabhākara's point is that the denoter-denoted relationship

obtains between a sentence as a whole and the sentential meaning concerned. He tends to blur the distinction between the role of a sentence and the role of the individual words occurring in this sentence. Jayanta puts his (Prabhākara's) basic contention as follows: "Unlike a lamp, a word does not produce cognition unless its meaning is learnt. But the meaning of a word is learnt through observing the practical dealings undertaken by the elders who however in this connection always speak a sentence as a whole, never individual words. Certainly, a sentence is what one speaks, what one hears, what one observes others speaking and hearing. So what is learnt is as to what meaning is had by what sentence. But then a sentence is of the form of several words grouped together with a view to yielding a common meaning just as fuel etc. jointly undertake cooking, the palanquin bearers jointly carry the palanquin, so that it is improper to suggest that a single word uncombined with other words is what yields a meaning." As can be seen, Prabhākara does not deny that a sentence is made up of individual words, but he fails to see how words can yield any meaning other than what is commonly yielded by them in their capacity as a component of one common sentence. Prabhākara knows of no word-meanings apart from the sentential meaning concerned so that on his view here is a case of word-employment with no meaning coming in picture.

In refutation Jayanta makes the following point. Even when meaning is learnt through listening to the sentences uttered by elderly people what is learnt is the meaning of an individual word, not the meaning of a sentence as a whole; certainly, sentences being infinite in number it should be impossible for one to learn their meanings one by one while as a matter of fact one conversant with the words and their meanings manages to grasp the meaning even of a sentence fresh from the pen of a poet.

Jayanta maintains that words of a sentence have two powers, viz. denotative power and informative power *(tātparyaśakti)*; by the former power words yield their respective word-meanings while by the latter power they yield the sentential meaning. Again, Jayanta makes the important observation that its denotative power a word exercises singly, while its informative power it exercises in company with the remaining words of a sentence; Prabhākara's mistake lies in denying the former power and applying the designation 'denotative power' to the latter (the official Kumārilite position denies the latter power.) Jayanta's exposition of the problem is really illuminating.

Jayanta devotes the seventh chapter to the problem of soul. On the question of soul Indian philosophers were divided into three distinct camps – one represented by the Cārvākas advocating outright materialism, another by the Buddhists advocating the anti-materialist doctrine of no-soul, the third by the rest advocating the anti-materialist doctrine of soul. The fundamental question that served to divide the materialist from the anti-materialist was whether

consciousness can be treated as a property of matter, q question answered in the affirmative by the former, in the negative by the latter. Jayanta's anti-materialist critique is significant. The upholders of the doctrine of soul posit a soul in the form of an abiding non-bodily agent which on the one hand acquires fresh-cognition and on the other hand applies to new cases a cognition acquired in the past. As against this, the Buddhist conceived the conscious acts in the form of a series running parallel to the body-series concerned, rejecting an abiding soul inhabiting the body concerned. This clearly suggests that the controversy around the Buddhist doctrine of no-soul was basically a controversy around the general doctrine of momentarism whose one corollary the former doctrine was. So Jayanta undertakes refutation of momentarism, which is brilliant.

In the eighth chapter Jayanta deals with the ten *prameyas*, viz. body, sense-organ etc. Specially noteworthy is the detailed refutation of the Sāṅkhya metaphysics undertaken by Jayanta while considering the topic of cognition *(buddhi)*.

The ninth chapter discusses the problem of liberation and refutes three varieties of illusionism. Regarding liberation, Jayanta discusses two questions, viz. (i) What condition characterises the state of liberation and (ii) What means lead to the attainment of liberation. While dealing with the first question, Jayanta refutes the Vedāntic position and establishes his own position. His criticism of Grammarian's, Vijñānavādī Buddhist's and Vedāntin's illusionism is highly important.

In the tenth chapter Jayanta offers an account of five categories, viz. *saṁśaya*, etc.; in the eleventh he offers an account of seven categories, viz. *tarka*, etc., and in the twelfth he offers an account of two categories, viz. *jāti* (faulty counter-argument) and *nigrahasthāna* (point of defeat).

If exception be made of its fourth chapter the entire text of *NM* preaches no theology but offers a rational account of certain important logical problems and allied metaphysical problems (the problems of ethics too being touched upon). This account certainly draws upon the entire past tradition of the Nyāya school but that was only natural, what is noteworthy is that the author's assimilation of the traditional material is so masterly. As things stood, this assimilation required a thorough acquaintance with the logical findings of two rival schools, viz. Buddhist and Mīmāṁsā, and this acquaintance too our author exhibits in good measure. An additional attraction is his highly ornate style of writing, a style that has turned his philosophical masterpiece into a veritable literary masterpiece.

CHRONICLING ANDHRA-SĀTAVĀHANAS : PURĀṆIC DATA ANALYSED

AJAY MITRA SHASTRI

In an earlier paper published in this Journal (No. 72, pp. 120-151) we subjected Purāṇic evidence appertaining the original home, nomenclature and early chronology of the Andhra-Sātavāhanas. It is proposed to analyse critically the rather meagre information supplied by these texts regarding individual members of the dynasty. It would be noticed that the details do not go beyond bare cataloguing of names with their regnal years except in the case of the first member about whom some historical information is also offered. And these facts also are more often than not vitiated by variant readings resulting from highly defective manuscript traditions.[1] It would be our attempt to chronicle all the details together with variations in readings and to see how far they are supported by or opposed to the data derived from inscriptions and coins as well as other archaeological sources in general. We shall also record what information we get from other later literary sources only in so far as the Purāṇic data are concerned. It would be noticed that these pieces of information often correct or supplement the Purāṇic chronicles and sometimes have only corroborative value which, too, is highly valuable when there is always a lurking suspicion about the correctness of each and every reading and point.

Chimuka or Simuka

The founder of the dynasty is mentioned in the Purāṇas by various forms of the name, and only the terminal letter (*ka*) is the one about which there is no difference. The *Matsya* manuscripts spell it variously as Śiśuka, Śiśruka, Śiśurka, Śikhuka, Kiṁśuka, Śiṁśuka, etc., while the manuscripts of the other Purāṇas generally give Sindhuka as his name and *Viṣṇu* has the readings Chiptaka, Śivika, Pulaka, Pucchaka and Śipraka. A single manuscript of the *Vāyu Purāṇa* (*e*Vā of Pargiter) alone affords a name much closer than others to the name Chimuka found on his coins, viz. Chismaka.[2] And it is quite possible that the middle component, viz, *mu,* was misread as *sma* by the copyist while retaining the first and last letters as they must have been originally in the manuscript used by him as his base. This should suffice to demonstrate the comparative trustworthiness of the *e*Vā manuscript of the *Vāyu* and the point that a reading found in a single manuscript need not necessarily be rejected in favour of a reading / readings met with in numerous other manuscripts.[3] In any case the extant evidence establishes that he called himself and was popular among his contemporaries as Chimuka Sātavāhana[4] and is spoken of in a slightly later record[5] put up by his brother as Simuka

Sātavāhana.[6] Interchangeability of sibilants and *cavarga* letters c and ch in the dialect of Prakrit in vogue during that age in Andhradeśa as illustrated by numerous instances,[7] this difference in the initial letter of the name[8] need occasion no surprise. It is quite possible that both these forms stand for Sanskrit Śrīmukha, 'beautiful-faced', though there cannot be any certainty and it may be some hitherto unknown Prakrit or colloquial word then prevalent in Telangana region.[9]

There is absolutely no information regarding the parentage and upbringing of this brilliant man responsible for carving out a large kingdom and launching his family on the imperial track. The Purāṇas describe him as a servant (*bhṛtya*) of the last Kāṇva king Suśarman. It is therefore quite likely that he began his career as a vassal, perhaps nominal, and taking advantage of his weakness carried out his victorious arms far and wide. The scene of his early career was the Telangana and adjoining area which has yielded a lot of his specie.[10] And thence he expanded to the Vidarbha region[11] which fell on way to Vidiśā where he finally vanquished his erstwhile overlord Suśarman as stated in the Purāṇas.

A final ascription of base metal specie with the legend *raño siri-Sāt(d)-avāhanasa,* 'of king Sāt(d)avāhana', is pregnant with serious implications for historical reconstruction. According to some, this Sātavāhana was the founder of the dynasty preceding Simuka by a few generations,[12] whereas others are inclined to equate him with *Kumāra* Sātavāhana known from a label inscription at Naneghat and regarded as a son of king Sātakarṇi and queen Nāganikā generally,[13] but without enough supporting data.[14] However, neither of these contentions can bear scrutiny. There is not only nothing whatever to warrant the existence of any ruler called Sātavāhana but it is against the extant archaeological (and Purāṇic) evidence. Not only are the Purāṇas reticent about any Andhra king preceding Simuka, they explicitly aver that the 'earth' (kingdom) went (actually 'would go to') or became (actually 'would become') the property of the Andhras after the end of the last Kāṇva king Suśarman.[15] And, as if this were not enough, the Sātavāhana statue-gallery at Naneghat commences with the statue of Simuka Sātavāhana only because he was the first king of the dynasty. The existence of the later personage, who definitely belonged to the dynasty as vouched for by his name (Sātavāhana), is indubitably documented by inscriptional evidence as shown above; but there is not only absolutely nothing to prove that he rose to the position of a king but there are strong reasons to believe that he never ascended the throne and as such there could be no question of his issuing any coin in his own right.The aforesaid Naneghat label inscription[16] definitely shows that his statue was put up there along with a few other members of the family or otherwise connected with it.[17] The cave in question at Naneghat was thus a statue-house or *pratimā-gṛha* of the early Sātavāhanas

like the statue-gallery or *deva-kula* of the Kuṣāṇas at Mat, a suburb of Mathura. When could these statues be installed ? It is commonly held that all these figures were set up by Sātakarṇi or queen Nāganikā at the same time or at different times during the same reign.[18] Can it be true ? The *Pratimā-nāṭaka* of Bhāsa. who preceded the celebrated poet-dramatist Kālidāsa, comes to our rescue in solving this riddle. Its central theme from which it has derived its name (*Pratimānāṭaka*) is very pertinent to the issue under discussion. Bharata returned to Ayodhyā from his maternal uncle's home on urgent summons· and was relaxing outside the town when he comes to know of the tragic demise of his father Daśaratha on seeing his statue (*pratimā*) placed along with the latter's three ancestors (Dilīpa, Raghu and Aja) in the family's *pratimā-gṛha* or *deva-kula*. That the statues of only the deceased kings were erected is stated quite explicitly.[19] The practice of putting up the pictures of ancestors after their demise in vogue at present is a remnant of the ancient *pratimāgṛhas* on a limited scale. The same was the object of the statue-house at Naneghat and only the sculptures of dead personages were installed in it. It must have been instituted immediately after Simuka's demise or slightly later. The installation, perhaps by queen Nāganikā, of the figure (and figure-label which alone is now extant) of *Kumāra* Sātavāhana therefore demonstrates unambiguously this Sātavāhana passed away when he was only a prince (*Kumāra*) there being therefore no possibility of his ascending the throne and minting these coins. Under these circumstances we are inclined to hold that Chimuka Sātavāhana himself was responsible for issuing alternately the coins mentioning him only as king Sātavāhana. And the coins with both the legends (*Chimuka Sātavāhana* and *Sātavāhana*) have been reported from Kotalingala and Sangareddy in Karimnagar district of the Telangana region of Andhra Pradesh. And coins with the name Sātavāhana alone have been reported from numerous sites including Kondapur in the Medak district of Telangana, Nevasa in the Ahmadnagar district, Junnar in Pune district, Marathwada and Vidarbha region of Maharashtra and of late from Sannati in the Gulbarga district of Karnataka.[20] The discovery of his coins at places so wide apart from each other obviously indicates in a general way that Simuka (or Chimuka) Sātavāhana by his military and diplomatic moves carved out a large kingdom comprising a major part of the Telangana and adjacent region of Andhra Pradesh, northern Karnataka and a substantial portion of the present State of Maharashtra including the Vidarbha region. These coins being of cheap metals like copper, lead and potin are not likely, generally speaking, to travel large distances beyond the area of their circulation.

In all likelihood for a major part of his rule he continued to acknowledge nominal authority of the Kāṇvas, and it was towards the end only that he overthrew his Kāṇva suzerain Suśarman. According to most of the Purāṇas, he forcibly uprooted (*prasahya*) Suśarman; but the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* avers that he killed Kāṇva Suśarman (*hatvā Kāṇvam Suśarmānam*).[21] The historicity

of these Purāṇic statements is suspected by a few historians as Simuka was the first member of the dynasty with his rule restricted to a very small area while the Kāṇvas ruled from their capital at Pāṭaliputra (modern Patna) in distant Bihar, making it just impossible for the former to destroy the latter. And most historians favouring longer duration held that Simuka flourished substantially earlier to be a contemporary and vassal of the Kāṇvas. They are of the view that this feat was achieved by a later member of the Sātavāhana dynasty and that the *Purāṇakāras* wrongly ascribed it to Simuka.[22] And some of these historians have tried to identify the Andhra-Sātavāhana monarch who could have been a contemporary of Suśarman and achieved this hat trick: he could have been Puḷumāvi I (no. 15 of the *Matsya* list),[23] or Svātikarṇa[24] or a second hypothetical king named Simuka omitted by oversight by the Purāṇa-compilors.[25] However, all these assumptions become unnecessary as we now know that the shorter chronology is the correct one and that the focus of the Purāṇic writers shifted from Pāṭaliputra to Vidiśā during the later Śuṅga age, probably Simuka (or Chimuka) forcibly extirpated his nominal suzerain Suśarman whose power and authority had already been tottering and who could not withstand his former vassal's onslaught. Such a feat is not quite unattainable for one imbued with determination and matching enterprise, and we know of several even more dazzling instances including Candragupta Maurya who carved out an almost pan-Indian empire out of nothing within a very short time. This startling achievement put the Sātavāhanas in the centre-stage in the Deccan and Central India, and his grateful younger brother Kṛṣṇa, who must have participated in these victorious campaigns, christened the family Sātavāhana (or Sādavāhana) after him.[26]

The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* alone styles him a *vṛsala* or Śūdra,[27] which might have resulted from the author's feeling of disgust against him for his heinous act of destroying his own master. For, the Sātavāhanas spoke of themselves as 'unique Brāhmaṇas' (*ekabamhaṇa*),[28] thus laying claim to the highest social status. Whether the Sātavāhanas were actually originally of the priestly class or were priests of tribals and were elevated to that class, is a matter beyond the purview of the present discussion.

Simuka-Chimuka is assigned a reign of twenty-three years unanimously.[29] A major part of this period was probably the one during which he continued to acknowledge the suzerainty of his nominal Kāṇva masters while at the same time carrying out sallies against them, and it was most probably at the close of this period that the finally got rid of vassalage declaring his independence by doing away with the last Kāṇva king Suśarman and destroying whatever was still remaining of the Śuṅgas. The accession of Chimuka-Simuka may thus be dated around 52 B. C. and the destruction of Suśarman about 30 B. C. followed by the termination of his reign shortly thereafter.[30]

Kaṇha (Kṛṣṇa)

Chimuka-Simuka most probably passed away sonless and was consequently succeeded by his younger brother Kṛṣṇa.[31] He ruled for eighteen years according to the *Matsya, Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas,* whereas the *Viṣṇu* and *Bhāgavata* assign him only ten years' reign.[32] Following the majority statement, he may date his reign between *c.*29-12 B. C.[33]

We have for Kṛṣṇa a short two-line inscription in cave 9 at Nasik[34] and also perhaps a few base metal coins.[35] Basing on the continuance of the Mauryan administrative set-up as illustrated by the Nasik inscription referring to an officer called *Mahāmātra,* it is held by some that both Simuka (for the whole reign) and Kṛṣṇa, to begin with, were vassals of Aśoka and it was only after the latter's demise that Kṛṣṇa ruled as an independent monarch for six years.[36] However, as we have seen above, it would be too early a date for Simuka and Kṛṣṇa and deserves no credence.

It is quite likely that Kṛṣṇa had participated in his brother's campaigns which contributed immensely to the rise of the family as an imperial power. There is no doubt, however, that he cherished great love and reverence for his elder brother and christened the family after him and also set up his statue in the family's statue-gallery (*pratimā-gṛha*) inaugurated by him, at Naneghat as shown above.[37] In view of these well-documented facts it is indeed astonishing to find that some of the historians of the Sātavāhanas have surmised enmity between the two brothers which had its repercussions on the succeeding generations. For example, V. S. Bakhle holds that 'Kaṇha was a usurper after Simuka's death,[38] and a similar view is expressed by V. V. Mirashi.[39] These views amount simply to a wild and baseless guesswork.

Sātakarṇi

While there exists complete unanimity regarding the first two members of the dynasty, viz. Chimuka-Simuka and Kṛṣṇa, no such agreement is noticed about the post-Kṛṣṇa genealogy and chronology. Most of the Purāṇas aver that Kṛṣṇa was followed by his son whose name is spelt variously, Sātakarṇi and Mallakarṇi being the commonest and the former accepted commonly by modern scholars and historians.[40] He is given a reign lasting ten or eighteen years.[41] According to the *Matsya,* he was followed by two kings named commonly Pūrṇotsaṅga[42] and Skandhastambhi[43] successively, and both are given a reign eighteen years each. While Sātakarṇi[44] is mentioned in all the Purāṇas, the next two kings are dropped in the *Vāyu*[45] and Skandhastambhi in the *Brahmāṇḍa, Viṣṇu* and *Bhāgavata.* What is interesting is that Sātakarṇi is either not mentioned in at least some *Vāyu* manuscripts[46] or his regnal period is left unspecified.[47] Skandhastambhi is said to have been followed by yet another Sātakarṇi[48] who is unanimously assigned a reign lasting fifty-six years.[49] It is pertinent to note that while the second king is called almost

unanimously by all the Purāṇas Sātakarṇi and given fifty-six years' reign, the same is not true about the first Sātakarṇi who is dropped in at least a few manuscripts, his name is spelt variously or the duration of his reign is not given. And the names of his two successors are often left out. Thus their historicity is rather suspect. Moreover, the so-called Sātakarṇi I is credited with several achievements including performance of several sacrifices and facing an aggression from Kaliṅga and controlling sea-borne trade with the Roman empire for which a ten-year reign is found to be too short. The larger Naneghat inscription put up by King Vediśrī appears to describe costly Vedic sacrifices performed by his parents Sātakarṇi and Nāgavaradāyinī or Nāganikā[51] jointly.[52] The sacrifices include, *inter alia*, Agnyādheya, Anārambhaṇīya, Aṅgārika, Saptadaśātirātra, Bhagāladaśarātra, Gargātirātra, Gavāmayana, Aṅgirasātirātra, Śatātirātra, Aṅgirasāmayana of six years' duration, Chandomapavamānātirātra, Trayodaśātirātra, Daśarātra, and, above all, a Rājasūya and two Aśvamedhas.[53] Then, the Kaliṅga emperor Khāravela, according to his Hathigumpha cave inscription, sent an expedition force comprising cavalry, elephantry, infantry and chariotry without caring for Sātakarṇi to the west in the second year of his reign.[54] Whether the two horse sacrifices performed by him or one of them has something to do with Khāravela's invasion and his success in tiding over it and the possible achievement of victory cannot be ascertained in the present state of inadequate information.[55] A Sātakarṇi is also referred to in an inscription of his foreman of artisans (*āveśanin*) Vāsiṣṭhīputra (son of a lady of Vasiṣṭha *gotra*)[56] Ānanda engraved on the inner face of the top architrave of the South gate of the main *stūpa* at Sanchi.[57] Whether it indicated a reconquest of the Vidiśā region after some revolt of some local ruler is something that cannot be ascertained at present. To us, of course, it is only a pilgrim's record and the significance popularly attatched to it by historians is quite unwarranted. A king called Elder Saraganus by the unknown author of the Greek text *Periplus Maris Erythraei,* popularly known as *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea,* paid great attention to maritime trade with the Roman empire and is said to have raised the port of Kalliena (Kalyana) to the rank of a regular mart.[58] This elder Saraganus is commonly supposed to be identical with one of these Sātakarṇis.[59] The Sātakarṇi of all these records is commonly identified with the first king of this name mentioned in the Purāṇic texts, and is styled Sātakarṇi I.[60] However, Mirashi is right in pointing out that a short reign of just ten years[61] is too brief for a career with so very diverse activities and achievements and therefore feels that the Purāṇic compilers have erred in it.[62] But we are quite convinced that it is not necessary to blame the Purāṇakāras for it, and we should use our discretion as warranted by our sources. And we feel that there was only one early Sātavāhana emperor called Sātakarṇi with a long rule lasting fifty-six years commensurate with these diverse attainments. If he was the first Sātakarṇi, son of Kṛṣṇa, we must presume that he had a reign of fifty-six years,[63]

or alternatively he and his two successors were actually collaterals jumbled up with the main line and that the second Sātakarṇi was the only early king of this name, and to him alone all the coins hitherto attributed to the two kings called Sātakarṇi I and II must be ascribed. This would also be in accordance with the shorter chronology for the Sātavāhanas which is the only one warranted by the combined literary and archaeological data and adopted in these pages, for we have only a little over seven decades between the close of Kṛṣṇa's reign and the commencement of that of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi which would not be adequate enough to accommodate even these four reigns not to speak of other reigns some of which are well-documented by other sources. In case the first alternative is conceded, which is equally likely, he was the son of Kṛṣṇa as stated in the Purāṇas, and the arguments advanced against it and in favour of the suggestion that he was really a son of Simuka himself[64] have nothing to commend themselves. Whichever viewpoint is accepted, it would provide a long reign of fifty-six years, enough to accommodate the numerous events highlighted above.

He is often called Śrī-Sātakarṇi by historians only because he is so mentioned in the Purāṇas, but *śrī* here as in several other names[65] is only an honorific used due to metrical exigencies and not a part of the name.

His long reign probably covered *c.* 12 B. C.-44 A. D.

Sātakarṇi's Successors

We learn from the larger Naneghat inscription elaborating, *inter alia* numerous Vedic sacrifices observed by Sātakarṇi and his queen Nāgavaradāyinī or Nāganikā that the former was succeeded by their son, obviously elder, Vedisiri (Skt. Vediśrī),[66] who is, however, unknown to the Purāṇas which instead speak of Lambodara as Sātakarṇi's son and successor with a reign lasting eighteen[67] years.[68] The Purāṇas refer to several kings following Lambodara and preceding Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi only some of whom are known independently. They include the following :

Name	Reign
Āpīlaka, Lambodara's son[69]	12 years
Meghasvāti[70]	18 years
Svāti[71]	18 years
Skandasvāti[72]	7 years
Mṛgendra Svātikarṇa[73]	3 years
Kuntala Svātikarṇa[74]	8 years
Svātivarṇa[75]	1 year
Pulomāvi[76]	36[77] or 24[78] years

Ariṣṭakarṇa[79]	25 years[80]
Hāla[81]	5 years[82]
Mantalaka or Pattalaka[83]	5 years
Purīndrasena[84] or Purikaśena[85]	21 years[86]
Sundara Sātakarṇi[87]	1 year
Cakora Sātakarni[88]	6 months
Śivasvāti[89]	28 years

The historicity of only a few of these rulers of the longer list is vouched for by other sources. These are Āpīlaka, Kuntala, Hāla, Sundara (or Sunandana) and perhaps Meghasvāti and Śivasvāti. As shown above, Āpīlaka, described as the son of Lambodara, belonged to the Kosalā branch of the dynasty and all of his coins (three) reported so far were minted at Mallār. None of his records, inscriptions or coins, has been reported from anywhere else.

Kuntala Svātikarṇa (correctly Sātakarṇi) is mentioned in the *Kāmasūtra* (II. 7. 28) in an erotic context, and even his very name speaks of his local character. The Jayamaṅgalā commentary of Yaśodhara informs us that he owed this name to his birth in the Kuntala country.[90] He apparently ruled over Kuntala comprising the southern part of Maharashtra and the adjacent northern region of Karnataka and whiled away his time in sensual diversions.

Hāla's existence is vouched for by an anthology of seven hundred Prakrit stanzas (Gāthās in Āryā metre) now called popularly *Gāhāsattasaī* (Sanskrit *Gāthāsaptaśatī*) but known anciently as *Kośa,* viz. 'a treasure' of stanzas and is so mentioned by eminent ancient litterateurs including Bāṇa,[91] Uddyotanasūri,[92] and Abhinanda[93] as well as in the colophon of the work itself.[94] Pītāmbara's[95] and Gaṅgādhara's[96] scholia on it also call it by this name. While interpolating to it in later times, care was generally taken to ensure that an equal number of stanzas were dropped so that the number remained static at seven hundred which gave it the now popular nomenclature. These stanzas were selected out of a much larger number and they give excellent glimpses of contemporary rural life, especially its emotive facets. The episode about him detailed in a later Prakrit poem called *Līlāvaī,* though highly exciting is not quite reliable. Most probably he had nothing to do with the imperial line of the dynasty, and there is some reason to hold that he, like the preceding chief, was a member of the Kuntala branch.

The actuality of Sundara is clearly vouched for by the author of the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* who avers that 'after Sandanes[97] became its (of Kalliena) master its trade was put under severest restrictions; for if Greek vessels even by accident enter its ports a guard is put on board and they are taken to Barygaza.[98] This should suffice to show that these ports which had become lawful and lucrative marts under the Elder Saraganus (Sātakarṇi) had become quite insecure due primarily to the growing ascendancy of the Kṣaharāta power under the powerful, energetic Nahapāna.

Attempts have been made to isolate the monetary issues of Meghasvāti and of Śivasvāti, father of Gautamīputra Sātakarni. V. A. Smith[99] and E. J. Rapson[100] read the fragmentary legend on some square lead specie from the Krishna-Godavari region of coastal Andhra Pradesh as [gha] *sadasa* and suggested the equation of the issuer of these coins with Meghasvāti or Saṅgha of the Purānas.[101] However, till a few years back when the existence of a pre-Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi ruling family with the names of its members terminating in *sada* was not known, it was commonly held that *sada* was either an abbreviated form of Sātakarni or a Prakritised form of some other name. But now that the same region has yielded coins of Sada kings datable to the period prior to Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi's occupation of coastal Andhra, it would be more reasonable to ascribe this coin to a Sada chief who has, of course, yet to be identified.

The present author had read somewhat doubtfully *Śiva-dāsa* on a rectangular copper coin[102] from Bhokardan (Aurangabad district) excavations and proposed the identification of its issuer with Śivasvāti, father of the great Gautamīputra Sātakarni.[103] However, as the legend itself has not been accommodated in its entirety on the coin, it is impossible to be sure on this point.

According to the longer list of Andhra-Sātavāhana rulers found in some of the Purānic texts, no less than sixteen rulers flourished between Sātakarni and Gautamīputra Sātakarni. And as according to the chronological framework proposed in these pages the latter ascended the throne by 60 A. D. at the latest and the former's reign ended by 44 A. D., a brief spell of just about sixteen years is available to us to accommodate all of them who could be adjusted within this short span only on the assumption that all of them ruled for just a year on the average which is not possible at all. As we have shown, there is reason to believe that at least a few of them were members of the regional branches of the dynasty, and many more may have been so. Then there must have been internecine conflicts and disputed successions not unreasonably often encouraged by the ascendant Kṣaharāta power. This must have more often than not resulted in extremely brief reigns lasting one year or just a half as we see from the above list. Then, in addition to the aforesaid Purānic chiefs, there were other members of the imperial line whose existence is revealed by coins issued by them, viz. Kochiputa and Kauśikīputra Sātakarni, who flourished during this period, as shown above.

Gautamīputra Sātakarni

The next Andhra king named in all the Purānas is the great Gautamīputra,[104] and from now on the Purānic texts are generally unanimous and more reliable as compared to the preceding period. All the kings hereafter are attested to independently as well. And this is as it ought to be. For, there is explicit

proof that the reign of Yajña Sātakarṇi marked the conclusion of the Purāṇic account thereupto and the portion thereafter was drafted subsequently. Several manuscripts of the *Matsya* speak of Yajña ruling in his ninth year in the present tense as against the normal prophetic vein (viz. future tense). The line in question runs as follows :

Nava varṣāṇi Yajñaśrīḥ kurute Sātakarṇikaḥ[105]

The gap between the reigns of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi and his descendant Yajña Sātakarṇi was not long enough to occasion major distortions.

The second part of the king's name, the actual name really, Sātakarṇi is left unnoticed, probably because during the reign of Yajña, or at least its early part, he was more well-known as Gautamīputra even though Yajña was also a Gautamīputra. And in so far as the extant inscriptional evidence is concerned, he was the first Andhra-Sātavāhana king to use a metronymic.[106] But it is very likely that some other earlier Sātavāhana kings known hitherto only from their coins had also employed such metronymics, viz. Kochīputa and Kosikīputa. That the king under reference was actually a Gautamīputra, born of a queen of the Gautama *gotra* is attested by his own inscriptions which style him Gotamiputa Sātakaṇi[107] as well as by the Nasik inscription of his son Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi's 19th year which supplies the additional detail that his mother was a Gotamī (of Gautama *gotra*) and her personal name was Balasiri (Balaśrī) who prided in her son's great military and other attainments.[108] He is given a reign of twenty-one years in all the Purāṇas,[109] but the *Brahmāṇḍa* manuscript consulted by Rapson gives for its Yantramati (? Gautamīputra) thirty-four years.[110] But that twenty-one years cannot be correct is clearly demonstrated by one of his Nasik inscriptions put up in his twenty-fourth year.[111] It is not impossible that he continued to rule for a few years thereafter, and so he may be assigned a reign lasting about thirty years, viz. 61-90 A.D.[112]

Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi's Sons

Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi's son and successor was one who is mentioned in the Purāṇas as Puloma and by such other names.[113] He is evidently identical with Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi known from his fairly numerous inscriptions scattered over Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh and also from a vast quantity of silver and base metal specie. The Purāṇas give him twenty-eight years' rule,[114] and it is supported by his latest inscription, viz. Karle inscription put up in his twenty-fourth year.[115] His reign may therefore be dated *c.* 91-118 A.D.

After Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi, the Purāṇas mention a few other kings who, going by their common metronymic met with in their inscriptions and on their coins, were related to each other as uterine brothers. These include Sātakarṇi, Śivaśrī Pulomā and Śivaskandha Sātakarṇi.[116] From these epigraphs

and coins we know that they were all Vāsiṣṭhī-*putras* or sons born of a queen belonging to Vasiṣṭha *gotra*. Of these, the first known from an inscription of his unnamed queen at Kanheri, is mentioned only in a single manuscript of the *Vāyu* designated *e*Vā by Pargiter[118] and proves that sometimes a single manuscript's reading is correct and dependable. This king is also known from a large number of coins including silver portrait ones.[119] He is given twenty-nine years' reign which may be placed in *c*. A. D. 119-47. He was a son-in-law of the Kārdamaka Mahākṣatrapa Rudradāman I with whom he got involved in a sanguinary conflict and was worsted twice but not killed due to the closeness of relation as averred in the latter's Girnār *praśasti*.[120] These facts go well with the date proposed here.

This Sātakarṇi was followed by Śivaśrī Puḷumāvi regarding whom there is a lot of confusion in the Purāṇas as well as modern historians, epigraphists and numismatists. In a vast majority of the *Matsya* manuscripts he is mentioned as Śivaśrī Pulomā and given a reign lasting seven years.[121] Most of the manuscripts of the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* also name Śivaśrī, but without suffixing Pulomā to it. All except only one manuscript (termed *e*Vā, by Pargiter) of the *Vāyu Purāṇa* omit all the names after Gautamīputra and prior to Yajñaśrī (viz. Yajña Sātakarṇi). And the same is the case with the *Brahmāṇḍa*. All the names after Sundara (or Sunandana) Sātakarṇi are dropped in the *Bhāgavata*. In view of these facts it is not to be wondered if this name is conspicuous by absence in most of the *Vāyu* manuscripts, *Brahmāṇḍa* and *Bhāgavata* which have dropped several other names as well. The *e*Vā manuscript of the *Vāyu*, however, mentions him as Śirasīputra Āvi which is obviously an error for Śivaśrī Puḷumāvi.[122] He is evidently the same as Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śivaśrī Puḷumāvi (Vāsiṭhiputa Sivasiri Puḷumāvi in Prakrit) of many a coin and inscription, the metronymic showing that he was a uterine brother of the two preceding Vāsiṣṭhīputras, evidently younger.[123] His own Vanavasi (Uttara Kannada district, Karnataka) inscription refers to him as Vāsiṭhiputa Sivasiri Puḷumāvi and aims at recording the execution of memorial sculptured stone (chāyā-prastara) of his unnamed chief queen (*mahādevī*) who had apparently passed away at the place.[124] A private lithic inscription of his reign found recently at Sannati (Gulbarga district, Karnataka) registering some pious act of a private person spells his name as beginning with Puḍu instead of the usual Puḷu.[125] His base metal specie have been found, *inter alia*, from Brahmapuri (Chandrapur district),[126] Tarhala (Akola district)[127] and Wategaon (Sangli district)[128] in Maharashtra and from the Krishna-Godavari region of Andhra pradesh.[129] His silver portrait coins have been reported from excavations at Dhulikatta (Karimnagar district, Andhra Pradesh)[130] and from a personal collection at Indore in Madhya pradesh[131] and must have hailed from a Sātavāhana site. Kondapur in the Medak district of Andhra Pradesh has given us a terracotta proof piece of the reverse of his silver coin, showing thereby that it was a mint-site for his silver portrait coins.[132]

V. V. Mirashi has recently attempted a denial of the very existence of this king and suggested that Śivaśrī happened to be merely an honorific and that the coins with the legend *Vāsiṭhiputasa Sivasiri-Puḷumāvisa,* like those with the legend without this honorific which were issued alternatively, must be ascribed to Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi.[133] The same scholar had earlier noticed the coins of Śivaśrī Puḷumāvi and rightly attributed them to him.[134] Later while publishing the Wategaon hoard containing his coins he rejected his own earlier and correct attribution and insisted on ascribing these coins to Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi instead of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śivaśrī whose identity he now totally denied. The reason for this total role-reversal was the fear that this addition would result in raising the number of the Sātavāhana rulers to thirty-one whereas the Purāṇas clearly aver that the number totalled thirty, which to him had become sacrosanct at that time. The two aforesaid portrait coins, have, however, clinched the issue as the portraits on these and on those of his eldest brother Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi are demonstrably those of two distinct personages and cannot be confused for one another.[135]

Though the name of the next king is often spelt as Śivaskandha Sātakarṇi, the first part of the name is actually Skanda,[136] Śiva being in this case only a title of respect.[137] He is identical with Khada (Sanskrit Skanda) Sātakaṇi (Sātakarṇi) of fairly numerous coins.[138] He is mentioned often in coin-legends as Vāsiṣṭhīputra which should demonstrate that he was related to the preceding three kings as a younger uterine brother. The statement in the reconstituted text that he was the son (*asyātmajaḥ*)[139] must therefore be discarded as incorrect and untenable. It is likely that it was intended to go with the description of the next king, Yajñaśrī Sātakarṇika, who is mentioned next. The reconstituted text intended to specify his years of reign as can be inferred from the concluding word of the line, viz. *samāḥ* which, however, remained unspecified. Pargiter also felt the same way and proposed to modify the concluding portion of the line of the *Matsya* as reconstituted by him to *bhāvī tasmāt trayo* (sic) *samāḥ*[140] thus giving him a brief three-year rule. A manuscript of the *Vāyu* (*e*Vā) actually has *bhaviṣyati samās = trayaḥ,* he would be (king) for three years.'[141] However, a comparison of his portraits on his silver specie[142] would show that the reign allotted to him in the *e*Vā manuscript and supposed to have been given in the *Matsya* also is too brief and should be about 15 years from *c.* 156 to *c.* 170 A. D.

It has been suggested by some scholars following Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi's demise the Sātavāhana empire was partitioned among his brothers. They offered several suggestions by way of identifying the areas under them primarily on the basis of the provenances of their specie.[143] These views are, however, quite untenable. For, coins are found from time to time and kings earlier unrepresented by them are now known to have minted quite a lot. It would be obvious by comparing Rapson's work on Andhra-Sātavāhana specie and

some modern writings on the subject like those of I. K. Sarma and Mala Datta which, too, are no longer representative of the present advanced state of our knowledge on the subject, and this is bound to be with all future works which will stand in need of constant updating. To cite just one instance, prior to the find of Tarhala hoard, no coins of Skanda Sātakarṇi were known and all our knowledge regarding him was based exclusively on what the Purāṇas aver, and today we have many more coins of his including white metal series. And today we know of the coins of most of the Sātavāhana rulers of the imperial line till its very end from localities spread over most of their traditional area including Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Maharashtra and they afford no evidence of a split. It is therefore best, at least tentatively as of now, to hold that all the successors of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi of the imperial line named in the Purāṇas exercised sway over an undivided empire.

Yajña Sātakarṇi

The next Andhra-Sātavāhana emperor named in the Purāṇas is one who is called Yajñaśrī Sātakarṇika[145] or Sātakarṇi.[146] The correct spelling of the first part of the name met with in his numerous inscriptions and coins is only Yajña, the following *śrī* being just an honorific, which could have been either prefixed or suffixed to the name of both of which we have several instances. The change of place here is evidently due to metrical exigencies.[147] In fact, the employment of this term of respect is dictated only by considerations of metre and no special significance aught to be seen in it as done by some writers. Nothing is said about his relationship with the preceding monarch (Skanda Sātakarṇi), but the two may have been related as son and father respectively. We feel that the expression *asy-ātmajaḥ* (his son) met with in connection with the latter may have been employed in connection with Yajña Sātakarṇi but later changed place owing to faulty manuscript tradition. The *Matsya*[148] and some of the manuscripts of the *Vāyu* accord him a twenty-nine year rule while the *Brahmāṇḍa* and the rest of the *Vāyu* manuscripts reduce it to nineteen.[149] But that the former aught to be the correct one is demonstrated by his epigraphic records the latest of which is dated in his twenty-seventh year.[150] He probably ruled during *c.* 171-199 A. D.

He is referred to in his numerous epigraphs[151] and legends on many of his coins[152] as Gautamīputra, evidently because he was born of a queen belonging to the Gautama *gotra* (Gautamī) and was the last great member of the dynasty.

