

**Volume 76 for 2001
(New Series)
ISSN 0972-0766**



(Established in 1804)

**JOURNAL
OF THE
ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BOMBAY**

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

**Published by The Asiatic Society of Bombay,
Town Hall, Mumbai 400 023
Maharashtra State (India)
2002**

THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BOMBAY

CHIEF PATRON

H. E. The Governor of Maharashtra

Committee of Management for the year 2001-2002

PRESIDENT

Mr. B. G. Deshmukh

VICE-PRESIDENTS

Dr. Devangana J. Desai

Mr. Rajan M. Jayakar

Dr. Mani P. Kamerkar

Mr. Jayant A. Kher

HON. SECRETARY

Ms. Vimal Shah

JT. HON. SECRETARY

Mr. B. V. Shetti

MEMBERS

Ms. Usha Banerji

Mr. Hirji C. Mistry

Mr. Khanderao B. Dabke

Dr. N. B. Patil

Dr. Kamala Ganesh

Mr. Nandakumar Rege

Mr. Ranjit Hoskote

Dr. Uma Sheth

Mr. Shankar Kamble

Mr. B. V. Shetti

Mr. Yogesh Kamdar

Dr. Mangala Sirdeshpande

HON. FINANCE SECRETARY

Mr. Khanderao Dabke

HON. AUDITORS

Mr. Virendra Shah

Mr. A. D. Bhorkar

TRUSTEES

Justice Mr. Y. V. Chandrachud (Chairman)

Dr. Armaity S. Desai

Ms. Ketu Mehta

Dr. Mohanbhai Patel

Justice Mr. M. L. Pendse

Mr. D. M. Sukthankar

**Volume 76 for 2001
(New Series)
ISSN 0972-0766**

**JOURNAL
OF THE
ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BOMBAY**

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

**Published by The Asiatic Society of Bombay,
Town Hall, Mumbai 400 023
Maharashtra State (India)
2002**

**London Agents
ARTHUR PROBSTHAIN
41, Great Russell Street, London, WC1B 3PL**

**Journal and Publications Committee
for the year 2001-2002**

Dr. V. M. Kulkarni
(Hon. Fellow of the Society)

Dr. Devangana J. Desai
(Chairperson)

Dr. N. B. Patil
(Convener)

Dr. Indira S. Aiyar
Ms. Carmel Berkson
Dr. Kamala Ganesh
Mr. Ranjit Hoskote
Mr. B. V. Shetti
Ms. Tulsi Vatsal
Dr. Vidya Vencatesan
Dr. Anila Verghese
Ms. Vimal Shah
(Ex-officio)

The Editors thank **Ms. Mrudula P. Joshi** for editorial assistance, and the staff of The Asiatic Society of Bombay for helping in various matters.

**JOURNAL OF THE
ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BOMBAY**

Volume 76/2001

CONTENTS

Articles

1. Some Observations on the Devībhāgavata	Jaya Chemburkar	1
2. Trees in Vedic Ritual Tradition	Sindhu S. Dange	9
3. Inscribed Site Labels on Khajuraho Sculptures	Devangana Desai	21
4. A Note on the Older Parts of the Annigeri Jaina Temple	M. A. Dhaky	27
5. Concept of Sāhitya with special reference to Vakrokti Theory	Manjusha D. Gokhale	32
6. The Breasted Image in Myth	Vidya Kamat	40
7. Abhinavagupta on the Goal of Poetry	V. M. Kulkarni	53
8. The Making of a Poet	W. K. Lele	61
9. Dr. P. K. Gode's Contribution to the Dharma-Śāstra	S. G. Moghe	79
10. An Overview of the Art of Ancient Bactria from the Achaemenid to Kuṣāṇa Period	Lolita Nehru	86
11. Some Reflections on the Therianthropic Avatars of Viṣṇu	Pratapaditya Pal	102
12. Edward Conze's Contribution to the Doctrine of Buddha's Bodies	Arvind Sharma	107
13. The Town of Erich : Its Antiquity and Coinage	Ajay Mitra Shastri	113
14. The Sūrya Temple of Boudha Danda	A. K. Singh	120
15. China and Karnataka 7th-16th Centuries (With reference to Sea Trade Relations)	K. G. Vasanthamadhava	125
16. A Rare Depiction of Sacred Feet in Hampi-Vijayanagara	Anila Verghese and Anna L. Dallapiccola	133

Reviews

1. *Amrita : The Collected Papers Contributed by Professor A. M. Ghatage* V. M. Kulkarni 140
2. *The Nāṭyaśāstra of Bharatamuni*, Ed. Tapasvi S. Nandi V. M. Kulkarni 142
3. *Ācārya Hemacandra's Kāvyaṅuśāsanam*, Ed. T. S. Nandi V. M. Kulkarni 144
4. *Images From Vedic Hymns and Rituals*, by S. A. Dange Dipak Bhattacharya 146
5. *Śilparatnakośa : A Glossary of Orissan Temple Architecture*, by Sthāpaka Nirañjana Mahāpātra, Ed. Bettina Bäumer and Rajendra Prasad Das B. V. Shetti 149
6. *Worshipping Śiva in Medieval India, Ritual in an Oscillating Universe*, by Richard H. Davis Indira Aiyar 150
7. *Jaina Darśana Mem Śraddhā (Samyagdarśana), Mati-Jñāna Our Kevala - Jñāna Kī Vibhāvanā*, by Nagin J. Shah Esther A. Solomon 153
8. *Makaranda (Madhukar Anant Mehendale Festschrift)* Ed. M. A. Dhaky, J. B. Shah V. M. Kulkarni, Vidya Vencatesan 156
9. *The Collected Essays of A. K. Ramanujan*, Ed. Vinay Dharwadker Vidya Vencatesan 159
10. *Indian Fire Ritual*, by Musashi Tachikawa, Shrikant Bahulkar, Madhavi Kolhatkar N. B. Patil 162
11. *Āb-e-Hayāt, Shaping the Canon of Urdu Poetry*, by Muhammed Husain Azad, Ed. Frances Pritchett and Shamsur Rahman Faruqi Abdus Sattar Dalvi 163
12. *Prāsāda-Śikhara, (Temple-Roof)* by R. P. Kulkarni Devangana Desai 165

13. <i>Temples of the Kalachuri Period</i> , by Amrendra Kumar Singh	Devangana Desai	167
14. <i>Mysticism in Shaivism and Christianity</i> , Ed. Bettina Bäumer	Indira Aiyar	169
Obituary Notices		172
Transliteration Chart		180

Acknowledgement of Photographs

American Institute of Indian Studies, Gurgaon; IV

Archaeological Survey of India: I to III

Art Institute of Chicago: XVIII

T. K. Biswas, Bharat Kala Bhavan: XVI, XVII

Lolita Nehru (By courtesy): V to XIV

Norton Simon Museum, Pasadena: XV

A. K. Singh: XIX to XXII

Anila Verghese: XXIII to XXVI

Our Contributors

1. **Dr. Indira S. Aiyar**
801, Prabhukutir,
15, Altamount Road,
Mumbai, 400 026
2. **Dr. Dipak Bhattacharya**
"Atharvana", Gurupalli West
Shantiniketan, 731235
(West Bengal)
3. **Dr. Jaya Chemburkar**
Retd. Lecturer, Sanskrit & Ancient
Indian Culture Dept.,
R. D. National College; Mumbai;
Prathamesh, Chaitanya Nagar,
Near Professors' Colony, Savedi,
Ahmednagar, 414 003
4. **Dr. Anna L. Dallapiccola**
4, Sydney Terrace,
Edinburgh, EH76SL
U. K.
5. **Dr. Abdus Sattar Dalvi**
Retd. Professor and Head of the Dept.
Urdu and Persian,
Al-Hilal, Bandra Reclamation,
Mumbai 400 050
6. **Dr. Sindhu S. Dange**
Retd. Professor & Head of
the Dept. of Sanskrit, Pali & Prakrit,
University of Mumbai;
Girmar, Gokhale Road,
Mulund (East), Mumbai, 400 081
7. **Dr. Devangana Desai**
1/30, Shanti, 19, Peddar Road,
Mumbai, 400 026
8. **Prof. M. A. Dhaky**
Director (Emeritus),
American Institute of Indian Studies,
Plot No. 22, Sector 32,
Institutional Area,
Gurgaon, 122 001
9. **Dr. Manjusha D. Gokhale**
Block No. 12, Surya Prakash,
Tekadi Bungalow Road,
Naupada P.O., Thane 400 602
10. **Dr. Vidya Kamat**
35/B/102, Sri Prastha,
Nalasopara (W), 401 203
Dist. Thane
11. **Dr. V. M. Kulkarni**
Retd. Director of Languages,
Maharashtra State, Mumbai;
5, Suruchi Society,
Dixit Road Extension,
Vile Parle (East),
Mumbai, 400 057
12. **Dr. W. K. Lele**
A 1/2 Sarvatra Society,
Paud Road, Kothrud,
Pune, 411 029
13. **Dr. S. G. Moghe**
74-B, Tatyia Gharpure Path,
J. S. S. Road,
Mumbai, 400 004
14. **Dr. Lolita Nehru**
Professor, National Museum Institute,
Flat A, Ground Floor,
F-13, Haus Khas Enclave,
New Delhi, 110 016
15. **Dr. Pratapaditya Pal**
General Editor, Marg,
10582 Cheviot Drive,
LA California 90064
U. S. A.
16. **Dr. N. B. Patil**
Retd. Director of Languages,
Maharashtra State, Mumbai;
A-37, Kamalpushpa,
Bandra Reclamation,
K. C. Marg, Mumbai, 400 050

17. **Dr. Arvind Sharma**
Mc Gill University, Faculty of Religious
Studies, 3520 University Street,
Montreal, PQ H3A 2A7, Canada
18. **Prof. Ajay Mitra Shastri**
Retd. Prof. & Head of the Dept.
of Ancient Indian History,
Culture & Archaeology,
Nagpur University;
'Prachi', 23 Vidyavihar,
Rana Pratap Nagar,
Nagpur, 440 022
19. **Mr. B. V. Shetti**
D-4/304 Alaknanda
Lok Gram,
Kalyan (East) 421 306
20. **Dr. Amrendra K. Singh**
Senior Lecturer, Department of
Ancient Indian History,
Culture & Archaeology,
A. P. S. University;
Rewa, 486 003 (M. P.)
21. **Dr. Esther A. Solomon**
33, Nehru Nagar Flats,
S. M. Road,
Ambawadi,
Ahmedabad, 380 015
22. **Prof. K. G. Vasanthamadhava**
Aradhana, Pavanje,
Haleyangadi D. K. 574 146
23. **Dr. Vidya Vencatesan**
324, Samudra Mahal,
Dr. Anni Besant Road,
Worli, Mumbai 400 018
24. **Dr. Anila Verghese**
Principal, Sophia College,
Bhulabhai Desai Road,
Mumbai, 400 026

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE DEVĪBHĀGAVATA

JAYA CHEMBURKAR

1. The Śakti cult has drawn much from non-Vedic and pre-Vedic religious traditions. Tantricism had become inextricably linked up with it. The Tantras preach ideas and practices which are opposed to the Vedic religion. On account of absorbing non-Brahmanic ideas of the Tantras, the Śākta cult came to be regarded as the most debased and revolting form of Hinduism.

2. The Purāṇas on the other hand held in high esteem the authority of the Vedas and the *Varṇāśramadharmā* propounded by the Sūtras and the Smṛtis. They undertook the task of re-establishing the teachings of the Vedas and denounced the Tantric ideas and practices.¹

3. Such an attempt is clearly seen in the *Kūrma Purāṇa* (*KP*) in connection with the Pāśupata sect in order to free it from obscenity and vulgarity and bring it in the fold of Brahmanism.² The *Devībhāgavata* (*DB*) also, which is a Śākta Purāṇa, aims at purging the Śākta cult of non-Vedic, debased and hideous Tantric ideas and practices by giving it a sublime garb of *Bhāgavatadharmā* (*Bhd*) which holds in high esteem the teachings of the Vedas and the practice of Varṇāśramadharmā.