Vijaya

According to the Purāṇas, Yajña was followed on the throne by Vijaya, who is given a six-year rule.[153] Like Yajña, he is styled as Gautamīputra in the only known record of his reign from Nagarjunakonda which is dated in his sixth regnal year.[154] The employment of the common metronymic should

probably imply that the two (Yajña and Vijaya) were uterine brothers. He obviously founded the city of Vijayapurī, ancient name of modern Nagarjunakonda, where an individual donor executed the pious act recorded in the only known record of his reign. Later it became the capital of the Ikṣvākus, who followed the Sātavāhanas shortly after in the Eastern Deccan. As he ruled just for six years, his rule may be placed in c. 200-205 A.D.

Caṇḍa Sātakarṇi

The next king was Vijaya's son whose name is spelt in the Purāṇas as Caṇḍaśrī[155] or Daṇḍaśrī,[156] viz. Caṇḍa or Daṇḍa, the following śrī being a title of honour. The *Matsya, Viṣṇu* and *Bhāgavata* which spell the king's name as Caṇḍa or so aver that he ruled for ten years,[157] while in the *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa* where we get the spelling Daṇḍa we find a much shorter reign lasting only three years allotted to him.[158] The correctness of the former spelling is attested by a short six-line inscription of this king's reign which spells his name as Caṇḍasāti where Sātakarṇi is found abbreviated to Sāti. This record, found at a place known as Kodavali located near Pithapuram (ancient Piṣṭapura) in the Godavari district of Andhra Pradesh, applies to him the title *Svāmin* (*sāmi* in inscription) and the metronymic Vāsiṣṭhīputra.[159] Apparently Vijaya Sātakarṇi had his chief queen of the Vasiṣṭha *gotra,* and Caṇḍa Sātakarṇi was born of her. This is quite significant for genealogical purposes as will be shown in the sequel. The epigraph also contained a date; but unfortunately the figure for the year has now become rather indistinct and has been deciphered differently : as 2 by H. Krishna Sastry who edited it originally[160] and doubtfully as 11 by V. V. Mirashi.[161] It is difficult to make out the figure certainly from the facsimile; however, as the reading 11 goes against both the periods (10 or 3), it is better to accept at least tentatively the former reading. As the correct form of the name is found in the *Matsya, Viṣṇu* and *Bhāgavata,* the regnal period given by them, viz. ten years, may also be accepted as correct. Accordingly, he may be placed in c. 206-215 A. D.

There was perhaps a uterine brother of Caṇḍa Sātakarṇi who appears to have ruled but is ignored by the Purāṇas. He is Vāsiṣṭhīputra Vijaya Sātakarṇi known from a unique silver portrait coin found rather recently which clearly establishes his rule as an emperor. He may have had a short reign of about ten years which may be dated in c. 216 to 225 A. D. The reason for ignoring him may have been something like occupying the throne unlawfully or just due to the copyists' inadvertence.[162]

Pulomāvi

At the end of the Purāṇic list of Andhra-Sātavāhana kings stands Pulomāvi or Pulumāvi,[163] and he is explicitly styled so (*antya*) in the Purāṇas.[164] The duration of his rule is unanimously given as seven years.[165] His rule my

therefore be placed from *c.* 226 to 232 A. D. when the imperial line of the dynasty came to a close and was replaced by other ruling families which earlier owed allegiance to them.

Two of the inscriptions of his reign are known, and in at least one of them he is styled Vāsiṣṭhīputra[166] like the preceding two monarchs, showing that they were uterine brothers. Both these records hail from Karnataka : one found quite some time back at Adoni in the Bellary district and the other reported comparatively recently from Vasana or Hale-Vasana in the Dharwad district. The first inscription was published long ago by V. S. Sukthankar who attributed it to Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi, son and successor of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, only because he read its date as the eighth year whereas the last homonymous Sātavāhana ruler of this name is accorded a reign lasting only seven years.[167] The date has now been correctly read as 6, and there is now nothing to bar its ascription to the latter. Not only there is nothing contrary to this assignment, there is something positive against its attribution to the great Gautamīputra's homonymous son. In the style of some later South Indian inscriptions, it begins the description of the reigning king with the expression *raño Sātavāhanānāṁ,*[168] which by itself should have sufficed for this conclusion. We have some indication of a close relationship between Caṇḍa and Puḷumāvi, who followed him on the throne, in the Vasana inscription: it refers to Caṇḍaśiva as residing in the abode of gods, i.e. dead.[169] Another form of the king's name appears to have been Pulahāmavi which is met with on some coins in the Tarhala hoard.[170]

After the imperial line of the Andhra-Sātavāhanas had gone out of power some members of the dynasty continued to rule over some outlying areas including Vidarbha. Three of the Vidarbha Sātavāhana monarchs, viz. Kumbha, Saka and Karṇa, all styled Sātakarṇi, are known from their coins included in the Tarhala hoard and continued to rule till the advent of the Vākāṭakas around end-third century A. D.[171] However, they are naturally not named in the Purāṇas whose vision had been concentrated from Gautamīputra onward only to the imperial members.

Andhrabhṛtyas

We may close our discussion of the Purāṇic data on the Andhra-Sātavāhanas with a passing reference to two of their former vassals who might have contributed to their fall and assumed sovereign power thereafter and find mention in the Purāṇas. They were Andhras and Ābhīras. According to the *Matsya, Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa,* after the Andhra rule had come to a close, scions of their vassals (*teṣāṁ bhṛty-ānvayāḥ*) including seven Andhras and ten Ābhīras became kings,[172] while the *Viṣṇu* and *Bhāgavata* aver that seven Ābhīras who were *Andhra-bhṛtyas* (servants of the Andhras) became monarchs.[173] The latter don't refer to the seven Andhras who followed the

Andhra-Sātavāhanas. Both the groups of the Purāṇas are one at including the Ābhīras among the successors of the Andhra-Sātavāhanas; but while the former give their number as ten, the latter give it as seven, there being thus some discrepancy and confusion. However, there is no doubt that the Ābhīras succeeded the Sātavāhanas in Maharashtra with their headquarters at Nasik or Govardhana as would follow from an inscription of the ninth year of the reign of the Ābhīra king Īśvarasena at Nasik.[174] The record is supposed to have been dated in the Kalacuri-Cedi era commencing 248-249 A.D., the actual year being ninth. We don't know, however, if he had some other members of the family to precede/succeed him for want of necessary data. The seven Andhra kings said to have followed the Sātavāhanas were apparently the Ikṣvākus of the Krishna-Godavari region with Vijayapurī (Nagarjunakonda) for their capital which flourished during third-fourth centuries A.D. and are known from a fairly large number of inscriptions. From their description as Andhra they appear to have belonged to the same stock as the Sātavāhanas. They are often designated Śrīparvatīya Andhras after Śrīparvata which was an important politico-religious centre during their time.

What is of crucial interest from our viewpoint is that both these powers are explicitly described as 'servants of the Andhras' : the Ābhīras are clearly called *Andhra-bhṛtya* in the *Viṣṇu* and *Bhāgavata*, while both they and the Ikṣvākus are described as 'their (Andhras') servants' in the other texts. There is thus no doubt that the term *Andhra-bhṛtya* refers not to the Sātavāhanas but to their feudatories who later assumed independence and is obviously to be taken as a *ṣaṣṭhī tatpuruṣa* compound.

APPENDIX

SĀTAVĀHANAS : CHRONOLOGY AND ORDER OF SUCCESSION

Chimuka (Simuka) Sātavāhana *c.* 52-*c.* 30 B.C.

Kṛṣṇa *c.*29-12 B.C.
Sātakarṇi[1] *c.* 12 B. C. - *c.* 44 A.D.
Vediśrī[2]
Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi
c. 61-90 A.D.

| Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi *c.* 91-118 A.D. | Vāsiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi *c.* 119-147 A.D. | Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śivaśrī Puḷumāvi *c.* 148-155 A D. | Vāsiṣṭhīputra Skanda Sātakarṇi[3] *c.*156-170 A.D. |

Gautamīputra Yajña Sātakarṇi- Gautamīputra Vijaya Sātakarṇi
c. 171-199 A.D.   *c.* 200-205 A.D.

| Vāsiṣṭhīputra Caṇda Sātakarṇi *c.* 206-215 A.D. | Vāsiṣṭhīputra Vijaya Sātakarṇi *c.* 216-226 A.D. | Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi *c.* 226-232 A.D. |

---

1. We don't believe in the existence of two kings named Sātakarṇi.
2. He is known only from the larger Naneghat inscription and there is nothing to determine the length of his reign. Between Sātakarṇi and Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi the Purāṇas mention several kings including Lambodara, Āpīlaka, Meghasvāti, Svāti, Skandasvāti, Mṛgendra, Kuntala, Svātikarṇa, Pulomāvi, Ariṣṭakarṇa, Hāla, Mantalaka or Pattalaka, Purīndrasena, Sundara Sātakarṇi, Cakora and Śivasvāti. Of these, some of the kings were purely local in character and existence of only a few can be proved otherwise.
3. Basing on the common metronymic it is commonly supposed that these were uterine brothers; but other explanations are also possible.

Notes and References

1. The copyists were not always well educated and versed in the language, and the manuscripts made available for copying were also not always in a good condition and must have been, at least sometimes, greatly soiled. The result was that often there were distortions even regarding such vital points as personal names and the regnal periods with wide variations hampering the task of modern historians.

2. *Vide DKA*, p. 38, fns. 1, 17, 19-20, for variant readings. For the name Chismaka, *vide ibid.*, fns. 19-20.

3. For another instance of the reading of a single manuscript being correct and preferable as against the rest, see Ajay Mitra Shastri, *India as seen in the Kuṭṭanī-mata of Dāmodaragupta*, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1975, pp. 65-67; "The Reading and Interpretation of a Verse in the *Kuṭṭanī-mata* in the Light of Archaeological and Purāṇic Evidence", *Purāṇam*, XIII, pp. 60-66.

4. This form of the name is noticed on his coins spotted at Kotalingala and Sangareddy in the Karimnagar district of Andhra Pradesh and Paunar in the Wardha district of Maharashtra.

5. A short label inscription at Naneghat in the Sātavāhana statue gallery furnishes this form. This gallery was initiated by his younger brother Kṛṣṇa with the installation of his dead elder brother's statue in the cave as will be shown shortly.

6. *HISWK*, p. 20, no. 4.

7. The word *Vāsiṭhi* in the metronymic Vāsiṭhiputa is found transformed into *vāciṭṭi* in the reverse legend on the silver portrait coins of the kings who had this metronymic and cared to mint such specie. *Kṣ* (a combination of *k* and *ṣ*) is found altered into *ch* in the name Cavata (Ṛkṣavat) : actually *ṣ* into *ch* as the initial *k* or *kṣ* would be automatically dropped in Prakrit : in the Nasik inscription of the 19th year of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi. Later the names *Śānta* Śāntamūla are noticed transformed into Caṅta and Cātamūla respectively (the former being the owner of a copper jar with large number of silver punch-marked coins and the latter an Ikṣvāku monarch). For other instances and discussion, *vide* Ajay Mitra Shastri, "Presidential Address", *PIHC*, XXXIX Session, Hyderabad, 1978, p. 969.

8. The retention of sibilant in the second component is just inexplicable and there may be other such instances as well.

9. It is equally possible that it may represent some Telugu word like Pulumāvi.

10. For these coins, *vide supra* note 36.

.11. *Indian Coin Society's Newsletter*, No. 1.

12. M. Rama Rao, *Sātavāhana Coins in the Andhra Pradesh Government Museum*, Hyderabad, 1961, p. 12; P. L. Gupta, *ibid*, II (II), 1978, p. 32. Amiteshwar Jha in his paper presented at the National Seminar on The Age of the Sātavāhanas ("Bearing of Numismatic Evidence on the Purāṇic Sequence of Sātavāhana Kings") also seems to favour that the Sātavāhana of coins was the founder of the dynasty

on typological grounds. However, these scholars refrained from guessing the number of generations preceding Simuka. Mirashi (*HISWK*, pp. 7, 16-17 felt that he flourished one or two generations before Simuka, while A. S. Altekar held that the latter was his son.

13. S. B. Deo, "New Coins of King Sātavāhana," *JNSI*, XXII, pp. 138-45, where all the coins of this king are described and attributed to *Kumāra* Sātavāhana. For an updated list of coins of king Sātavāhana, see Chandrashekhar Gupta. "A Potin Coin of King Śatavāhana from the Deccan", *SSIC*, III, 1993, pp. 73-80. For the label, *vide HISWK*, p. 20, no. 9.

14. This is a pure conjecture based on unvouched for interpretation of the Naneghat sacrificial epigraph.

15. *Vide DKA*, p. 35, at the end of the account of the Kāṇvas. The exact wording is *bhūmir Andhrān gamiṣyati* or *bhūr=Andhrāṇāṁ bhaviṣyati.*

16. *HISWK*, p. 20, no. 9.

17. The personages whose figures were set up include Simuka Sātavāhana, queen Nāyanikā and king Sātakarṇi, *Kumāra* Bhāya, *Mahārathi* Tranakayira, *Kumāra* Hakusiri, *Kumāra* Sātavāhana and two other individuals whose names also are not extant and about whom a lot of guesswork has been made. Of these, family associations of *Kumāra* Bhāya and Mahārathi Tranakayira are not ascertainable, but they were undoubtedly closely associated with the Sātavāhanas.

18. A. S. Altekar, *MSGH*, I, p. 62. All other historians of the Sātavāhanas have taken it for granted.

19. A. D. Pusalkar, *Bhāsa - A Study*, 2nd revised ed., Munshiram Manoharlal, New Delhi, 1968, p. 242. The question is asked as to whether the figures of the living persons also are installed and the answer is a firm no : *dharamāṇānām=api pratimāh sthāpyante... na khalu, atikrāntānām=eva.*

20. For his coins from Sannati, *vide* I. K. Sarma, "Lead Coins of King Sātavāhana from Sannati". *SSIC*, III, pp. 65-72. Sannati is a prominent archaeological site and has yielded, besides these coins, Aśokan and Sātavāhana inscriptions. For these records, see I. K. Sarma and J. Vara Prasada Rao, *Inscriptions from Sannati*, Harman Publishing House, New Delhi, 1993.

21. *DKA*, p. 38, and fn. 2.

22. V. S. Bakhle, *op.cit.*, p. 46; A. S. Altekar, *op.cit.*, p. 62; Gurty Venkat Rao, *op.cit.*, pp. 89-90, etc.

23. V. S. Bakhle, *op.cit.*, p. 49; G. V. Rao, *op.cit.*, pp. 89-90 (he treats Puḷumāvi I as a very powerful king); O. Ramachandraiya, *op.cit.*, pp. 23-24.

24. A. S. Altekar, *op.cit.*, p. 78 (according to him, Sātakarṇi was the correct form of the name).

25. I. K. Sarma, *op.cit.*, p. 10.

26. The usages are *Sādavāhana-kula* (Nasik inscr. of Kanha), *Sātavāhana-kula* (Nasik

Praśasti of Gautamī Balaśrī of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi's 19th year), and Sātavāhanas in plural *(Sātavāhanānāṃ,* 'of the Sātavāhanas.' in Adoni inscr. of Puḷumāvi, year 8, which is the last known epigraph of the family).

His younger brother Kṛṣṇa's description as belonging to the *Sādavāhana-kula,* the Sādavāhana family', in the Nasik record of his reign (*HISWK,* p. 2, line 1) suggests, according to some scholars, that the family could not have been called after his elder brother Simuka Sātavāhana and that Sātavāhana whose name was given to the dynasty must have preceded him by at least one or two generations (*ibid.,* p. 1). But a younger brother might have prided in the achievements of his elder brother and predecessor whom he had succeeded and named the family after him.

27. *Hatvā Kāṇvaṃ Suśarmāṇaṃ tad-bhṛtyo vṛṣalo balī / Gāṃ bhokṣyaty-Andhra-jātīyaḥ kañcit kālam-asattamaḥ // DKA,* p. 38, fn. 2.

28. In Gautamī Balaśrī's Nasik inscr. her son is styled so, and the expression is commonly taken in this sense. D. R. Bhandarkar's view which is against it and is followed by K. Gopalachari has not met with general acceptance.

29. *DKA,* p. 38.

30. H. C. Raychaudhuri, an upholder of shorter chronology, observes that 'Simuka assailed the last Kāṇva king Suśarman' whose reign he places in *c.* 40-30 B.C. (*PHAI,* p. 406) and yet places Simuka's reign in *c.* 60-37 B.C. and that of his brother Kṛṣṇa in *c.* 37-27 B.C. (*ibid.,* p. 414).

For how Simuka could get corrupted into Śiśuka, Sindhuka, etc., into defective manuscript tradition from a palaeographical point of view, *vide* K. V. Ramesh, *Indian Epigraphy,* Sundeep Prakashan, Delhi, 1984, pp. 114-15.

31. Surprisingly K. V. Ramesh (*ibid.,* p. 115) observes that he is mentioned as Kṛṣṇa-Sātakarṇi in the *Vāyu* and as Mallakarṇi in the *Matsya* and feels that *Malla-*had resulted from the recopyist's wrong restoration of *Sāta-.* However, this observation has no support from the Purāṇas all of which unanimously mention him as Kṛṣṇa alone and is entirely due to confusion with the next name which is mentioned in many a *Matsya* manuscript as Mallakarṇi instead of Sātakarṇi as we shall see in the sequel.

32. *DKA,* p. 39.

33. H. C. Raychaudhuri (*PHAI,* p. 414) and A. S. Altekar (*MSGH* I. pp. 78-79) feel that the latter reading (viz. ten years) is the correct one, and the latter argues that he could not have ruled for more than ten years, for his elder brother had already ruled for twenty-three years. However, the contention is simply untenable as even among the Sātavāhanas themselves, not to speak of other ruling families, there are instances of a much longer duration than the combined length of these two reigns, eg. Sātakarṇi who is given fifty-six years unanimously.

34. *Vide HISWK,* p. 2.

35. D. Raja Reddy, "Coin of Sātavāhana King Kṛṣṇa", *ND,* VII, 1983, pp. 24-26 (its attribution is somewhat doubtful, *vide ibid.,* editorial note); Amiteshwar Jha

and P. D. Chumble, "Rare Coins of Sātavāhana King Krsna", *Ex Mineta Essays on Numismatics, History and Archaeology in Honour of Dr. D. W. MacDowall,* eds. A. K. Jha and Sanjay Garg, Nasik, 1995, pp. 147-49. These coins come from Junnar which has yielded some other important early Sātavāhana and Ksaharāta coins as well.

36. Gurty Venkat Rao in *EHDY,* p. 114.

37. This is our suggestion which has been elaborated critically in our paper ''Sātavāhana Statue Gallery at Naneghat'' presented at the third World Archaeology Congress held at New Delhi on 4-11 January, 1995. The paper is yet to be published.

38. *op.cit.,* p. 53.

39. *HISWK,* p. 18, fn. 1.

40. *DKA,* p. 39; *EHD,* p. 45; *BMC,AWK,* introduction, p. lxvi; *EHDY,* p. 85. Other variants of the name noted by Pargiter are Śāntakarna, Śāntakarni, Śāntavarna, Śālakarni, Śālaparni, Mālakanī and Mālakarni. *Vide DKA.* p. 39, fn. 29. We have just ignored the palatization of the initial sibilant of the name (Śātakarni for Sātakarni).

41. Except R. G. Bhandarkar (*EHD,* p. 45 where the name is given as Mallakarni who is assigned a reign of 10 or 18 years) all the rest give ten years as his regnal period. Obviously some of the mss. consulted by Bhandarkar have the reading 18. In any case it is not supported by any of the readings given by Pargiter who has noted that the *Vāyu* and the *Brahmānda* have the reading *mahān*, 'great', instead of any figure,and a *Matsya* manuscript has the word *samāh,* 'years', instead of the figure, so that according to this text the years were intended to be specified but have actually not been. *Vide DKA,* p. 39, fn. 31.

42. Other variants of the name are Pūrnotsarga, Pūrnāsanga (*Matsya*), Pūrnosantu (*eVāyu*), Pūrnsanga, Vasukarnnotsanga (*Visnu*), and Paurnamāsa, Pūrnāsaga followed by *tatsutah,* 'his son' *(Bhāgavata). Vide ibid.,* p. 39, fn. 32.

43. Other readings of the name are Skandastabhi, Svīvasvani and Śovastuti (all *Matsya* which alone has this line).

44. The name is invariably preceded by the honorific *śrī* which has often been, but should not be taken to form a part of the name, viz. Śrī-Sātakarni.

45. But *eVāyu,* going by Pargiter (*ibid.,* p. 39, fn. 32) seems to be aware of Purnatsanga there called Pūrnatsantu.

46. Pargiter (*ibid.,* p. 36) avers that Sātakarni (No. 3 of his list) is mentioned in 'all Vāyu Mss., other than *eh* Vā.' E. J. Rapson (*BMC. AWK,* p. lXXI) also mentions Śrī-Sātakarni as referred to in the Vāyu. But his omission from the *Vāyu* list of Sātavāhana kings (*EHD,* p. 45) shows that the manuscripts of the Purāna consulted by him did not contain his name.

47. The *Vāyu* manuscript (s) consulted by Rapson (*BMC, AWK,* p. lXVI) were reported to be reticent regarding the period of his rule.

48. He is generally called Sātakarni II by historians.

49. *DKA*, p. 39 *vide* also *ibid.*, p. 39, fns. 38-39 which do not mention any reading affecting in any way this period.

50. *Vide ibid.*, p. 39, fn. 40 which avers that there are 'no marked variations in this name.' However, a *Vāyu* manuscript (called *m*Vā by Pargiter) reads *tasya putrah*, 'his son', which may be significant though the exact nature of the significance cannot be ascertained at present.

51. Nāganikā or Nāyanikā is in all probability an abridged form of the name Nāgavaradāyinī met with in her son Vediśrī's Naneghat inscription (*vide* D. C. Sircar, S.I. I, p. 194, line 5). This form is met with in the legend on coins issued by her jointly with her husband Sātakarṇi which clearly show that they were related to each other as wife and husband. The acceptance of our view that Nāgavaradāyinī was the full form of her name will also prove that the larger Naneghat record actually belonged to the Sātavāhanas, which has been doubted by some scholars (*vide* P. L. Gupta, "Naneghat Inscription of an Unknown Queen - A Historical Study", *Studies in Indian Epigraphy / (JESI)*, II, 1975, pp. 59-71.

52. The preserved portion appears to indicate that these sacrifices were observed by queen Nāgavaradāyinī herself; but according to ancient Indian practice, she must have undertaken these sacrifices jointly with her spouse. The highly damaged state of this inscription has resulted into the loss of most important portions including names of personages which has aroused wild baseless speculations and historical reconstruction. For the text of the inscription, *vide* D. C. Sircar, I, pp. 193-97; *HISWK*, pp. 11-15.

53. These are the names still intact; there is possibility of several other names of sacrifices that may have been lost. Costly fees *(dakṣinās)* offered to priests and presents to others have also been meticulously specified.

54. *Dutiye ca vase acitayitā Sātakamṇim pacchima-disaṁ haya-gaja-nara-ratha-bahulaṁ daṁdaṁ paṭhāpayati...* D. C. Sircar, I, p. 215 line 4.

55. The Hathigumpha inscription of Kharavela, which is our only source of information on this point, only avers that his army frightened Asikanagara which we have identified with modern Adam, Nagpur district, which during excavations has yielded extra-ordinarily rich material comparable only to that from Taxila. The Sātavāhana inscriptions are quite reticent about this event.

56. Such metronymics were quite common among the commoners and aristocratic sections of the society from much earlier times.

57. *HISWK*, pp. 3-4.

58. R. C. Majumdar (ed.), *The Classical Accounts of India*, p. 301, Para no. 41. Elsewhere he speaks of Soupara (Sopārā) also as an important port of Indo-Roman trade.

59. The Greek spelling is suggested to be a corruption of Sātakarṇi. H. C. Raychaudhuri (*PHAI*, p. 416) feels that it was derived through some Prakrit form like Sāḍagaṇṇa. Even otherwise the form Saraganus can be obtained, for *ta* can get transformed into *da* as *t* and *d* are interchangeable in the Prakrit of Sātavāhana epigraphic

and numismatic records and *k* and *g* may also get exchanged. Thus Sadagani or Sātakaṇi can also lead to the form Saraganus.

60. Some historians including G. V. Rao, however, equate him with the second king of that name and thus obviate a number of difficulties.

61. He obviously follows the reading adopted by Pargiter (*op.cit.* p. 39, line 6) and not the reading of non-*Matsya* texts (18 years) given by Bhandarkar (*op.cit.*, p. 45. and Rapson (*op.cit.*, p. lxvi) following the *Brahmāṇḍa.*

·62. *HISWK,* p. 24.

63. It is noteworthy in the present context that the *Vāyu* manuscripts are reticent about the duration of his reign which might indicate that the *purāṇakāras* were uncertain on this point.

64. The reticence of the large Naneghat inscription about Kṛṣṇa and the absence of his portrait in the family's statue-house *(pratimāgrha)* at Naneghat have led to some strange undocumented notions about him. Some historians have conjectured inimical relations between Simuka and his younger brother Kṛṣṇa. V. S. Bakhle (*op.cit.,* p. 53), for instance, observes that 'Kaṇha was an usurper after Simuka's death' at the cost of the latter's son Sātakarṇi whose claims he overrode and that is why he has been ignored in the larger Naneghat inscription and his figure was not put up in the cave. This feeling is also shared by V. V. Mirashi (*HISWK,* p. 18, fn. 1) who compares the relations betwen the two brothers to those between the Badāmī Chālukya kings Kīrtivarman I and Maṅgaleśa the latter of whom thwarted the accession of his nephew and rightful claimant Pulakeśin II. A. S. Altekar and K. Gopalachari also follow the same views which are based on unwarranted assumptions of G. Bühler followed by, *inter alia,* E. J. Rapson. It is pertinent to note in this context that the larger Naneghat inscription is too much mutilated, especially at crucial places, and much of the information ascribed to this record is purely conjectural and hypothetical. There may have been some statements which have been lost irreparably and there may not have been many things assumed by modern historians and epigraphists. Then, as demonstrated in these pages, the view that all the figures were installed at the same time or during the same reign by Sātakarṇi or Nāganikā is not at all acceptable. It is also extremely doubtful if Kṛṣṇa's statue was dropped consciously and was not there. For, two of the labels are lost and it was, as shown above, Kṛṣṇa himself who inaugurated the statue-gallery by installing his deceased brother Simuka's statue and his own figure must have been put up by his son Sātakarṇi and those of Nāganikā and her spouse Sātakarṇi by their son Vediśrī. It is impossible at present to determine the personages responsible for installing other figures.

65. Like Śivaśrī and Yajñaśrī where the honorific was suffixed, instead of being prefixed, to the royal names (Śiva and Yajña). Both these practices were current in ancient India and instances are too numerous to be enumerated exhaustively.

66. In this instance also Vedi alone was the name with the honorific *(siri* or *śrī)* suffixed to it.

67. Ten years according to a *Matsya* manuscript. *Vide DKA,* p. 39, fn. 41.

68. *ibid.,* p. 39, line 10.

69. We get various forms of the name, some of the more important ones being Apītaka, Apīlaka, Apīlava, Apolava, Apolava, Apalaka, Arpālaka, Aryālaka, Apādaba, Apāstavā, Civilaka, Cibilaka, Cilibaka, Cilibika, Vicilaka, Vivilaka, Vikala, Ghilibaka, etc. Pargiter notes that sometimes (*Viṣṇu*) we have *tasmādāpilaka,* etc., where *d* of *tasmāt (d)* is joined to the name. *Vide ibid.,* p. 39, fn. 45. As he also notes, Apīlaka appears to be the best form and, as we shall see in the sequel, is vouched for by certain coins. There is nothing to support the 'contention' of K.V. Ramesh that the original name of the king was Śrīhālaka with the honorific *śrī* prefixed and *ka* suffixed so that the correct form was Hāla (*op.cit.,* p. 116).

70. Other variants are Meghasvāmī, Medhasvāti, Saṁgha, Saṅghasvāpi, Maghasvāti and Meghaghāti. *vide DKA.,* p. 40, fn. 47.

71. The form Svāmi is also met with. This name is found only in *Matsya* (*vide ibid.,* p. 40, fn. 48). The form Āti with a reign of twelve years is met with in *e*Vā. See *ibid.,* p. 40, right column, line 12 and fn. 52.

72. Skandhasvāti, Skandasvāmī and Skaṁvastrāṇi are other forms. See *ibid.,* p. 40, line 4, fn. 53.

73. For the first part of the name we have the variants Bhagendra, Mahendra and Narendra and for the second one Svātivarṇa, Sātikarṇa and Sātakarṇi, the last one found in *e*Vā manuscript, of the *Vāyu* being the correct one. See *ibid.,* p. 40, line 15 and fns. 56-57. *Vide* also fn. 58 which invites attention to *n*Mt manuscript of the *Matsya* which mistakenly mentions twenty-five years (*varshāṇi pañcaviṁśati*) which actually should go with Arishṭakarṇa in line 19.

74. Kuśala and Ksettula are alternative readings of the first component and Śāntikarṇa and Sātakarṇi of the second. *Vide ibid.,* p. 40, line 16, and fns. 60-61.

75. Svātikarṇa, Svātikoṇa, Svātikeṇa, Svātiṣena, Syātisena and Sātikarṇa, are other divergent spellings of the name. See *ibid.,* p. 40, line 17, and fn. 65.

76. As we have seen above, this has the largest number of varying forms showing its non-Sanskritic origins. K. V. Ramesh (*op.cit,* pp. 116-17) calls him the ninth king, on which authority we do not know, but rightly points out that Puḷumāvi is the correct and original spelling and adduces palaeographical considerations for some of the copyists' (or recopyists') errors.

77. As per the majority of the *Matsya.* But a solitary manuscript has *ṣaḍgiṁśa* which is taken to be an error for *ṣaḍviṁśa* = 26 years by Pargiter. *Vide ibid.,* p. 40, left column line 18, and fn. 66. *Ṣaḍviṁśa* is also found in a *Matsya* manuscript.

78. This is as per the majority of the *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa* manuscripts. But *e*Vā manuscript of the former, which often gives more reliable readings, has *catustrimśat* = 34 years. See *ibid.,* p. 40, right column, line 18 and fn. 68.

79. The variations of the name include Nemikṣṇa, Nemikasma, Naurikvikṛṣṇa, Naurikarṇa, Nārikarṇa, Saurikarṇa, Ariṣṭauvik, Gaurikarṇa, Gaurakṛtsva, Ariktavarṇa, Ariktakarṇa, Ariṣṭakarṇi, Ariṣṭakarmā and Aniṣṭakarmā. As pointed out by Pargiter, it is 'impossible to extract the correct name out of this confusion' and Ariṣṭakarṇa has been adopted

only 'as the most central form.' *Vide ibid.,* p. 40, line 19 and fn. 70.

80. According to the reading of a *Matsya* Manuscript called *j*Mt by Pargiter (*ibid.,* p. 41, fn. 71), he ruled only for six months (*ṣaṇ-māsān vai bhaviṣyati*).

81. The other allied forms of the name are Hala, Hāleya, Hālela, Hālena and Hālaya. See *ibid.,* p. 41, line 20, fn. 73.

82. According to the *Matsya, Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa,* he ruled only for one full year. *Vide ibid.,* p. 41, fn. 72 (*saṁvatsaraṁ pūrṇam*).

83. Other variants of the name include Mandulaka, Mantalaṁka,Menulaka, Maṇḍalaka, Maṇḍaka, Kuṇḍalaka, Pantalaka, Plttalaka, Puttalaka, Pakṣalaka, Prabhulaka, Prattalaka, Talaka, Tanaka, Halaka, Śūlaka, Saptaka, Saptaṁka and Masaka. As observed by Pargiter, 'Mantalaka or Pattalaka seems the most likely form, from which the other readings might have been derived by misreadings.' *Vide ibid.,* p. 41, line 21 and fn. 74. Rapson (*BMC.AWK,* p. lxvii) notices two other readings, viz. Bhāvaka and Tālaka. For other possible readings, vide K. V. Ramesh, *op.cit.,* pp. 117-18.

84. His name is also spelt as Purīndrasenī, Purindrasena, Puraṇḍa, Pulindrāsana, Pulindrasena, Purīndasena, Pullasena, Pravillasena, Pravilasena and Pavilisena, *Vide DKA,* p. 41, line 24, fn. 79.

85. Its variants include Purīkasena, Purikāśana, Purīkkeṇu, Putrikaṣeṇa, Purīśaseru, Purikabheru, Purikabhoru, Purikabhāru, and Purikabhīru. These variations suggest the name Puruṣasena to Pargiter. See *ibid.,* p. 41 and fn. 80.

86. According to *e*Vā manuscript of the *Vāyu* (*samā dvādaśa bhūtale*), 12 years. *Vide ibid.,* p. 41, fn. 82.

87. Sundhara is another variant. The *Bhāgavata* and a *Viṣṇu* manuscript spells it as Sunandana which seems to be supported by the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea,* as will be seen in the sequence. Some of the texts give the king's name only as Sātakarṇi which is misspelt as Śāntakīrtti in a manuscript of the *Vāyu. Vide* for the variants, *ibid.* p. 41. fns. 83 and 85.

88. The first part of the name is also spelt variously as Cakara, Cākākara, and Rājāda. A *Matsya* manuscript gives the name as Vikarṇa. A *Viṣṇu* manuscript gives the name only as Sātakarṇi. The only worth mentioning variant of the second component is Svātikarṇa found in the *Matsya. Vide ibid.,* p. 42, fn. 88 which lists several divergent readings.

89. Śikhasvāti, Śirahsvāti, Śivasvāmī and Śivasvāmi are some other divergent forms of the name. The *Bhāgavata* describes him additionally as *arindama,* 'destroyer of enemies.' *Vide ibid.,* p. 42, fn. 92.

90. *Kuntala iti, Kuntala-viṣaye jātatvāt tat-samākhyaḥ, Kāmasūtra* with Yaśodhara's Jayamaṅgala gloss, Kashi Sanskrit Series, no. 29, Varanasi, 1929, p. 131.

91. In his *Harṣa-carita.*

92. In his *Kuvalaya-mālā.*

93. In his *Rāma-carita*. For the original citations from the texts mentioned in this and the preceding two notes, see V. V. Mirashi, *Studies in Indology*, I, pp. 83-87; *HISWK*, pp. 179-80.

94. *Eso kai-ṇamaṁkia-gāhā-padibaḍḍhi-āmoo, Satta-sao samatto Sālāhaṇa-viraio Koso.*

    This colophon is met with in a few of the manuscripts of the text. *Vide* V. V. Mirashi, *Studies in Indology*, I, p. 85. The colophons of the fifth and sixth centuries also must have contained the same nomenclature as found in the Sanskrit rendering (*chāyā*) of these stanzas. See *ibid.*

95. *Ibid.* An ancient manuscript preserved in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Pune (No. 386 of 1887-89) cites the title of the text as *Gāthākośa. Vide ibid.,* pp. 85-86, fns. 1 and 2.

96. *Ibid.,* p. 86 and fn. 2; *HISWK*, p. 179 for the original stanza.

97. Schoff amends it to 'Sandares' and equates him with Sundara Sātakarṇi of the Purāṇas. However, the evidence of the *Periplus* appears to indicate that the correct form of the name was Sunandana as given in the *Bhāgavata*. That sometimes spellings found even in a single manuscript are correct and preferable to those met with in all the rest is a common knowledge, and this must have been one such case. And as such there is no need for the emendation of the reading in the *Periplus*.

98. *CAI,* p. 305, para 52.

99. *ZDMG.* 1902 p. 659.

100. *BMC, AWK,* p. 28, fn. 2.

101. *Vide* the last two notes. Curiously enough, while in the 'Purāṇic list of Andhra Kings' (*op.cit,* p. lxvi) Rapson mentions Meghasvāti as the ninth ruler and gives Saṅgha as its variant, in fn. 2 at p. 28, he gives Saṅgha as no. 9 and Meghasvāti as no. 16, evidently due to inadvertence. This ascription is followed by some later writers on Sātavāhana coinage including I. K. Sarma (*Coinage of the Sātavāhana Empire,* p. 131). This coin has a horse standing left on the obverse, while the reverse device is uncertain.

102. This coin has on the obverse a humped bull walking to right, in its front two *svastikas* and on the reverse a caduceus and Ujjain symbol with a crescent over one of its orbs.

103. Excavations at Bhokardan, ed. S. B. Deo, p. 22, Pl. XV. 4.

104. Gotamīputra and Gomatīputra are the variants of the name noticed by Pargiter (*DKA,* p. 42, fn. 93), while Rapson (*BMC, AWK,* p. lxvii) gives Yantramati doubtfully as the reading of the name in the *Brahmāṇḍa.*

105. *Vide DKA,* p. 42, fn. 8.

106. This is as per the extant data; but they are quite meagre and in some cases quite doubtful and damaged (Naneghat larger inscription) and not much can be built up on this highly fragile foundation.

107. *Vide* his inscriptions at Nasik and Karle.

108. I, p. 205, line 9.

109. *DKA*, p. 42, line 26; fn. 94 does not record any important variation.

110. *BMCAWK*, p. lxvii. However, this is unknown to not only Pargiter but also to R. G. Bhandarkar. *Vide EHD*, p. 45. But it must be remembered that the latter takes no note of the *Brahmāṇḍa* text.

111. *S. I.* I, p. 201, line 7.

112. This date-bracket has been arrived at by taking into consideration the contemporaneity of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi with Kṣaharāta Nahapāna who is referred to as Mambarus or Nambanus by the anonymous text *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* composed in about 60-79 A. D. and Nahapāna's priority to the Kārdamaka king Caṣṭana, the initiator of the Śaka era. For a detailed discussion of the evidence, *vide* Ajay Mitra Shastri, "Saka Era", *JIHS* XXXI, pp. 67-88.

113. Actually *Pulomā vai* of the reconstituted text stands for Pulomāvi. Variants of this name and its real meaning have been discussed above in connection with the original home of the dynasty.

114. Literally it *(aṣṭāvimśaḥ sutas-tasya)* would mean 'his twenty-eighth son' which is simply ridiculous.Reference to him is dropped in the *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa* lists.

115. I, p. 201, line 7.

116. For the variants of the last two of these names, *vide infra*.

117. Shobhana Gokhale, *Kanheri Inscriptions,* Deccan College, Pune, 1991, p. 62, right column.

118. *DKA*, p. 42, line 28. Only this is found in a single manuscript, it has been given in square parantheses. And at p. 36 the name is inserted, again within parantheses, as no. 24a only because its full-fledged acceptance would raise the number of Andhra kings to thirty-one whereas most Purāṇas aver that their number was thirty which is treated as a santified fact.

119. For the latest list of his coins, *vide* Mala Datta, *op.cit.,* pp. 301-07.

120. *SI.* I. p. 178, line 12.

121. Some of the variants of the name found in *Matsya* manuscripts include Śivaśva, Sivāsī, and Śirogrīva in so far as the first component is concerned. As for the second, some of the manuscripts read Sulomā. The readings sometimes are *Pulomāt tu* or *Sulomāt tu* which have been taken to be in ablative singular with disastrous results. *Vide DKA*, p. 32, fns. 1-2. The *eVā* manuscript of *Vāyu* gives him only a four-year reign. *Vide ibid.,* p. 32, fn. 3. In one *Matsya* Manuscript (*bMt* of Pargiter) *saptaiva* is replaced by *samaiva* which is totally meaningless but shows that some years (*samā*) were intended to be but not mentioned.

122. For a full discussion of the Purāṇic data on the issue together with numismatic and epigraphic corroborative evidence, *vide* Ajay Mitra Shastri, "Vāsiṣṭhīputra

Śivaśrī Puḷumāvi", *Rangavallī: Recent Researches in Indology* (S. R. Rao Felicitation Volume), eds. A. V. N. Murthy and B. K. Gururaja Rao), Sundeep Prakashan, Delhi, 1983, pp 151-62.

123. This is inferred from his mention following them and on the assumption that the succession among brothers must have been in order of seniority.

124. A. V. Narasimha Murthy and H. R. Raghunatha Bhat, "Banavāsi Inscription of Siva Siri Puḷumāvi", *Studies in Indian Epigraphy (JESI)*, I, pp. 34-39. In *HISWK*, pp. 59-62, also it is published though erroneously ascribed to Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi.

125. I. K. Sarma and J. Varaprasada Rao, *Early Brāhmī Inscriptions from Sannati*, Harman Publishing House, New Delhi, 1993, p. 76.

126. A. F. R. Hoernle in the *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1903, pp. 116-17; E. J. Rapson, *JRAS*, 1903, p. 305 M. F. C. Martin, "Observations on some Andhra Coins", *Numismatic Supplement of JASB*, 1934, p. 61.

127. V. V. Mirashi, "A New Hoard of Sātavāhana Coins from Tarhala, (Akola District)" *JNSI* II, pp. 88-89; *Studies in Indology*, III, Nagpur University, 1961, pp. 40-41.

128. V. V. Mirashi, "Wategaon Hoard of Sātavāhana Coins", *JNSI*, XXXIV, p. 208.

129. Mala Datta, *op.cit.*, pp. 308-09, for the latest list.

130. R. Nagaswamy, "A Bilingual Coin of Siva Siri Puḷumavi, *A. P.* Journal of Archaeology, I. No. 2, pp. 105-13; V. V. Krishna Sastry, *The Proto and Early Historical Cultures of Andhra Pradesh*, A. P. Govt. Archaeological Series, No. 58, Government of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad, 1983, p. 204, pl. 102.

131. Ajay Mitra Shastri, "Some Sātavāhana Silver Portrait Coins, *Journal of the Academy of Indian Numismatics and Sigillography*, III, pp. 7-9, pl. 1.2.

132. Ajay Mitra Shastri, "Kondapur : Sātavāhana Silver Coin Mint" *SSIC*, III, pp. 151-54.

133. "The Identity of the Sātavāhana King Śiva Śrī Puḷumāvi", *JNSI*, XXXI, pp. 151-154.

134. "A New Hoard of Sātavāhana Coins from Tarhala (Akola District)", *Ibid.*, II, pp. 88-89; *Studies in Indology*, III, pp. 40-41.

135. This conclusion has met with approval in scholarly quarters which have termed it 'convincing'. *Vide* Amiteshwar Jha and Dilip Rajgor, *Studies in the Coinage of the Western Kṣatrapas*, Indian Institute of Research in Numismatic Studies, Anjaneri, 1994, p. 6.

136. This is the spelling met in many manuscripts of the *Matsya*, in the *Brahmāṇḍa* and the *Bhāgavata* (*Vide BMC, AWK*, p. lxvii) and in ẻVā manuscript of the *Vāyu (DKA*, p. 42, fn. 5). A few other erroneous variants of the first part of the king's name include Śivaskandhra, Śivasvanda, Śivasunda and Śiraskandha. *Vide ibid.*, For the second component we have the variations Sātikarṇa, Śalaihkarṇika and Samakarṇi, and the rather strange Nṛpaskanda which, of course, is the actual form of the first part. That he was a *nṛpa* (king) goes without saying. For these forms, *Vide ibid.*, fn. 6.

137. It is not met with in the legends of his coins except only a doubtful case from Bhokardan excavations which was doubtfully assigned to Śivaśrī Sātakarṇi (*Excavations at Bhokardan*, pp. 23-24) by the present author who now feels with Mala Datta (*op.cit.*, p. 310) that it may perhaps have been issued by Śivaskanda Sātakarṇi. However, as the preservation of the coin is quite indifferent, it is not possible to be sure on this point.

138. For the latest list, *vide ibid.*, pp. 309-12.

139. *DKA*, p. 42, line 30.

140. *Ibid.*, p. 42, fn. 7.

141. *Ibid.*

142. For his silver portrait coins, *vide* Ajay Mitra Shastri, "A New Variety of Skanda Sātakarṇi's Silver Coins" *NS*, I, pp. 53-57.

143. *HISWK*, pp. (40-41), for an instance.

144. In some manuscripts of the *Matsya* and the *Vāyu*, the words Yajña and Śrī are found isolated into *Yajñaḥ śrīḥ*. It may also indicate the otherwise well-established fact that Yajña alone was the king's name and that *śrī* was affixed to it only as an honorific. Some *Vāyu* manuscripts supply the variant Yajuśrī, while the *Bhāgavata* sometimes records the variants Yajñasāra and Yajñaśīla and a *Viṣṇu* manuscript the curious Sungaśrī. *Vide DKA*, p. 42 and fns. 10 and 12.

145. This is the reading of the *Matsya* one of whose manuscripts also gives the reading Sātakarṇin. *Vide ibid.*, fn. 11.

146. *Vāyu* whose reading it is also gives in a manuscript the strange reading Sāmakarṇi which has resulted from the inadvertent substitution of *m* for the correct *t*. See *ibid.*, p. 42 and fn. 13 at p. 43.

147. Two other instances of the employment of this word are furnished by the mention of Sātakarṇi, Kṛṣṇa's son, where it precedes the name, and of Śiva where it follows the personal name as in the present case.

148. *Nava-vimśati*, or *nava-vimśat* is the common expression in the *Matsya*. *Vide ibid.*, p. 42 (text) and fn. 8.

149. *Ekonavimśatim* is the normal reading; but some *Vāyu* manuscripts give *ekonatrimśatam* and it is found corrupted into *trikonatrimśalam* in a *Vāyu* manuscript. *Vide ibid.*, p. 42 (text) and fn. 9. As stated above, some *Matsya* manuscripts refer to Yajña Sātakarṇi as ruling in his ninth year.

150. *HISWK*, Cina inscription, p. 77.

151. *Ibid.*, inscription nos. 26-29 (Nasik, Kanheri (two records) and Cina).

152. This is true of all his coins in different metals except a series mostly in Potin where he is referred to only by his personal name, in Prakrit, viz. Yaña Sātakaṇi.

153. The *e*Vā manuscript of the Vāyu reads *dvijaḥ yaśu*, a *Viṣṇu* manuscript has Dviyajña and a *Bhāgavata* manuscript provides the alternative form Vinaya instead

of Vijaya which is the commonest and correct reading of the royal name. The *Bhāgavata* describes him as *tat-sutaḥ*, his (Yajña's) son', which is not possible in view of the employment of the common metronymic Gautamīputra to both Yajña and Vijaya, showing that they were related as uterine brothers. *Tasmād* met with before the king's name should accordingly be taken to be synonymous with *tataḥ* and to mean 'thereafter.' Three manuscripts read *samā daśa* instead of the common *samā nrpaḥ;* but it is simply ridiculous as they also contain the expression *ṣaḍ-eva* (six only) at the beginning of the hemistich, and a six- and ten-year rule for the same king in the same stanza is just impossible. *Vide ibid.,* p. 43, line 31 and fns. 14-17.

154. H. Sarkar, "Nagarjunakonda Prakrit Inscription of Gautamīputra Vijaya Sātakarni, Year 6", *El,* XXXVI, pp. 273-74.

155. This and allied forms of the name are met with in the *Matsya, Viṣṇu* and *Bhāgavata.* Two *Matsya* Manuscripts give Vandaśrī and one Candratī, the *Viṣṇu* Commonly has Candraśrī, while the *Bhāgavata* generally has *Vijña* instead of the honorific *śrī,* the variants found in some other manuscripts being *vīja* and *vīrya.* One *Bhāgavata* manuscript reads the name as Candraṣī. For Sātakarṇi the *Matsya* manuscripts contain generally the form Śāntikarṇa and a few of its manuscripts also Śamakarṇi. See *ibid.,* p. 43, fns. 19-20.

156. This is the reading of the *Vāyu* and the *Brahmāṇḍa.* The latter, however, separates the honorific *śrī* and joins it to the following Sātakarṇi. *Vide ibid.,* fn. 22.

157. *Ibid.,* p. 43, left column, line 34.

158. *Ibid.,* p. 43, right column, line 34fn. 23, which records variants, adds precious little.

159. H. Krishna Sastry, The Kodavali Rock-Inscription of Caṇḍasāti : The Second Year of Reign", *El,* XVIII, pp. 316-19

160. *Ibid.,* p. 318, line 3. He cites Sten Konow's reading which was 10 (+) 3(?)

161. *HISWK,* p. 86.

162. *Vide* for discussion, Ajay Mitra Shastri, "Vāsiṣṭhīputra Vijaya Sātakarṇi", *ND* XVII, pp. 29-36.

163. In the Purāṇas the form Pulomāvi is used while in inscriptions and coin-legends we have Puḷumāvi. For Purāṇic variants, see *DKA,* p. 43, fn 24. The variants have already been noticed in connection with the name Pulumāvi and its significance for deciding their original kingdom.

164. The expression *anyas-teṣāṁ* adopted by Pargiter and its variants met with in the manuscripts are actually intended for *antyas-teṣāṁ* as pointed out by him. *Vide ibid.,* fn. 26.

165. *Ibid.,* p. 43, line 34 and fn. 25. The king's name has been spelt variously, many of which have been noticed above while discussing the question of the dynasty's original territory.

166. In the Vasana or Hale-Vasana inscription to be referred to below.

167. "A New Andhra Inscription of Siri-Pulumavi", *EI*, XIV, pp. 153-55. For the suggested identification, *vide* p. 154.

168. *Ibid.* p. 155, line 1. Similar expressions mentioning the dynasty in genitive plural and the reigning (or issuing) king as belonging to it are encountered in slightly later inscriptions of the Deccanese ruling families like the Pallavas, Ikṣvākus, Kadambas, Vākāṭakas, etc.

169. For the inscription, see M. J. Sharma, "Vasana Inscription of Vāsiṭhiputa Sirī Puḷumāvi", *Ibid.*, XLI, pp. 154-58. The expression under reference is met with in line 2 (p. 158) and reads : *de* (vā) *yatana-vāsisa mahādevasa Caṁḍasivasa.* The expression seems to refer to king Caṇḍaśiva as having become one with god Mahādeva (i.e. Śiva) whose devotee he appears to have been.

170. V. V. Mirashi, *Studies in Indology*, III, p. 45.

171. For their coins, *vide ibid.*, pp. 43-45; for a discussion on the significance of the find of these coins, *vide EHD: PP*, pp. 38-45.

172. For the constituted text, *Vide DKA*, p. 45, left column, lines 1-4: *Andhrānāṁ Saṁsthite rājye teṣāṁ bhṛty-ānvayā nṛpāḥ, Sapt-aiv-Āndhrā bhaviṣyanti daś-Ābhīras-tathā nṛpāḥ.* For some of the variants, *vide ibid.*, fns. 1-4, 6-9.

173. The original hemistich as constituted by Pargiter runs as *sapt-Ābhīrā Andhra-bhṛtyā Vide ibid.*, p. 45, right column, line 1, and fn. 5 on the same page for some meaningless variants.

174. V. V. Mirashi, *Inscriptions of the Kalacuri-Cedi Era, CII*, KV, Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund, 1955, p. 3.

A CASE OF CASTE RE-ENTRY : EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY

VARSHA SHIRGAONKAR

In the British administrative set-up a new judicial system was inevitable. In Maharashtra the implementation of the new system of justice came in with the downfall of the Peshwa rule in A.D. 1818. Mountstuart Elphinstone, the Governor of the newly formed Bombay Presidency, published a new Code of Regulations in 1827. But, it must be noted that before the formation of this code he had studied the systems of imparting justice prevailing in the Peshwa period. There were certain institutions in Maharashtra which governed the judicial matters. They were *Gotasabhā, Brahmasabhā* and *Jātisabhā.* [1] Gotasabhā followed the customary law prevailing in the stipulated geographical area. Territorially they were divided into village *gotas, 'taraf' gotas* and *'paraganā' gotas.* The *Brahmasabhās* usually were at the busy places of pilgrimages and centres of learning like Nasik, Paithan, Pandharpur. This institution was headed by *Dharmādhikārī* who enjoyed *'vatan'* (land) from the state. The local learned Brahmins like Vaidika, Paṇḍita, Mīmāṁsaka, Jyotiṣī, Purāṇika helped *Dharmādhikārī* in giving verdict. The *Brahmasabhā* dispensed justice as per *Ācāra* (right religious conduct), *Vyavahāra* (Hindu Law) and *Prāyaścitta* (expiation). The institution called *Jātisabhā* or caste assembly comprised of the prominent members of the caste. This *sabhā* decided the matters pertaining to the caste. The violation of the rules and regulations within the caste-fold were dealt with through this body. Thus, both *Brahmasabhā* and *Jātisabhā* handled the religious and social matters.

The cases related to the violation of the *gota* or the caste rules mostly resulted in the excommunication of a person. The methods of readmission into the respective caste-fold could be complicated.

The new Code of Regulations of Mountstuart Elphinstone came to be known as the Bombay Regulation IV of 1827. It retained the powers of the above *sabhās* in judicial matters. This could be clarified through section 26 of the Regulation which stated that 'the law to be observed in the trial of suits shall be Acts of Parliament and Regulations of Government applicable to the case; in the absence of such Acts and Regulations the usage of the country in which the suit arose; if none such appears, the law of the defendant and in the absence of specific law and usage, justice, equity and good conscience alone.' [2] It was because of this regulation that the matters like sea-travel, the question of one's being a Brahmin on account of his violation of certain restrictions, adultery, continued to be within the jurisdiction of the above *sabhās*

even during the British rule. In this light, the researcher wishes to put forth a case, the papers of which she has recently procured from Mr. Shailendra Bhandare of Mumbai and Mr. Purushottam G. Bhargave, a resident of Nasik. This case, according to Mr. Bhargave was regarding one family at Beed in Aurangabad. The case which is examined analytically is as follows.

In 1890 Manohar Janardan Pansare, a *Yajurvedī* Brahmin wished to have marriage relations with the family of Ganesh Sakharam Devalankar, also a *Yajurvedī* Brahmin. The family of Devalankars was from Golegaon in Aurangabad. The mediators for this marriage were Pedgaonkar and Shrigondekar. But the marriage-talks had to be suspended for a while because the status of Devalankar as a Brahmin was questioned. Those who doubted the status of Devalankar as a Brahmin were led by another *Yajurvedī* Brahmin named Vishvanath Amrut Tilavankar. The assistants of Tilavankar who also objected to the status of Devalankar as a Brahmin were Rangu Ganesh Purandare and Bhikaji Amrut Chobhe, also *Yajurvedī* Brahmins. This group was alleging that Devalankar was a *Sonār* and also a *Golak* and hence a non-Brahmin.

The objection of the group with regards to Devalankar being a Brahmin or not was based on a letter they had obtaiend from the *Dharmādhikārī* of Verul, Vaman Nilakantha, and also other Brahmins of Verul named Vaman Ranganath Kavasikar, Bhikurupi Devpathak and Gabubhat Shaligram Sendge. The writers of the letter pointed out that formerly in an appeal to them Devalankar had stated that he was a *Yajurvedī* Brahmin. But, according to the writers, there were no dietary or other relations whatsoever between Devalankar's family and the other *Yajurvedī* Brahmins since the last two hundred to two-fifty years on account of certain violation of rules on their part. The writers stated that if Devalankar's sin was washed off, he should have submitted *Śuddhipatra '* (the letter endorsing purification and re-entry into Brahmin caste) to them. They wondered if at all the offender had obtained it before. If the offender was claiming that he had obtained the *Śuddhipatra* earlier, the *Dharmādhikārī* and the other two writers questioned as to why it was not implemented so far to establish his re-entry into the Brahmin caste. Devalankar and his family-members had formerly stated that they were made *'Paṅktipāvan '* by the Shankaracharya when he had arrived in Aurangabad in 1782 A.D.[3] But the writers questioned as to why a copy of this *'Ajñāpatra '* of Shankaracharya was not with the *Dharmādhikārī* of Verul. They did express the possibility of the existence of a copy of this *Ajñāpatra* of Shankaracharya at Pune but seriously questioned as to why it was not implemented so far. Thus the status of Devalankar's family as a Brahmin family was dubious. It was because of this reason, the writers pointed out, that in 1810 A.D. in a meeting of the *Brahmasamudāya* (assembly of Brahmins) in the house of Vishvanath Amrut Tilavankar it was decided that the family of Devalankar and those who were related to him were not Brahmins and hence a resolution was

passed that there should not be any dietary relations between them and the other *Yajurvedī* Brahmins. This resolution was signed by five hundred Brahmins. A copy of this resolution was with the *Dharmādhikārī* of Verul who wrote this letter.[4]

It is necessary to examine this letter in the contemporary legal structure of socio-religious matters. As seen above it throws light upon a particular conditioning of a Brahmin family happening of Aurangabad. The territory of Aurangabad was under the Nizam of Hyderabad since the second half of the eighteenth century. In medieval times the Bahamani Sultans of the Deccan had not interfered in the personal law of the Hindus[5] since their establishment in 1347 A.D. Later on, the Mughals after their certain establishments in the Deccan also maintained the same policy. Foundation of the rule of Nizam at Hyderabad was the beginning of disintegration of the Mughal power. Even in the rule of Nizam, the Hindus continued to retain their personal law. The usage or the customs of the Hindus prevailed while dispensing justice. The point mentioned in the letter that Devalankar should have obtained '*Śuddhipatra* ' is very significant. Obtaining *Śuddhipatra* was obligatory in case of those who violated the regulations of the Brahmin caste. This was the system of justice prevailing also in the territories under the Maratha control. When a Brahmin committed a social or religious offence he was expelled from his caste.[6] Re-entry into Brahmin caste would be a tedious process. The expelled person was expected to visit the Brahmins of a holy place directly or with a letter from his caste people or the public officer, requesting them to purify him. Then he had to get the permission of that place for performing penance. He was required to pay the government fees for that. Full repentance on the part of the offender was necessary. This means that the offender was expected to give a detailed statement describing his offence and also full repentance for the same. This submission of his offence was called '*Doṣapatra* '. Thereafter, it was obligatory on his part to undergo *Prāyaścitta* or expiation i.e., he was to undergo certain prescribed rituals.[7] At the end of this he was given *Śuddhipatra* or letter endorsing purification and his re-entry into the Brahmin caste.. This action of getting the *Śuddhipatra* was known as *Devadaṇḍa.* A very important point was that the offender was expected to get it attested by the Brahmins of the place from where he came. The process till the obtaining of *Śuddhipatra* was called *Devadaṇḍa.* Looking at the above case and also the letter in that connection of the *Dharmādhikārī* of Verul it appears that Devalankar, the offender had not got the *Śuddhipatra* endorsed from the Brahmins of his place. The other documents of this case show that he was the resident of Golegaon which came under the jurisdiction of Verul. Thus it was obligatory on his part to get the endorsement of the Brahmins of Verul on his *Śuddhipatra.* Besides, even if he had the *Śuddhipatra* he had not shown it to the *Dharmādhikārī* of Verul. An important step in the legal procedure was that the offender was supposed to show *Śuddhipatra*

to his caste members and request them to permit him to re-enter the caste. Then for becoming fit for social interaction he was required to give dinner with sweetmeats to his caste-members so as to get his status endorsed as *Panktipāvan* (fit for inter-dining with his caste-members). This final step of social re-union with his caste-members was known as *Jātidanda*. In the case of Devalankar even the last phase of the legal procedure was missing and hence he was considered *Apānkta* (not fit for inter-dining). Hence, the social ostracism was still prevailing in his case.

As seen above, Manohar Janardan Pansare challenged Tilavankar. He collected the signatures of sixty Brahmins in support of the status of Devalankar as a Brahmin. He also appealed to *Āryadharmaprakāśaka Sabhā* of Pune which was the institution looking into the matters related to the Brahmin caste. With the help of this *Sabhā* (institution) Pansare sent a notice to Tilavankar that he should provide evidence for his statement in connection with Devalankar within fifteen days to the *Sabhā* failing which the charge of defamation would be imposed on Tilavankar and his friends.[8] In the meanwhile, *Āryadharmaprakāśaka Sabhā* began its investigation. Generally while giving the verdict upon such cases the previous cases brought to the *Sabhā* used to be quoted. Mostly the precedent verdict would provide a guideline for the hearing of the new cases. Accordingly it was pointed out that in Śake 1724 (1802 A.D.) the status of a person called Lale as a Brahmin was questioned. The charge against him was that he had committed the crime of *Yajñavidhvamsa*.[9] The case of Lale had been referred to Ramashastribaba Mahulikar, the *Nyāyādhīśa* (judge) of the Peshwa.[10] After examining the case, the *Nyāyādhīśa* had asked Lale to undergo expiation and then had permitted him to enter into his caste. In 1890 A.D. the *Āryadharmaprakāśaka Sabhā* of Pune recalled this verdict and reiterated that Lale's descendants be considered as Brahmins.[11] The *Sabhā* insisted that the case of Devalankar be treated like this and that he should be regarded as a Brahmin. This decision of the *Sabhā* was stated in a resolution on 6th Jyeṣṭha Vadya Śake 1812 (approximately June 1890 A.D.). The case then took a different turn and became more complicated. Tilavankar's group was asked not only to provide evidence that Devalankar was a *Golak* but was also asked to establish that Lale was a *Golak* within four days from 3rd July 1890 since on this day the *Sabhā* issued a notification called *Lāle Prakaraṇa*. The *Sabhā* stated that if the necessary evidence was not procured within the time-limit mentioned, Tilavankar's plan of maligning Devalankar would be clearly noticed and hence he would be subjected to expiation.

The above notification of the *Sabhā* must have generated a wide awareness about Devalankar's case. This is because a person called Mahmude, siding Devalankar's status as a Brahmin also challenged Tilavankar's group.

Tilavankar's group could produce evidence neither about Devalankar nor

about Lale. Hence the *Sabhā* re-established that Genesh Sakharam Devalankar was a *Yajurvedī* Brahmin. The *Sabhā* alleged that a false charge was put on him by Tilavankar, Rangu Ganesh Purandre and Bhikaji Amrut Chobhe. Hence all three of them were made to undergo the rite of expiation at the shrine near Omkareshwar on 11th Bhādrapad Vadya Sake 1812 (approximately August-September 1890 A.D.).[12] Thus the case was temporarily settled through *Āryadharmaprakāśaka Sabhā*

But unless the final verdict was given by Shankaracharya of Shivaganga Samsthan of Shringeri on the case, the court-matters were not supposed to be settled permanently. Hence, both Tilavankar and Devalankar families appealed to Shankaracharya of Shringeri. The agent of Shankaracharya stationed at Aurangabad accordingly collected the documents regarding the family of Devalankar from the *Āryadharmaprakāśaka Sabhā* of Pune.[13] After a careful examination of the case, Shankaracharya pointed out that he had not procured any written evidence establishing the status of Devalankar family as a non-Brahmin family. Yet, he stated that in the meanwhile the family was asked to undergo expiation at Pune. The family-members acted accordingly. Therefore Shankaracharya sent *tīrtha* (holy water), *prasāda* (part of the sweets offered to god), *phala* (fruit) and *mantrākṣatā* (consecrated holy grains) to endorse the status of the family as *Paṅktipāvan* (fit for inter-dining with his caste-members). A certificate mentioning all these details was given to Devalankar.[14] A pamphlet to this effect was also issued by Shankaracharya on 20th May 1917.

A careful analysis of the case shows that only the laws of Hindu *Dharmaśāstra* were taken into consideration while dealing with the case. In Western India *Nirṇayasindhu* of Kamalakarabhatta was regarded as an authoritative work since the Maratha period. It was composed in 1612 A.D. Kamalakarabhatta was the resident of Paithan in Maharashtra.[15] '*Golaka*' has been interpreted as one of the two special types of *Kṣetraja* sons, the other being *Kuṇḍa*. Both these types of sons were said to be when the wife of a Brahmin kept adulterous relations with another Brahmin man. When the wife maintained such relations with the other man and got a son when her husband was alive, this son came to be known as '*Kuṇḍa.*' '*Golaka*' was said to be the son of a widow by another man.[16] *Manusmṛti* had enjoined that '*Kuṇḍa*' and '*Golaka*' should not be invited for any '*Havya*' (*Devakārya*) or '*Kavya*' (*Pitṛkārya*).[17] A person who maintained relations with these two types and ate food at their place also was the target of social ostracism. He was censured by a derogatory term called '*Kuṇḍaśī*' (a person who eats or has eaten food at the house of a *Kuṇḍa*) and was not invited for partaking food at any Brahmin's house.[18] But at the time of *Nirṇayasindhu* the restrictions appear to have become lenient. Kamalakarbhatta, the author of this work, citing another literary work called *Prayogapārijāta*, stated that

the usual *saṁskāras* should be performed on *Kuṇḍa* and *Golaka*.[19] Even then the position of these two sub-types of *Kṣetraja* sons remained derogatory · in the society. In the nineteenth century when the cases of property and inheritance were brought before the courts established by the British government, the claims of *Kṣetraja* sons were considered as invalid.[20] This point can explain as to why the relatives of Devalankar were so particular in getting their status as Brahmins re-established in society. A stigma on them as non-Brahmins would not only excommunicate them but also create complications in the matters of property inheritance.

It will not be out of place to view the case of Tilavankar vs. Devalankar in the light of the social reform movement of Western India. In the nineteenth century India the process of social reform originated as a response to the British rule. English education played a very important role in the process of social awakening or the so-called renaissance. Yet, the dominance of caste and religion prevailed in the Hindu society. Hinduism was certainly a dominant religion and as such it did advocate a kind of moral code for the society as a whole. This all-pervading religion also governed the judicial administration of the society. One can mark a particular order which prevailed in the judicial administration of the Hindu society. Anyone who attempted to break this order was liable for punishment. As has been rightly pointed out, a religion which plays the role of governing the moral conduct of the society may be looked at from two different stand-points.[21] There would be two groups as representatives of these two stand-points viz., the dominant and subordinate groups. For the dominant group, religion offers the ideological justification for existing social divisions, while for the subordinate groups it enters their commonsense to make them aware that if they abide by it they would have "access to a more powerful cultural order."[22] In case of Hinduism it may be pointed out that the dominant group was of the Brahmins. They were the custodians of Hindu religion. Having a 'mysterious' power they also controlled the legal and judicial system.[23] Through the framework of religion the Brahmins separated themselves from the subordinate castes and also topped the social hierarchy. To maintain this elevated position in the society they always had to be conscious of the concepts of purity and pollution and hence they appropriated a certain conduct for themselves. It was obligatory on them to abide by certain rules and regulations prescribed by the *śāstras.* A slight deviation on their part from their caste-discipline would make them face social ostracism. In fact, a feeling of awe for religion existed even in the subordinate castes and their social behaviour also was governed by a particular value-system. Hence, there were social obligations in form of expiations, rites of inter-dining etc. within the judicial structure of every caste. But amongst the Brahmins there was more ritualistic stringency as far as imparting of justice was concerned.

A deeper analysis of this religion-bound judicial structure reveals that Hindu society comprised of various castes. Each caste was a unit differing from the other in its moral code. The *Jātisabhā* operating in every caste illustrates this. Antonio Gramsci, in the third part of *Selections from the Prison Notebooks,* — the part entitled as The Philosophy of Praxis — has stated that every religion had several components within itself. Though he was mainly referring to the Catholicism, some of his thoughts may be applicable here. According to Gramsci, "Every Religion, even Catholicism (indeed Catholicism more than any, precisely because of its efforts to retain a "surface" unity and avoid splintering into national churches and social stratifications), is in reality a multiplicity of distinct and often contradictory religions : there is one Catholicism for the peasants, one for the *petits bourgeois* and town workers, one for women, and one for intellectuals which is itself variegated and disconnected."[24]

Different terms in the Hindu judicial system used by each caste while dispensing justice illustrate this. In the judicial system of the Brahmins, the rite of re-entry into the Brahmin caste is called *Paṅktipāvan* while the same rite is termed as *Gotāi* in case of the lower castes. But in spite of the diversity of moral codes of different caste-units and the varied legal systems within the units, Hinduism remained a unified and a dominant religion. In the words of Gramsci, "The strength of religions, and of Catholic church in particular has lain, and still lies in the fact that they feel very strongly the need for the doctrinal unity of the whole mass of the faithful and strive to ensure that the higher intellectual stratum does not get seperated from the lower."[25]

The judicial procedure within the caste-framework remained unharmed during the British rule on account of the policy of Mountstuart Elphinstone, of considering the usage of the locality in the socio-religious matters. Secondly, faith of the people in Hindu religion also could not be shaken very easily. They continued to believe in the caste-authorities. The strong position of religion even in the nineteenth century judicial administration obviously made a revolutionary method of reform totally ineffective. As compared to the reformers of Bengal, those of Maharashtra were gradualists in their approach to social reform. They tried to adjust themselves with the orthodox elements at home and as far as possible did not wish to harm their family-members or the caste-members. By and large, barring certain examples, the reformers of Maharashtra followed the ideology of Kashinath Trimbak Telang of 'least resistance'.[26] Mahadev Govind Ranade, the spirit behind Prārthanā Samāj, spoke of four methods of reform. The first method may be described as the method of tradition, which meant interpretation of the old texts and approaching the authorities in the field of religion. The second method appealed to the conscience of the people. The third method was reform either by caste or state. The fourth method was "that dividing from the rest and forming a new camp

and shifting from ourselves."[27] It is significant to point out that Ranade advocated state legislation only when the other methods failed. Thus he was well aware of the orthodox condition which generally prevailed in the society. Besides, if the society was not geared for a change, mere social legislation would be ineffective. Hence, to break with the past was not the ideal method. Another social reformer, Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar was against taking "a leap in the dark" in connection with social reform. He had admitted the legacy of the previous socio-religious institutions.[28] The strand of the Maharashtrian social reform has been therefore interpreted as "reformist conservatism".[29]

English education could not remove the caste-restrictions and also customs, beliefs and practices very easily. The cases like excommunication of an individual after coming back from sea-travel etc. continued to be governed by the respective caste-Panchayats. As seen earlier the British government had also resorted to the customary law of the respective caste prevailing in the respective place. The government had kept itself away from the religious issues. It was obvious therefore for the people to approach the authorities of tradition like Shankaracharya even in the British period. Nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were the periods of transition from tradition to modernity. But the transition could not be sudden. Therefore paradoxically, there were cases of some English-educated reformers bowing down to the tradition. This may be pointed out through their action of undergoing expiation if the time demanded. They underwent expiation as a strategy to have a small compromise with tradition while pursuing their social reform. M.G. Ranade submitted himself to the rite of expiation after the Panchahoud mission incident on 15th May 1890 for the sake of his family. This was a vindication of his reform policy of "two steps forward one step backward".[30] Vishvanath Narayan Mandlik went to the root of the restriction on sea-travel and pointed out that an expiation imposed on a person going on sea-voyage for the purpose of education was a sheer misinterpretation of the *śāstras*. But all the same, he had to approach Shankaracharya for some persons' re-union with their caste-members.[31] Such cases show that there was an ambivalence in the minds of even the English-educated persons whether to accept the dominance of tradition or not. There is no wonder therefore that the common people continued to accept the superiority of tradition out of a feeling of apprehension for social ostracism. At least this path was safe to relieve them of their ambivalence and uncertainty. It is in this light that one can understand the attempts of Devalankar to get the saction from Shankaracharya for inter-dining with his caste-members. This was the best way to get rid of social censure.

Notes and References

1. Vitthal Trimbak Gune, *The Judicial System of The Marathas,* Deccan College, Poona, 1953, pp. 61-65.

2. P. V. Kane, *Hindu Customs And Modern Law,* University of Bombay Sir Lallubhai A. Shah Lectures, University of Bombay, Bombay, 1st edition, 1950, p. 42.

3. Letter written by Vaman Nilakantha Dharmadhikari to the representative of Shankaracharya of Shringeri at Aurangabad, p.2.

4. *ibid.*

5. Gune, *op. cit.,* p.68.

6. *ibid,* p. 113.

7. The rite of expiation within itself incorporated purification. One means of purification stated in practically all the Sanskrit texts was the ingestion of *Pancagavya* (a mixture of the five products of the cow—milk, curds, ghee, cow-dung and cow-urine). The person undergoing this rite was also required to travel to a holy place. Going on a pilgrimage depended upon the nature of his crime.

8. Chinto Krishna Abhyankar, Secretary, Aryadharmaprakashak Sabha, Advertisement, Lale Prakaran, *Samasta Brahmavṛnda Yāns Kharī Sūcanā,* 3rd July, 1890, Jagadhitecchu Press, Pune.

9. The crime of *Yajñavidhvaṁsa* could be on account of two reasons. Firstly, it could be because the person acted against the general code of sacrificial performance. Secondly, it could be specifically in the case of an *Agnihotrī.* It was obligatory on his part to keep three fires, namely *Gārhapatya, Āhavanīya* and *Dakṣiṇa* at his place every day. If oblations were not put in them every day or if one of the fires got extinguished the Agnihotri Brahmin was guilty of *Yajñavidhvaṁsa* and was subjected to expiation.

10. The Peshwa who is mentioned in this case was Bajirao II whose tenure was from 1795 to 1818 A.D.

11. Chinto Krishna Abhyankar, *op.cit.,* loc cit.

12. Abaji Gangadhar Joshi, *Samasta Brahmavṛnda Yāns Sūcanā.*

13. Letter written by the Agent of Shankaracharya of Shivaganga to Keshav Balkrishna Devalankar on 14th Vadya Āśvin Śake 1834 (approximately October 1912). As mentioned in the letter, Devalankar was supposed to pay Rs. 40 to the agent.

14. Certificate dated 12th Āṣāḍha Śake 1836 (approximately June 1914).

15. Kamalakarabhatta, *Nirṇayasindhu,* Narayan Ram Acharya (ed.), 5th edition, Nirnay Sagar Press, Mumbai, 1949, p. 1.

16. *Manusmṛti* III 174.

17. *ibid,* III. 175.

18. *ibid,* III. 158.

19. Kamalakarabhatta, *op.cit,* pp. 195-96.

20. Kane, *op.cit,* p. 74.

21. Partha Chatterji, "Caste and Subaltern Consciousness", Ranajit Guha (ed.), *Subaltern*

Studies VI, Oxford University Press, Delhi, New York, 1992, p. 172.

22. *ibid.*

23. Bernard S. Cohn, "The Command of Language and the Language of Command", Ranajit Guha (ed.), *Subaltern Studies IV*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, New York, 1990, p. 283.

24. Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, Orient Longman, First published in India, 1996, p. 420.

25. *ibid*, p. 328.

26. Sir Narayan G. Chandavarkar, *The Speeches and Writings*, L. V. Kaikini (ed.), Bombay, 1911, pp. 25-31.

27. M. G. Ranade, *The Miscellaneous Writings of the Late Hon'ble Mr. Justice M.G. Ranade*, Ramabai Ranade (comp.), Manoranjan Press, Bombay, 1915, pp. 112-13.

28. R.G. Bhandarkar, *Collected Works of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar*, N.B.Utgikar (ed.), Vol. II, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Pune, 1928, pp. 513-54.

29. Varsha S. Shirgaonkar, *Social Reforms in Maharashtra and V.N. Mandlik*, Navrang, New Delhi, 1989, p. 19.

30. M. G. Ranade, *Nyā. Mū. Mahadev Govind Ranade Yāncī Dharmapar Vyākhyāne*, Ramabai Ranade (Pub.), Karnatak Press, Bombay, 1940, pp. 281-82.

31. Varsha Shirgaonkar, *op.cit.*, pp. 59-61.

FRESH LIGHT ON THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE CANDELLAS

S. K. SULLEREY

The political history of central India after the death of Harṣa is very complex and difficult to follow, and with the decline of the Pratihāras of Kannauj in the early tenth century, history becomes even more complicated as the dynasties which emerged from the ruins of the Pratihāras grew in power, and were continually at war with one another. The Candellas were one of the most important dynasties of central India between the period of the downfall of the Pratihāras and the establishment of Sultanate in India.

Alexander Cunningham was the pioneer who for the first time gave a complete picture and abstract of Candella history and chronology on the material then available to him.[1] He assigned a period of twenty to twenty five years to each ruler preceding Dhaṅga. Thus by counting backwards from 954 A.D., he fixed the first quarter of 9th century A.D., as the approximate date of Nannuka,[2] the first ruler of the dynasty. All the evidences point out the beginning of the Candella history in the first quarter of the 9th century A.D. The scholars who studied this dynasty like N. S. Bose,[3] S. K. Mitra,[4] R. K. Dixit,[5] A. P. Pandey[6] and others including the writer[7] of this paper more or less adopted the same chronology of Candellas as assigned by Cunningham. An attempt has been made in the present paper to study the Candella chronology afresh, particularly of Dhaṅga, Gaṇḍa and Vidyādhara in the light of the Kundeshwar Copper plate. The Khajuraho inscription of Dhaṅga dated in V.S. 1011 (A.D. 954) gives us the genealogy of Candella kings from Nannuka to Yaśovarman. On the basis of this important inscription Cunningham fixed the chronology of earlier Candella kings. The discovery of the Kundeshwar (Distt. Tikamgarh, M. P.) Copper plate of Candella king Vidyādhara dated in the V.S. 1060 (A.D. 1003),[8] is very significiant in that it is the first known epigraphic record of this great king, who played a vital role in defending his kingdom from the invasions of Sultan Mahmud.[9] He had the unique distinction of being the only Indian ruler who effectively checked Mahmud's invasions.