4. This article proposes to examine how the *DB* presents the Śākta cult in a refined, sublime form by infusing into it the teachings of the *Bhd*.

5. The *Bhd* has propounded the worship of Bhagavān Vāsudeva or Lord Kṛṣṇa. According to the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (*VP*), the word *bhaga* (in the word *bhagavat*) connotes six qualities collectively, viz. fulness of sway, manliness (energy), glory, auspiciousness, knowledge and indifference to worldly objects, and the word *bhaga* is applicable only to Vāsudeva who is the Highest Brahma and none else (*aiśvaryasya samagrasya vīryasya yaśasaḥ śriyaḥ / jñānavairāgyayoścaiva śannām bhaga itīranā // evameṣa mahānśabdo maitraya bhagavāniti / parabrahmabhūtasya Vāsudevasya nānyagaḥ //* (*VP* VI.5.74,76). The *VP* further states that the word *bhaga* may be applied secondarily to others who know about creation and dissolution (of the world), about the origin and final destiny of beings and knows what is *vidyā* 'knowledge' and *avidyā* 'nescience.'

6. It is interesting to note how the Śākta Purāṇa *DB* derives the words *bhāgavata* and *Bhagavān* to suit its purpose. According to the *DB*, the word *bhaga* implies knowledge, prosperity, wealth, glory and strength. Being

possessed of these qualities the Goddess Śakti becomes *bhagavatī* (*jñānam samṛddhiḥ sampattiryaśaścaiva balam bhagaḥ / tena śaktirbhavati bhagarūpā ca sā* II (*DB Māhātmya (DB. MTM.)* II. 50a; IV. 5b and *DB IX, 2.11*). And because Ātmā i.e. Kṛṣṇa who is always united with *Bhagarūpā Śakti* is called Bhagavān (*layā yuktaḥ sadāśtmā ca bhagavānstena kathyate* [*DB IX.2.12.a*]). Śakti being the Supreme Goddess of the cult, Kṛṣṇa is said to become *Bhagavān* only secondarily. Kṛṣṇa the male God is thus relegated to an inferior position.

7. Having described the Goddess Śakti as *Bhagavatī*, the *DB* then explains the title *Devībhāgavata* as, "*bhagavatyāḥ idam yasmāttasmādbhāgavatam viduh*" i.e. because this Purāṇa is about *Bhagavatī*, it is called *Bhāgavatam* (*DB MTM* IV.5). But in the light of the scrutiny of the entire text of the *DB*, the title can be explained in another way also. As stated above,³ sublimation of the Śākta cult is the aim of this Purāṇa. The title appears to imply incorporation of the *Bhāgavata* i. e. *Bhd* for the modification and sublimation of the cult of Devī. Thus this title can be explained as, *devyupāsanāyāḥ bhāgavatadharmānusāreṇa udātīkaraṇam yasmin pratipāditam tat devībhāgavatam*; i.e. that Purāṇa is called *DB* in which is expounded the sublimation of Devī-worship according to the *Bhd*. The reason for adopting the *Bhd* is that, it was necessary to eradicate non-Vedic, Tantric element from Śakti worship and replace it by the noble principles of the *Bhd* which centre round the philosophy of the Veda, the doctrine of devotion, simple mode of worship and the practice of Varṇāśramadharmā. Secondly because the *Bhd* propounded by the *Bhagavadgītā* (*BG*) and the Purāṇas like the *VP* and the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (*BP*) was easy and simple to practise; and its practice was allowed for all, irrespective of caste and sex. The *DB* has modified the Śakti cult by giving it a sublime garb which could raise it to an honourable position in the society.

8. **The Text of the *DB* (1100 CE)** : By and large the text of the *DB* is very much akin to the text of the *BP*, the main point of difference between the two Purāṇas being in the principal deity to whose glorification and worship the Purāṇa is devoted. In the *DB* the principal deity is Devī i.e. Goddess Śakti, whereas in the *BP* it is Lord Kṛṣṇa. In both the Purāṇas the text is divided into twelve *Skandhas* 'books' containing eighteen thousand verses. Both the Purāṇas narrate the māhātmya (importance) of the respective Purāṇa. Narrations of a large number of episodes in the *DB* sound like an echo of the episodes in the *BP*. The entire text of the *DB* shows its inclination towards the *Bhd*.⁴

Following is a very brief statement of the modified form of Śakti cult.

9. **Goddess Śakti** : The Supreme Deity of any cult is always equated with Brahman. Accordingly the *DB* has described Devī as '*parabrahmasvarūpiṇī*' (*DB* IV.25.68), *brahmasvarūpiṇī* (*DB* VII.28.41), *brahmarūpiṇī* (*DB* VII.29.16).

She is Vedāntvedyā, one who can be known from the *Vedānta* (*DB* VII. 28.31) and Vedamātā 'Mother of the Vedas.' These attributes establish Her relationship with the Veda. She is present in all, in the form of Śakti i. e. strength, energy. She is consciousness (*DB* V.33.56). A being without Her is like a corpse (*DB* V.33.56). Even the gods Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśa are said to be able to perform their respective functions of creation, protection and destruction because of Her power (*DB. MTM* II.37,38; *DB* I. 8.34, 35, 38, 39; I 19.78). Her manifestations have been described as *aṃśas*, *kalās*, *aṃśāṃśa*, *kalāṃśas* (*DB* IX.1.58) implying degrees of Her portions in the respective manifestations. These terms have been borrowed from the *BP* where they have been employed with reference to various incarnations of Lord Kṛṣṇa (*BP* I. 3.28; IV.8.6; IV.15.6; XII.7-15; Cf also *BG* X.41,42). Many female deities such as Durgā, Rādhā, Lakṣmī, Sāvitrī and Sarasvatī, who are of spiritual character and known from other religious literature have been incorporated and have been described as Her manifestations (*DB* IX.1.58); and the fearful, ferocious female deities such as Kālikā, Tripurā, Bhairavī, Chinnamastā, Guhyakālī, Caṇḍī, Caṇḍikā, Cāmuṇḍā etc. commonly described in the Śākta works have been described by the *DB* as emanating from Her on the battle-field to fight the army of the demon Mahiṣa. These fierce goddesses symbolise ferocious aspect of Devī necessary for the bloody activity on the battle-field. In the process of modification of the Śākta cult only a mention of these goddesses known to the Tantra-dominated Śākta cult is made, but like the worship of Devī's manifestations viz. Rādhā, Durgā, Lakṣmī, Sarasvatī and Sāvitrī, worship of these Tantric ferocious goddesses has not been prescribed. This indicates that the *DB* is wiping out the hideous ghastly Tantric character of the Goddess Śakti.