As the Kundeshwar Copper plate is historically very significant, we reproduce its Sanskrit text[10] below.

मूल पाठ

1. ॐ ब्रह्म श्री परम भट्टारक - महाराजाधिराज श्री धङ्गदेव-पादानुध्यातः परम भट्टारक - महाराजाधिराज परमे -

2. इ्वर श्री गण्डदेव पादानुध्यातः परम भट्टारक - महाराजाधिराज परमेइवर श्री विद्याधर देव पदानां महाप्रवर्द्धमा-

3. न-कल्याण-विजय-राज्ये स्त(त)स्य पाद पदमोपजीवी वाभ-चन्द्रात्रेय-गोत्रे महाराजपुत्री श्री गोपाल-भिङ्गनी (लाभृभिङ्गनी) श्री वच्छिक सु -

4. ता तया (x x) महाराज्ञी श्री सत्यभामया श्रीमण्डनस्य दुहितया तया च सम्वत्सर - सहस्र (स्र) षष्टचाधिक सम्बत १०६० -

5. श्रावणी अमावास्यॉ (यायां) सूर्य ग्रहणे ब्रह्मशिलायां स्नात्चा गाङ्ग जले देव पितृ-मनुष्यान् सम्पूज्य पितृनभिनिर्वर्त्य क्र (कृ) शानुम्ह (नुं हु) (x) -

6. त्यायां दत्वा वारङ्गी चतुरसिका विषय भोग संबद्ध इसोन्यां महत्तमजनपदान्चोधियति दत्तो ग्रामेडय मरस्माभि वेर्दे वेदाङ्ग पारगाय षड्कर्म्माभिरताय भा -

7. द सहस्रादित्याय सोग्राम (संग्राम) सुताय बहच शाखाय त्रिप्रवराय प्राण रुद्रट विनिर्गताय पद्रक द्वयं 2 तथा बहबृच् शाखाय शिलादित्य सुताय -

8. भरद्वाजस्य गोत्राय त्रिःप्रवराय बालभङ्क्क ग्राम विर्निगताय वाजसनेय शाखाय पद्रक 4 भट्रककु सुताय उपमन्युगोत्र भङ्क ग्राम -

9. विर्निगताय पद 3 तथा भट्र श्री कुमार देव पाल सुताय कइयप-गोत्राय च छन्दोग्य शाखा उदुम्बरणि विर्निगताय पदक 2 तथा भट्र सारङ्ग मिहिरस्वामी पुत्राय गोतम -

10. गोत्राय भट्रक ग्रामावलि विर्निगताय तथा भट्र गंगेइवर अनुरूद्धसुत लोगाक्षि गोत्र वाजश (स्र) नेय शाखा (xxx) पद 1॥ तथा भट्र शंकर -

11. वपटसुत कपिष्ठल गोत्र वाजसनेय शाखा भट्रक ग्राम (x x) विर्निगताय पदक । 1॥ तथा भट्रह्म्वण रुद्राक सुत पदक 1॥ तथा सारङ्ग मृगांक -

12. सुताय पद्रक 1॥ तथा (x) चामुण्डराजस्वामी पदक । वसिष्ठ गोत्राय वैभट्रग्राम विर्निगताय तथा भट्र रमानन्द कक्कुसुत -

13. कत्यायनि गोत्र वाजसनेय शाखा पद्रक । तथा भट्र पथिक छित सुत पदक। तथा चन्द पदक । तथा निम्बेक चौमोदर्यङ्गोत्रो पदक । (xxx) -

14. भट्रक ग्राम शाथल, विर्निगताय तता भट्रसर्वादित्य लोलिक सुत वत्सस्य गोत्र वाजसनेय शाखा, पंच प्रवराय, भट्र खदिरवलि विर्निगता -

15. य पदक । तथा मम्मट पद । तथा जोगस्वामी पद । चौमोदर्यङ्गोत्रो प्रद्युम्न भ(ट्र) पुत्रो तथा भट्र दामोदर रुद्रादित्य सुत पद -

16. **तथा भट्रवत्स पद । तथा भट्र हरिपाल पद ! चौमदर्यङ्गोत्रो बुभपुत्रो तथा विग्रहपाल जयपाल पुत्र पद । एतेषां गौ -**

17. तमस्य गोत्र वाजसनेय शाखा वणिक बड विर्निगताय तथा महायज्ञ पद । तथा महीपति पद । चौमोदर्यङ्गोत्रो पभुम्न -

18. शावरी चौमोदर्यङ्गोत्रो शुभादित्य पुत्रो पुण्डरीयक विर्निगताय पद 2 तथा नारायण प्लुषा पुत्र पद 1॥ गंगाक कमल सुत प (x) -

19. (x) दत्वा राजभि: सगरादिभि: यस्य 2 यदा दभर्मोतस्य तस्य 2 तथा धनम् –

20. द्वा । घरदेव ।

in the light of the Kundeshwar Copper plate, now we have to reassign the new chronology of Candella rulers after Yaśovarman, particularly of Dhaṅga, Gaṇḍa and Vidyādhara. Dhaṅga was the first independent ruler of Candella dynasty. The scholars assigned his period on the basis of inscriptions. According to Cunningham he ruled from 953 to 998 A.D.[11] S. K. Mitra[12] assigned his period from 950 to 1002 A.D. R. K. Dixit[13] assigned the same period as given by Mitra. N S. Bose assigned the period from 950 to 1008 A. D.[14] A. P. Pandey assigned it from 950 to 1008 A. D.[15] In the light of the Kundeshwar Copper plate now we can fix the period of Dhaṅga from 950 to 998 A.D. Dhaṅga had a very long life extending to more than hundred years. The Khajuraho inscription of the Viśvanātha temple mentions that he had forsaken his life at the sacred confluence of the Gaṅgā and Yamunā at Prayāga, while concentrating on Rudra.[16] Dhaṅga was succeeded by Gaṇḍa. He occupied the throne in his old age due to the long reign and life of his father. For his reign we have no inscription of his own or any contemporary account.[17] Now we have inscriptional evidence from Dhaṅga and Vidyādhara. On the basis of the Kundeshwar Copper plate we can certainly say that the reign period of Vidyādhara begins from 1003 A.D. At the present state of our knowledge we cannot accept the period assigned to Gaṇḍa by previous scholars.[18] Gaṇḍa ruled for only two to three years, that is from 999 to 1002 A.D. This is the reason why we have no inscriptional record of his own. He succeeded the throne in old age approximately at the age of seventy five. In the light of the Kundeshwar Copper plate we cannot accept this theory that Gaṇḍa faced the invasions of Mahmud.[19] "Bīdā" of Ibnul Athir is undoubtedly a corruption of "Vidyādhara", while "Nanda" of Utbi, Nizamuddin and Farishta was nothing but a misreading of "Bīdā" (Vidyādhara) and not for "Gaṇḍa" as has been correctly shown by H. C. Ray.[20] Now we can conclude certainly that Gaṇḍa ceased to rule before 1003 A.D.

Gaṇḍa was succeeded by Vidyādhara, one of the greatest rulers of his own time. Previously we had no record of this ruler of his own, but now the discovery of the Kundeshwar Copper plate inscription gives us a definite date for him which is V. S. 1060 (1003 A.D.). Therefore, the period assigned to Vidyādhara by various scholars like Cunningham,[21] N. S. Bose,[22] S. K. Mitra,[23] A. P. Pandey[24] and R. K. Dixit[25], etc. cannot be accepted. The Kundeshwar Copper plate inscription supports the views of H. C. Ray[26] that "Bīdā" of Ibnul Athir is undoubtedly a corruption of 'Vidyādhara' while 'Nanda' of Utbi, Nizamuddin and Farishta was nothing but misreading for 'Bīdā' and not for 'Gaṇḍa.'

The Kundeshwar Copper plate is significant in that it gives us the name

of Vidyādhara Candella's chief queen Satyabhāmā and the grant made by her. She is the first Candella queen who made the grant of some *padas* of land to several Brāhmaṇas of different *gotras* on the occasion of the solar eclipse in the month of Śrāvaṇa corresponding to Friday, 8th of July, A.D. 1003.[27] On the basis of this Copper plate we can say that both the invasions of Mahmud were defended by the Candella ruler Vidyādhara. He had thus a unique distinction of being the only Indian ruler who gallantly checked Mahmud's invasions. Now we can assign Vidyādhara the period from 1003 to 1030 A. D. and can fix new chronology for Dhaṅga from 950 to 998 A. D., and for Gaṇḍa from 999 to 1002 A.D. Thus the Kundeshwar Copper plate inscription plays a significant role in refixing the chronology of the great Candella rulers Dhaṅga, Gaṇḍa and Vidyādhara. It has also solved the problem of identification of 'Nanda' and 'Bīdā'.

Notes and References

1. A. Cunningham, *Archaelogical Survey of India Reports*, Vol. XXI, p. 77.

2. *Ibid*, Vol. II, pp. 446-447.

3. N. S. Bose, *History of the Chandellas*, p. 197.

4. S. K. Mitra, *Early Rulers of Khajuraho*, Appendix II.

5. R. K. Dixit, *Candellas of Jejākabhukti and Their times*, pp. 181-182.

6. A. P. Pandey, *Candella Kālīn Bundelkhaṇḍa kā Itihāsa*, p. 225.

7. S. K. Sullerey, *Ajaigadh aur Kālañjara kī Devapratimāyein*, pp. 52-54.

8. *Indian Archaeology 1971-1972, A Review*, p. 55, No. 22.

9. R. C. Majumdar, *Ancient India*, p. 351.

10. For the detailed information and the impression of the Kundeshwar Copper plate, the author thanks Shri Virendra Kumar Vajpeyi, Madhya Pradesh State Archaeology, Rani Durgavati Sangrahalaya, Jabalpur and Shri V. P. S. Bhadoria, Director of the Dhubela Museum, Chhatarpur. He is grateful to Prof. V. S. Pathak for assistance in editing the text.

    Also, S. K. Sullery, "Mahārājñī Satyabhāmā kā Kundeshwar Tāmrapatra, Varṣa 1060," in *Journal of the Bihar Purāvid Parishad*, Vol. XI & XII, 1987-1988.

11. A. Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, Vol. XXI, p. 80.

12. S. K. Mitra, *Early Rulers of Khajuraho*, Appendix II.

13. R. K. Dixit, *Candellas of Jejākabhukti and Their times*, pp. 181-182.

14. N S. Bose, *History of Chandellas*, p. 197.

15. A. P. Pandey, *Candella Kālīn Bundelkhaṇḍa kā Itihāsa*, p. 225.

16. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, p. 146.

17. S. K. Mitra, *Early Rulers of Khajuraho,* p. 71.

18. N. S. Bose, *History of the Chandellas,* p. 50. S. K. Mitra, *Early Rulers of Khajuraho,*
    Appendix II.

19. N. S. Bose, *History of the Chandellas,* p. 51.

20. *Ibid.,* p. 53.

21. Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey Reports,* Vol. XXI, p. 80.

22. N. S. Bose, *History of the Chandellas,* p. 197.

23. S. K. Mitra, *Early Rulers of Khajuraho,* Appendix II.

24. A. P. Pandey, *Candella Kālīn Bundelkhaṇḍa kā Itihāsa,* p. 225.

25. R. K. Dixit, *Candellas of Jejākabhukti and Their times,* pp. 181-88.

26. N. S. Bose, *History of the Chandellas,* p. 53.

27. *Indian Archaeology : 1971-1972 - A Review,* p. 55, No. 22.

THE COMPANION IN WARFARE - A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE RĀMĀYAṆA AND LE CYCLE DE GUILLAUME D'ORANGE

VIDYA VENCATESAN

Epics belong to all mankind. Every great world civilisation, with the exception of China boasts of an epic. The Greeks have the *Odyssey* and the *Illiad*, the Romans their *Aeneid*, the Persians their *Shah Nameh*, the Spaniards their *El Cantar del mio Cid*, the English their *Beowulf*, the Germans their *Nibelungenleid*, the French their *chansons de geste* and the Indians the *Rāmāyana* and the *Mahābhārata*. From the Aegean seas to the Indian Ocean epics tell the same story — the struggle between good and evil and the triumph of light over darkness. Interestingly these epic poems seem to have been born at different points in human history, not to mention, in totally unconnected cultures. The *Beowulf* belongs to 800 A.D., the *Cycle de Guillaume* to 1200 A.D. and the *Rāmāyana* to 1500 B.C. Said Voltaire, one of the greatest philosophers and statesmen the world ever saw: "It would be a great pleasure and a worthwhile proposition for a man who thinks, to examine all epic poems of different kinds, born in different centuries and in countries far away from one another."[1]

Thanks to the pioneering work done by Georges Dumézil and his disciples we know today that all Indo-Europeans share a common cultural heritage. Towards the end of the third millennium B.C., migratory tribes from Central Asia moved out in search of greener pastures. Some went to Europe, others to Turkestan and Iran and yet others came to India. They all must have spoken a common language and more importantly they must have shared a common cultural heritage — myths, motifs, legends and tales. Wherever they went this cultural baggage formed the stock for all further development of folklore.[2] This is perhaps the reason why certain images, metaphors and narratives are found all over the world. The eleventh century *Kathāsaritsāgara* contains stories that are found in Boccaccio, the Arabian Nights and in Shakespeare. They transcend all barriers of time and space. Diverse civilisations, vastly separated chronologically and geographically, offer surprisingly similar pictures. The epic poem is a very good illustration of this common Indo-European heritage.

While the Indian epics are well known both in India and abroad, the French epics are literary dinosaurs relegated to the archives. The epic poems that this paper deals with are among the better known ones. However a few words of introduction may not seem out of place. *Le Cycle de Guillaume*

d'Orange is a coherent ensemble of twenty-four epic poems composed between 1200 and the 1300 A.D. which narrates the extraordinary exploits of a family of brave warriors, the Aymerides. The 1,45,500 verses of this group of epic poems represent almost a quarter of the surviving medieval epic poetry in France today. The story-line extends over five generations but the central character remains Guillaume d'Orange, one of the seven sons of the Count Aymeri. Guillaume and his brothers are loyal knights at the court of King Louis, son of Charlemagne of the Holy Roman Empire. Christianity and its kings are constantly under threat from the Saracen kings led by Dérame. Several eventful battles are fought and won by these brave *conquistadors* who between military campaigns also woo daughters, sisters, fiancées and wives of the enemy. More often than not, these princesses turn out to be useful auxiliaries who help fight from the inside.

War victories are quickly followed by conversions and weddings between these gallant chevaliers and these new converts. One particular battle, namely the battle of Aliscans is a specially perilous one and the Christian forces actually lose the first round. Two poems *La Chanson de Guillaume d'Orange* (*CG*)[3] and *Aliscans* (*Als*)[4] describe these battles : while *CG* evokes the disastrous first half of this infamous battle where the young Vivien, the nephew and best friend of Count Guillaume falls, *Als* tells us how Guillaume avenges Vivien's death thanks to his allies Rainouart. This study of the role of the companion in warfare focuses on these two epic poems. The Indian corpus consists mainly of the *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa*.[5]

An epic is essentially a war poem, a *chanson de geste* or a song of action as it is called in French. The protagonists are given different names in different cultures : the Greeks fight the Trojans in the *Odyssey,* the Pāṇḍavas fight the Kauravas in the *Mahābhārata* and the Christians fight the Saracens in the *chanson de geste.* The story revolves around the valiant hero. Four fundamental relationships sustain this larger than life figure : the military alliance, friendship, the consanguine bond and the conjugal tie. This study is an attempt to examine the figure of the military ally and companion in warfare.

The natural habitat of the epic hero is the battlefield. It is here that he learns one of life's most important lessons, namely survival. The battlefield is hostile territory : enemy forces lie in waiting, death trails him like a shadow; defeat and capture, a fate more fearful than death, loom large on the horizon. Here solitude is synonymous with death. He must be part of a group; he must build up a network of allies, supporters and friends. This fraternity will serve him better than the best armour; this living barricade will shield him from worst attack. Besides he also recognises the fact that a lone warrior may fight to death but to survive and win he needs helpers who will fight for him, against his enemies and further his cause.

Allies are a group of warriors who come to be associated with each other for a common purpose. They form a cohesive confederate whose members have sworn to aid and abet each other to annihilate a common enemy. "One for all and all for one" is their motto. Besides their personal participation, their men, mounts and machinery are at the disposal of others. Both Indian and French epics abound in examples of such allies : Rāma and Sugrīva, Raoul and Guerri, among others. This study will focus on the nature and characteristics of a military alliance in *Le Cycle de Guillaume d'Orange* and -the *Rāmāyaṇa.*

The French *chanson de geste* refers to this relationship as a *compagnonnage.* In fact a *cumpaing* or companion may refer to any number of people : it may be a courteous address, or a respectful term for a co-warrior or an affectionate endearment for a friend. However Vālmīki chooses to use the word *sakhya.* Georges Dumézil tells us that a simple translation of the word *sakhya* into friendship would be inadequate and suggests that it could be traced back to the same root as *socius* in Latin which means one who accompanies, an associate, a companion. According to Ernout and Millet, there exists an Indo-Iranian word *sakha* which may be itself of Vedic origin thus suggesting that there could well have been a word an Indo-European language which meant a companion in war or a military ally.[6] Kautilya's *Arthaśāstra* goes on to say that according to the Indian system, the ally was one of the seven constitutive elements of a kingdom, very much an integral part of the internal rather than the external ministry.[7] In *Le Cycle de Guillaume d'Orange* two interesting figures of *compagnons* emerge notably Gui and Rainouart while Vālmīki skilfully etches the characters of Sugrīva and Vibhīṣaṇa as Rāma's allies.

Let us now examine what determines the choice of an ally. Even the most cursory glance at epics reveals that military alliances are only struck between equals. Caste and class barriers are scrupulously respected. Guillaume chooses his own nephew Gui for an ally and Rainouart though demoted to a common errand boy in King Louis's kitchen comes from royal stock. He is the long lost son of the Saracen king Dèramé. At the very first glance Guibourc, Guillaume's wife guesses from his noble bearing that he must be of noble lineage.[8] Sugrīva, son of Ṛkṣarāja is the ideal ally for the scion of the Ikṣvākus, Rāma, just like Vibhīṣaṇa, the virtuous brother of Rāvaṇa, half-brother of Kubera and the son of the legendary Viśravā.

Equality of merit and ability is a very important condition in a military alliance. Rainouart may be a self-taught knight who is at a loss to ride a horse or manoeuvre a simple sword but the poet spares no effort to describe him as the most valorous and mighty in all of France.[9] Gui may just be a child of seven summers but his intellectual maturity and preparedness for war belie his years. In the *CG* he cleverly convinces his aunt to disobey

his uncle, impertinently argues with his uncle and actually convinces him to let him join the war. Guillaume admits that his body may be that of a child but his word is that of a hero.[10] Sugrīva is an ideal choice for an ally. Kabandha explains :

वानरेन्द्रो महावीर्यस्तेजोवानमितप्रभः । सत्यसंभो विनीतश्च धृतिमान्मतिमान् महान् ॥

दक्षः प्रगल्भो द्युतिमान् महाबलपराक्रमः । भ्रात्रा विवासितो वीर राज्यहेतोर्महात्मना ॥

स ते सहायो मित्रं च सीतायाः परिमार्गणे - III.72.13-15a.[11]

A military alliance aims at pooling together of resources, men, mounts and arms. Everything is geared towards the attainment of a common goal in the shortest possible time. In this result-motivated relationship, choices are more cerebral than sentimental. An ally is essentially an extra pair of arms to fight. An objective analysis of the needs and capacities of each other has to be made. Guillaume needs the Herculean strength of Rainouart and · Rainouart in turn needs a chance to prove that he is ideal material for a pious Christian knight. Rāma needs Sugrīva and his monkeys to scour the earth and fly across the ocean to retrieve Sītā. Sugrīva can never quench his thirst for blood by taking on Vāli single-handedly in combat.

The manpower and machinery he can mobilise is also a very decisive factor. Therefore it is not surprising that an ally must necessarily prove his worth before he is accepted. This might take the form of a trial of strength, an entrance test of sorts. Guillaume has Gui test-ride a horse and weild arms.[12] Only when he proves worthy of the honour is he inducted into the army. Sugrīva is no less demanding of Rāma. So much is he in awe of his elder brother Vāli's prowess that he cannot see how Rāma can keep his end of the bargain of killing Vāli. Rāma effortlessly kicks the skeleton of the giant Dundubhi several *Yojanas* away merely using his little toe but Sugrīva is not convinced.[12] Finally it is only when Rāma's single arrow pierces seven Sāla trees Sugrīva finally accepts him as an ally.[14]

In fact in the *Rāmāyana* the allies to be, are wary of each other and much caution and restraint is exercised before the first move is made. Sugrīva really needs to be persuaded that Rāma is not a spy from Vāli's court.[15] As a matter of fact the Rāma-Sugrīva alliance actually comes through thanks to the diplomatic abilities of Hanumān who skilfully learns all the facts relating to Rāma's presence, before letting him meet his exiled king. Curiously Lakṣmaṇa and not Rāma engages in these talks. Only when the air has been cleared do the actual allies in question speak to each other. In the case of Vibhīṣaṇa, he is accepted after much debate. His family background goes against him.

प्रणिधी राक्षसेन्द्रस्य रावणस्य भवेदयम् । अनुप्रविश्य सोऽस्मासु भेदं कुर्यान्न संशयः ।

VI.17.22.[16]

The treacherous race he belongs to only raises more doubts.

अन्तर्धानगता ह्येते राक्षसा: कामरूपिण: । शूराश्च निकृतिज्ञाश्च तेषां जातु न विश्वसेत् ॥

<div align="right">VI. 17.21.[17]</div>

Only after much deliberation and thought does the war council approve of joining the camp.

An objective analysis of the other's needs and abilities is made. In such a materialistic relationship where know-how and resources are bartered the good faith of the other is never proven enough. Suspicion and mistrust reign supreme. Confidence in the other is still shaky and doubts resurface at the slightest provocation. When Rainouart goes back to pick up his forgotten weapon, Guillaume promptly accuses him of desertion.[18] When Rāma does not kill Vāli the first time Sugrīva challenges his brother to a fight, because he cannot tell one monkey from the other, Sugrīva chides him for going back on his word.

आह्वयस्वेति मामुक्त्वा दर्शयित्वा च विक्रमम्। वैरिणा घातयित्वा च किमिदानीं त्वया कृतम् ॥

<div align="right">IV. 12.26[19]</div>

In keeping with the basically contractual nature of this relationship, the two allies almost sign a formal contract where the individual input and benefit are clearly specified. Gui and Rainouart will be knighted in return for their military services. Besides Gui is promised that he stands to inherit Guillaume's fiefdom.[20] Rainouart is promised a whole new way of life as a Christian knight with land and wife.[21] Rāma solemnly swears :

उपकारफलं मित्रं विदितं मे महाकपे ॥
वालिनं तं वधिष्यामि तव भार्यापहारिणम् ।   IV.5 25b-26a.[22]

Sugrīva in turn reaffirms his commitment :

भार्याविप्रयोगजं दु:खं न चिरात् त्वं विमोक्ष्यसे । अहं तामानयिष्यामि नष्टां वेदश्रुतीमिव ॥
रसातले वा वर्तन्तीं वर्तन्तीं वा नभस्तले । अहमानीय दास्यामि तव भार्यामिदम् ॥
इदं तथ्यं मम वचस्त्वमवेहि च राघव ।   IV. 6.5-7a.[23]

Vibhīṣaṇa is crowned king by Lakṣmaṇa even before the war, in exchange for Rāvaṇa's military secrets.

However like all contracts, the reciprocity clause is the deciding one. An ally who fails to honour his commitments upon achieving his own goal is an object of both contempt and ire. When Rainouart is not invited to the victory banquet of the battle of Aliscans by Guillaume, his fury knows no bounds. He bitterly regrets having thrown in his lot with Guillaume and swears to raze the Christian empire to the ground.[24] When Sugrīva revels in the festivities of his coronation Rāma who waits impatiently for his ally to send

out his monkeys in search of Sītā seethes with anger. He sends out Lakṣmaṇa to warn him of dire consequences.

न च संकुचित: पन्था येन वाली हतो गत: ।
समये तिष्ठ सुग्रीव मा वालिपथमन्वगा: ॥
एक एव रणे वाली शरेण निहतो मया ।
त्वां तु सत्यादतिक्रान्तं हनिष्यामि सबान्धवम् ।   IV.30.81-82.[25]

Any comparative study reveals the unity of human thought as much as it helps you understand the diversity and originality of different cultures. While the French bard and his Indian counterpart seem to have thought along the same broad lines, their individual genius blended with the particular flavour of the society that nurtured them provides for subtle differences of colour and curve.

Unlike the French poet, Vālmīki seems to link the act of striking a military alliance with a change of space. Rāma and Sugrīva come together when Rāma leaves his own space of the city of Ayodhya for an alien space, which is the forest. This incidentally is the space of the monkey king, Sugrīva. As we know Sugrīva and his people are most commonly referred to as *vānara* or inhabitants of the forest or *vana,* also as branch deer or *śākhāmṛga* and as they who leap about or *plavaṅgama* Sugrīva's minister Hanumān is the son of Vāyu, the God of wind, yet another forest deity. Before meeting Sugrīva, the Daṇḍaka forest is a place associated with loss, separation and despair : Sītā is kidnapped by a mysterious enemy who leaves much destruction and death in his wake. However, with the coming together of Rāma and Sugrīva this very place comes to represent new beginnings, hope and the promise of reunion. Similarly, the Rāma-Vibhīṣaṇa alliance comes at the point when Rāma is about to set foot on yet another foreign land namely Laṅkā and by definition enemy territory. As Rāma and his army camp on the shores of the ocean, they are at a loss as to how to reach Laṅkā. Nobody but Hanumān knows anything at all about this space. At such a time having somebody from the enemy camp for a friend and guide would help them find their bearings. Besides, he would be privy to classified information to which the best of non-Rākṣasa spies would not have access. It is Vibhīṣaṇa who suggests how Rāma and his monkey allies can cross the mighty ocean.

एवमुक्तस्तनु धर्मात्मा प्रत्युवाच विभीषण: । समुद्रं राघवो राजा शरणं गन्तुमर्हति ॥
खानित: सगरेणायमप्रमेयो महोदधि: । कर्तुमर्हति रामस्य ज्ञाते: कार्य महोदधि: ॥

VI. 19.30-31.[26]

Yet another example of Vālmīki's insight into human nature is his sensitive portrayal of circumstances that are favourable to the forging of a new alliance. While allies usually come together for professional reasons like we stated

earlier, a similar mindset born out of comparable life situations forges a common bond. Kabandha draws Rāma's attention to this very fact :

परिमृष्टो दशान्तेन दशाभागेन सेव्यते ॥　　II. 72.8b.[27]

Sugrīva has been stripped of both his wife and his kingdom by an over-aggressive older brother. Rāma has been exiled on the eve of his coronation in the name of his half-brother, by an over-ambitious stepmother. Hearing a story so similar to his own Rāma is moved. "The friendship that Hanumān offers to Rāma is put in terms of loss : Sugrīva is *rājyavibhraṣṭa* (dethroned) and *hṛtadāra* (deprived of his wife) and Rāma immediately responds to this. ...Rāma's loss immediately predisposes him psychologically to feel certain bonds with Sugrīva, and Sugrīva has only to say that he lives in fear in the forest without his wife (*hṛtabhāryo vane trasto*) for Rāma to respond spontaneously and without knowing the circumstances that he will kill Vāli who has stolen Sugrīva's wife."[28]

While empathy can be a strong motivating factor, a subtle overlapping of goals will further reinforce commitment on both sides. This mutual dependence keeps alive the fire of a common purpose. By achieving this common goal each one stands to benefit comparably if not equally. Rāma and Vibhīṣaṇa will both benefit though differently from Rāvaṇa's death : Rāma will redeem his honour and win back his wife and Vibhīṣaṇa will at last get to be king. Only if Rāma kills Vāli can Sugrīva become king and only when he is the supreme leader of the monkey forces can he lead a search party to find Sītā.

Yet another significant difference between the two epics seems to be the fact that in the *Cycle de Guillaume d'Orange* a military alliance remains a professional relationship; and like all pacts and agreements, an ally is an ally only for the stipulated period. Once the common goal is achieved, each one goes his way. Rainouart returns to Porpaillart, and in certain versions of the *CG,* Gui is captured and presumably killed without Guillaume getting personally upset by it. He mourns the loss of a fellow warrior, no more no less. However Vibhīṣaṇa and Sugrīva become friends of Rāma. They attend his coronation and Sugrīva is welcomed as part of the family by Bharata. त्वमस्माकं चतुर्णां वै भ्राता सुग्रीव पञ्चमः I VI. 127.47a[29]. Later on he is allowed to join the other Ikṣvākus when they decide to leave their mortal coils in the river Sarayu.

However among the military allies the figure of the enemy who crosses over to become an ally as is the case of both Vibhīṣaṇa and Rainouart is a very interesting one. Both of them belong to their own milieu by the sheer accident of birth. Rainouart is a heathen and Vibhīṣaṇa is a Rākṣasa. But their convictions, moral and ideological make them marginals in their own society. Vibhīṣaṇa is as virtuous as his elder brother is evil; in fact his is

the only voice of righteousness in Rāvaṇa's court. Rainouart though born a Saracen is touched by grace, he wishes more than anything else to be baptised and return to the fold. By throwing their lot in with Rāma and Guillaume, both these characters stand to gain in social status. Hanumān shrewdly reads into the motives behind Vibhīṣaṇa's crossing over to Rāma's side :

उद्योगं तव सम्प्रेक्ष्य मिथ्यावृत्तं च रावणम् । वालिनं च हतं श्रुत्वा सुग्रीवं चाभिषेचितम् ॥ राज्यं प्रार्थयमानस्तु बुद्धिपूर्वमिहागतः ।

VI. 17.66-67a.[30]

Rainouart who currently serves as a lowly cook's assistant in the royal kitchens, sees in this alliance with Guillaume a chance to a better life both as a Christian and a knight. Both these figures contribute significantly to the triumph of the hero. In fact it would not be wrong to say that the choice of these foes turned friends seems to be a strategic one. What better ally than one's enemy's **enemy** ? Besides as new converts to the cause, their almost fanatic zeal could be put to good use. At the battle of Aliscans, among the Saracen hordes are many ogres, demons and such apocalyptic figures : Valegrappe has the scaly serpent skin, Agrapart is a wicked dwarf with sharp talons and burning embers for eyes. What more, these manifestations of Satan use the most unusual weapons : Margot de Bocidant wields a mace, Aérofle swings his axe and Flohart uses a sickle. The Christian forces are at a loss as to how to deal with this cannibalistic enemy who crunches away at swords and gobbles up the adversary. Guillaume recognises that to survive and win this unusual war he needs to have on his side one of them but with a difference. He needs a mirror image, a physical double but a moral opposite of these heathens. Rainouart is that very person : he has a giant-like stature, he wields an unconventional but efficient weapon *le tinel,* which massacres hundreds of enemies in one swing, and what more, he has no compunctions about using his powerful fists too. Who better than a Saracen to kill the Saracens, who else but Déramé's son to kill Déramé ?

The choice of Vibhīṣaṇa as an ally seems to cater to similar criteria. The Rākṣasa forces far outnumber Rāma's monkey troops. While Rāvaṇa's army is fighting on home turf, namely Laṅkā, Rāma and his simian allies are in on alien ground. Besides, the Rākṣasas are adept in the art of *Māyā.* What Rāma needs is to have a Rākṣasa on his side and the renegade Rākṣasa, the dissident member of the war council, the disenchanted sibling seems to be the perfect answer. Vibhīṣaṇa gives a detailed curriculum vita of every general in Rāvaṇa's camp carefully including special boons and weapons obtained from the various gods. He recognises and denounces his brother's spies while his own spies penetrate Rāvaṇa's citadel and bring back confidential information about Rāvaṇa's war strategy. While Indrajit hides behind a smokescreen and continues to wreck havoc among Rāma's troops, Vibhīṣaṇa,

himself skilled in the art of *Māyā* sees through this ploy and reassures the monkeys. In fact it is thanks to this virtuous Rākṣasa that the secret of the *Brahmāstra* and the magical Sītā created by the evil Indrajit is revealed.

However this is where the resemblance ends. Rainouart truly becomes one of the group when he converts to Christianity : Guillaume and his brothers become his godfathers; he is lavished with horses, weapons, his own land and other sumptuous gifts. While baptism caters to his moral needs, his social needs are met by marriage, which provides him with a whole new family network. Once he has severed his connections with his Saracen past Rainouart is given the beautiful princess Aélis, daughter of King Louis and niece of Count Guillaume in marriage. Thus is he completely integrated into a new society where he is accepted unconditionally. Vibhīsana on the other hand, remains a Rākṣasa, albeit a virtuous one. He continues to live in his world while Rāma returns to his. While there is a healthy exchange and dialogue there is no assimilation.

This is perhaps linked to a more fundamental difference between the two epics, which revolves around the question of religion. *Le Cycle de Guillaume d'Orange* is a narrative about the war between Christianity the only true religion and Islam, the erroneous one. Indian epics are all about *dharma* and *adharma*. *Kurukṣetra* is also the *Dharmakṣetra*. The conflict between Rāvaṇa and Rāma is a confrontation between forces that create cosmic and social disharmony and forces that maintain cosmic and social harmony. Rāvaṇa prays to the same gods that Rāma does. But his reign is breeding anarchy and the order of the three worlds is in danger. "Rāvaṇa is a symbol not so much of individual selfishness, as of the malaise of a whole system of governance. The kingdom of Laṅkā is based on arrogance and despotic rule. The wishes of the ruler are sovereign. Plunder and loot account for its wealth. Rāvana is the outcome of a totally materialistic society. His tragic end shows how the greatest may fall if they ignore *dharma*."[31] Thus when Rāma kills Rāvaṇa he does not annex Laṅkā, he merely installs Vibhīṣaṇa, a *dhārmika* Rākṣasa king in place of an *adhārmika* one. In the French epic on the other hand, the enemy must be destroyed or converted. And once the heathen is converted, he is as good as an original Christian. So he is given the pick of Christian princesses, a castle and everything else that will reinforce his new faith and confirm his belonging to this new community. Rākṣasas, the monkey kings and the Ikṣvāku princes are three different watertight communities and nothing will disturb this status quo.

Such is the figure of the companion in warfare, the *sakhā* and the *compagnon*. Vastly different cultures sometimes offer strikingly similar patterns. The Jungian archetype or the Dumézilian Indo-European common denominator, the hypotheses are many. As Joseph Campbell says: "Looking back over the twelve delightful years that I spent on this richly rewarding enterprise

I find that its main result for me has been its confirmation of a thought I have long and faithfully entertained : of the unity of the race of man, not only in its biology but also in its spiritual history, which has everywhere unfolded in a manner of a single symphony, with its themes announced, developed, amplified and turned about, distorted and reasserted, and today in a grand fortissimo of all sections sounding together, irresistibly advancing to some kind of mighty climax out of which the next great movement will emerge and I can see no reason why anyone should suppose that, in the future the same motifs already heard will not be sounding still—in new relationships indeed but the ever same motifs."[32]

Notes and References

1. Voltaire, *Essai sur le poème épique*.

2. Dumèzil Georges, L'Idélogie tripartite des Indo-Européens, Collections *Latomus*, Vol. XXXI, Brussels, 1958.

3. *La Chanson de Guillaume*, ed. François Suard Paris, Classiques Garnier, 1992.

4. *Aliscans*, ed. Claude Règiner, Paris Champion, 1990.

5. *Srimad Valmiki Ramayana*, Gorakhpur Gita Press, 3rd edition 1992.

6. *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine, histoire de mots*, Paris, Klincksieck, 1959, 4th edition, p.631.

7. R.P. Kangle, *The Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra*, New Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass, 1972; Book 6, chapter 1, section 96, verse 1.

8. "Seigneur" répond-elle, "au nom de Dieu, honorez-le, j'ai l'impression qu'il est de très haut lignage d'une grande famille, de fière parenté"- *Als.* v. 4281-83.

9. "Dans toute la France, personne n'avait autant de qualités n'était aussi hardi, aussi vaillant, aussi audacieux." - *Als.* v. 3596-97.

10. "Par ma foi, mon neveu, tu as parlé en sage; tu as corps de jeune homme, mais tes propos sont d'un preux." - *CG.* v. 1479.

11. "The monkey chief who is possessed of extraordinary prowess is full of energy and is endowed with unbounded effulgence, true to his promise, modest, resolute and highly talented, clever, intrepid, glorious and possessed of extraordinary might and valour has been exiled by his high minded brother for the sake of sovereignty. He willl surely prove to be your helper."

12. *CG.* v. 1659-69.

13. IV, 9, 87-90.

14. IV, 12, 12.

15. IV, 2.21-22.

16. "He may be a spy of Rāvaṇa, the ruler of the ogres. Finding his way into our

midst, he may doubtless sow dissension among us."

17. "Since these ogres move about unpercieved, are able to change their form at will and are valiant and crafty, one should never repose trust in them."

18. *Als.* v. 3882-84.

19. "Having demonstrated your prowess and saying to me "Challenge Vāli", what have you done now by getting me smitten by the enemy."

20 "Après ma mort, prends mon fief tout entier." *CG.* v. 1978.

21. "Tu mérites bien d'être chevalier. Que je sois sans honneur, si je ne t'accorde pas une terre, et une épouse vaillante issue de bon lignage." *CG.* v. 3163-65.

22. "I know o mighty monkey that friendship has for objective mutual help. I shall destroy Vāli who has wrested your wife."

23. "You shall be released from the agony of separation from your consort before long, for I will bring her back..... Recovering your consort, O tamer of foes, no matter whether she is in the bowels of the earth or the vaults of heaven, I shall deliver her to you."

24. "Mais par Mahomet, il a eu grand tort de m'oublier. Si je ne m'en venge pas que je sois maudit! Maintenant je suis dans le royaume où je suis né, je convoquerais rois et émirs jusqu'à ce que j'aie rassemblé cent mille hommes en armes. Quand nous aurons franchi les mers, voguant sur navires et vaisseaux, je les conduirai tous en ce royaume. Si mon tinel est cassé ou mis en pièces j'en fabriquerai un autre qui sera encore meilleur. Orange sera conquise, le pays dévasté, le palais de Gloriette mis à sac, Guillaume lui-même, garrotté, sera traîné dans un chariot et emmené prisonnier en Egypte. Il sera étroitement enchaîné et je n'interviendrai pas du tout pour le protéger ou pour lui servir de garant; quant à Aymeri il sera pendu haut et court et tous ses fils seront décapités. Je serai le roi couronné d'Aix-la-Chapelle et Louis sera suspendu au gibet en punition du séjour qu'il m'a imposé dans ses cuisines." *Als.* v. 7576-95.