10. The *DB* has borrowed the idea of avatāra 'incarnation of God' from the *BG* (*BG* IV.7). This is evidenced by Śakti's remark viz. *Yadā Yadā hi dharmasya glānirbhavati bhūdhara (DB* VII.39.22b) *abhyutthānamadharmasya tadā veśān bibharmyaham (DB* VII.39.23a). Similarly, Viśvarūpadarśana 'manifestation of Her universal form by Devī' (*DB* VII.33.53) and the reaction of the gods on seeing it is only a reproduction of Viśvarūpadarśana described in the *BG*. Devī's remark *na vedādhyayanairyogairna dānaistapasejyayā l rūpam draṣṭumidam śakyam kevalam matkṛpām vinā (DB* VII.34.2) is borrowed verbatim from the *BG* (*BG* XI.48). These parallel instances indicate *DB*'s leaning towards the cult of Bhagavān.

11. Though Bhāgavata-garb is given to the Śākta cult, supremacy of Devī has been repeatedly described (*DB* IV.19.18, 19, 33, 34; IV.20.4; V.19.1, 2).

12. Like the *BP*, the *DB* had described both *saguṇa* and *nirguṇa* forms of Devī. There is a blending of these two forms of Devī.

13. **Devīgītā (DG)** : Narration in ten chapters of *DB* (*DB* VII.31-40) has been named *Devīgītā (DG)*⁵. *DG* is nothing but a reproduction of the *BG*. The *DG* has been rightly referred to as *gītāsāstra* (*DB* VII.40.34). The purpose of the *DG* is to incorporate the teachings of the *Bhd*. *DG* contains an exposition on *karma*, *bhakti* and *jñāna*. These tenets have been deliberately put in the mouth of Devī, the Supreme Deity of the cult; with the object of making them authoritative.

14. **Devotion** : Throughout the emphasis of the *DG* is on practising devotion to Devī. There are a number of passages which clarify *DB*'s concept of devotion. Perfect concentration of the mind on Devī, resulting in 'complete merging of the mind' *cittalayā* in Her, is devotion according to *DB* VII.29.17a. Passages like, *tadeva cetasā paśya* 'see that in your mind' (*DB* VII.39.10), *matparā ye madāsaktacittā* 'taking hold of Me, with minds fixed on Me' (*DB* VII.39.12), *maccittā madgataprāṇā* 'minds fixed on Me, and entirely attached to Me' (*DB* VII.39.35), etc. explain *DB*'s concept of devotion which is exactly similar to the concept of devotion described in the *BG* and the *BP*.

15. The exposition of devotion in the *BG* and the *BP* clearly indicates that according to the *BG* and the *BP*, devotion means perpetual concentration of the mind on the Lord. The following passages like, *maccittā madgataprāṇā* (*BG* X.9), *mayyāveśya mano* (*BG* XII.2), *ye tu sarvaṇi karmāṇi mayi sarṇnyasya matparāḥ* (*BG* XII.6), *mayyāveśitacetasām* (*BG* XII.7), *mayyeva mana ādhatsva, mayi buddhim niveśaya* (*BG* XII.8) and (*BG* X.9) and the *BP* passages like *mano mayyarpitam* (*BP* III.25.44); *mayi... .. manogatirravicchinnā* (*BP* III.29.11); *maccittāḥ* (*BP* III.32.43, also *BP* VI.1.19; VI.5.22; VII.1.29, VII.10.23) indicate that here emphasis is on fixing the mind on God. According to the *BP* the mind may be directed perpetually to God with any motive, any feeling such as fear, hatred, love etc. (*BP* VII.1.25,29,30; X.29.15). The *DB* has expressed the same idea where it states that the mind may be fixed on the Goddess Śakti with a sense of shame, with fear, or affection. Reiterating its concept of devotion the *DB* remarks, "Reciting Her names - She who is a store of all auspicious qualities - with perfect undisturbed concentration of the mind resembling an undisturbed stream of oil is devotion" (*DB* VII.37.12). These words would remind one of Rāmānujācārya's words describing devotion as '*dhyānam ca tailadhārāvadvicchinna-smṛtisantānarūpam*' (continuous uninterrupted remembering of the Lord like the flow of oil - *Śrībhāṣya* I.1.1). The *DB* has not described 'nine-fold devotion' *navavidhābhakti*. It only repeatedly refers to *śravaṇa* 'hearing, listening', *kīrtana* 'reciting, narrating', *namana* 'bowing down', *sevana* 'service', *nāmasmarana* 'remembering mentally Her names, *arcana* 'worship.'

16. The above discussion on devotion indicates *DB*'s affinity with the two Bhāgavata texts, viz. the *BG* and the *BP*.

17. **Characteristics of a Bhāgavata** : Devotion being a mental activity, through perfect concentration and unflinching devotion, a devotee enjoys his communion with God. He begins to undergo an experience of ecstasy. He sees everywhere, in all the beings Goddess Śakti (*DB* VII.37.16). He does not hate anybody (*DB* VII.37.18). He is overwhelmed with love for Devī; he experiences horripilation on his body; his eyes get filled with tears due to love and joy, his throat becomes choked up and he is not able to speak (*DB* VII.37.20;IX.7.50); he sings loudly Her names and being intoxicated with love for the Goddess he dances; he is free from ego (*DB* VII.37.24). These are the characteristics of a devotee whose devotion is of the highest type - *parābhakti*- and the highest culmination point in devotion and dispassion is *jñāna* i. e. knowledge. The *DB* has borrowed these ideas from the *BP* where we find similar description of a *bhāgavata* i. e. a follower of *Bhd* (*BP* XI.2.36-55; XI.3.23-32)

18. **Mode of Worship** : Worship of Devī is of two types, external and internal. In external worship one can worship Devī's cosmic form or Her image. This is worship of Her *saguṇa* form; and meditation on the *nirguṇa* form of Devī, culminating in complete merging into Her has been described as internal worship.

19. External worship comprises of *dravya-pūjā* 'offering various materials/objects', bowing down, *nyāsa*,⁶ *japa* 'recitation of Her names', worship of Yantra 'diagram', meditation, reading of the Veda, recitation of Her *Sahasranāma* 'one thousand names', devotional prayers, feeding of the Brāhmaṇas, virgins, young boys and the poor, thinking them to be Her forms. This would inculcate in a devotee realization of oneness of all which is the supreme goal of devotion. Finally with *samāhāra mudrā* one should take leave of the Goddess. According to the *BG* and *BP* also the aim of worship is the realisation of unity in the midst of diversity.

20. This type of worship is a combination of the Vedic and Tantric worship. It may be pointed out here that the *pañcamakāras* 'five kinds of offerings', the names of which begin with the letter *ma*, viz. *madya* 'wine', *matsya* 'fish', *māmsa* 'flesh', *mudrā* 'parched rice', and *maithuna* 'sexual intercourse' which are common in the Tantra-dominated Śakti-worship are here conspicuous by their absence. On the contrary a devotee has been instructed not to eat flesh, garlic, onion and not to drink wine on holy days (*DB* XI.7.40,41). This is the influence of the *Bhd*.

21. Like the *BG* and the *BP*, the *DB* also has described worship on two levels viz. *saguṇa* and *nirguṇa*, taking into account different intellectual and spiritual levels of the devotees. The worship of *saguṇa* form of the Goddess would cater for the needs of an average man. *Saguṇa* worship is intended to culminate into the realisation of the *nirguṇa* form of the Goddess. *Nirguṇa*

worship is meant for spiritually advanced people capable of grasping abstract, attributeless, all pervading form of Śakti.

22. *Japa* has important place in the worship, because it facilitates directing the *cittavrttis* 'modes of the mind' towards the Goddess. *Japa* has a place both in Vedic as well as Tantric devotional practice. Lord Kṛṣṇa has identified Himself with *japa* 'yajñānām japayajño'smi! (BG X.25). The DB has glorified Gāyatrī Mantra with which also Kṛṣṇa has identified Himself in the *Vibhūtiyoga* of the BG, when He remarks, *gāyatrī chandasāmaham!* (BG X.35.) *Japa* of Gāyatrī mantra has been prescribed for Devī-worship. The ultimate emphasis of the DB being on the realisation of oneness of jīva (soul) and Paramātman, three means of attaining this goal viz. karma-yoga, aṣṭāṅga-yoga and jñāna-yoga have been prescribed. All these means have the same aim as in the BG and BP, viz. purification of the mind, control of the mind, and pursuit of knowledge of oneness of jīva and Paramātman and the world. Yet like the *Bhd*, emphasis is on the practice of devotion (DB IX.38.71-72).

23. **Regard for the Veda and Denunciation of other Heretic Sūtras and Cults** : In the task of Brahmanisation of the Śākta-cult, it was incumbent to free the cult of the charge that it was anti-Vedic. Therefore, in order to establish that the cult was not anti-Vedic, the Goddess Śakti is repeatedly made to proclaim the authority and sanctity of the Veda.⁷ The Goddess Śakti remarks, "whatever has been enjoined in the Śruti and Smṛti is *dharma*, and whatever has been stated in the other Śāstras is only *Dharmābhāsa* 'shadow or reflection of *dharma* (DB VII.39.15). In these words Devi has shown Her regard for Śruti and Smṛti and denounced the other Śāstras of Vāmācārins, Kāpālikas, Kaulas, Bhairavas that are opposed to the Veda. They have been described as being *tāmasa* and created by Śiva to delude the people (DB VII.39.18-28).

24. In the Tantra-Śāstras there are some passages which are in conformity with the Veda and there are other passages conflicting with the Vedas. According to the Goddess Śakti there is nothing wrong in Vedic people resorting to the passages which conform to the Vedas (DB VII.39.31,33); and one who is desirous of Liberation should resort to the Veda.

25. The Goddess proclaimed "The Veda has emerged from Her (DB VII 39.16); the Smṛtis conform to the Vedas, therefore they are authoritative (DB VII.39.7). But the other Śāstras, Tantras are not authoritative (DB VII.39. 19); the Veda is Her body and it is to be preserved, without which there would be all misery and chaos (DB VII.28.76); one who abandons Vedadharmā and practises another *dharma* should be banished by the king from his kingdom (DB VII.39.25)."

26. Upholding the *Dharma* laid down by Śrutis and Smṛtis, the DB proclaims

that the right conduct laid down in the Śrutis and the Smṛtis is the first and foremost dharma (*DB* XI.1.8). Śrutis and Smṛtis have been described as the two eyes and the Purāṇa is the heart. What is described as the right conduct in these three is the Dharma and what is laid down elsewhere is not dharma (*DB* XI.1.21,25,26). Those who take vows contrary to the religion of the Veda, viz. Vaikhānasas, Kāmācārins, Pāsupatas, Liṅgāyatas are said to go to hell. (*DB* XI.1.27-31).

27. This eulogy of the Veda would indicate regard of the modified Śākta-cult for the Veda, and its assimilation with Brahmanism.