25. "The route by which Vāli has departed is not closed. Abide by your pledge and do not follow the path of Vāli. Vāli alone was killed by me with an arrow while I will kill you with all your kinsfolk since you have deviated from the truth."

26. "Prince Rāma ought to seek the Ocean as his refuge. This immeasurable ocean was excavated by King Sagara. The ocean ought to accomplish the work of Rāma, a descendant of Sagara."

27. "One who is in misfortune is helped by another who has met a similar fate."

28. J. L. Moussaieff Masson, "Fratricide among Monkeys : Psychoanalytic observations on an episode in the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa", *Journal of the American Oriental Society,* No. 95. 1975, pp. 672-678, p. 673.

29. "You are a fifth brother to us four, O Sugrīva."

30. "Judging your efforts and the misconduct of Rāvaṇa, hearing of Vāli's killing and Sugrīva's coronation, Vibhīṣaṇa, desirous of sovereignty, has arrived here

after much deliberation."

31. Amal Sarkar, *Study on the Ramayanas,* Calcutta, Rddhi India, 1987, p. 117.

32. *The Masks of God.*

MANDAPAS IN VIJAYANAGARA TEMPLES

ANILA VERGHESE

Vijayanagara city, the present-day Hampi in Bellary district of Karnataka, witnessed intense temple building activity during the 200 odd years (mid-fourteenth century to A.D. 1565) that it served as the capital of a mighty kingdom. The style of temple architecture that emerged at Vijayanagara at this time had its impact on temple construction in southern India during the Vijayanagara and post-Vijayanagara periods. An aspect of Vijayanagara temple architecture, highlighted by many writers, is the presence of a large number of pillared pavilions, serving diverse purposes. These are often architecturally more imposing than the main shrine. Many of the decorative elements in Vijayanagara temples are concentrated in these pavilions, with their elaborately sculpted columns, plinths, carved eaves and parapets of brick and plaster.

Of the Vijayanagara temples K.R. Srinivasan comments that they are "remarkable for the great size of their component structures, i.e. the *mandapas* and *gopuras* ".[1] According to Percy Brown, the "elaboration of the ceremonial observances... produced a corresponding elaboration in the temple system by increasing the number of buildings within the temple enclosure, and also to a certain extent altering their intention. In addition to the main temple in the middle, there are separate shrines, pillared halls, pavilions and other annexes, each having its special purpose and each occupying its appointed position in the scheme... Much of the intricacy and rich beauty of the Vijayanagara type of temple was produced by the number and prominence of its pillars and piers, and the manner in which they were sculptured into the most complicated compositions, strange and manifold, so that each becomes a figurative drama in stone. Pavilions containing groups of columns form the principal part of the architectural scheme".[2]

Such descriptions of Vijayanagara temple architecture apply primarily to the large temples, mostly of the sixteenth century. Yet the majority of temples at Hampi-Vijayanagara were small, often comprising only a cella and a porch, or a cella antechamber and a small *mandapa*. Most of them have no enclosure walls, gateways and subsidiary structures. However, the few large temples at the site, and these are the better known ones, do have a multitude of structures, many of them being pillared pavillions. A study of the *mandapas* and their evolution, as well as the functions served by the various types of these structures is taken up here by analysing such halls that are found in the principal temples in Vijayanagara, in a chronological order if feasible.

This analysis is done from the architectural lay-out of the particular type of *maṇḍapa* and inscriptional or literary references to them. The monuments selected for this purpose are the Virūpākṣa, Rāmacandra, Kṛṣṇa, Anantaśayana, Tiruveṅgaḷanātha, Paṭṭābhirāma and Viṭṭhala temples (Map, Plate XIV). Of these, the Virūpākṣa, Rāmacandra, Kṛṣṇa and Viṭṭhala temples were within the limits of the city proper. Paṭṭābhirāma temple was in a suburb south of the capital, while the Anantaśayana shrine was in a suburban centre further south.

The Virūpākṣa temple was not built at one period of time. The core of this monument dates back to the pre-Vijayanagara phase, but much of the temple complex is of the sixteenth century, the earliest additions of this century being Kṛṣṇadevarāya's constructions, namely the *mahāraṅgamaṇḍapa* and the inner east *gopura* of A.D. 1509-10[3]. The Earliest of important temples at the site is the Rāmacandra shrine of the early fifteenth century.[4] Of the temples built entirely in the sixteenth century, the first is the Kṛṣṇa temple constructed by Kṛṣṇadevarāya in A.D. 1515,[5] another monument of the same ruler is the temple of Anantapadmanābha or Anantaśayana Viṣṇu, in the present-day village of Anantasayanagudi, built in A.D. 1524.[6] Of the reign-period of Acyutarāya there are two important temple complexes, namely, the Tiruveṅ-gaḷanātha temple of A.D. 1534[7] and the Paṭṭābhirāma complex.[8] With regard to the Viṭṭhala temple, it was not constructed at one point of time. The core of the temple, including its *raṅgamaṇḍapa*, is of the fifteenth century,[9] its hundred-pillar hall is of A.D. 1516-17,[10] the south-east and north-east corner pavilions were erected sometime between 1517 and 1554;[11] the *mahāmaṇḍapa* is of 1554 A.D.[12]

A *maṇḍapa* can be defined as a pillared structure, it is generally open. *Maṇḍapas* in Vijayanagara temples are of different types. There are those that form an integral part of the architecture of the principal shrine or the subsidiary shrine within the temple complex. Then there are those pavilions which are not attached to the shrines, but are ancillary structures within the temple complex; these include the *kalyāṇa-maṇḍapa* or *utsava-maṇḍapa*, *vāhana-maṇḍapa* and pillared galleries along the enclosure walls. Then there are the pillared structures outside the complex, such as those that line the chariot-street and the temple-tank and the *maṇḍapa* in the centre of the tank. Besides these, there are also the kitchens, storerooms and other subsidiary structures of a pillared nature.

For the purpose of this study, the *maṇḍapas* have been grouped into four main categories :

- those that form part of the principal shrine

- those that are part of the subsidiary shrine

- others within the temple enclosure

- those outside the enclosure.

I. *Maņdapas connected with the principal shrine*

The principal shrine in a temple complex at Vijayanagara usually has the following parts : the sanctum, one or two antechambers, an enclosed circumambulatory passage around these, a *rangamaņdapa* and a *mahāmaņdapa*; the last two are pillared halls.

Rangamaņdapa

The *rangamaņdapa* is a transitional space between the antechambers and the *mahāmaņdapa*,. In Vijayanagara temples it is a partially enclosed pillared hall.

The *rangamaņdapa* of the east-facing Rāmacandra temple is the earliest among the group of monuments selected for analysis. It is an enclosed room with three entrances from the exterior, that is, on the east, south and north; on the west side an open doorway leads into the outer antechamber. Each of the three doorways to the outside leads out into a porch. The northern and southern porches are smaller, each having two pillars only, with low seating slabs between the pillar and the walls of the *maņdapa*. The east porch is more elaborate, it has four pillars; the east side steps cut through this porch, dividing it into two parts, each with two pillars. The eaves over the porches are of the double-curved variety. Inside the *rangamaņdapa* there are four massive, well-carved black stone pillars in the centre and six engaged pillars along the wall. A narrow stone shelf or seating arrangement extends along the wall between these engaged columns. The four central pillars divide the ceiling into nine sections; the central square of this *navaranga* structure (that is, structure divided into nine parts) alone is well carved. Between the four central pillars the flooring is slightly raised to form a sort of low platform. On the western wall, on either side of the doorway, there is an opening like a half-door or window.

The *rangamaņdapa* of the Rāmacandra temple became the model for those in the other Vijayanagara temples. Its features, such as the fact that it is enclosed, has four doorways, side porches (though in the other temples such porches occur only on the two sides), and the slightly raised platform in the centre were adopted in the others; the *navaranga* pattern, too, was generally copied, though two of the temples do not have it. Other features, that are archaic in nature, such as the seating arrangements along the wall or openings/niches on the back wall, are not present in most of the other *rangamaņdapas.*

Chronologically, the next examples could be the *rangamaņdapas* of the Virūpākṣa and Viṭṭhala temples, both probably of the fifteenth century. The *rangamaņdapa* of the east-facing Virūpākṣa temple has porches on the north

and south sides; the doorway on the east opens onto the *mahāmaṇḍapa* and that on the west onto the outer antechamber. Four central pillars frame a low plinth in the centre. The ceiling is divided into nine squares. Two elaborate niches are found on the west wall, on either side of the western doorway.

The one in the Viṭṭhala temple, too, has porches on the north and south sides and doorways on the east and west leading into the *mahāmaṇḍapa* and outer antechamber respectively. As in the Rāmacandra model, here also a narrow shelf extends along the inner wall between the engaged pillars and the seating arrangements in the porches are found. The low plinth in the centre of the hall is also present. What is different is that this *maṇḍapa* has sixteen detached pillars, and not four as is found in the typical example.

The *raṅgamaṇḍapa* of the Kṛṣṇa temple is very similar to that of the Virūpākṣa monument, including the two niches in its western wall.

The Anantaśayana temple is unique in its plan. It is the only large temple within the city and its suburbs that has no *raṅgamaṇḍapa*. Its principal shrine consists of only three parts : *mahāmaṇḍapa,*, a rectangular antechamber and sanctum.

The *raṅgamaṇḍapa* of the north-facing Tiruveṅgaḷanātha temple has porches on the east and west sides and doors on the north and south leading into the *mahāmaṇḍapa* and outer antechamber respectively. Inside there are four central pillars around a low raised area.

The Paṭṭābhirāma temple, like Viṭṭhala, has a large *raṅgamaṇḍapa* in which there are sixteen detached pillars. Other characteristic elements, such as the four entrances and two side porches, are present.

The *raṅgamaṇḍapa*, besides architecturally serving as a link between the outer *maṇḍapa* and the *vimāna* of the temple, was also a functional hall. The low plinth in the centre of these pillared structures suggests that dance, accompanied by music, took place here; for the central slightly raised area directly faces the sanctum, offerings of dance and music being integral to the daily round of temple rituals. It was also from this hall that the devotees could have a *darśana* of the deity, the *vimāna* portion, especially the cella, being the preserve of the temple priests exclusively. Such is the case in the Virūpākṣa temple even today, where the devotees pass through the *raṅgamaṇḍapa* for *darśana*, entering by the south door and proceeding out by the north one; the east door into the *mahāmaṇḍapa* is used in modern times only by the *guru* and the local *rājā*.[13]

Mahāmaṇḍapa

This pillared hall, generally open on three sides, is the first axial *maṇḍapa* and is the outermost part of the principal shrine. This type of *maṇḍapa,* apparently

occurs in Vijayanagara temple architecture mainly in the sixteenth century. The fifteenth century Rāmacandra temple does not have a real *mahāmaṇḍapa*, while in the Virūpākṣa and Viṭṭhala temples, whose core is pre-sixteenth century, the *mahāmaṇḍapas* are clearly dated to the sixteenth century.

In the Rāmacandra temple there is an eight-pillar structure in front of the east porch of the *raṅgamaṇḍapa*. It does not have a plinth, as do all the typical *mahāmaṇḍapas*; its pillars stand directly on the paving slabs of the courtyard. This eight-pillar pavilion is clearly a later addition as its ceiling slabs rest over the *kapota* of the east porch. This structure is the prototype of the sixteenth century *mahāmaṇḍapa*, but in size and construction it is different. One aspect to be noticed is that it is an open hall and the eaves on top are of the double-curved variety. These features, as well as the brick and plaster parapet on top of this structure seem to have been copied in later *mahāmaṇḍapas*, though traces of such parapets are now extant only over some of them.

The *mahāmaṇḍapa* of the Virūpākṣa temple, which in the foundational inscription is referred to as *mahāraṅgamaṇḍapa*, was constructed by Kṛṣṇadevarāya on the occasion of his coronation in A.D. 1509-10. It is in many ways a pioneering structure, with new elements such as the composite-pillar. Even the very idea of such a *maṇḍapa* may have been an innovation. Unlike many of the others of this type, this front *maṇḍapa* is not a neat rectangle, for it has a broad porch-like pillared projection in front of the main part of the hall; this *maṇḍapa* is divided into an open central space and two pillared side aisles. Steps lead up to this *maṇḍapa* on the east, south and north sides. The ceiling of the open central space has hooks on it, for the suspension of a swing. To this day, on certain occasions a swing is hung in this hall and the *utsava-mūrtis* are placed in it.

The Kṛṣṇa temple has a rectangular *mahāmaṇḍapa*, with 32 pillars, and with a four-pillar porch-like projection in front. It is open on the east, north and south sides. There are steps on the north and south sides. The pillars on the outer periphery are of the composite type.

The north-facing Anantaśayana temple has a large front *maṇḍapa*, enclosed on three sides and open only on the western side. It has 50 pillars. On the rear side there are three doors leading from this hall into the antechamber.

The rectangular *mahāmaṇḍapa* of the Tiruveṅgaḷanātha temple is now in a higly dilapidated condition. The Paṭṭābhirāma temple has a large and open seven-aisled rectangular *mahāmaṇḍapa* with 58 pillars. Steps lead up to it on the east side only. These two also have composite pillars along the outer periphery.

The most elaborate *mahāmaṇḍapa* is no doubt the now badly dilapidated

structure in the Viṭṭhala temple, which was built in A.D. 1554. It is polygonal in shape and has 56 composite pillars. Its piers are the most extravagant of all those found at Vijayanagara and they are among the few at the site to which the claim of Percy Brown can be truly applied : "A very striking type of pillar design and also the most frequent is that in which the shaft becomes merely a central core for the attachment of an involved group of statuary, often of heroic size and chiselled entirely in the round, having as its most conspicuous element a furiously rearing horse, rampant hippogryph or upraised animal of a supernatural kind. Another type, sometimes combined and also alternating with the foregoing, shows encircling the central column, a cluster of miniature pillars, slender, mystical, and dreamy..."[14]. This hall also has a porch-like projection in front, its pillars are so arranged as to form a central open nave and two open side aisles.

Thus, the *mahāmaṇḍapa* evolved from the simple eight-pillar structure of the Rāmacandra temple to the elaborate swing pavilion of the Viṭṭhala monument. The *mahāmaṇḍapa*, which was a large and open pavilion, obviously served as a gathering place for visitors and pilgrims to the temple. Perhaps, as happens at present in the Virūpākṣa temple, marriages and other ceremonies were performed in this type of hall. At least two of the *mahāmaṇḍapas*, namely, those of the Virūpākṣa and Viṭṭhala temples, served as swing pavilions, as is revealed in case of the first by the hooks on the ceiling and present-day practice and in the second by the foundational inscription. It is not clear whether the others were also used for such a purpose.

Vāhana-maṇḍapa

Such a *maṇḍapa* may or may not exist, and even if a structure is present for the *vāhana* it is not necessarily in the form of a pavilion. Some of the *vāhana-maṇḍapas* are detached structures, but in some cases it seems to form part of the scheme of the principal shrine.

In the Rāmacandra temple there is no *vāhana-maṇḍapa* within the temple enclosure. But, outside it and at a certain distance away is a *maṇḍapa* that is aligned to the principal shrine, in front of the latter is the stump of a large lamp column. This structure may have served as a *vāhana-mandapa* of the Rāmacandra temple. In the case of the Virūpākṣa, Anantaśayana and Paṭṭābhirāma temples, the *vāhana-maṇḍapa* is in the form of a small four-pillar pavilion, resting on a plinth and crowned by a brick and mortar superstructure. Each of these is located in the respective temple courtyard, directly in front of and facing the principal shrine. In the Kṛṣṇa temple there is no separate pavilion for the *vāhana* However, the four-pillar porch-like projection in the front of the *mahāmaṇḍapa* may have once housed the *vāhana*. In front of the *mahāmaṇḍapa* of the Tiruvengaḷanātha temple there is a small cella-like structure which may have once housed the *vāhana* The most elaborate structure

for a *vāhana* is that in the Viṭṭhala temple. Here it is in the form of a stone-chariot and it is not a pillared structure; originally there was a brick and mortar superstructure over the stone-chariot[15] (Plate XI, A).

The *vāhana-mandapas*, where they exist, are always in front of the principal shrine and aligned with it. It was meant to house the image of the *vāhana* of the main deity, such as Nandi in a Śiva temple and Garuḍa in a Viṣṇu shrine. The *vāhana* directly faces the *mūrti* of the god that is located in the sanctum. Not all the structures meant to house the *vāhana* are in the form of a pavilion.

II. *Mandapas of subsidiary shrines*

A feature of Vijayanagara temple architecture is the presence in the temple complex of a subsidiary shrine. Generally these are for the consort goddess. Some temples have more than one such shrine; these may have housed other 'family deities' of the principal divinity. The larger subsidiary shrines usually have one or two axial *mandapas*.

The subsidiary shrine in the Rāmacandra temple is to the north-west of the principal shrine. It has two cellas, one antechamber and a *mandapa* which is open on the east side.

The Kṛṣṇa temple has four single-celled sub-shrines within the inner courtyard and also a fairly large subsidiary shrine, comprising two cellas, one antechamber and a fairly large *mandapa* that is divided into a lower front portion and a raised rear part. This pattern of a double *mandapa* for the subsidiary shrine is found in certain other temples, too. Thus, the now dilapidated one in the Anantaśayana temple appears to have originally had an open outer *mandapa* and an enclosed inner one, that is fully open in the front. In the Viṭṭhala complex there are two subsidiary shrines. The one in the south-west corner is small, comprising only a porch-like entrance, an antechamber and a sanctum. The one in the north-west corner is more elaborate. It has two cellas, two antechambers and an inner enclosed *mandapa* as well as an outer, open one.

The subsidiary shrine in the Paṭṭābhirāma temple has an antechamber, sanctum and a *mandapa* of 20 pillars; it is open in the front. The one in the Tiruvengalanātha temple has only one *mandapa*, open in the front, two cellas and one antechamber.

In general, the *mandapas* of the subsidiary shrines are small and even when there are two *mandapas* they are not like the *mahāmandapa* and *rangamandapa* arrangement to be found in the principal shrines. Their purpose appears to be fairly simple, namely, to serve as places for the devotees to gather. There is no arrangement in them for dance or musical performance, swing festival and so on.

III. *Maṇḍapas within temple courtyards that are not attached to shrines*

Within the temple courtyard are a number of different types of *maṇḍapas.* The most characteristic one in a developed Vijayanagara temple is the so-called *kalyāṇa-maṇḍapa* or *utsava-maṇḍapa*; others include the hundred-pillar hall, the kitchens and storerooms and the pillared galleries along the enclosure walls.

Kalyāṇa-maṇḍapa

This is a pillared pavilion, open either on all sides or on three sides, with a raised platform in the centre.

The earliest of such halls at Vijayanagara is possibly the one in the north-west corner of the outer courtyard of the Virūpākṣa temple. It is built at three levels : with twenty pillars at the ground level, then twelve pillars around a low platform, in the centre of which is a smaller pedestal with four pillars around it.

The Rāmacandra temple has one such pavilion in the south-east corner of the courtyard. This open structure has twelve pillars of which four are around the raised platform, the ceiling above this is raised. Very similar is the one in the north-west corner of the rear portion of the outer *prākāra* of the Kṛṣṇa temple, where stands a *maṇḍapa* of sixteen pillars of which the four central ones are around a raised platform. Also similar in plan is the one in the Anantaśayana temple, to the side of the principal shrine, which has sixteen pillars of which the four central ones are set around a raised plinth; the one difference is that this one is fully free-standing, while those of the Rāmacandra and Kṛṣṇa temples abut the enclosure wall.

In the Kṛṣṇa temple there was a second such pillared structure. It was dismantled by the Archaeological Survey of India in 1987 and has not been reconstructed to date. It was in the front portion of the outer enclosure, to the south of the east inner *gopura,* abutting the inner enclosure wall. It consisted of three levels : a four-pillar porch-like projection in front at ground level, a raised area behind with a platform resting on it. Thus, in the Kṛṣṇa temple there were two such *maṇḍapas.*

Similar to the last mentioned example in the Kṛṣṇa temple is the collapsed *maṇḍapa* in the south-west corner of the front portion of the outer enclosure of the Tiruveṅgaḷanātha temple. It is built in three levels, the lowest practically at ground level, the second raised and the third a small platform on the latter at the rear. In the Paṭṭābhirāma temple there is no such *kalyāṇa-maṇḍapa.*
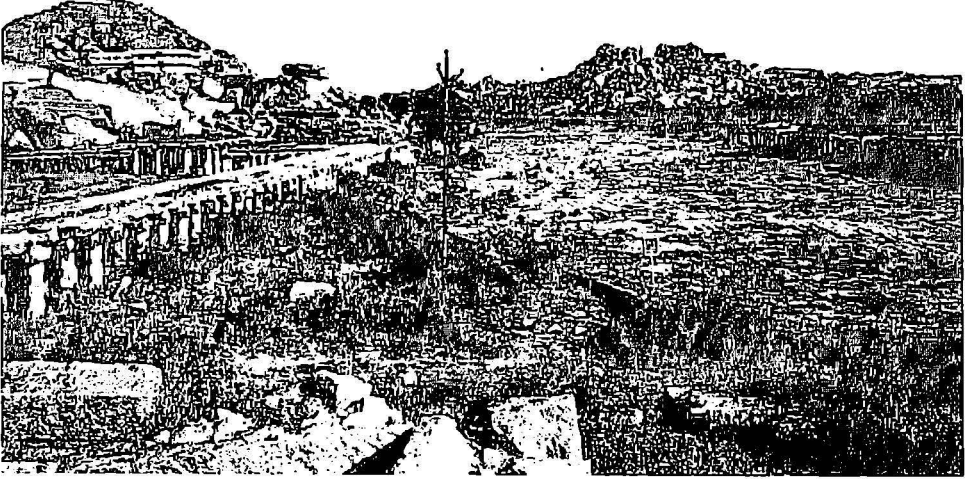
The most ornate examples of such pavilions are found in the Viṭṭhala temple, where there are two, one in the south-east (Plate XI,B) and the other in the north-east (Plate XI,A) corner of the enclosure. These, especially the
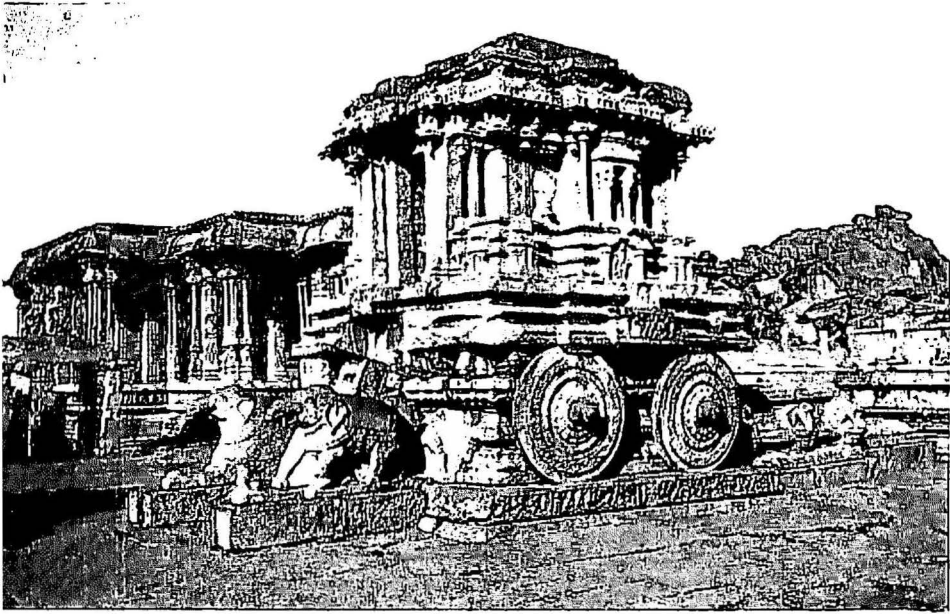
A. Stone-chariot and North-east corner pavilion, Viṭṭhala temple.
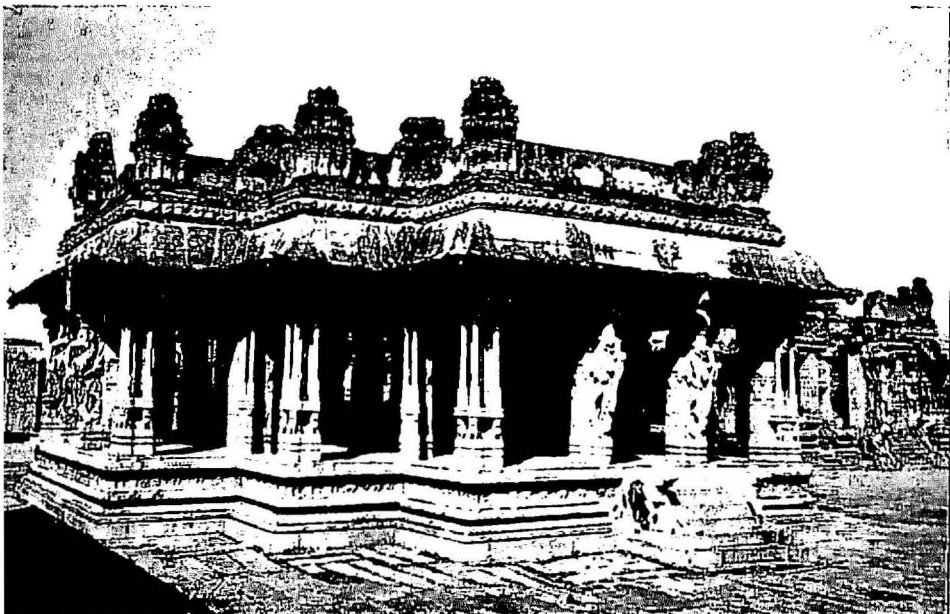
B. South-east corner pavilion (*kalyāṇa-maṇḍapa*), Viṭṭhala temple.

A. Colonnades lining the chariot-street and the temple tank, Kṛṣna temple complex.
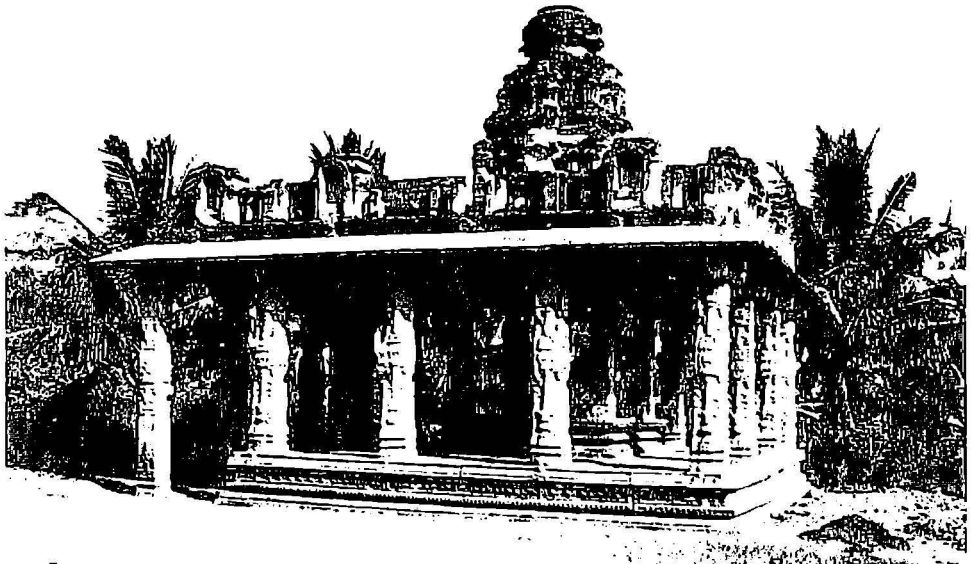
B. *Maṇḍapa* at the end of the chariot-street, Viṭṭhala temple complex.
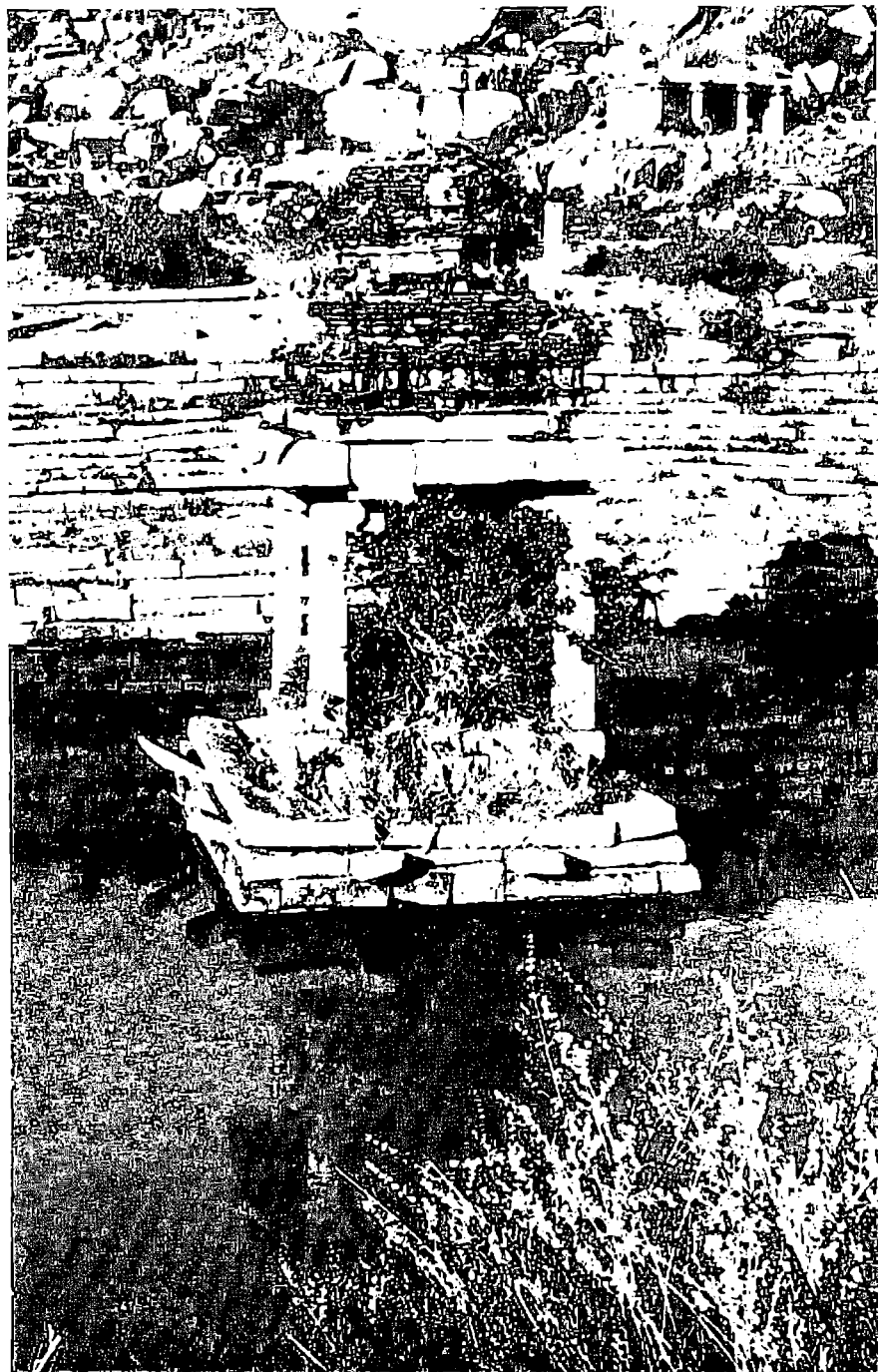
Four-pillar pavilion in the centre of the temple tank, Viṭṭhala temple complex.

Map of Vijayanagara City.

1. Virūpākṣa temple, 2. Rāmacandra temple, 3. Kṛṣṇa temple,
4. Tiruvengalanātha temple, 5. Paṭṭābhirāma temple, 6. Viṭṭhala temple

south-east corner pavilion, have such an elaborately carved plinth, pillars and superstructure that it came to typify in the popular imagination the Vijayanagara style of *kalyāna-mandapas*. However, these are the most elaborate and the latest of such halls that were built at the site and are unique to the Viṭṭhala temple. The simpler and smaller varieties found in the other temples are really more typical.

The south-east pavilion in Viṭṭhala is polygonal in plan; there are steps on the east, north and west sides. There is a raised fairly wide platform in the centre of this *mandapa*, in the middle of which is another platform. The ceiling above the central platform is raised and is exquisitely carved. The north-east corner pavilion is irregular in plan. It is built in three levels, the highest being a square raised pedestal at the back, around which are four pillars. It is not clear as to why there were two such pavilions in the Viṭṭhala complex, facing each other. Perhaps, the increasing number of festivities and ceremonials in this temple necessitated the construction of two such *mandapas* near each other.

The purpose served by such *mandapas* is clear. They were used on particular festive occasions, especially the annual *kalyānotsava* or the marriage festival of the god and goddess, when the processional deities would be brought ceremoniously to these pavilions and placed on the raised platform for the rituals, in full view of the crowds gathered in the temple courtyard. This still happens in the Virūpākṣa temple which is the only living temple among the ones analysed in this paper. In temples in which there are more than one such *mandapa*, perhaps, while the deities were taken around in procession, different rituals were performed in the different *mandapas*, or they were used for different festivals.

Hundred-Pillar halls

These structures, with approximately a hundred columns, also have a characteristic plan, suited to the function they served. All of them are built at three levels, each extending the full breadth of the hall. First is a lower level, with steps leading up to it. Then is the slightly raised central portion. This section has an open space down the middle. To the rear, is a stage-like raised platform, again having an open area in the centre with no pillars to obstruct the view.

The hundred-pillar hall in the Viṭṭhala temple, as proposed by me in another paper,[16] was the first of such halls to be erected at the site and it became the model for all the others. Such halls also exist in the Virūpākṣa temple, the Tiruvengalanātha temple and the Paṭṭābhirāma temple. The Rāmacandra, Kṛṣṇa, and Anantaśayana temples do not have such a hall. The only other temple having it is Mālyavanta Raghunātha temple, which is a large complex, but which unfortunately cannot be exactly dated.

The very nature of such halls indicates the purpose they once served. They are obviously places for performances, namely, the staging of drama, dance or music performances, for the recitation from holy books or for the delivery of religious discourses.

Kitchens and Storerooms

Many of the large temples have structures within that functioned as places for the cooking, and also possibly serving, of food. These are generally partially closed and have a clerestory type of arrangement or holes for smoke to go out. There are other enclosed pillared structures that do not have such facilities for the exit of smoke. These were probably storerooms of grain, or of other items used in temple rituals or perhaps they even served as temple treasuries for the storage of costly items used to decorate the deities, as well as material wealth of the temple. Due to the dilapidated nature of many of the Vijayanagara temples, a detailed survey of such structures is not feasible.

The kitchen in the Virūpākṣa temple is the largest. It is a huge rectangular pillared structure to the south, outside the enclosure walls, but abutting them. In the centre it is open to the sky, thus the smoke can easily escape. A channel of water flows through a part of this hall. The southern part of this kitchen is built on the lower slope of Hemakūṭa hill, hence the flooring is not even.

The pillared gallery along the inner face of the wall of the inner courtyard of the Kṛṣṇa temple extends in three corners to form *maṇḍapas*, an open one in the south-west corner and enclosed ones in the north-east and south-east. The *maṇḍapa* in north-east corner has a ceiling in the centre that is raised on four dwarf pillars, providing for a clerestory. This may have been used as a kitchen. The one in the south-east is closed, with a doorway on the western side. On the east wall there are some holes at the top, probably for light and air. The presence of two large monolithic hollowed out containers, one circular and the other rectangular indicates that this might have been some sort of a storehouse. Besides these structures within the inner enclosure, in the outer one in the south-west there is a domed structure, which was probably a granary.[17]

In the Paṭṭābhirāma temple in the south-east and north-east corners of the colonnade along the inner side of the enclosure wall there is a small *maṇḍapa*. The one in the north-east has fully collapsed. Perhaps, these were meant to be a kitchen and/or storeroom.

In the Viṭṭhala temple there is an enclosed *maṇḍapa* in the south-east corner of the colonnade along the enclosure wall. The entrance is from the west. In it are six rows of six pillars each. At the east end, there is a second

row of dwarf pillars, resting over the main ones, forming a clerestory; on the east wall there are also some holes at the top. The presence of these outlets indicates that this must have been a kitchen. The same is hinted at by the presence of three mortar stones lying within this structure.

In the Tiruveṅgaḷanātha temple, too, in the south-east and north-east corners of the inner courtyard, *maṇḍapas* are present; the first is open and the latter enclosed. The second may have served as a place of cooking or storage.

In the Rāmacandra temple there is no pillared structure that can be definitely identified as a kitchen or storeroom. However, there is an enclosed pavilion, with a clerestory type of arrangement. This is the north-east corner *maṇḍapa*, obviously a later addition within this temple courtyard, built against the inner face of the enclosure wall and covering up some of the fine *Rāmāyaṇa* panels on this wall. Its sole door is on the southern side. In this hall there is a raised platform which has four pillars, one in each corner. The ceiling above this raised space has a clerestory. Though such a provision for smoke to escape is provided, the decorative nature of this structure, the presence of the *Rāmāyaṇa* reliefs along two of its inner walls and of a raised platform prove that this could not have served as a kitchen. It is also too prominently located within the temple courtyard to have been put to such a mundane use. The purpose once served by this *maṇḍapa* is not really known, perhaps it was used for some fire-rituals or *yajñas.*

Pillared galleries along the enclosure wall

Although these cannot really be termed as *maṇḍapas*, such colonnades being pillared structures could be included in this survey. In all the large temples at Vijayanagara there are such galleries, generally of three rows of pillars; in many of the temples they are now in a dilapidated condition. In the Virūpākṣa, Kṛṣṇa and Tiruveṅgaḷanātha, temples that each have two *prākāras*, in the first two temples pillared galleries are present in the inner courtyard only, but in the third there are the remains of a colonnade that once lined the inner face of the outer enclosure wall. In the Rāmacandra temple the gallery does not exist all around, but only in the south-east and north-west ends. In many of the Vijayanagara temples the pillars of the colonnade are plain; but in some temples, for example Virūpākṣa and Viṭṭhala, the columns of the gallery are well-carved, the front row even being of the composite variety.