28. The Skandha XI of the *DB* has been devoted to the discussion on sadācāradharma 'duties forming good conduct' which can be briefly described as comprising of the performance of sandhyā 'daily morning and evening rites', vaiśvadeva 'offering of food to household fire', pañcamahāyajñas 'daily sacrifices consisting of offering food to Brāhmaṇas, gods, creatures, manes and guests; feeding of guests, offering food to cows etc. etc. (*DB* XI.22.12-22). These are said to please the Goddess. The *DB* insists on the performance of nitya 'daily' and naimittika 'occasional' rites according to rules. Ācāra (good righteous conduct) has been described as the first *dharma*. One whose behaviour is in conformity with the rules regarding good conduct is said to be a blessed person (*DB* XI.24.95-100). Though the *dharma* laid down in the Śrutis and Smṛtis has been held up, the *DB* has not laid down different duties for the different castes. This is in keeping with the teachings of the *Bhd* which does not believe in distinction of castes.

29. **Concluding Remarks** : The above discussion would indicate that the *DB* has incorporated noble, popular teachings of the *Bhāgavatadharmā*. Its Advaita philosophy, its mode of worship, its regard for the Vedas, Varnāśramadharmā, its narration of the various episodes, in all these respects the text bears resemblance with the *BP*. Non-Vedic works have been condemned and named as *Mohana-Śāstra*, perfect assimilation of the Śākta-cult with the *Bhāgavatadharmā* makes it clear that there is an attempt to give Bhāgavata garb to the Śakti-cult and to raise it to an honourable position of a refined spiritual faith by infusing sublime character of the *Bhd* into the Śākta-cult.

30. In the *DB* the deities that figure are Viṣṇu, Nārāyaṇa, Kṛṣṇa, Rādhā and the sage Nārāyaṇa, who are closely related to and figure in the exposition on the Bhāgavata religion. In the *DG*, the Goddess Śakti is made to present religion and philosophy in which are woven and interwoven the teachings of the *Bhd* - a new garb to the Śakti-cult. The purpose of the *DG* is to introduce the Bhāgavata ideology in the Śākta cult and free it from non-Vedic and Tantric influence by imparting sublimity and piety and bring it under Brahmanic fold. In conclusion, it may be stated with pride that such a modification was possible because Hinduism was never a static, rigid religion at any stage.

Hinduism was dynamic and flexible, ready to examine and review its teachings, if they were opposed to the beliefs and practices of the cultured society.

Notes and References

1. Cf. Hazra, R. C., *Purānic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*; p. 260.
2. Cf. My article on Brahmanised Pāśupata Sect in The Kūrma Purāṇa; *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay*; Vols. 60-61; pp. 44-63
3. Vide* 4 above.
4. Cf. "The Purāṇa was originally called *Śrībhāgavata Purāṇa*. Later on the devotees of Devī named it as *Śrīmadbhāgavata Mahā Purāṇa*. The name is grammatically derived from Bhagavati as *Bhagavatyāḥ idam bhāgavatam*." Again in course of time in order to distinguish this Purāṇa from the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, the word Devī was added to the name Bhāgavata. Tadpatrikar; *A.B.O.R.I.* Vol. XXIII, Devī Bhāgavata or Bhāgavata Purāṇa; p. 256.
5. The *Kūrma Purāṇa* contains Īśvaragītā.
6. "Nyāsa is mystical sanctification of several parts or limbs of the body with Vedic, Tantric or other mantras. Nyāsa was taken from Tantra works in the Purāṇas and medieval Dharmaśāstra Works." Cf. Kane, P. V., *History of Dharmaśāstra*; Vol. V, P. II; Index p. 144.
7. Vide* 9 above.
8. Vide* 23 and 26 above.

Bibliography

1. Hazra, R. C., *Puranic Records On Hindu Rites And Customs*; Motilal Banarsidass; Delhi 1975.
2. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay*, Vols. 60-61; Town Hall, Bombay, 1985-86.
3. Kane, P. V., *History of Dharmaśāstra*; Vol. V. P. II; B.O.R.I., Poona, 1977.
4. *Kūrma Purāṇa*, with English translation; All India Kashiraj Trust; Varanasi; 1972.
5. *Śrīmaddevībhāgavatam Mahāpurāṇam*, Thakur Prasad; Bookseller Chowk, Varanasi.
6. *Śrīmadbhāgavata Mahāpurāṇam*, Gorakhpur Edition.
7. Tadpatrikar, S. N., *A.B.O.R.I.*, Vol. XXIII; Devī Bhāgavata or Bhāgavata Purāṇa; Pune 1942.

TREES IN VEDIC RITUAL TRADITION

SINDHU S. DANGE

Trees and plants have unique importance in the Vedic ritual. Kindling-sticks as well as sacrificial utensils are of wood. Lord of the forest (Vanaspati) figures as a separate deity, to which the offering *mantra* is addressed. Due to this *mantra*, the sacrificer's oblation (i.e. the sacrificial animal) goes to the gods with life (i.e. being fully alive), for the lord of the forest stands for the breaths of the sacrificial animal (*Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* = *Ait. Br.* II. 10=6.10). The *Kausītaki Brāhmaṇa* also echoes this thought (*Kaus. Br.* XII. 7). The deity of the forest (Vanaspati), which is in the form of huge trees and Aranyāni which in reality is the whole forest deified, can be traced to the *Rgveda* (*RV*)¹, bringing out the importance of the forest-world in the life of the Vedic Aryans.

The tree struck by lightning was thought to be of special importance. The *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* (*Tait. Br.*) enjoins *sambhāra* (seven items from the earth and six items from particular trees, to be scattered at the site of the Gārhapatya altar)² from a tree struck by lightning. The *arthavāda*, while glorifying this *vidhi*, states that the Maruts once terribly troubled Agni with waters and grabbed his heart. It became the lightning (*Tait. Br.* I. 1.3.12). The *sambhāra* here of a sacrificial stick from a lightning-struck tree, stands for the heart of Agni, who is to be established with his very heart.

Several trees have been reckoned as the sacrificial trees. A detail common about them according to the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (*Śat.Br.*) is of their being green and thus fresh, for that is what constitutes their living element, by which they are vigorous and possessed of strength (*Śat.Br.*1.3.4.1). The *Śat.Br.* mentions Palāśa (Butea Frondosa), Vikaṅkata (Flacourtia Sapida), Kārṣmarya (Gmelina Arborea), Bilva (Aegle Marmelos), Khadira (Acacia Catechu) and Udumbara (Ficus Glomerata) as the sacrificial (yajñīya) trees and mentions enclosing sticks (*paridhis*) from them (*Ibid.* 1.3.3.19,20).

The *arthavādas* regarding these trees as also certain others reflect beliefs and practices of the Vedic times. To turn to some of these -

Udumbara

Among all the trees, Udumbara occupies a place of prime importance in the Vedic ritual. The oft-repeated *arthavāda* about it is that it stands for strength and food. As Udumbara stands for strength, the sacrificer thereby

wins for himself strength (*Taittirīya Samhitā* = *Tait. Sam.* II.5.4.3.). For the mortar made of the Udumbara wood, for pounding the grains for preparing the sacrificial cake (*Ibid.* V.2.8.7); for the kindling-sticks of the Udumbara wood in the rite of Agnicayana i. e. building the Great Fire-altar (*Ibid.* V.4.6.1); for the stick of the Udumbara wood to be placed on the fire in the fire-pan (*Ibid.* V.1.10.1), the *arthavāda* at these and many more such places laying down the use of Udumbara has the same note and that is of 'strength'. While enjoining the *sambhāra* of the Udumbara wood, the *Tait.Br.* relates that when the gods divided strength, the Udumbara tree stood up from that strength (*Tait.Br.* I.1.3.10). While laying down the offering of an Udumbara-stick on fire in the fire-pan (*ukhā*), the *Sat.Br.* states a mythical account, which runs as follows. The gods and the *asuras*, both sprung from Prajāpati, vied with each other. All the trees went to the *asuras*, except the Udumbara, which did not forsake the gods. When the gods conquered the *asuras*, they took possession of the latter's trees also, The gods favoured the Udumbara tree by placing in it all the pith and essence of all those trees. Hence it is that the Udumbara tree is always moist, full of milky sap and has fruit equal to all the other trees (*Sat.Br.* VI.6.3.2,3).

It has to be noted that as small fruits cling to the stem of the Udumbara tree and the stem oozes out milky sap, the Udumbara tree comes in line with other such trees that stand as the Mother-goddess trees, because the small fruits (clinging to the stem) bear resemblance to the breasts. Some ancient mythologies mention such Mother-goddess trees. The Mexican Mother-goddess of this kind was Mayael, who was believed to be a woman with four hundred breasts, and the gods on account of her fruitfulness changed her into the plant Maguey. The wine of this plant is called "pulque."³ The Mother-goddess everywhere figured as seated before or on the Agave (Maguey) plant.⁴ The Greek goddess Artemis was believed to have four hundred breasts and was the fig - (tree) - goddess; the fig-fruits regarded as teats in ancient times. The green part of the fig-tree including the fruit distil a white milk-like juice in abundance. As the fruits of the fig-tree appear before the leaves, the tree was personified as "goddess of many breasts"⁵ The ancient Egyptian goddess Hathor was the sycamore tree is one of her forms. The peculiarity of the sycamore tree is that the fruits all adhere to the stock of the tree and not to the end of the branches.⁶

It has to be pointed out that nowhere the Brāhmaṇa-texts mention the Udumbara tree as a Mother-goddess tree. However when they speak of the Udumbara tree as 'strength and food', it is clear that rather than simply glorifying the tree through a ritual metaphor, they certainly reflect some mythological belief about this tree. The mention of the Udumbara tree and of the things made from the wood of this tree in the Vedic ritual vouchsafes for this.

The *Ait.Br.* reasons out for Udumbara's standing for sap and strength, by a mythical account. On the tenth day in the Soma-sacrifice, the sacrificer and the priest hold together an Udumbara branch with a *mantra* 'Sap and strength I lay hold of.' The *Ait.Br.* states that when the gods distributed sap and strength, the Udumbara came into being. Hence it ripens thrice in a year (*Ait.Br.* V. 24=24.5). An interesting *arthavāda* occurs in the *Śat.Br.* While leading forward Agni to the fire-altar in the rite of Agnicayana, an Udumbara-stick is placed on Agni. The *Śat.Br.* says that the Udumbara tree has forking branches and forking branches (resembling horns ?) are cattle. Cattle is food, with which the sacrificer gratifies Agni (*Śat.Br.* IX. 2.3.40).

A (*soma-*) cup made of the Udumbara tree is offered to Prajāpati. The *Śat.Br.* says that the Udumbara tree belongs to Prajāpati (*Ibid.* IV.6.1.3). As this tree belongs to Prajāpati (i.e. Agni), it produces red fruit (Mairāyaṇī Saṁhitā = *Mait. Sam.* 1.8.1). As the redness of Agni went in the earth and the Udumbara tree was born, its fruit is red (Kāthaka Saṁhitā = *Kāth. Sam.* VI. 1; *Katha Kapisthala Sam.* III. 12). The *arthavāda* here is obviously based on the red colour of the fruit of the Udumbara tree which is also the colour of Agni.

The indispensable role of this tree in the Vedic ritual is seen in the etymology of the word *udumbara*, which occurs in the *Śat.Br.* In an *arthavāda* passage, Prajāpati - the very deity of sacrifice - is seen to remark that this tree lifted him up (*udabhārsīt*) from all evil. As it lifted him up, so it (i.e. the tree) is called Udumbhara (the root indicated is *ud* + \sqrt{bhr}). And Udumbhara they call Udumbara, for the gods love what is abstruse (*Śat.Br.* VII.5.1.22).

Palāśa = Parṇa

The Vedic ritual-texts enjoin the use of the Palāśa wood on quite a number of occasions. As in the case of other things, here also the Vedic ritual-texts have glorified the Palāśa-wood with various *arthavāda*- statements, which reflect the beliefs about the Palāśa tree.