The colonnade along the enclosure wall provided sheltered spaces for the pilgrims and visitors to the temple to rest in. From there they could also observe the various festive happenings and gatherings taking place in the temple courtyard.

Besides these, in some temples there are other pillared structures within

the courtyard. For example, in the Kṛṣṇa temple, in the inner *prākāra* in the north-east corner, there is a six-pillar pavilion. In the front portion of the outer enclosure also there are some small pavilions. It is difficult to determine the functions that these fulfilled.

IV. *Maṇḍapas outside the main temple enclosure*

Pillared structures are to be seen outside the enclosed temple areas as well. These include the four-pillar pavilion, colonnades lining the chariot-street, the pavilion at the end of the street and those associated with the temple tank, such as galleries lining these, and the *maṇḍapa* in the centre of it and the one at one side.

Four-pillar pavilion

In some of the temple complexes there are tall four-pillar pavilions. In the Kṛṣṇa temple one such structure is to the south-east of the east *gopura* of the inner enclosure; in the Viṭṭhala temple there is one outside the enclosure to the south-west of the south *gopura*. Besides these two, such a pavilion can also be found on Mālyavanta hill to the south-east of the temple complex; this one has a brick and mortar superstructure.

The purpose served by such pavilions is indicated by the Viṭṭhala example, which has a stone ring on the inside in the centre of its ceiling. This must have made possible the suspension of something, perhaps a swing for the deity when he was brought out in procession during certain festivals. Perhaps, there were other rituals in which such pavilions were used. For example, during *Kṛṣṇa-Jayantī* in great Śrī-Vaiṣṇava temples there is the custom of hanging pots of curds and milk in a four-pillar structure, the pots being broken during the rituals.[18] This may have been a use to which the pavilions in the Kṛṣṇa and Viṭṭhala temples could have been put to since they are dedicated to Kṛṣṇa and Viṭṭhala, a form of Kṛṣṇa.

Galleries lining the chariot-street

The Virūpākṣa, Kṛṣṇa, Tiruveṅgaḷanātha and Viṭṭhala temples each have a long street for the car-festival, when the deity was taken in procession in the temple chariot. These are lined on either side by a colonnade of two or three rows of pillars; in some cases, however, such colonnades have only partially survived (Plate XII, A).

These served a dual purpose. They provided temporary shelters and even residence for the crowds who visited the temples on the great festive occasions, as has been described by Paes, an early sixteenth century visitor to the city, of the Virūpākṣa chariot-street.[19] Some of these also served as bazars. In the Virūpākṣa chariot-street this function is served to this day. That this was the case with the Kṛṣṇa[20] and Tiruveṅgaḷanātha[21] streets (originally known

as Kṛṣṇāpura-peṭhe and Acyutarāya-peṭhe respectively) is revealed by inscriptions.

Maṇḍapas at the end of the chariot-streets

At the end of each of these streets generally there is a pavilion. The one at the end of the very long Virūpākṣa chariot-street is a double-storeyed *maṇḍapa* in which columns of some pre-Vijayanagara structure have been re-used. No *maṇḍapa* is now extant at the end of the Kṛṣṇa bazar, probably it was damaged or dismantled since the entire bazar area has been under cultivation. At the end of the Tiruveṅgaḷanātha car-street only the plinth of the *maṇḍapa* that once existed is standing. The best example is the one at the end of the long and wide Viṭṭhala chariot-street. It has four pillars in front at the ground level, that form a sort of entrance porch, then there is a platform with pillars along its edge. In the centre of the latter is a smaller platform with a pillar in each of its four corners. The ceiling above the platform is raised. Above it is a brick and mortar superstructure and a brick and plaster parapet edging the roof of the *maṇḍapa* (Plate XII,B).

The Viṭṭhala example, with its raised platform, points to the fact that such a *maṇḍapa* served some ritual purpose. During the chariot-festival the processional deities would probably have been placed in the *maṇḍapa* and some rituals performed before their return trip to the temple.

Maṇḍapas connected with the temple tank

A characteristic feature of a large Vijayanagara temple is the presence of a temple tank. In most cases these are off the chariot-street. These tanks are usually lined by pillared galleries on four sides, there is also a *maṇḍapa* on one side of it and there is a small pavilion in the centre of it. All these served specific purposes.

The tank of the Virūpākṣa temple is different from those of the others. This tank is to the north of the temple. It is lined by steps on all sides, but there is neither a pillared gallery around it, nor a *maṇḍapa* at one side nor one in the centre of it. This tank, or another on the same spot, probably existed prior to Vijayanagara times, since a number of pre-Vijayanagara period shrines are found around it.

The temples that possess typical sixteenth century variety of temple tanks are the Kṛṣṇa, Tiruveṅgaḷanātha, Paṭṭābhirāma and Viṭṭhala monuments.

The Kṛṣṇa temple tank is situated to the north side of the chariot-street; it is surrounded on all four sides by two rows of pillars which are partly collapsed on the east side. The entrance to the tank is from the southern side. To the west of the tank there is a fairly large *maṇḍapa* and in the centre is a four-pillar pavilion with a double-storeyed brick and mortar

superstructure. The western side *maṇḍapa* is open on all sides; it is built in three levels : a front portion at ground level, then a platform on which is a smaller raised platform.

In front of the Paṭṭābhirāma temple there are no traces of a chariot-street. If it once existed it has now vanished. Yet, a tank is extant at a short distance to the east of the east *gopura* The tank has steps on all four sides and there are the remains on the north side of it of the pillared gallery that once existed. In the middle of the water is a four-pillar pavilion with a double-storeyed brick and plaster superstructure. There are no remains of a *maṇḍapa* to one side of it. It is not known whether or not one existed in the past.

In the case of the Tiruveṅgaḷanātha temple, the tank is on the west side of the chariot-street. It was surrounded by a pillared gallery on all four sides, which is in a largely collapsed condition. It was originally beautiful; for the plinth is well-carved, some of the pillars are of the composite variety, especially those of the front row near the tank. There is a four-pillar pavilion in the centre of the tank.

The Viṭṭhala temple, too, has a tank. It is to the north side of the chariot-street. The entrance gateway is on the south side. The gate is a fairly elaborate one, faced by composite pillars, the front two having rearing horses carved on to the pillar-shaft. The tank is stepped. There is a four-pillar *maṇḍapa* in the middle of the tank (Plate XIII). To the west side of the Viṭṭhala tank there is a *maṇḍapa,* originally of sixteen pillars. It has a raised platform in the middle.

The temple tanks served not only the needs of the devotees, namely, to have a purificatory dip before proceeding to the temple, but they also served the needs of temple rituals. For on specific occasions the deities were brought to the tank and taken around it in a raft. This was known as the *teppa-tirunāḷu* or float-festival. This still takes place during the annual *Brahmotsava* of the Virūpākṣa temple.

The galleries around the tank would have been used by the public gathered for the float-festival, as well as by the visitors to the temple desirous of taking a dip in the tank to dry their clothes, to rest in and so on. The *maṇḍapa* in the centre and that to one side served the purposes of placing the deities during the course of the float-festival for certain rituals connected with the festivities.

Thus, pillared halls, pavilions and colonnades are numerous and of varied types in the large Vijayanagara temples. They served the increasing complexities of the rituals and festivals that occured in these great religious complexes. Medium-sized temples, even the important Rāmacandra one, do not have all the types of the pavilions described in this paper; while the smaller ones

do not have them at all, except for a porch or one or more axial *maṇḍapas* attached to the *vimāna*. These pillared structures are predominantly a sixteenth century feature of the big temples. Besides serving the ritualistic needs, they also were utilised by the public visiting these popular temples. Aesthetically these diverse types of columned structures added to the decorativeness as well as impressiveness of these Vijayanagara temple complexes. Some of these, such as the *mahāmaṇḍapa* and the *kalyāṇa-maṇḍapa*, became integral to southern Indian temple architecture in the late Vijayanagara and post-Vijayanagara times. Others are unique to temples in the capital city and are not found in those elsewhere. Among these are the hundred-pillar hall, used for performances, and the colonnades lining the chariot-streets. Pillared halls and colonnades continue to be important in large southern Indian temples to this day. These, together with towering *gopuras*, architecturally completely overshadow the *vimānas* of the temples.

Notes and References

1. K.R. Srinivasan, *Temples of South India*, National Book Trust, New Delhi, 1972, p. 168.

2. P. Brown, *Indian Architecture (Buddhist and Hindu)*, 7th Reprint, Bombay D.G.Taraporewala Sons and Co., 1976, p. 91.

3. *Epigraphia Indica*, Calcutta/New Delhi : Archaeological Survey of India, 1892 onwards pp. 361-371.

4. Anila Verghese, *Religious Traditions at Vijayanagara : As Revealed through its Monuments*, New Delhi: Manohar Publications and the American Institute of Indian Studies, p. 48.

5. E. Hultzsch et. al. (eds), *South Indian Inscriptions*, 23 Vols., Madras / New Delhi: Government Press and Archaeological Survey of India, 1890-1979, Vol. IV, Nos. 254 and 255.

6. *Annual Reports on South Indian Epigraphy*, Madras / Calcutta : Government Press, 1887 onwards, Report for 1922, No. 683.

7. *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. IX, Part II, No. 564.

8. Anila Verghese, *op.cit.*, p.49.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 62.

10. *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for 1922, Nos. 711, 712, and 713.

11. P. Filliozat, "Techniques and Chronology of the Construction of the Vithala Temple at Hampi", in *Vijayanagara City and Empire : New Currents of Research*, ed. by A. L. Dallapiccola, Stuttgart Steiner Verlag, Wiesbaden GMBH, 1985, Vol. I, p. 301.

12. *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. IX, Part II, No. 653.

13. Dr. Allan Shapiro, personal communication.

14. P. Brown, *loc.cit*

15. The Viṭṭhala temple's *vāhana maṇḍapa* in the form of a stone chariot probably served as the model for chariot-shaped structures for the *vāhana* in certain late Vijayanagara temples outside the capital such as the Chintala Veṅkaṭaramaṇṇa at Tadapatri and the Cenna Keśava temple at Somapalem (Andhra Pradesh).

16. Anila Verghese, "An Architectural Innovation of Kṛṣṇadevarāya at Vijayanagara" (forthcoming publication).

17. G. Michell, "Architectural Traditions at Vijayanagara : Islamic Styles", in *Vijayanagara City and Empire : New Currents of Research*, ed. by A.L. Dallapiccola, Stuttgart: Stenier Verlag Wiesbaden GMBH, 1985, Vol. I, p.285.

18. Anila Verghese, *Religious Traditions at Vijayanagara*, p.104.

19. R. Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, Reprint (New Delhi : Asian Educational Services, 1984) p.260.

20. *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. IV, Nos.265 and 266.

21. *Ibid.,* Vol. IX, Part II, No. 564.

List of Illustrations

REVIEWS

VAIDIKATVA IN INDIAN PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION, Ed. S.G. MUDGAL, AARSH, Akshardham Centre for Applied Research in Social Harmony, Akshardham, Gandhinagar - 382020, 1996, pp. 194, Rs. 90.

The volume under review is a collection of articles by well-known scholars in the area of Indian Philosophy and Religion'

The volume opens with the base paper in Sanskrit by Sādhu Śrutiprakāśadāsa and its translation in English 'Vaidikatva in Indian Philosophy and Religion' by Dr. S. N. Patil and ends with Prof. R. M. Dave's paper : Śrī Svāminārāyaṇa's Navya Viśiṣṭādvaita and Vedas. In between these two papers we have eight papers by well-known scholars on the following eight topics : 1. The Concept of Vaidika (T. N. Dharmadhikari) 2. Who is Vaidika ? (S.S. Antarkar) 3. How far is Kevalādvaita Vedānta based on the Vedas ? (E. A. Solomon) 4. Vedas and Advaita (M. D. Paradkar) 5. Vedas and Dvaita Vedānta (D. Prahlada Char) 6. Vallabhācārya and his Vedic Heritage (R.J. Bhatt) 7. Vaidikatva according to Bhagavāna Svāminārāyaṇa (Sādhu Vivekasāgaradāsa) and 8. Three Socio-Religious Hindu Reformation Movements of the 19th Century based on the Vedic Authority and Their Impact at the end of the 20th century (J. M. Dave).

All the ten papers are scholarly and contribute to knowledge. In a short review like this it is not possible to review even in brief each and every paper. Only one or two papers may briefly be noticed here. Dr. Antarkar critically discusses the various objections raised against the *vaidikatva* of the *darśanas* and *ācāryas.* He rightly observes that the presumption of the base paper that *vaidikatva* consists in accepting one and only one theory or doctrine and one and only one path is unwarranted. In conclusion he states the following four features of *vaidikatva* : (i) Śruti is the primary and final source of knowledge of *dharma* and *brahman* or *ātman.* (ii) Tarka and other *pramāṇas* so also Smṛti, Purāṇas and other Āgamas have no independent and autonomous status but they are all subordinate to Śruti. (iii) The right method to know the Ultimate Truth is the exegetical Mīmāṁsā method coupled with practice (Sādhanā). (iv) No sect, no exponent, no system can make the exclusive claim to Truth. The Truth is one but the wise call it by different names... There are many divergent paths leading to the same Truth. Each person has to accept the truth and its path according to his *adhikāra* (p. 75).

Dr. Solomon critically discusses the question 'How far is Kevalādvaita Vedānta based on the Vedas' and comes to the conclusion : "Śaṅkarācārya

followed in the footsteps of his spiritual predecessor Gauḍapādācārya and laid the firm foundation of the Absolute Monism (of Kevalādvaita Vedānta) basing his views on the concept of Absolute Brahman as found in the Upaniṣads and at the same time interpreting the Upaniṣadic sentences and the Brahmasūtras in the light of the Truth he was convinced of as the Supreme Truth could be but one and so ought to have been visualised by the ancient seers (p.87).

The printing is pleasing to the eye. Avoidance of a large number of errors of printing would have made it more pleasing.

V. M. Kulkarni

BHĀRATĪYA TATTVAJÑĀNA – KEṬALĪKA SAMASYĀ (Indian Philosophy – Some Problems), NAGIN J. SHAH, Sanskrit-Sanskriti Granthamala No. 5, pub. Dr. Jagruti Sheth, Ahmedabad, First edition, 1998, pp. 8+184, Rs. 99. (Gujarati).

Perhaps this is the first book of its kind in Gujarati, exploring the rich field of Indian philosophy. Dr. Nagin Shah, an eminent scholar of Indian philosophy, discusses here some of the most crucial philosophical problems that have engaged the Indian thinkers from very early times.

The work is divided into seven chapters. The first chapter explains how various concepts and theories are evolved from the consideration of the pair of *sat-asat* The view that *sat* is produced from *asat* is as old as Nāsadīyasūkta and this view is fully developed into the Vaiśeṣika theory of *asatkāryavāda*. Again, to explain the production of *sat* from *asat* some interpreted *sat* as manifest or actual and *asat* as unmanifest or potential. This is the essence of *satkāryavāda*. Then Dr. Shah nicely demonstrates three grades of *sat* recognised in Vijñānavāda, Śūnyavāda and Śaṅkara Vedānta. This is followed by the interesting treatment of the definitions of *sat* offered by the different schools and their refutation by rival schools. At last, the *sat-asatvilakṣaṇatāvāda* and its acceptance by Buddha, Śūnyavāda, Śaṅkara and the Jaina is dealt with.

The second chapter is devoted to the exposition of *mokṣa* (liberation). As liberation necessarily implies existence of soul, the author presents various views about the nature of soul. The presentation is novel because here the exposition is conducted under the heads of *acittādvaita, citta-acitta* dichotomy, *ātman-anātman* dichotomy and *ātmādvaita,* and some interesting observations are made. Then triple misery, causes of misery, means of their removal, possibility of liberation are succinctly dealt with. After that all systems are taken one by one and their conceptions of liberation are explained. Especially noteworthy is Shah's treatment of Buddhist *nirvāṇa.* Indian thinkers are divided on the

question as to whether the soul in a liberated state has pure happiness and knowledge. This difference is rooted in their different conceptions of the nature of soul.

The third chapter treats of the problem of *karma* and rebirth. Dr. Shah rightly points out that almost all Indian philosophers have argued in support of rebirth on the ground that even a new-born babe expresses joy or sorrow, an expression impossible in the absence of a past experience associated with joy or sorrow. Again, they submit that certain happenings pertaining to the life of a living being remain unexplained in terms of observable factors related to this life, this necessitating the positing of *karma*-done-in-a-previous - birth. The basic principle that governs the *karma* theory is that every act must necessarily be followed by its consequence. The inequalities and differences observed in living beings remain unexplained if we do not posit *karma* - done-in-previous-birth. The term *'karma'* means mental, vocal or bodily act as also a trace or an impression that the act leaves behind on the soul. This impression serves as a link between an act and its fruit. All agree on this point. But there is a difference of opinion among thinkers about how *karma* (impression) works. Having explained all this, the author systematically expounds different versions of *karma* theory, found in all the major schools. His exposition of the Yoga and Jaina *karma* theory deserves our special attention. He points out that the theory of *karma* and rebirth is common to all systems of Indian philosophy. He takes note of the criticism, generally levelled against *karma* theory, that it leads to pessimism and predeterminism. In refutation he rightly observes that the criticism springs from incomplete understanding of the theory. As a result of the past *karma* one acquires particular means and is put in a particular situation and circumstances but in a given situation and circumstances and with given means he is free to employ the means the way he likes and to react the way he likes, he may choose to remain calm and composed or he may choose to get mentally agitated and to yield to passions. Again, it is recognised in *karma* theory that man can alter, lessen and even destroy the influences of his past *karma*. At the end the author draws our attention to an important point that omniscience in the sense of simultaneous direct knowledge of all the states – past, present and *future* – of all the individual substances necessarily implies strict predeterminism, leaving no scope for a living being to change its future states absolutely fixed to occur in particular order at particular time, place and in particular contexts. And such strict predeterminism contradicts and effaces *karma* theory which recognises freedom of will, self-reform and moral responsibility. So omniscience of a perfected soul or God necessarily implying predeterminism utterly demolishes *karma* theory. Omniscience and *karma* theory being totally contradictory, one and the same thinker or system cannot uphold both, he must choose either of the two.

The fourth chapter is the most commendable of all. In it we find, with wonder, a wide spectrum of different views about *Īśvara*. Shah has taken special pains to fathom this vital problem at great length, as not less than eighty five pages are devoted to it. In the beginning he clarifies that Indian thinkers are divided into two groups with regard to their views about *Īśvara*. One group maintains that *īśvara* is nothing but a *jīvanmukta* who has earned his Godhood through spiritual discipline. His sole function is to impart instruction of spiritual living which leads to ultimate release. Another group contends that *Īśvara* was not bound in the past, nor is he bound at present, nor will he be bound in future. He is *nityamukta*. Again, he is one, he is the world-creator and dispenser of the fruits of the past actions performed by living beings. Dr. Shah is of the view that the Jaina, the Bauddha, the Sāṁkhya, the early Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika thinkers and Patañjali belong to the first group, while later Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika thinkers and Vedāntī Vaiṣṇavācāryas belong to the second group. While dealing with Patañjali's conception of *Īśvara*, the author explains his three concerned aphorisms with the help of concepts or ideas found in the Yogasūtra itself. By doing so he wants to keep his explanation as free as possible from the later concepts of commentators. His interpretation leads him to equate Patañjali's *Īśvara* with a *Vivekī* who has attained *dharmamegha-samādhi*. Though our reason may agree with his line of argumentation, our faith tends to reject it. We feel that Patañjali has accepted *apriori* existence of *Īśvara* who is beyond the realm of reason. He is represented symbolically as AUM. He is a transcendental Ideal for all aspirants of liberation. Dr. Shah, however, rightly demonstrates that there is no explicit mention of *Īśvara* in the *Vaiśeṣikasūtra* of Kaṇāda. Then he proceeds to explain Gautama's three aphorisms which deal with *Īśvara*, taking words in their natural meaning and disregarding the interpretations of commentators. From his explanation of the aphorisms it naturally follows that according to Gautama *jīvanmukta* himself is *Īśvara*. And his consistent explanation of Vātsyāyana's Bhāṣya on aphorism 4.1.21, which extensively describes the nature of *Īśvara*, leads him to conclude that for Vātsyāyana the term '*Īśvara*' stands for *jīvanmukta*. Then Dr. Shah studies the concerned portion of the *Praśastapāda-bhāṣya* and arrives at the grand conclusion that it is Praśastapāda who for the first time introduced the conception of one *nityamukta* world-creator *Īśvara* into the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika system. Shah's whole performance is ingenious, thought-provoking and idol-breaking. Then he gives an elaborate account of various types of arguments that later Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika thinkers adduced to strengthen the newly introduced conception, as also an equally elaborate account of the Jaina and Buddhist refutation of this conception of *Īśvara*.

The fifth chapter deals with the problems of knowledge in general. Dr. Shah discusses, in brief, the definitions of valid cognition, the nature of the most efficient cause of valid cognition, various views on how we know knowledge and its validity, *pramāṇa-samplava* vs. *pramāṇa-viplava*, etc.

The sixth chapter discusses the question as to whether the validity of a cognition is intrinsic or extrinsic. The Mīmāṁsā thesis that all cognition is intrinsically valid is defended by the Kumārilite and the Prābhākarite in two different ways. Shah has ably presented their positions. Again, he explains the Nyāya position and the Nyāya thinkers' refutation of the Mīmāṁsā view. Though Nyāya philosophers' view is correct, the way they defend it is wrong and faulty. The Buddhist and the Jaina are with the Naiyāyika in holding that in the ultimate analysis no cognition whatever has a right to be declared valid without being tested through the application of the criterion of successful practice.

The seventh and last chapter examines the problem of perception, keeping in view the essence of discussions conducted by Indian theoreticians. Dr. Shah's presentation of the difficulties faced by the Naiyāyika, the Jaina, the Bauddha and the Mīmāṁsā thinkers in formulating the definition of perception is very interesting. Generally all Indian logicians accept four stages in the process of the production of perception — (1) sense - object contact, (2) sense experience of the concerned object, (3) particular memory, and (4) determinate knowledge of the object. But, as Dr. Shah points out, they differ simply on the question as to which name is to be given to the second and the fourth stage.

This lucid exposition of important problems of Indian philosophy by Dr. Shah is a landmark in the philosophical literature written in Gujarati. Even a glance at the supporting quotations from original Sanskrit texts, given at the end of each chapter, reveals Dr. Shah's scholarly acumen. The work is sure to enrich the book-shelf of any library, public or private, that craves to treasure the most brilliant gems of Indian culture.

Vasanta Parikh

ABHIJÑĀNA-ŚĀKUNTALAM OF KĀLIDĀSA, accompanied with critical edition of *Sañjīvana-ṭippaṇa* by GHANAŚYĀMA, ed. Ms. PUNAM RAVAL and V. M. BHATT, Saraswati Pustak Bhandar, Ahmedabad - 380001, 1997, Rs. 250.

The *Abhijñāna-Śākuntala* (*Śākuntala*) represents the perfection of Kālidāsa's art. "A drama so popular has naturally failed to come down to us in a single recension. Four are normally distinguished, Bengālī, Devanāgarī, Kāśmīrī and South Indian." The first three recensions are critically edited by Pischel, Monier Williams and S. K. Belvalkar respectively.

In South India several MSS of *Śākuntala* exist. The South Indian text

is close to the Devanāgarī text and is familar to us in editions with the gloss of Abhirāma, Kāṭayavema and others. This is the view of eminent scholars like V. Raghavan, Professor Rewaprasad Dwivedi and others.

The editors of the work under review, however, believe that it is very essential to study carefully the various South Indian MSS as well as commentaries and glosses by South Indian Pandits and finally decide whether we could definitely arrive at a fourth South Indian Recension.

The work is divided into seven chapters. They respectively deal with: (i) The purpose behind undertaking the critical edition ii) Ghanaśyāma's Life and Works iii) Description of the MSS of the text *Abhijñāna-Śākuntala-Sañjīvana-ṭippaṇa* iv) Critically edited text of *Sañjīvana-ṭippaṇa* v) Comparison of Ghanaśyāma's readings with the readings in other recensions vi) Evaluation of Ghanaśyāma as a commentator vii) Conclusion viii) Appendix — Alphabetical list of works and authors referred to by Ghanaśyāma and ix) Bibliography.

'Ghanaśyāma *alias* Caunḍājī Pant was a versatile and arrogant writer from Maharashtra.' He was born in Maharashtra in Jan. 1706 A.D. but later he migrated to South India and lived in Tanjore as a minister of King Tukkoji - I (1729-35).

Ghanaśyāma was a very learned and voluminous writer. He had command of the two languages : Sanskrit and Prakrit. He wrote in both. Not only he wrote original poetic and dramatic works but also works falling under *śāstras* like *Vyākaraṇa* (Grammar), *Alaṁkāra* (Poetics) and Vedānta. A long list of Sanskrit and Prakrit works stands in his name. Some of these works are, however, not extant. Some others are available only in MS form. A careful look at the list reveals that a few works mentioned in the list as his independent works are, in fact, the names of certain acts (*aṅkas*) of his *prahasana* called *Ḍamaruka.* The number of his *ṭippaṇas* and *vyākhyās* (Glosses and Commentaries) on major Sanskrit and Prakrit dramatic and poetic works including *Campūs* comes to round about twenty. In short, we may describe Ghanaśyāma as a poet, a playwright, a philosopher and a commentator, all rolled in one. It may be no exaggeration to say that he was a learned and good commentator and that as a poet and dramatist he belonged to the middle rank. P. V. Kane had published the *Sañjīvana* commentary on *Uttara-rāmacarita* in 1939. But the *Sañjīvana* commentary on the greatest Sanskrit play, Kālidāsa's *Śākuntala* remained unpublished till yesterday. Out of Ghanaśyāma's unpublished works the editors deliberately chose the *Sañjīvana* commentary on *Śākuntala* for a critical study. Critically editing the text was an onerous task. The editors confidently undertook it. A critical edition of this *Sañjīvana ṭippaṇa* was a long felt need. The editors worked hard on it and succeeded in bringing to light the critical edition and satisfying the long felt need.

The title *Sañjīvana-ṭippaṇa* given by Ghanaśyāma to his commentary immediately reminds us of Mallinātha's *Sañjīvanī* or *Sañjīvinī-ṭīkā* on Kālidāsa's *Kāvya-trayam* (1. *Meghadūta*. 2. *Kumārasambhava* and 3. *Raghuvaṁśa*). *Sañjīvana* or *Sañjīvinī* means 'bringing to life', 'life-restoring.' *Ṭippaṇa* or *Ṭippaṇī* or *tippani* generally means 'a gloss", an explanatory word or phrase inserted between the lines or in the margin of a text. Ghanaśyāma seems to have used it in the sense of a short commentary.

The editors have laboured hard in preparing the critical edition of Ghanaśyāma's *Sañjīvana* commentary. They have followed modern principles of textual criticism — of manuscript editing. They have spared no pains in comparing Ghanaśyāma's readings with the Devanāgarī recension and the readings of other South Indian commentators. Chapter V embodies this useful comparative study. Chapter VI, devoted to the evaluation of Ghanaśyāma as a commentator, is very well written. It points out in an unbiased manner his merits and defects as a commentator. This edition is a welcome addition to the existing critical literature on *Śakuntala*.

In this otherwise good edition, how we wish there were fewer misprints!

We earnestly hope that the lovers of Kālidāsa's *Śakuntala* will warmly welcome this new edition with Ghanaśyāma's commentary.

V. M. Kulkarni

ĀNANDAVARDHANA'S DHVANYĀLOKA WITH ABHINAVAGUPTA'S COMMENTARY, LOCANA with translation, notes and introduction in Gujarati and ten appendices by T. S. NANDI, Saraswati Pustak Bhandar, Ahmedabad-380001, 1998, pp. 71+788, Rs. 400.

Ānandavardhana and Abhinavagupta were great as literary critics and in the *rasa* theory, as finally formulated by them, Sanskrit literary criticism reached its high watermark.

The book under review, Ānandavardhana's *Dhvanyāloka* with Abhinavagupta's commentary *Locana* accompanied with translation, notes and long introduction in Gujarati treats chiefly of Sanskrit poetics and aesthetics. Professor Tapasvi S. Nandi is a professor of Sanskrit literature and *alaṁkāraśāstra* of long standing. He has taught Sanskrit literature and works on *alaṁkāra* like *Dhvanyāloka* with *Locana* to post-graduate students of the Gujarat University for over a quarter of century. This rich teaching experience and his interaction with the *alaṁkāra* students who were very keen and eager to grasp the critical thought of the two great literary thinkers prompted him to bring out this masterly edition.

Students, even advanced students find it very difficult to follow the text as well as commentary line by line. They badly need the guidance of very experienced professors with extensive and deep knowledge of Sanskrit. Nandi's edition which is a product of his mature intellect and very long teaching experience, deep study and untiring industry will definitely meet the needs of advanced students of *alaṁkāra-śāstra* as well as general readers who are keenly interested in literary criticism.

.   It is not possible in a brief review like the present one to do justice to the many merits of this notable work.

The introduction briefly informs us about the various editions of *Dhvanyāloka,* the title of the work, its authorship, and age of Ānandavardhana. It then summarises *udyota'*-wise the contents of the four *udyotas* (chapters) of the text (pp. 71).

Then follows the text of *Dhvanyāloka* and *Locana* accompanied with translation in Gujarati (pp. 2-409). One remarkable thing may be noted here in passing. Dr. Krishnamoorthy and Dr. Mankad have noted in their editions the variant readings. All these variant readings from these two editions have been given here in footnotes. For careful research workers the variant readings prove on occasions useful.

Nandi is quite frank about the help he has taken from early renowned pandits and writers. His massive, magnifiscent work covering over 850 pages is built as he informs us in his *kimapi* acknowledgement, on the foundations laid by others like Dr. Mankad, Dr. Krishnamoorthy, Dr. Ramsagar Tripathi, Pt. Vishveshvar, Pt. Ramsarak, Kuppusvami Shastri, Pt. Badrinath Sharma, etc.

Nandi's translation is at once faithful to the original, lucid and readable.

If the text of *Dhvanyāloka* and the commentary *Locana* accompanied with Gujarati translation occupy about 408 pages, his explanatory and critical notes given under the heading *Cinmayī Vyākhyā* take up not less than 344 pages.

The text of Ānandavardhana is not very easy to follow, its commentary *Locana* by Abhinavagupta is far more difficult. Regarding the writings of Abhinavagupta, Masson and Patwardhan have observed in their *Aesthetic Rapture* (Vol. I, p. 2) : 'The difficulty of Abhinavagupta's writings is proverbial. But the difficulty of the text of the *Dhvanyālokalocana,,* Abhinava's commentary on *Dhvanyāloka* of Ānandavardhana is of a very different order from the difficulty of the text of the *Abhinavabhāratī.* It is true that the *Locana* cannot be read the way one reads the *Dhvanyāloka,* with immediate comprehension. But if one persists long enough and becomes thoroughly acquainted with Abhinava's own particular use of language, most of the *Locana* becomes intelligible...'

Being fully aware of this difficulty of language Nandi wrote his commentary, *Cinmayī Vyākhyā* in Gujarati, using all the available Sanskrit and Hindi commentaries on *Dhvanyālokalocana*. However, the recent edition, The *Dhvanyāloka of Ānandavardhana with the Locana of Abhinavagupta*, translated by D. Ingalls, J.L. Masson and M. V. Patwardhan (HOS - 49) and the excellent Marathi edition by P. N. Virkar and M. V. Patwardhan with translation and notes in Marathi were unfortunately not available to Nandi.

Nandi deserves all praise for a lucid exposition of the text and its commentary in Gujarati. His is the *first* and *full* edition in Gujarati and we are confident this standard edition will be warmly received by scholars interested in Indian Poetics and Aesthetics.

V. M. Kulkarni

GAṆEŚA IN INDIAN ART AND LITERATURE, NIRMALA YADAV, Publication Scheme, Jaipur, 1997, pp. 372, Figs. 189, Rs. 2000.

Gaṇeśa is the most popular and most worshipped god of India. He has an elephant head and human body. Gaṇeśa is considered as the child of Pārvati and usually also of Śiva. Gaṇeśa is not only worshipped by Hindus but also by Buddhists and Jainas. His adoration has spread to Tibet, China, Japan and Southeast Asia. He is the god of good luck who at his pleasure creates or removes obstacles. He is venerated at the commencement of every ceremony, be it social, political, economic or cultural. He is the leader of the *gaṇas.* He is associated with the Mātṛkās (Mothers), Navagrahas (nine planets). Buddhi and Siddhi, the daughters of Brahmā, married Gaṇeśa.

The images of Gaṇeśa, depicted in a variety of forms, are available from almost every nook and corner of India. The numerous varieties of forms as well as rich iconographic details associated with Gaṇeśa forms a familiar subject, especially from the point of view of art history, A considerable amount of work has been produced on this subject by various scholars in the past. However, a comprehensive survey of all the extant literature as well as sculptural representations of Gaṇeśa in a variety of forms, is not included in any single work. The present work, *Gaṇeśa in Indian Art and Literature,* which is based on Dr. Nirmala Yadav's Doctoral dissertation of the Banaras Hindu University, is an attempt in a comprehensive survey.

The work is mainly based on stone sculptures but a few terracotta and metal images have also been referred to. The period covered is from Kuṣāṇa period upto A.D. 1200. The source materials consulted for this work are original literature including Purāṇas, *Śilpa Śāstras* and other literary works;

and sculptures from various sites, museums and private collections. Besides these, modern works have also been consulted.

The book is divided into six chapters. In the first chapter Gaṇeśa's origin and development in Vedic and Purāṇic literature has been discussed. Myths associated with his elephant head, of his being *ekadanta* and his *vāhanas* (vehicles) given in the Purāṇas are also discussed. In the second chapter iconographic features of Gaṇeśa as found in the Purāṇas, *Śilpa Śāstras* and other literary works are discussed. The third chapter deals with Gaṇeśa images in Brahmanical art. The images of Gaṇeśa are numerous and of different varieties. Hence, for the proper study topics have been grouped in the following categories : I. Seated Images, II. Standing Images, III. Dancing Images, IV. Śakti-Gaṇeśa, V. Vināyakī : The Female Gaṇeśa, VI. Gaṇeśa in association with other deities : a) Śiva, Pārvatī and Kārttikeya b) Saptamātṛkās c) Navagrahas d) Pañcāyatana e) Devapaṭṭa f) Sūrya, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Kubera, Gajalakṣmī, Manasā, Varāha, Mahiṣāsuramardinī, Narasiṁha etc.

The earliest representation, number of hands, postures, attributes in hands, ornaments, faces, trunk, tusk and other features etc., of Gaṇeśa images have been discussed. Gaṇeśa's association with other deities has also been dealt with. The fourth chapter deals with the role of Gaṇeśa in Buddhist art based on Buddhist texts and sculptures. In the fifth chapter the position of Gaṇeśa in Jaina art on the basis of Jaina texts and sculpture is discussed. In the concluding sixth chapter Summary of discussion done in the earlier chapters and the main observations are highlighted. At the end a glossary, passages from the original texts on the iconographic features of Gaṇeśa, comprehensive bibliography, index, list of illustrations and photographs accompany the text.

Though the bibliography is quite extensive, works like *Gaṇeśa Tantra, Gaṇeśa Śatakam* by Ambika Dutt Vyasa, *Ganesha* by A.K. Coomaraswamy, 1928, *Studies in Tuluva History and Culture* by P. Gururaja Bhatt, 1975. *Gaṇeśa Kośa* by S.K. Ramachandra Rao, 1992, are not referred to. Illustrations of Gaṇeśa images from Elephanta cave, which are the earliest stone images in Maharashtra and Gaṇeśa images from Gokarna and Idagunji which are the earliest stone images from Karnataka are not illustrated in the book. These two images belong to 5th cent. A.D. and not 8th cent. A.D. Gaṇeśa image of Fig. 50 is now in the collection of National Museum, New Delhi. The Gaṇeśa of Fig. 146 is of early eighth century and not of ninth century A.D. The author Sampurnanand is wrongly printed as Sanoyranand.

The present work is quite comprehensive and a sincere attempt has been made to study the various forms of Gaṇeśa and the types represented sculpturally in Indian art. The book is a welcome addition in the field of iconographic studies. I am sure, both students and scholars of Indian art and iconography will find it an indispensable reference work on Gaṇeśa. Dr. Nirmala Yadav

should be congratulated for producing this valuable book on Gaṇeśa.

The quality of paper, printing, illustrations and the silk binding are of very high order.

B.V. Shetti

GAṆEŚA THE ENCHANTER OF THE THREE WORLDS, PAUL MARTIN DUBOST, Franco-Indian Research Pvt. Ltd., Mumbai, 1997, pp. 412, 450 colour and black and white photographs, Rs. 2,200.

The elephant-headed god Gaṇeśa is worshipped in India from ancient times. He is the god of good luck who creates or removes at his pleasure the obstacles in any project. He is a popular god and is venerated in India and many parts of Asia at the commencement of every ceremony, be it social, political, economic or cultural. Being son of Śiva and Pārvatī, he is leader of the *gaṇas.* He is associated with the Mātṛkās (Mothers) and Navagrahas (nine planets). He married Buddhi and Siddhi, the daughters of Brahmā. The great annual festival in August-September in honour of Gaṇeśa is celebrated with great pomp and joy all over India.

A considerable amount of work has been produced on Gaṇeśa by various scholars in the past. However, a comprehensive survey of all the extant literature as well as sculptural representations of Gaṇeśa in a variety of forms, is not included in any single work. The present work, *Gaṇeśa the Enchanter of the Three Worlds* by Paul Martin-Dubost, based on his ten years' hard work, fulfils this lacuna.

The work is mainly based on stone sculptures but a few objects in terracotta, metal, ivory and paintings have also been referred to. The time covered is from pre-Christian to modern period. The source material used for this work are literary works, inscriptions, sculptures and paintings from various sites, museums and private collections. Besides these, modern works have also been consulted.

The book is divided into 16 chapters and three appendices. Chapter one deals with Gaṇeśa in *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata.* Stories of birth according to the Purāṇas are narrated in chapter two. Gaṇeśa's marriage with daughters of Brahmā is mentioned in chapter three. In chapter four the cult of Gaṇeśa is discussed. Chapter five deals with hymns to Lord Gaṇeśa: *Gaṇeśagītā.* Chapter six describes the Divine body of Gaṇeśa in the litany of his thousand names. The long seventh chapter is on various forms of Gaṇeśa. The eighth chapter on attributes is important, for one can find the names of each object in his hands. Moreover, the gestures of his hands are also explained therein.

The following chapter is dedicated to the colours of Gaṇeśa. The next chapter deals with *vāhanas* (vehicle) of Gaṇeśa. The chapter on materials gives us the opportunity to appreciate their number and variety. The next four chapters discuss Gaṇeśa's association with *gaṇas,* Mātṛkās, Navagrahas and the elephant-faced goddess, Vināyakī. The last chapter deals with the Paradise of Gaṇeśa. In three appendices three controversial documents, spread of the Gaṇeśa cult and iconography all over Asia and a litany of 108 names are discussed.

At the end the reader will find a Glossary with more than 2,500 Sanskrit words and an exhaustive Bibliography arranged yearwise. However, it would have been better if the Bibliography was arranged in alphabetical order of the authors, as usually done. Another lacuna of the publication is the absence of Index which is very necessary for a reference work like this.

In this work, Paul Martin-Dubost presents a complete book of the subtle iconography of Gaṇeśa in India. The book is illustrated with 450 colour and black-and-white photographs of which a large number are published for the first time. This permits the reader to discover the extraordinary variety of the forms of Gaṇeśa, from the self-manifested *svayambhū,* to those representations modelled in different media. A commentary accompanies each of the photographs which reveal the principal forms created between the 1st century B.C. and our own day.

Though the Bibliography is quite exhaustive it is surprising to note that the following books are not mentioned therein : 1. G.S. Ghurye, *Gods and Men,* 1962. 2. K.N. Somayaji, *Concept of Gaṇeśa,* 1984. 3. Shanti Lal Nagar, *The Cult of Vināyaka,* 1992. 4. R. Karunakaran, *The Riddles of Ganesha,* 1992, 5. S.K. Ramachandra Rao, *Gaṇeśa Kośa,* 6. Pratapaditya Pal, Ed., *Ganesh : The Benevolent,* 1995. 7. Ambika Dutt Vyasa, *Gaṇeśa Śatakam.*

The Gaṇeśa at Gokarna (p. 128, fig. 12) has a cavity on his head indicating the blow he received from Rāvaṇa. This is the only known Gaṇeśa of this type.

The Elephanta cave was attributed to the Vākāṭakas by C. Sivaramamurti and the present author also follows him. However, M. A. Dhaky and Karl Khandalavala in their recent publications have convincingly assigned Elephanta cave to the Koṅkaṇī Mauryas.

Vātāpi Gaṇapati on page 25, fig. 20 could not be from Badami as the early Cālukyas used red sandstone for their art work, whereas the present image is in granite. The Pallava army general's name was Parañjoti and not Parancodi.

The *gaṇas* illustrated at p. 265, fig. 4 are not under the feet of Śiva but under the feet of Dvārapāla at Cave II, Badami. Caves I and II at Badami

belong to the last quarter of the sixth century and not of A.D. 550. Svarga Brahmā temple at Alampur, (p.68, fig. 34) belongs to the reign of Vinayāditya (A.D. 681-696). The inscription there does not mention seventh regnal year. Cave No. 17 and Cave No. 21 (pp. 134 and 268) at Ellora belong to the pre-Rāṣṭrakūṭa period of seventh century, whereas the Rāṣṭrakūṭas came to power in the middle of the eighth century.

Gaṇeśa images at Hampi (p. 30, fig. 34) are known as Kaḍalekāḷu and Sāsivikāḷu Gaṇeśas and not Kadalaikallu and Sasivikallu Gaṇeśas.

Photo credit to Prince of Wales Museum is given on p.xviii, but no mention is made of photographic credits on pp. 411-412.

The paper quality, printing, illustrations in colour and black-and-white and the cloth binding of this publication are of very high quality as per standard set up by Vakil & Sons Ltd., Mumbai.

Franco-Indian Research has done a great service in publishing this valuable work in their series. It is hoped that they will bring out more volumes in due course.

Paul Martin-Dubost must be congratulated for his comprehensive compendium on Gaṇeśa. I am sure, both students and scholars of Indian art and iconography will find it an indispensable reference work. It is hoped that the author will concentrate on another Indian god or goddess in bringing out a similar publication in the near future.

B.V. Shetti

DEVĪMĀHĀTMYAM WITH THE COMMENTARY OF NĪLĀMBARĀCĀRYA,
Ed. by MUKUND LALJI WADEKAR, The M.S. University Oriental Series No. 18, Oriental Institute, M. S. University of Baroda, Vadodara 390 001, 1991, pp. 39+84+24, Rs. 42.

The present book is based on the articles serially published in the *Journal of the Oriental Institute,* Vols. XLIII, XLIV and XLV, Nos. 1-2. It is on a hitherto unknown commentary by one Nīlāmbarācārya on the *Devīmāhātmyam.*

The *Devīmāhātmyam,* a 5th century A.D. text, has enjoyed an unbroken popularity as a religious text because of the relevance of its content and function. Its contents studied diachronically is its historical development from the Vedas, its function assessed synchronically relates to its relevance in a period of time. Śakti, the power of the gods, is equated to the Supreme Being in this text. Because of its cultic significance it has enjoyed independant status in its own right, and not merely as an appendage to the *Mārkaṇḍeya*

Purāṇa.

Though there are said to be 67 commentaries on this text, most of these are still in manuscript form, unedited. The editor of the present text has collected with laudable effort, information regarding 61 commentaries with the author's names, and 4 without them, totalling 65. He has listed the names of the commentators in alphabetical order, as very little internal information regarding them is available in most of these manuscripts. This rules out chronological listing. Some of these do not even figure in the *New Catalogus Catalogorum,* University of Madras. Wherever possible he has provided valuable information regarding the commentator's lineage, background, and his other works if any.

Since the *Devīmāhātmyam* has always enjoyed high popularity as a religious text used for ritual purposes, there are editions which incorporate some better known commentaries on the text. The most popular is Sarayuprasada Dvivedi's *Saptaśatīsarvasvam,* which is an exhaustive work. Based on the above work, in the Tamil edition (*Śrī Devīmāhātmyam* published by the Ramakrishna Mutt, ed. Aṇṇā), mention is made of a commentary *Rāmāśramī,* but the commentator's name is not mentioned. Similarly, there is one Harikrishna Sharma of Aurangabad, who has relied on the seven popular commentaries, namely : *Durgāpradīpam, Catuddharī, Nāgojībhaṭṭī, Jagaccandracandrikā, Guptavatī, Śāntanavī,* and *Daṁśoddhāram.* Based on his commentary is a Malayalam publication *Śrī Devīmāhātmyam Savyākhyānam* from Kodungallur, Kerala. But the commentary's name is not mentioned.

The rarity of the present commentary is that the work is not listed either in the *New Catalogus Catalogorum,* University of Madras, 1977, or in Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum,* 1962. There are only two manuscripts of this commentary... one in the Oriental Institute fo Baroda, and the other, an incomplete one, in the Oriental Research Institute and Mss. Library, Trivandrum.

Nīlāmbarācārya is seen to be a preceptor who in the course of his teaching, collated his notes and wrote the present volume. On two slender evidences from his commentary, it is surmised that he may have belonged either to Assam, or South India. His date is seen tc be posterior to Śaṁkarācārya, but cannot be pinpointed, because he makes vague references to other works, but does not name the source. On certain evidence the present editor places him not later than the 17th century A.D.

Nīlāmbarācārya is well-versed in the philosophies of Advaitic Vedānta, Mīmāṁsa, Sāṁkhya, and Pātañjala Yoga. His skill as a grammarian is also evident in the commentary. His arguments are based on philosophy, and he does not resort to Tantra or esoteric meanings.

Māyā is beyond reasoning and Viṣṇu's Yoganidrā is called Mahāmāyā. According to him this is not contradictory, because while an individual is

influenced by sleep, Viṣṇu assumes it. Further, since Viṣṇu is beyond change, it is his *śakti* (Vaiṣṇavī *śakti* or Yoganidrā) which is the material cause of Creation. This does not go against Advaita philosophy either. By superimposing Ātman on Anātman, through the power of Māyā, we are bound by delusion. We are released from this bondage by propitiating the Goddess herself, who is the cause of it. He quotes (1.39) *Śaṁkara Bhāṣya* on the *Brahma-sūtras* to differentiate between worldly and spiritual knowledge, and underlines the superiority of the latter.

He resorts to the Sāṁkhyan Primordial Cause in a unique explanation of the *"Yā Devī"* *stuti* in the 5th chapter of the text. He comments that the 24 *tattvas* are saluted in the verses 5.12-33. Though only the abstract qualities are named here and not the *tattvas*, basing his argument on the Vedic injunction of numerical similarity, he equates the qualities to the *tattvas*. The salutations thrice mentioned are usually ascribed to those by body, word, and mind. But here again his originality is seen when he says that these salutations are to the three *guṇas* of the *mūlaprakṛti,* i.e., Devī herself, who is equaʿ ·d to the *jīva,* when bound by the three qualities of *sattva, rajas* and *tamas.* In 5.33, the *ādibhūta* form of the Supreme Being which is above these qualities is not saluted thrice. Similarly, the *Ātman* as *citrūpa,,* the 25th *tattva,* is bowed to thrice. His reading *"prakaṭitā eva"* (4.20) instead of *"prakaṭitā iva"* is in consonance with the following verse (21), which emphasises the Goddess' compassion. The incomparable charm and grace of the Goddess arouses fear in the enemies, but it is out of her grace (by killing them), that they attain release. While interpreting *"śaratkāle mahāpūjā kriyate ca vārṣikī"* (12.11) he takes a notably firm stand against the *Guptavatī* of Bhāskararāya and *Nāgojībhaṭṭīya,* and states that "vārṣikī" should not be construed as the one performed in the *Vasantartu,* but the important annual autumnal *pūjā.*

There are three appendices in Wadekar's work. The first one contains the *Pūrva* and *Uttara Bhāgas* of the main text, which are read during a religious recitation. This would enhance its value to a lay reader also. The next two appendices list the authors and their works quoted by Nīlāmbarācārya as well as the list of quotations, and their source, as found in the commentary.

Dr. Wadekar's present work, with its lucid Introduction covering all aspects of the commentary, is commendable in that it has brought to notice a hitherto unknown commentary on a religious text which has enjoyed unbroken popularity equalled only by the *Bhagavad Gītā.*

Indira S. Aiyar

KALĀTATTVAKOŚA - *A Lexicon of Fundamental Concepts of the Indian Arts, Vol. III, Primal Elements - Mahābhūta,* General Editor : KAPILA VATSYAYAN, Editor : BETTINA BÄUMER, Indira Gandhi National Centre For the Arts, and Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1996, pp. 446, line-drawings 55, Rs. 450.

The *Kalātattvakośa* is a seminally important project of the IGNCA, a brain-child of the visionary, Dr. Kapila Vatsyayan. Three volumes of this multi-disciplinary lexicon have been competently and sensitively edited by Dr. Bettina Bäumer, well-known scholar on Kashmir Śaivism and Śilpaśāstra. The *Kalātattvakośa* is planned to treat 250 fundamental concepts, based on Sanskrit, pervasive in various disciplines and focussing on their significance in the Arts. Each concept is treated at its physical and metaphysical levels "with interpenetration of levels of meaning within a concept and between concepts." The first volume of the project treated some basic concepts, while the second presented the concepts of Space and Time. The present volume is devoted to the *mahābhūtas,* cosmic elements, which are conceived as the building blocks of the universe and of the human body.

There are eight major essays in the present volume, contributed by the experts in the field, including B. Bäumer herself, K.A. Jacobsen, P.S. Filliozat, S.C. Chakrabarti, S. Chattopadhyay, L.M. Singh, Fritz Staal, Sanjukta Gupta-Gombrich, and Prem Lata Sharma.

Prakṛti, the matrix of all the elements, is presented first, followed by Bhūta-Mahābhūta, and the five elements in sequence from the subtle to the gross : *ākāśa* (space), *vāyu* (air or wind), *agni* (fire) along with *jyotis* (light), *āp* (water), and *pṛthvī* (earth). The articles treat the multi-layered meanings of the concepts in different contexts : philosophy, science, arts and draw upon the Vedic and Tantric world views, Buddhist and Jaina thought and the texts of Āyurveda, aesthetics, and varied disciplines. As Bettina Bäumer says in her Introduction, "The macro- and microcosmic levels permeate the whole view of reality in the various schools and disciplines... The role of the elements in any ritual, in Vedic sacrifice (*yajña*), in Āgamic and Smārta temple or private worship (*pūjā*), in the drawing of a Buddhist *maṇḍala* or a Jaina cosmogram, is central. Not only the physical use of fire and water and the symbolic meaning of the conch, of the water jar (*kalaśa*) and other implements of ritual require the elements, but also the spiritual process of the purification of the elements in the body of the worshipper (*bhūtaśuddhi*) shows that an ascent to the Divine has to symbolically or mystically pass through the stages of the *tattvas.*"

The volume is methodically organized — each article treating the concept follows the sequence : Overview, Etymology and related / cognate terms, Layers of meaning, Development of the concept, Manifestation in the arts, Classification, Process, and Conclusion. It has appropriate line-drawings to

illustrate the manifestation of concepts in the arts.

Reading through the volume is not a dull exercise but an enjoyable and enlightening experience. The book dispels many misconceptions regarding the use of the concepts and tells us how each of these primal elements played a significant role in Indian cosmology, myth, ritual, thought, culture and arts. Quotations from various Sanskrit texts are interesting.

We read on the life-giving and healing powers of the elements leading to ecological harmony. A prayer to Vāyu, for instance, in the *Atharva Veda* (VII. 69) is fascinating :

May the wind blow us joy.

May the sun shine down joy on us.

May our days pass with joy.

May the night be a gift of joyful peace !

May the dawn bring us joy at its coming !

Truly, the *Atharva Veda* is considered to be the most ecological of the Vedic Saṁhitās, rather than "magical". The Vedic, Purāṇic and Āgamic forms of the ritual use and symbolism of water are presented as also the ecological myths of the Churning of the Ocean, and the Descent of Gaṅgā. S. Gupta-Gombrich points out while writing on the element earth that reverence for the earth, as it is expressed in the Indian texts, ritual and artistic traditions, could serve as a model for the concerns of present-day ecology. We agree with the Editor that the volume can serve "as basic source material for an Indian ecology which may have far-reaching consequences."

Devangana Desai

BHAGAVAD GĪTĀ - BHĀṢYA AND TĀTPARYANIRṆAYA OF ŚRĪ MADHVA,
Translation with Explantatory Notes, by NAGESH D. SONDE, Vasantik Prakashan, 10 Vatsala Nivas, 65 B Linking Road, Santacruz (West), Mumbai 400054, 1995, pp. 417, Rs. 250.

From the dust jacket of the book, it appears that the author has translated quite a number of Sanskrit works (*Bhāṣyas*) by Śrī Madhva. Thus he is not new to the work of translating Sanskrit into English. He also appears to be quite conversant with the Philosophy of Madhvācārya in particular and Indian Philosophy in general. He also seems to be quite good in his knowledge of Sanskrit language and also English. His Foreword and Epilogue to the

book under review are very well written, almost in an impassioned prose. His epilogue especially shows his mystic leanings. There is no doubt that the author has immense regard for Śrī Madhva and has made a very sincere and serious attempt at translating the text of the *Gītā*, the *Bhāsya* and *Tātparya*.

The success of any such work depends on — (a) Whether the author in translating the text of the *Gītā* has brought out the spirit of the *Bhāsya* and *Tātparya*, (b) Whether the *Bhāsya* and *Tātparya* are translated faithfully, (c) Whether the terminology used is exact, and lastly, (d) Whether the author himself believes in what he has translated.

We will first see and examine some of his assumptions in the introduction. He writes (p. 10-11) :

(i) "The present generation is far removed from the times when the said commentary was written by Śrī Madhva and they are neither equipped, nor have they the necessary time and disposition to make themselves aware of all basic tenets or philosophical streams prevailing even at the present time, let alone during the time when Śrī Madhva wrote his commentary."

It is true the present generation is far removed from the time of Śrī Madhva. The other part of the sentence is not a fact. The interested have always tried to equip themselves with all that is necessary to appreciate the contribution of the philosopher(s). We have departments of Philosophy in the colleges and universities where all that is necessary is taught. Those interested in in-depth study of the philosophers study Sanskrit, Ardha Māgadhī, Pāli, French and German and make a special study further.

(ii) The author further continues - "If he (the reader or the student of Philosophy) is already moored in the tradition, custom and beliefs etc., then all that is attempted here would be abhorrent to him. In that case he will prefer to miss the fresh breath of breeze, lest the fragrance which he has been inhaling all these years be lost to him. But if he becomes a little more receptive than what he is today, then perhaps, the very mystery may prompt him to proceed further to unravel the mystical meaning himself. Only years of study might reveal what appears unclear or concealed."

This is too tall a claim. Śankara, Rāmānuja and Madhva and other *ācāryas* wrote not for their generation but for all times to come. Their followers — like Sureśvara and Madhusūdana Sarasvati (of Śankara school), Vedanta Deśika and Pillai Lokācārya (of Rāmānuja school), Vyāsarāya, Jayatīrtha and Rāghavendra Svāmī (of Dvaita school) understood their masters correctly even though they were far removed from their masters' time. They wrote glosses, *Vārtikas, Vrttis,* so that the generations to come should have no problem. They did not differ from their masters. Hence being a traditionalist is a guarantee to preserve the master's thought in all its pristine form and save it from

being mauled and mangled by modern enthusiastic scholars, whose claim to understanding these philosophers is to say the least, misplaced and smacks of audacity.

Sureśvara, Madhusūdana, Vedānta Deśika, Vyāsarāya, Rāghavendra Śvāmī were great mystics and *jnānins.* Hence none should insinuate that the traditionalists have not made sustained studies of the scriptures. Prof. K. T. Pandurangi and Dr. B.N.K. Sharma, two great renowned scholars have spent their life time, - they are fully equipped. They have translated the works of Śrī Madhva. Yet, their humility should be a matter for emulating by others.

Now, coming to the four points raised earlier - (a) (i) The author has not brought out the spirit of the *Bhāsya* and *Tātparya,* in the translation of the verses. The verses do not reflect the *Bhāsya* and Tātparya. The author himself admits on page 202 - 'Śrī Madhva clarifies the meaning of each particular word according to the context in which it is used... We have seen clarifications similarly given in earlier context. However, we have used the generally accepted words in the text leaving it to the ācārya to offer his views.

There is a confession by the author of this work that he has not faithfully translated the verses, on the Madhva lines and has been more than unjust to the *ācārya.* In a sense, the readers who read this book thinking that its verses give Madhvācārya's meaning of the verses, are taken for a ride by the author.

The author has made my task easy. I need not give a plethora of instances to show how the translation of the verses is not faithful.

(ii) The author has bungled and made a mess of Madhva's thought. I give three instances. :

(A) On page 199, he writes - 'Rg Veda and the rest become *Parāvidyā,* when Śrī Visnu is not the object of knowledge.'

The same knowledge becomes Aparāvidyā when the object and the purpose becomes the realisation of Śrī Visnu. (underline mine).

This is an unfortunate statement, which is absolutely wrong. The Parama Samhitā which Śrī Madhvācārya has quoted is as follows -

ऋगाद्या अपरा विद्या यदा विष्णोर्नवाचका: ।
ता एव परमा विद्या यदा विष्णोस्तु वाचका:

(B) The author writes on page 82, 'The wisdom of Sāmkhya (Action)'. He further adds - 'The knowledge of pure self is Sāmkhya'. This makes no sense.

'The yoga (Equanimity) method.' Yoga here does not mean 'Equanimity'.

It is Jñānopāya - The means of attaining knowledge.

(C) Chap. IX. p.22 'योगक्षेमं वहाम्यहम्' The author translates it as 'To whom I bring equanimity and well being as well'. Even an elementary reader of *Bhagavadgītā* knows that yoga here means अप्राप्तस्य प्राप्ति: and क्षेम means 'Retaining what has been already attained.' Hence this half a verse should mean - 'I take the responsibility of bringing *mokṣa*, not yet attained by them and see that it is everlasting.'

(D) Now I come to the second point raised by me. The answer to this question also is in the negative. Here the author has sometimes taken liberty.

(1) On p. 57, para 2, in his 'Explanation' he asks after giving the example of an expectant mother, 'Would this state be called Dvaita (Dual) or Advaita (non-dual) ? Similar is the relationship of Jīva and the Lord, in Primeval world and also in the state of deliverance.'

This question arises out of a failure to understand the meaning of the word 'Dvaita' correctly, in the context of Madhva's philosophy. 'Dvaita' here does *not* mean *two independent realities.* 'Srī Madhva writes - स्वतंत्रं अस्वतंत्रं च प्रमेयं द्विविधं मतम् । There are two orders of Reality — Independent and Dependent. God alone is independent. All else is dependent on him. They are different from God and are dependent on God. The Jīvas also differ from one another. This difference and dependence are eternal. In Pralaya, in their embodied state, in *mokṣa*, Jīva's difference from and dependence on God is very clear. Hence, there should be no doubt about its being 'Dualism'. In the given example 'mother' is independent and the 'embryo' is dependent on her. The author should have avoided creating confusion.

(2) Page 57, line 7, the author writes ... 'Therefore, even though the Jīvas are different and *independent* from the Lord they are similar to him.' This statement is wrong. Jīvas are dependent and *not independent.* And again, grammatically it is an incorrect sentence.

● (c) About the terminology. They are inexact, fanciful and far from correct. I am giving below a few with his translations-

1)	दर्शन	-	Perception
2)	श्रद्धा	-	Receptivity
3)	ज्ञान	-	Awareness
4)	अज्ञान	-	Non-awareness
5)	विद्या	-	Knowledge
6)	अविद्या	-	No-Knowledge
7)	धर्म	-	Primordial Principle
8)	योगशास्त्र	-	Science of equanimity
9)	ब्रह्मविद्या	-	The Science of the 'Absolute' (This does not fit in Mādhva Philosophy.)

10)	पुरुषोत्तम योग	-	The equanimity of the Supreme Being.
11)	देवासुरसंपद्विभागयोग	-	The equanimity of the distinction between Divine and non-divine endowment.
12)	असुर	-	non-divine endowment.
13)	संन्यास	-	Relinquishment
14)	त्याग	-	Renunciation
15)	भक्ति	-	Communion
16)	माया	-	'illusion'. This is absolutely wrong in this context. According to Madhvācārya it means 'cit prakṛti' or Mahalaxmi.

(d) In his Preface, the author writes - We should have, I submit, the decency to believe that we may be wrong in our assumptions and others may be right in their respective perceptions. Therefore, we must accept the possibility and opportunity of correcting ourselves.' In his epilogue, he writes, 'If someone says that I have not yet succeeded enough, they will never know how much I have tried.'

I can only say that the author is far from being successful and yet, I am fully aware of the efforts he has taken to accomplish this difficult task. The book, therefore, needs to be thoroughly revised. There are too many printing mistakes and grammatical mistakes. The author does not seem to have gone through the script before printing and before the final print order. Pages 12 and 21 are totally blank. Quite a few Sanskrit words from the ślokas have been omitted in the English translation.

P. 59, para 3, he has quoted a passage 'यथा सोम्य एकेन मृत्पिण्डेन' etc. and has wrongly referred it to Bṛh. Upaniṣad. It should be Chān. Upaniṣad.

I admire the sincerity of the author. His mystic leanings are clear. He is a very sensitive person and his Śraddhā is unquestionable. It is possible (but I am not sure), he is trying to express his vision, through the language of Dvaita philosophy. Then, for that he has to stick to Dvaita Vedānta terminology faithfully. Otherwise his translations of the verses, do not go well with the spirit of the *Bhāṣya* and *Tātparyanirṇaya* of Śrī Madhva. Again, the translation of *Bhāṣya* and *Tātparyanirṇaya* should be more faithful to the original. Terminological exactitude is most important and will do full justice to the great philosopher, for whom the author has very high regard.

S. G. Mudgal

THE IMPERIAL GUPTAS: A BIBLIOGRAPHY, edited by JAGDISH S. YADAV and NIRMALA YADAV, Manohar, and American Institute of Indian Studies, New Delhi, 1997, pages 321, Rs. 350.

Scholarly bibliographies are of great help to researchers. We are fortunate that Jadish Yadav, Assistant Director (Library) at the Center for Art and Archaeology, American Institute of Indian Studies, has taken up compilation of bibliography on various subjects which would interest researchers in history, art, iconography, epigraphy, and so on. He has to his credit two bibliography volumes on the Cultural Heritage of Mathura, and an Index to Felicitation and Commemoration volumes.

In the present work, Yadav, along with his wife Nirmala, has compiled and edited the bibliography on the literature and diverse material on the Gupta period from about the 4th through 6th centuries A.D. This is a period of great achievements in cultural and artistic spheres to which a large number of scholars have contributed in books and journals. The editors have classified these writings under : History, Society, Costume and Jewellery, Economy, Religion : Hindu, Buddhist, and Jaina, Polity and Administration, Education, Literature, Archaeology, Epigraphy, Numismatics, Art, Architecture, Sculpture, Terracottas, Painting, Iconography, Music, Dance and Drama, Science and Technology. The list is exhaustive with 2744 entries on the published literature in India and abroad. To facilitate researchers the editors have provided a subject index, author index, and a key-word index, with cross-references.

It is interesting to go through this Bibliography and read names of various scholars who have contributed on the diverse achievements of the Gupta India in their writings. There are entries of some of the old articles published in our Journal of the Asiatic Society (earlier *BBRAS*), in which the stalwarts Bhau Daji, Bhagvanlal Indraji, Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, Dr. Bhandarkar contributed to the topics of the Gupta period. Jagdish and Nirmala Yadav have made painstaking effort to go through the vast literature on the Gupta India covering a large range of journals, including the lesser known ones published in Hindi and regional languages. Researchers in the field will be grateful to them for this comprehensive bibliography and would wish to have more such works from them.

Devangana Desai

TEMPLES OF INDIA, by KRISHNA DEVA, 2 volumes, Aryan Books International, New Delhi, 1996, pp. 286, line-drawings 103, photograph plates 326 (in second vol.), Rs. 2900 for the set.

We have this comprehensive volume on the Indian temples by the authority in the field, Shri Krishna Deva, former Director of the Archaeological Survey of India. As an expert who was in charge of the Temple Survey (North India) of ASI, Krishna Deva has intimate first-hand knowledge of the temples. His publications *Temples of North India* and *Temples of Khajuraho* are authoritative works on the subject, as also his scholarly contributions to the *Encyclopaedia of Temple Architecture,* published by the American Institute of Indian Studies. The present volume, as he tells us in the Preface, "represents a summarized essence" of his life-long study of Indian art and architecture. It is meant for serious scholars as well as average educated persons and is "neither too detailed nor too sketchy." Diacritical marks and footnotes are not given.

In his Introduction Krishna Deva puts the reader in the right frame of mind to approach the temple which represents "the cosmological symbolism in an aesthetic garb." He succinctly presents the meaning of the temple interpreting it as symbolic of the universe, combining the axis of the world pillar. Reminding us of the approach of Stella Kramrisch in her renowned *Hindu Temple,* he describes the temple as a monument of manifestation. The luminous power of the principal icon or emblem in the sanctum is irradiated from within and revealed in the form of images in the cardinal niches as aspects of the presiding divinity. The details of the images placed in the niches of the walls, pillars and other parts of the temple, which the author provides in his presentation of the important temples in the course of the book, will help an attentive reader to visualize the temple as a manifestation of the divinity, and also students to relate icons and sculptural imagery to their architectural context.

The author traces the historical development of the temple architecture from its early beginnings in India, taking into account both literary and sculptural representations and the actual remains at Bairat, Sanchi, Besnagar, Nagari, etc., followed by the shrines of the Kuṣāṇa and Kṣatrapa period. There is a full chapter on the temples of the Gupta and post-Gupta period (*c.* A.D. 400-650) describing the main features of the important temples at Sanchi, Nachna, Bhumara, Bhitargaon, Deogarh, etc. in Central India, Dah Parbatia in Assam, and Mirpur Khas and Murti in Pakistan. There is a chapter on the temples of South Kosala (*c.* A.D. 550-750) at Sirpur, Rajim, Kharod, Dhobini, Tala, along the Mahanadi river in Madhya Pradesh, which have exceptional figural and decorative ornamentation.

From about the 7th century A.D. there was a development in regional

tendencies in India's art and culture which became established in the 9th-10th centuries. The author has divided his chapters according to regions and periods as well as the patron dynasties. Distinct regional schools of art were prevalent from the 10th century in central India, Gujarat, Rajasthan and other areas. Under the royal dynasties of the Candellas, Kalacuris, Kacchapaghāṭas, Parmāras, Solaṅkīs, there developed distinctive styles in temple architecture. Krishna Deva discusses these regional architectural schools devoting a chapter to each, illustrating with plans and photographs the temples at Khajuraho, Bandogarh, Chandrehe, Bheraghat, Surwaya, Kadwaha, Gyaraspur, Padheoli, Suhania, Gwalior, etc. Each chapter begins with an account of the patron dynasty and is followed by the major monuments· built under it.

There is interesting material on the 8th-9th century temples of the Himalayan region : Brahmaur, Chhatrarhi, Jageshwar, and the rock-cut complex of Masrur, and the 8th-10th century temples of Kashmir : Martand, Parihaspur, Avantipur, Pandrethan, etc. Temples of northern style in Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh have been assigned a chapter each, whereas the South Indian temples and their progressive evolution are treated in one chapter, with five broad chronological divisions according to the dynasties : Pallava, Cola, Pāṇḍya, Vijayanagara, and Nāyaka; and the Hoysāla and Kākatīya styles have been briefly touched upon.

The importance of the book lies in the fact that the reader can find at one place all the notable temples of India with their dates, descriptions of the main architectural features, and the details of their figurative and decorative sculptures. The author has lucidly presented the architectural development of the Indian temple from a simple structure to an elaborate complex of the Medieval period, along with 103 drawings of ground-plans, sections, and elevations, and 326 photographs of the monuments.

Devangana Desai

PORTRAIT OF AN ERA, Sheela Raj, Minerva Printers, 195, Knightsbridge, London SW7 1RE, Price £.7.99.

It is rightly said that dissertations based on personal diaries, notes, letters, reports or such other relevant documents, provide not only interest with an iota of truth but also serve as a valuable source for social, cultural, economic and academic aspects of a regime or a particular era. Similarly, the book under review, entitled *Portrait of an Era* by the noted Urdu-Persian scholar Dr. Sheela Raj, portrays the Asaf Jahi Nizamet of Hyderabad (Deccan) between 1825 and 1896 when Mehboob Ali Khan, Nizam VI as Head and Sir Salar Jung as Diwan of Hyderabad were in power. It can be said without hesitation

that Dr. Raj has taken great pains in collecting the source material from the personal records like diaries, notes and reports with documentation coupled with evidences of Gandhari "Rasad" *alias* Bansi Raja, the most influential personality of the Asaf Jahi dynasty of the second half of the nineteenth century.

The book discusses the various aspects of the life of Bansi Raja who held important posts like tutor, organized mediator, writer, poet, commander and also as a confidant of the then Nizam and personal assistant of his Diwan. He came down from Uttar Pradesh, belonging to the Kayesth section of the indigenous society, and settled down as the son of the soil as Nulki of the Hyderabad Deccan. As a man of high thinking, moral character, noble actions, and sweet words Bansi Raja maintained peace through discipline and integrity and thereby unity in diversity and communal harmony in the midst of multi-faceted dimensions in religion, culture, community, language, tradition and other norms of the people of the Nizamet of Hyderabad Deccan. It may be stated that the basis prepared by Bansi Raja through integration encouraged the later Nizams of the Asaf Jahi regime to evolve Urdu as the linguafranca and, consequently, as the medium of instruction and examinations at the Osmania University for nearly one quarter of a century from 1923 to 1948.

The book has been well-arranged in eight chapters of which the first three to four talk of his multi-coloured life and manifold activities in different important capacities at the Asaf Jahi Nizamet and throw light on his magnificient personality, working for peace and welfare of the Deccan through unity in diversity. It was Bansi Raja who was responsible in inculcating the sense of discipline in the people and creating an urge for co-operation and assistance in the minds of the higher strata of the dynasty at Hyderabad, irrespective of community, creed, caste, colour, culture, language and religion, as well as vocation. And hence he was successful in persuading the Nizam to give handsome donations for maintaining the worshipping places of all the communities in the dominion without any hesitation.

The book under review is certainly a valuable biography of Bansi Raja and thus a welcome addition to the standard literature on biographical-cum-historical subject. It was his attractive personality with magnificient knack, coupled with sincerity and integrity, that brought in unity in diversity and thereby communal harmony and fraternal atmosphere in the Asaf Jahi rule.

The book is well-presented with attractive get-up and printing. The author as well as the publisher deserve hearty congratulations as this will help the future writers in general and historians in particular to emulate the writer and follow the tract of unity and integrity for creating harmony and peace in the country.

It is hoped that the book will be ordered by all the well-equipped libraries and educational institutions in India.

N. S. Gorekar

THE DEATH OF AHRIMAN : CULTURE IDENTITY AND THEOLOGICAL CHANGE AMONG THE PARSIS OF INDIA, SUSAN STILES MANECK, K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, Bombay, 1997, pp. 272, Price not given.

Susan Stiles Maneck has in her book attempted to trace the history of the Parsis in India and also to expound on the theological basis of Zoroastrianism. She has suceeded quite well in the first, but has gone totally out of focus in the second.

She has taken a great deal of trouble to read the original Gujarati literature on the Parsis with the help of translators, as well as the English literature. Very few western scholars have attempted this, and thus get a very superficial idea of the history of this community.

Beginning with the arrival of the Parsis in India, she has traced their history and initial settlements in India, their interraction with the Hindus, and the adjustments that they had to make in their social and religious customs. She then brings out the respective position of the priests and the laity in the centuries after their settlements in various towns along the coast of South Gujarat. She had laid stress on the differences which arose between the laity and priests, which in fact came later in the 18th century. In fact the period of 15th to 17th centuries was a period of consolidation for the Parsi community, led by the priests, who were learned, devoted and committed to the cause of keeping the small community together.

Her account of the rise of Parsi merchants in Surat and the relations of Parsis with Europeans is given with considerable detail and depicts their growth of economic and political power due to their capacity to act as intermediaries and representatives with the local rulers. She also analyses the reasons for the success of the Parsis, pointing out the advantages they had over the others due to their more liberal and open social customs.

Maneck has then described the development of intra-Parsi conflicts which arose out of interpretations of the calendar and the subsequent theological fall out. Another conflict also developed over the areas of jurisdiction of the priests who transgressed over the once defined and agreed areas of jurisdiction. This was a result of the changing pattern of the population which began to shift to more active, growing cities from the older village settlements. The

raison d'etre of the original *'panthak'* divisions needed to be realigned.

Her account of the rise of the Parsis in Bombay and their success follows the same arguments she has used for their earlier rise in Surat and other Gujarat cities. She has however given overdue importance to the Parsi Panchayat and its functions in Bombay whilst ignoring a major change in Parsi leadership. Upto the beginning of the 19th century the Priesthood had played a major role in keeping the community together through its religious authority and close sacredotal organisation. It had also gained recognition as leaders from other sectarian groups. With the rise of a younger, wealthy and rather irreverant western-educated class in Bombay and other cities, the leadership of the community shifted to the laity and this was particularly represented in the Panchayats in the later 19th century.

Her conclusion that Parsis have survived and have been able to cope with western culture because they have compromised much of the content of their faith, that might have distinguished them from the religions surrounding them, is unacceptable. She claims that the Parsis focused on those aspects of their religion that were analogous to Hinduism and that their belief of monotheism was a direct result of the influence of Islam.

In fact, both these premises are totally wrong. She has based her conclusion regarding Islam, amongst other reasons, on the use of common terminology, and style of the Parsi and Muslim writers. This is no proof at all. Particular terminology is a literary facet used at different times by groups of people.

In her chapter on Akbar and the Parsis, she has extensively tried to prove that Zoroastrian monotheism was a result of the influence of Islamic theology, and that in the Sassanian period, the Zoroastrian faith promoted the idea of dualism, and that Zoroastrianism was not a monotheist religion. In fact, it is quite the opposite. The Greek historians and philosophers, Zanthus, Plato, Plutarch, Pliny and others extolled the monotheist teachings of Zarathustra. This explains the emergence of Zurvanism, a Greek and Babylonian philosophy which took Zarathustra's monotheism as a base of their philosophy.

Some Zoroastrians accepted some part of this philosophy, as it reflected their own beliefs, and not to explain away dualism. That Zarathustra's teachings on monotheism were pre-Islamic is also proved from the Ahd-Nawaha — the covenant of the faith, given by the prophet Muhammed to the Zoroastrians. These type of covenants were granted at various times by the Prophet and his Son-in-law, Imam Ali and the early caliphs to the Ahl-e-kitab — people of the Book, i.e. those who followed the teachings of a revealed religion. These covenants gave personal protection, freedom of worship and exemption from poll taxes. A covenant of this type was granted by the prophet and Imam Ali to Iranian Zoroastrians in 631 AC. The prophet made a clear distinction between monotheistic people, the followers of any of the known prophets

of God, and the idolatrous Arabic tribes whom he was trying to convert. He recognised the faith of his neighbours - the Zoroastrianism of the Sassanians, the Christianity of the Byzantium Empire and the Judaism of the many regions around. The prophet thus acknowledged Zarathustra as an early teacher of monotheism. Maneck's argument therefore, that the Zoroastrians adopted monotheism from Islam after the conquest of Iran is totally mistaken. Similarly, her claim that Ishraqian beliefs were accepted by Meherjirana and that he convinced Akbar through the use of Ishraqian arguments are far from the truth. In fact, Ishraq, a Muslim mystic in 1153, founded a school based on Platonic, Aristotelian and Zoroastrian philosophies and tried to identify his belief with ancient Persian sages. This Ishraqian philosophy seems to have appealed to the Moghuls, who were always more inclined to Iranian culture than to the Arabic, and it is possible that Meherjirana used some of its terminology to explain the tenets of Zoroastrianism. It does not mean that he was a Ishraqian.

Maneck has also quoted the *Gathas* out of context to prove her point that Zarathustra advocated dualism. The first and primary characteristic of the religion of Zarathustra is the firm belief in one God. There are 101 names of Ahura Mazda in the *Avesta* and not one of these names suggests that god is some form of an evil, sinful or obscene force. In the *Gathas* (Yasna 30, 3-5 and Yasna 45-2) it has been clearly explained that the two principles of good and evil are not two Gods, but *mainyus* i.e. spirits or forces : Spenta mainyu, the spirit of righteousness, and Angra mainyu, the spirit of maleficence. A detailed study of all *Avesta* literature will not bring out a description of any other God but Ahura Mazda. Maneck needs to study more deeply the literature on Zoroastrianism and reconsider her conclusions on its theology. Apart from this major flaw, the book is an interesting addition to the historiography of the Parsis.

Mani Kamerkar

AGING ISSUES AND OLD AGE CARE : (A GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE), P. K. MUTTAGI, Classical Publishing Company, 28 Shopping Centre, Karampura, New Delhi - 110015, 1997, pp. 200, Rs. 215.

Advances in medical sciences and improved standards in public health measures have reduced the mortality rate in general and child mortality rate in particular. People are no more required to suffer from many a wasting disease. More efficacious life saving drugs are becoming available day by day. All these have resulted in an improved longevity of human beings. Both, the developed and the developing countries are thus having a large percentage of senior citizens. The situation in India is in no way different.

The present book gives an overview of the demographic characteristics of population, world over. The author has studied the problems of the aged in their own settings and has also evaluated the current programmes for the aged in different countries.

In his investigations, the author has discovered that in the developed countries, the industrialised societies have a higher proportion of old people with no children to look after them. This results in their emotional deprivation, and again the elderly population becomes needy of community help. Another implication of such a situation is that in a few families working couples have to care for, not only their dependent children, but two or three generations of dependent elderly relatives. The author has taken a count of percentage of senior citizens in various countries, of their sex ratio and of their life expectancies. All this goes a long way in apprehending the problems of the aged the world over.

The book also contains a detailed study of family, community and government support in India for the aged and this study forms the core of the book. The book also contains valuable information regarding community support programmes in Canada and in other countries as also about the international organisations as IFA (International Federation of Aged) and ICW (International Council of Women).

There is a chapter on Managing Community Care Institutes which is of great practical help for social workers in the field of services for the aged. The last chapter is titled 'In Search of Better Living for the Aged' and here the author speaks of the experience gained so far, in tackling the problems of the aged from all over the world. The author is particularly aware of the Indian situation and wants indigenous solutions to the problem. He expects more active participation of the aged in their welfare and would welcome innovative ideas from them.

The author is a Social and Behavioral Scientist and he retired from Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Mumbai, where he was the Head of the Unit for Urban Studies. The present study was conducted by him as a Fellow of Indian Council of Social Science Research, New Delhi. He is thorough and methodical in his approach towards the study of the aged. This volume indicates the comprehensive approach to the problem of the aged and the need for their self reliance.

N. B. Patil

TRADITIONAL CULTURAL LINK BETWEEN INDIA AND JAPAN (During A.D. 8th and 9th centuries), KALPAKAM SANKARNARAYAN, MOTOHIRO YORITOMI, ICHIJO OGAWA, Somaiya Publications, Mumbai/New Delhi, 1998, pp. 344, colour-photographs 62, drawings 14, Rs. 650.

Among the various factors that contributed to the popularity of Buddhism were its abject humanism, its appeal to morality and its compassionate outlook. Buddhism, thus, never came in direct conflict with any 'ism' as is evident from its historical development in Tibet, China and even Japan. Buddhism assimilated Bon in Tibet, Taoism in China and Shintoism in Japan, the first and last especially bordering on primitivism. The mass appeal of Buddhism, particularly Mahāyānism with the Bodhisattva at its centre and later on the easy accessibility to salvation through Vajrayāna accelerated its spread in South East Asia, China and Japan.

Indeed Buddhism reached China quite early via the famous 'Silk Route' (Japi Kinono-michi) and naturally carried with it influences from N.W.India and Central Asia. Yet it was only during the Sui and Tang period (6th to mid 9th centuries) that Buddhism reached great heights. It naturally cast its shadows on Korea and through it on Japan. The credit of encouraging the advent of Buddhism in Japan, as the authors of the present volume state, goes to Soga Umako and also to Prince Shotoku Taishi (572-622 A.D.). However the first flowering of Buddhism occured only during the Nara Period (646-794 A.D.) under the enthusiastic patronage of the Japanese court. So far as the doctrine was concerned, it was the Mahāyāna doctrine and the most popular *sūtra* was the Hokka-kyo – the *Lotus-Sūtra.*

The volume under review is a welcome addition to the understanding of the cultural intercourse between India and Japan triggered by Buddhism, its missionaries and literature. The three authors are the modern-day emissaries of the two countries who have combined their scholarships in authoring the volume as a reminder of similar ventures in the ancient past.

The book is divided into 12 chapters of which the first seven deal with the historical and cultural background, while the other chapters deal with such tangible and expressive aspects as 'Art and Architecture', 'Icons and Idols', 'Rituals and Faith and Festivals'.

The "Globalisation" of Buddhism had its own problems especially in countries where an earlier primitive religion existed. In Tibet the conflict between local Bon and the grafted Buddhism germinated not at the level of the laity but at the highest political level when Blangdar-ma, a propagator of Bon, persecuted his own brother Ralpachan (815-838 A.D.) to eliminate the influence of Buddhism.

The authors of the present volume have underlined how in Japan too the introduction of an alien Buddhism was rejected by the Nakatomi and Mononibe clans, "not so much on religious grounds as on what today we should describe as nationalist grounds." But 8th century Japan also witnessed the race for power between the State and the Buddhist church.

The first five chapters give an exhaustive coverage of the situation in both countries at this point of time and dwell upon the several sources that give us a glimpse of the development of Buddhist thought and specially the literature on Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna from the 6th century. A lot of literature already exists on this subject but we get a comprehensive picture in this volume.

Nevertheless, the volume has an undisclosed by-line in the title – "with special reference to South India." There is an obvious emphasis on South Indian contribution to Buddhist thought and literature vis-a-vis Japan.

There need be no hesitation in conceding this claim, yet in a publication like this a more detailed review of Buddhist thought and institutions in other parts of the country would have helped a great deal. The contribution of Pāla Period Bihar, with such centres as Nalanda and Vikramashila or contemporary Kashmir can hardly be ignored. The authors have put great emphasis on esoteric traditions. One knows too well how much eastern India and Kashmir contributed to this tradition from the tangible evidence of imagery from these regions. The hoard of Buddhist bronzes from Achchatrajpur in Orissa speaks volumes of this tradition. Prajñāpāramitā is another example. The extant manuscripts of this text are all from centres in Bihar. And yet the best example is of Cintāmani Cakra Avalokiteśvara whose *dhāraṇī* has warranted a special mention but without giving reasons. Readers may, perhaps like to know that two extant images of this deity, one in metal and another terraccotta, come from Mainamati, now in Bangladesh (though the metal image was excavated at Nalanda!). One would have welcomed this link. In Japan this iconography type became popular more during the Kamakura period.

The view of Rhys David on South Indian contribution is mentioned with a remark, "to show the contribution of Dravidians of South India to art of writing, paving the way for languages and literatures." (p. 181, para 2). This language controversy reminds me of the remarks of the French scholar Goedes who said, "The Hindu scholars do not take a positive or detached view of the subject and accordingly they belong to the Madras or Calcutta they honour of having colonised Greater India" (as quoted by R.C. Majmudar in *"Ancient Indian Colonisation in South East Asia",* Baroda, 1955, p. 17). This K.N. Shastri - R.C. Majmudar syndrome seems to persist with a sprinkling of Japanese masālā.

Another factor is the exact contribution of the Pallava dynasty – period

and patronage, an aspect that has been over-emphasised. This question has three facets. 1. The influence of Pallava style of life in all spheres of Japanese culture (p.200, para 2) mainly due to the presence of Bodhisena; 2. Did Bodhisena belong to the Pallava ruling dynasty ? 3. The hypothesis that the Pallava rulers were originally followers of Buddhism.

Bodhisena's only claim to belong to the ruling dynasty is his Bhāradvāja Gotra, which is not enough evidence to his claim to royal lineage. One would have liked to have elaborate explanation how the presence of one individual influenced the Japanese life style. If true, then that should prove an interesting area for futher studies.

The third hypothesis is equally questionable. According to the authors themselves both Chinese travellers Fa-Hsien and Hiuen-tsang do not mention of any Pallava ruler being a patron of Buddhism. The prolific Buddhist activity could easily be attributed to the catholicity of the period. By the way one gets a feeling that the authors have relied extensively and exclusively on the evidence of the Chinese travellers. This at times leads us to feel we are reading legends and not history.

In passing, I have often observed that scholars of history (theory) pay little attention to illustrations and inscriptions. Sections on art, style, iconography need adequate illustrations, and careful inscriptions. For example, Fig. 35 has been labelled as "Sarasvatī from Bharhut". As everyone knows, most of the figures at Bharhut are labelled. If the authors of Bharhut intended that figure as Sarasvatī they would have said so. So also Fig. 36 is far removed in time from Bharhut. It is an image datable to 8th-9th centuries.

One also gets a feeling that the footnotes and the Bibliography have been compiled in a hurry. While avoiding to quote many examples, I will quote just one. The author quoted in footnotes 18 & 24 on p. 242 is Ramprasad Chanda (not Chandra), the noted scholar of Eastern Indian studies. A reference to T.N. Ramachandran's monograph on Nagapattinam (Madras Government Museum Series) could have added weight to the bibliography.

But if these inevitable observations are ignored, the volume is a good addition to our understanding the cultural intercourse between India and Japan.

Sadashiv Gorakshkar

THE BHĀGAVATA : ŚRĪMAD BHĀGAVATA MAHĀPURĀṆA, Vol. I (Skandhas I to III : Critically Edited by Prof. H. G. SHASTRI, pp. I - LXVIII + 276, 1996, Rs. 500; and Vol. IV part I (Skandha X) Critically Edited by Prof. K.K. SHASTREE, pp. I-LXVI + 388, 1997, Rs. 1000; Both volumes published by the B.J. Institute of Learning and Research, Ahmedabad.

The Vaiṣṇava tradition recognises the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* as an important treatise on the doctrine of *bhakti* to Lord Kṛṣṇa. The B.J. Institute of Learning and Research, Ahmedabad, has published a critical edition of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* in two volumes, Vol. I and Vol. IV, Part I. Prof. H.G. Shastri is the editor of Vol. I, and Prof. K.K. Shastree has edited Vol. IV, Part I. Both the volumes contain a few illustrations from some MSS.

For preparing this critical edition of the *Bhāgavata,* the editors have adopted the same principles which were adopted by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Pune, and the Oriental Institute, Baroda, for preparing the critical editions of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* respectively. The text of the Skandhas I-III in Vol. I is based on twenty four common MSS. and the text of the Daśama Skandha in Vol. IV is based on thirty six MSS. Stanzas common to all the MSS. have been adopted for constituting the text, while stanzas contained only in some MS. or MSS. have been treated as interpolated and recorded in the foot-notes. Variant readings are given in the foot-notes, with specific reference to the MSS. and commentators or a printed edition containing them. The readings that are most appropriate in the context from various view-points have been adopted here for this critical edition, irrespective of the number of MSS. in which they occur. The letters or words of the variant readings which are found to be less than certain are underlined with wavy lines. Obscure words or concepts are explained in the critical notes at the end of these volumes. Kumbhakonam edition was selected as the vulgate for collation sheets.

Dr. H. G. Shastri has written a scholarly introduction to volume I, in which he has given a list of (1) MSS. with their particulars; (2) various commentaries with a very brief bio-data of the respective commentators; (3) printed editions with a bibliographical note on them; and (4) epitomes. Dr. H. G. Shastri has given a critical survey of the contents of the Skandhas I-III. Dr. K. K. Shastree has written an Introduction to Vol. IV, Part I. It gives (1) a detailed account of the MSS.; (2) analysis of the MSS.; (3) critical study of the Daśama Skandha which mainly discusses at length Kṛṣṇa-problem, noting in detail in a tabular form events in Kṛṣṇa's life, which are common in *Harivaṁśa, Viṣṇu Purāṇa* and the *Bhāgavata.* This will render ready reference service to researchers. In both the volumes, there is a Concordance of the Critical Edition with the Kumbhakonam, Bombay, Gorakhpur and Nadiad Editions. In both the volumes, at the beginning of every Skandha there is a table of contents mentioning

briefly the subject-matter of the *adhyāyas*. In Volume IV, Part I, twenty-nine Appendices showing the number of interpolations in the Daśama-Skandha, have been added.

The work is systematic and comprehensive. The editors have taken great pains in editing the Critical Edition of the *Bhāgavata*. They have thoroughly and critically examined the MSS. and the Printed Editions of the *Bhāgavata*. Scholars will undoubtedly welcome it. The editors deserve compliments.

However, a few printing errors in Vol. IV, Part I, have to be mentioned here, which can be corrected in the second edition of this work. Last three paragraphs on p. xlii have been reprinted on p. xliii. There are some spelling mistakes, e.g. 'devided' for divided on p. xli, 'formarly' for formerly on p. xli, 'beign' for begin on p. xliii, 'appenix' for appendix on p. xliii, 'distruction' for destruction on p. xiv etc. Style of expression in Introduction to Vol. IV, Part I could have been better.

Dr. H.G. Shastri and Dr. K. K. Shastree and the B.J. Institute of Learning and Research, Ahmedabad, deserve hearty congratulations for publishing this edition of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*.

Jaya Chemburkar

THE COMMENTARY OF SRI MADHVA ON MANDUKYA UPANISHAD,
Edited by NAGESH D. SONDE, Pradnya Prakashan, c/o Vyasa Arts, Shivshakti Estate, Andheri (E), Mumbai 400 069, Year of publication not mentioned, pp. 70, Rs. 50.

Māṇḍukya Upaniṣad deals with Om and describes 'jīva' and 'Brahman' in the context of ultimate reality. Here, the four stages of consciousness viz. *jāgrat, svapna, suṣupti* and *turīya* are also graphically described. *Kārikās*, as of Gauḍapāda-Śaṅkara's great grand *guru* — throw a light on the abstruse text of this Upaniṣad.

Nagesh D. Sonde, an ardent scholar of Mādhva tradition, has translated the Upaniṣad and Madhva's *bhāṣya* in English and also added his own gloss on the *bhāṣya* to explain certain intricate points.

The book contains an elaborate introduction which would acquaint a lay reader with the main contents of Māṇḍukya Upaniṣad. The editor's grounding in Mādhva philosophy renders the translation of the original commentary quite authentic.

The book also contains the original text of Māṇḍukya Upaniṣad in Sanskrit but unfortunately retains a number of printing errors. A little care at the printing

stage would have made the book more acceptable. Even otherwise, the book would be appreciated as an honest attempt to elucidate Mādhva philosophy with reference to *Māṇḍukya Upaniṣad.*

<div align="right">

N. B. Patil

</div>

VARĀHA IMAGES IN MADHYA PRADESH, An Iconographic Study, HARIPRIYA RANGARAJAN, Somaiya Publications, Mumbai, 1997, pp. 207, photographs 173, line-drawings 6, Rs. 700.

Varāha, the Boar, associated with the creator god Prajāpati and Viṣṇu, who uplifts the Earth Goddess from the primeval waters, occupies an important place in India's religious myths and iconography. Though one of the early representations of Varāha, belonging to the 2nd century A.D. has been found at Mathura in U.P., some of the powerful figures are seen in central India or what is now called Madhya Pradesh. The book under review by Dr. Haripriya Rangarajan presents an intensive study of Varāha images in Madhya Pradesh in the period of the 5th through 14th centuries A.D. It is based on her field study of Varāha images in numerous sites, lesser known as well as known, such as Eran, Badoh, Bilhari, Karitalai, Khajuraho, Dudhai, Majhouli, Panagar, Chandpur, Bunjar, Khor, Ujjain, Okhalesvar, Omkaresvar, Udayagiri, Nachna, Rajim, Hingalajgarh and others. The author examines in detail 86 Varāha images, of which 29 are in the zoomorphic or animal form, and 57 in anthropomorphic form with animal head and human body, called Nṛ Varāha or Bhū Varāha.

Prof. B.N. Mukherji in his Foreword says, "The Varāha has been brought out in bold relief in the panel of Indian religious iconography. This scholarly production of high standard has immensely enriched our knowledge of the subject." The book has a systematic chapter scheme, starting with the historical background, followed by Varāha myths in ancient Indian tradition in the second chapter, which traces the development of the myth in two stages – cosmogonical and as a part of the *avatāra* cycle. The third chapter presents the iconography of Varāha based on Śilpaśāstras and other texts. The crucial fourth chapter discusses in detail in 150 pages the Varāha icons in Madhya Pradesh. In the conclusion the author summarily puts together the salient features of the Varāha icons arranged according to different dynasties, and presents them in Tables. Better editing would enhance the value of this scholarly publication. The measurements of images can all be uniformly given in inches or metres or both.

The significance of the book lies in the author's first-hand knowledge of the Varāha images on the sites and in museums and secondly in her

minute analysis of the configuration of divinities carved on the body of the zoomorphic form of Varāha. Dr. V. S. Agrawala in his pioneering work *Solar Symbolism of the Boar* (1963) has interpreted the symbolism of the Yajña Varāha (zoomorphic form) based on the Vedic-Purāṇic cosmology and shown the correlation of the limbs of the Boar and the components of Yajña. Dr. N. P. Joshi has analyzed the Yajña Varāha of Dudhai, now in the Lucknow Museum, giving details of the divinities on the body of the god. Dr. Rangarajan has also examined the symbolism in detail on the basis of the actual representations in many sites and their textual correspondences. Her detailed study suggests that the artists/priests tried to express the cosmogonical concepts in their depiction of the Yajña Varāha.

Haripriya Rangarajan's observations on various Varāha images are interesting. The spinal column of the Boar from Badoh bears three circular designs carved with divine couples, whereas the one at Chandpur represents the Trinity—Brahmā, Śiva, Viṣṇu. Haripriya refers to the *Sāttvata Saṁhitā* (XII, 46b - 52a) in which Varāha is conceived as Yajña-Puruṣa who has the body of *Bhū* (earth), *Bhuvaḥ* (mid-region), and *Svaḥ* (heaven). Whether the three circles on the back of some of the Varāha images stand for *Bhū, Bhuvaḥ Svaḥ* as Rangarajan suggests, or the Trinity of gods needs to be further investigated. Perhaps the expression *bhūr-bhuvaḥ-svaḥ-śarīram* of the text invokes Varāha in his cosmic form whose body consists of *Bhū, Bhuvaḥ Svaḥ*. The unusual manner of representation of Bhū Devī and Śeṣa Nāga at Majhouli reminds Rangarajan of the legend in the *Padma Purāṇa*. The Varāha of Dudhai *in situ* represents on its head three figures of Sūrya carved below the feet of the figure of Brahmā. Quoting the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (II, xi, 7-11), the author suggests that these figures represent Trayī, the three Vedas, derived from "the mighty energy of Viṣṇu and residing in the Sun."

At Khajuraho the icon of Yajña Varāha has on his spine a semi-circular panel, carved with five rows of figures, which is illustrated and interpreted for the first time by Dr. Rangarajan. The supreme Vāsudeva is shown in the upper row, flanked by the *vyūhas* Vāsudeva, Saṅkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna, and Aniruddha. Below in the three rows are the figures of Brahmā, Śiva and Viṣṇu, who as Rangarajan reminds us, on the basis of Pāñcarātra texts, are associated with Pradyumna, Saṅkarṣaṇa, and Aniruddha respectively. She suggests that in this representation there is synchronization of the concept of *vyūhas* of the Pāñcarātra system with the Trinity of the gods of the Purāṇas. This reviewer is happy to note that in her own study of the sculptural imagery of the Viṣṇu-Vaikuṇṭha (Lakṣmaṇa) temple of Khajuraho also she has pointed out the Pāñcarātra and Purāṇic influences.

Because of her analysis of a large number of images of Yajña Varāha and Bhū Varāha, Dr. Rangarajan has been able to bring out the peculiarities and special features in their representations according to the different dynasties

such as the Guptas, Kalacuris, Pratihāras, Candellas, Paramāras and others who ruled central India in the period under study. For instance, Fish (Matsya) is depicted in the centre of the vertebral column of the Varāha figures of the Paramāra period, while three circles mark the back of the Varāhas of the Pratihāra period. The details of peculiar characteristics of Varāha icons, arranged according to the chronological sequence of the ruling dynasties, along with their photographs, will help scholars in identifying provenance of several independent images of Yajña Varāha, now sheltered in different museums.

The exhaustive study of the figures on the body of Varāha enables Haripriya Rangarajan to come to certain conclusions of general nature which will be of help not only to students of iconography but also to those interested in the study of the theological concepts and their visual manifestation in images. She suggests on the basis of her actual study of Varāha images, myths and theology that the concepts of *Sṛṣṭi* (Creation) and Yajña are represented in context of the zoomorphic images, and the concept of *avatāra* is expressed in case of the anthropomorphic Bhū Varāha images.

Devangana Desai

ĀCĀRAṄGA : PAḌHAMA SUTA-KHANDHA, PAḌHAMA AJJHAYANA (ĀCĀRAṄGA : PRATHAMA ŚRUTA-SKANDHA, PRATHAMA ADHYAYANA)
Ed. K. R. CHANDRA, Prakrit Jaina Vidyā Vikāsa Fund, Ahmedabad, 1998, pp. 327, Rs. 150.

Several works forming part of the Śvetāmbara Jaina Āgama (Canon) inform us that Mahāvīra delivered his religious discourses in the Addhamāgahā Bhāsā (i. e., Ardha-māgadhī language). He chose this language for his discourses as it was the spoken language of the people. It was so called, according to one view, because it was current in half of Magadha (modern Bihar) to which region Mahāvīra himself belonged. According to another view, the language was so called because it shared some of the features of the dialects that were current in the adjoining regions. In other words, it was not wholly, but only partly Māgadhī (*ardhaṁ māgadhyāh*). But the language of the Śvetāmbara Jain canon which was finally fixed and reduced to writing at the conference of Valabhi under Devarddhi Gaṇin hardly shows characteristics common to Māgadhī. On the contrary it shows surprisingly great affinity with Māhārāṣṭrī. Scholars of linguistics explain the transformation as an inevitable result of the powerful impact of the dominant literary Māhārāṣṭrī. It is a well known fact that from the days of Daṇḍin's *Kāvyādarśa* Māhārāṣṭrī has enjoyed the enviable status of *'prakṛṣṭaṁ prākṛtam'* - the best among all Prakrit

languages. The language of the canon which was undergoing changes slowly and imperceptibly during the very long period of 1000 years from the days of Mahāvīra, when it came in contact with literary Māhārāṣṭrī, after migration, it was very natural, that it should be highly influenced by the latter (the literary Māhārāṣṭrī).

Muni Puṇyavijayaji has a somewhat different explanation. The phonological changes in the readings of the text had not been due to a natural process but these changes in the spelling of the words have been brought about intentionally by the later Ācāryas at different times or on account of losing contact with the original forms of the ancient Prakrit when the community of monks was unable to understand the original forms of the language (Ardhamāgadhī) Ācārya Abhayadeva, Ācārya Malayagiri etc., found it necessary to change old forms into the new or younger forms and it is they who have transformed old forms.

Whatever be the circumstances responsible for the changes, the fact remains that the original (Ardhamāgadhī) language of the Śvetāmbara Jain Canon is greatly influenced by the standard Māhārāṣṭrī Prakrit.

Now, it is an admitted fact that the Jain Āgama texts are not *sabda-pradhāna* but *artha-pradhāna*. The Jains have tried to preserve the true meaning (*artha*) and not the original words (*sabda*) of Mahāvīra :

अत्थं भासइ अरिहा सुत्तं गंथंति गणहरा णिउणं ।

(Mahāvīra promulgates the true meaning of scriptures in the course of his religious discourses, and his Gaṇadharas - immediate disciples or apostles (chief disciples) undertake the task of arranging them in the *sūtra*-form—in the form of scriptures). If we remember this fact, we need not bother or worry too much about the nature of word forms - whether older or younger as both convey the original true meaning. Looked at from this point of view any attempt to restore old Ardhamāgadhī would amount to a futile exercise.

The above view is, it would seem, one-sided. The problem has another side too. From among the forty-five texts of the Jain *āgama* some like the *Ācārāṅga, Sūtrakṛtāṅga* are decidedly the oldest which retain older forms of the ancient Prakrit to a considerable extent. By adopting modern tools and methods of research and generally accepted principles of text editing we can fairly certainly hope to restore the ancient Prakrit - Ardhamāgadhī - in which Mahāvīra spoke and his immediate disciples - the Gaṇadharas - tried to preserve his discourses.

Dr. K. R. Chandra, a veteran Prakrit scholar, has devoted a number of years to a study in depth of this problem of restoration of the ancient Prakrit - Old Ardhamāgadhī - in which Mahāvīra gave his religious discourses and his Gaṇadharas embodied them. In the work under review Chandra presents,

after carefully applying the principles of restoration evolved by him, the restored text of *Ayāraṁga* I.1 by way of a sample demonstration.

Chandra divides his work into the following six sections :

Section I : consists of Introduction both in English and Hindi. (pp. 1-12)

Section II : presents Comparison of the word-forms of the text of *Ācārāṅga* with that of its various editions and manuscripts, other *āgama* texts and older Prakrit texts. (pp. 15-72)

Section III : gives restored text of *Ayāraṁga* I.1, on the basis of available archaic word-forms. (pp. 75-156)

Section IV : gives information about certain phonetic changes as seen in earlier and later word-forms. (pp. 157-166).

Section V : gives a complete alphabetical Index of all the word-forms of the restored text. (pp. 167-195)

Section VI : presents in parallel columns the restored text along with the corresponding texts of the earlier well-known editions.

(pp. 199-269)

At the end of this section (VI) H. Jacobi's text of the first chapter of *Ayāraṁga.I* is reproduced. Curious readers would find it instructive to compare Chandra's text with that of Jacobi (pp. 271-276). Then follows An Appendix presenting excerpts from the Reviews and Opinions on the linguistically re-editing of the *Ācārāṅgasūtra* and restoration of the original Ardhamāgadhī language (pp. 277-327)

In the beginning we meet with the opinions of Prof. Malvania, Prof. Bhayani, Prof. Ghatage and few more scholars. We have finally the views of Muni Punyavijayaji on the form of the original language of Jain Ardhamāgadhī texts as it is found altered in the preserved MSS. (pp. xi-xiv).

Dr K. R. Chandra deserves warm congratulations for his brilliant piece of research. We earnestly hope he continues his work of editing the remaining part of *Ayāraṁga* on the same lines as followed in the present work.

V. M. Kulkarni

Acknowledgement of Books Received

1. Hymn to Sri Dakshinamurti with Maanasollaasa, by Nagesh D. Sonde, Vasantik Prakashan, Mumbai, 1994, Rs. 25.

2. Upadesha Saram, by Bhagavan Sri Ramana Maharshi, Translated in English with notes by Nagesh D. Sonde, Vasantik Prakashan, Mumbai, 1993, Rs. 25.

3. The Philosophy of Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, edited by Paul Arthur Schilpp, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1992, Rs. 375.

OBITUARY NOTICE

PROF. SHRIKRISHNA NRUSIMHACARYA GAJENDRAGADKAR

(1.1.1917 – 15.10.1997)

The sudden and sad demise of Dr. S.N. Gajendragadkar on the 15th October, 1997 was certainly a loss to the world of Indology in general and Linguistics in particular.

Dr. Gajendragadkar proved to be the worthy successor of his illustrious family known for profound scholarship. He got his Ph. D. Degree under the guidance of Prof. H.D. Velankar and joined the Sanskrit Department of the Wilson College, Bombay. He served the Wilson College for 16 years and in the year 1964, he joined the newly opened Department of Linguistics of the University of Bombay. There he served as a Reader for five years and then became the Professor of Linguistics.

Prof. Gajendragadkar also rendered services to the Wilson College, as a Major, in charge of the N.C.C. activities. He also worked as a Chairman of the Board of Studies in Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit for some years.

Dr. Gajendragadkar was associated with the Asiatic Society of Bombay in different capacities. He worked as Vice-President on the Committee of Management during the period 1971-73 and 1973-75. He also worked as Chairman of the Journal Committee and Mr. Dr. P. V. Kane Committee for the period of 1973-74. He worked as an editor for the Journal of the University of Bombay. He was also connected with the Deccan College Research Institute, Pune, and the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Pune.

As an editor, he did his best in bringing out MM. Dr. P.V. Kane Commemoration Monograph in the year 1974 on behalf of the University of Bombay and also ably edited Prof. H.D. Velankar Commemoration Volume, jointly with Prof. S.A. Upadhyaya.

It is noteworthy that he became a sectional President of the Linguistic Section of the All India Oriental Conference, held at Benares, in the year 1968.

His edition of the Brahma-Sūtra Śaṅkara-Bhāsya II.2 brought out by the University of Bombay in the year 1965, will have to be regarded as an improvement upon the previously published editions by other scholars.

Dr. Gajendragadkar's contribution to scholarship comes through his two works : *Fisherman's Dialect* and *The Parsi Gujarati*. This contribution has been greatly appreciated by the well known authority in the Field of Dialects, Dr. A. M. Ghatage.

Dr. Gajendragadkar served the student world to the best of his ability. His work 'Bhasha and Bhasha-shastra' (written in Marathi) proved to be popular

in the student world and went through the fourth impression during his life-time.

Prof. Gajendragadkar also worked on the aspect of 'Indo-European and Indo-Aryan' which is published in journal of the K.R. Cama Oriental Institute, in the Volume No. 49 of 1980.

After retirement he got himself interested in the Community and Sponsorship Programme and worked there in the Lions' Club of the Prarthana Samaj, Bombay and Peoples' Free Reading Room and Library, and introduced many schemes for its development.

The strong point of Dr. Gajendragadkar's personality lies in the warm appreciation that he had felt of merit wherever he saw it. His assessment of the works of stalwarts like Dr. P. V. Kane and Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji reveals the generosity of his mind as much as his genuine appreciation of their scholarship. He often conveyed this in his graceful language in his class-room lectures as well as in public speeches. Many of his students and members of the public who had occasion to hear him still cherish the memories of his remarkable mind and the phraseology in which he expressed it.

Incidentally, one may make a reference to his excellent English writing exhibited in 'Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji - A Tribute' published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay, Vols. 60-61, for 1985-1986, pp. 1-2 and 'The Gita-Rahasya of Lokamanya Tilak in its Essence.'

By his sad demise, the students have lost an eloquent speaker and the world of Linguistics has lost a true exponent. May his soul rest in peace.

S. G. Moghe

OUR RECENT PUBLICATIONS

A DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF SANSKRIT AND PRAKRIT MANUSCRIPTS IN THE COLLECTION OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BOMBAY

The Asiatic Society of Bombay has in its collection 2093 hand-written Sanskrit and Prakrit *pothīs* or manuscripts. A Descriptive Catalogue of these manuscripts compiled by Prof. H. D. Velankar, renowned Sanskrit scholar, is now published in its Second Edition. It is classified under four parts :

(1) Technical Literature - Linguistic Science, Literary Science (Prosody, Rhetoric), Medicine, Astronomy and Astrology, Architecture;

(2) Hindu (Brahmanical) Literature - Veda, Vedic, Dhamaśāstra, Tantra, Purāṇa, Philosophy, Kāvya, Stotra;

(3) Jain Literature - Āgama, Philosophy, Legends and Poems, Stotra;

(4) Vernacular Literature - Gujarati and Hindi Literature (Jain and Non-Jain), Marathi, and an Appendix on Buddhist Manuscripts.

This Edition, with an Introduction by Dr. V. M. Kulkarni and Dr. (Mrs.) Devangana Desai contains some beautiful colour illustrations from some selected manuscripts in the collection of the Asiatic Society of Bombay.

Pages xvi + 500, 18 colour photographs.

Price Rs. 1,200/-

ON THE MEANING OF THE MAHĀBHĀRATA

by Dr. V. S. Sukthankar

Mahābhārata - the great epic is a source of perennial inspiration for the masses of India. Four lectures delivered in 1943, under the auspices of the University of Bombay by Dr. V. S. Sukthankar (1887-1943), a great orientalist, and the first General Editor of the critical edition of *Mahābhārata* published by Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, were first published in 1957. They are now published in Second Edition in collaboration with M/s. Motilal Banarsidass Pub. Pvt. Ltd. Delhi.

The first lecture deals with the critical studies of this epic undertaken by the Western scholars and the date and contents of *Mahābhārata* are discussed here in detail. A resume of the story is presented in the second lecture and the incidents are interpreted on the mudane plane. The story has, however, other dimensions and these stand explored and the reader gets nearer to the symbolic meaning of the entire narrative. The various characters come to life as it were and they spell out the purpose of human life.

Pages x + 146

Price : Rs. 150.

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)	m̐	≍ (Upadhmānīya)	ḫ
(Visarga)	ḥ	ऽ (Avagraha)	'

TRANSLITERATION OF ARABIC AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

ARABIC

١	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	ی	i, e
ج	j	ض	ḍ	ن	n	و	ū, ō
ح	ḥ	ط	ṭ	و	w	ی'	ai, ay
خ	kh	ظ	ẓ	ه	h	و'	au, aw
د	d	ع	ʻ	ي	y	silent t	h
ذ	dh	غ	gh	ه	ʼ		
ر	r	ف	f	ً	a		

PERSIAN

پ	p	چ	ch	ژ	zh	گ	g

REGULATIONS CONCERNING CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE JOURNAL

1. Papers submitted for publication in the Society's Journal may be offered by any Fellow or Member of the Society. Papers by Non-members must be communicated through a Member unless the Non Members have been specially invited to contribute.

2. All editorial communications should be addressed to the Editor, Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay, Town Hall, Mumbai - 400 023.

3. Papers must be presented in a final form completely ready as copy for the press prepared in accordance with the regulations printed below. Papers should be typed on one side of each sheet in double spacing on paper, leaving a margin of at least 3.5 cm. at the left hand side. Sheets should be numbered consecutively at the top right-hand corner.

4. Foot-notes, numbered consecutively through the article, should be typed on a separate sheet at the end and not at the foot of each sheet. They should also be typed with double spacing.

5. Both photographs and line drawings, including maps, will appear as "plates" and "figures", numbered consecutively in Roman and Arabic numerals throughout each article. Captions should be typed on a separate sheet.

6. The Editorial Committee will determine whether a paper shall be printed and, if printed, in what form.

7. Contributors are urgently requested to use the system of transliteration adopted by this Society. A transliteration sheet has been appended in the issues of the Journal.

8. Contributors are urged to study the conventions employed in recent issues of the Journal, particularly the style of citation of books and periodical articles, and the bibliographical information inserted at the head of reviews. Titles of books should be in italics, i.e., should be indicated in the typed script by underlining. Titles of books cited should be given in full at the first citation; thereafter reference should be made by using only significant words in the title, but with sufficient clarity to avoid doubt or confusion. Uniformity of abbreviations must be observed throughout the paper.

9. Titles of articles in periodicals should be cited in quotation marks; the name of the periodical should be printed in italics. The following abbreviations for the Journals of the principal oriental societies should be adhered to : *Ep. Ind., Ind. Ant., JA, JAOS, JASB, JBBRAS, WZKM, ZDMG.* Volume and pagination should be indicated as in the following example : *ZDMG* Vol. 27, pp 369, ff. (*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morganlandischen Gesellschaft,* Volume 27, pages 369 and following).

10. The greatest possible conciseness in the papers is desired of the contributors for the sake of economy. Additional printer's charges for alterations other than corrections of printer's errors must be borne by the contributor. Later corrections which would involve overrunning will not be accepted without express permission of the Board of Editors.

11. Fifteen off-prints of each article will be supplied to the contributor free of charge. Additional copies, if desired, may be obtained by giving due notice to the Hon. Secretary on payment.

THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BOMBAY
(FORMERLY THE B.B.R.A. SOCIETY)
PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE
JOURNALS : NEW SERIES

XXVI	1 & 2	1950-51	Rs. 200.00	XLVII-XLVIII	1972-73	Rs. 200.00
XXVII	1 & 2 & Supp.	1951-52	Rs. 200.00	XLIX-LI	1974-75-76	Rs. 280.00
XXVIII	1 & 2	1953	Rs. 200.00	LII-LIII	1977-78	Rs. 200.00
XIX	1 & 2	1954	Rs. 200.00	LIV-LV	1979-80	Rs. 200.00
XXX	1 & 2	1955	Rs. 200.00	LVI-LIX	1981-84	Rs. 200.00
XXXI-XXXII		1956-57	Rs. 200.00	LX-LXI	1985-86	Rs. 200.00
XXXIII		1958	Rs. 200.00	LXII-LXIII	1987-88	Rs. 300.00
XXXIV-XXXV		1959-60	Rs. 200.00	LXIV-LXVI	1989-91	Rs. 350.00
XXXVI-XXXVII		1961 62 &	Rs. 200.00	LXVII-LXVIII	1992-93	Rs. 350.00
		Supp.		LXIX	1994	Rs. 200.00
XXXVIII		1963	Rs. 200.00	LXX	1995	Rs. 350.00
XXXIX-XL		1964-65	Rs. 200.00	LXXI	1996	Rs. 350.00
XLI-XLII		1966-67	Rs. 200.00	LXXII	1997	Rs. 350.00
XLIII-XLIV		1968-69	Rs. 200.00	LXXIII	1998	Rs. 350.00
XLV-XLVI		1970-71	Rs. 200.00			

Volumes I-III of the Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay are out of stock. Volumes I XXVI/1841 1923 (Old Series) and Volumes I XXV / 1925 1949 (New Series) are available with Messrs. / Kraus Reprint, F. L. 9491, Nendein, Liechtenstein, Europe.

MONOGRAPHS

1. *Buddhaghosa* by Dr. B. C. Law,
Rs. 60.00

2. *Some Jain Canonical Sutras* by
Dr B. C. Law,
Rs 150.00

3. *An Illustrated Aranyaka Parvan in
the Asiatic Society of Bombay*
by Shri Karl Khandalavala and
Dr. Moti Chandra,   Rs. 300.00

4. *Kavindra Kalpadruma of
Kavindracarya Sarasvati*
ed. by Prof R. B. Athavale, Rs 200.00

5. *James Darmesteter Remembered*
ed. by Prof G. Lazard and Dr. D. R. SarDesai,
Rs. 300.00

6. *On the Meaning of the Mahabharata*
by Dr. V. S. Sukthankar, Second Edition
Rs. 150.00

7. *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prakrit Manuscripts
in the collection of the Asiatic Society of Bombay*, compiled by
Prof H. D. Velankar, Second Edition, with illustrations, Rs 1200.00

N. B.   This price list cancels all previous lists.