In the animal-sacrifice, the sacrificial post is made of the Palāśa-wood, by a person desirous of brilliance and splendour, for the Palāśa tree stands for these two (*Ait.Br.* II. 1=6.1.). In the Rājasūya sacrifice, when the four-monthly seasonal sacrifices (*Cāturmāsya-iṣtis*) are to be performed, if the dipping-spoon (*sruva*) is of the Palāśa wood, he slays the fiends and *rakṣases* with Brahman, the Palāśa tree being Brahman (*Śat.Br.* V. 2.4.18). That the wood of the Palāśa tree or even the leaf of this tree is regarded as Brahman occurs at other places also (*Ibid.* VI.6.3.7; II.6.2.8)⁷.

It has to be noted that a reference to Palāśa occurs many a time in the context of the Soma-sacrifice, while on some other occasions, with the mention of the Palāśa, Soma is brought into the context. The *Śat.Br.* lays

down that in the animal-sacrifice (i.e. Soma-sacrifice) the sacrificer should make the sacrificial post (*yūpa*) from the Palāśa-wood. He thereby performs the animal-sacrifice with Soma (*Ibid.* XI.7.2.8.). In the Agnicayana-rite the kindling-sticks should be of the Palāśa-wood.⁸ The *arthavāda* forwarded here is that the Palāśa tree is Soma and Soma is the supreme offering. The offering of the kindling-stick of the Palāśa-wood in fire is in fact the offering of Soma, by which Agni is gratified (*Ibid.* VI. 6.3.7). The *Kaus.Br.* also echoes this thought, when it says that the offering of the Palāśa-stick stands for the first Soma-libation, as the Palāśa stands for Soma (*Kaus.Br.* II.2).

The offering-ladle (*juhū*) in the sacrifice has to be of the Palāśa wood. The *arthavāda* states that Soma was in the third heaven. When the metre Gāyatrī fetched it, a leaf (*parṇa*) of Soma was cut off and it became the Parna tree (Palāśa tree is also called Parna). When the gods discussed regarding Brahman (acc. to Keith 'holy power'), the Parna (i.e. Palāśa) tree overheard it. Therefore he becomes famous whose ladle is made of the Parna-wood (*Tait. Sam.* III.5.7.2; *Tait.Br.* I.1.3.10; I.2.1.5.6). The mythical account regarding the birth of the Palāśa tree occurs with some more details, when the ritual of taking away calves from the cows with a branch of the Palāśa (Parna) tree is laid down. This occurs in the context of the New-moon and the Full-moon sacrifices as well as the rites preliminary to the Soma-sacrifice (*Śat.Br.* I.5.4.1; I.7.1.1.; III.3.4.10; *Tait.Br.* III.2.1.1.). The *Śat.Br.* in these accounts mentions a footless archer aiming at the Gāyatrī (metre), when she was carrying off Soma. The archer severed one of her feathers or one of the leaves of king Soma (i.e. of the Soma-plant)⁹ and falling down it became the Palāśa tree. It is clear that the frequent use of the Palāśa wood in the Soma-sacrifice has given rise to such an *arthavāda* account, showing the importance of the Palāśa tree as equal to that of Soma in the thought of the Vedic ritualists.

The indispensable part played by the Palāśa tree in sacrifice in the form of enclosing-sticks (*paridhis*) from that tree, is marked in an *arthavāda* - account in the *Tait.Sam.*, which occurs in the context of the Soma-sacrifice. Agni had three elder brothers (They were also Agnis.). They perished while carrying the offerings to the gods.¹⁰ So Agni (i.e. the fourth one) being afraid ran away. When the gods found him, the latter agreed to come back asking a boon and it was of having enclosing-sticks around him for his protection. Whatever of the offering fell outside the enclosing-sticks, that was the share of his three elder brothers. Agni thought that his elder brothers perished because they had bones. With a desire to survive, Agni shattered his bones and they became the Palāśa trees and the flesh which died on them, bdellium. When the sacrificer or priest brings the sticks of the Palāśa tree to serve as the enclosing sticks, it is in fact bringing or making Agni in its full form (*Tait.Sam.* VI. 2.8.3,4.). It has to be noted that the enclosing-sticks are to be placed on the three sides of the Āhavanīya fire-altar i. e. to the north, west and

south. The east being the quarter of the rising sun, Agni has no danger to face from that side, as the sun is the protector there and moreover Agni is a form of the sun which the latter would definitely protect.

Out of the twenty-one stakes enjoined for tying twenty-one Agniṣomīya animal-victims (i.e. victims to be offered to the deities Agni and Soma), there are six stakes of the Palāśa wood-three on one side and three on other side. To glorify these stakes from the Palāśa wood (also the Palāśa tree), it is said that the Palāśa tree was produced from Prajāpati's flesh. As flesh is red, so has the tree red juice (*Śat.Br.* XIII.4.4.10).

Khadira

The wood of the Khadira tree was used for making the sacrificial post. The gods won the heavenly world with such a post and so does the sacrificer win the world of heaven with this post (*Ait.Br.* II. 1=6.1). Out of the twenty-one posts at the Horse-sacrifice, six are of the Khadira-wood. The belief recorded in the *arthavāda* is that as this tree was produced from Prajāpati's bones, it is hard and of great strength, for bone is hard (*Śat.Br.* XIII.4.4.9.). While laying down ladles made from different trees, for the offerings to be given in the New-moon and Full-moon sacrifices, the *Tait.Sam.* states the importance of the Khadira ladle through an *arthavāda* account. It says that when the Vasaṭkāra cleft the head of the Gāyatrī, the sap of the latter fell away and entered the earth. It became the Khadira tree. Therefore, he whose dipping spoon is made of the Khadira wood, cuts off with the sap of the metres and his oblations are full of sap (*Tait. Sam.* III.5.7.1).

Plakṣa

While laying down the fruits from certain trees for the great anointing (*mahābhīṣeka*) of king, the Plakṣa tree is spoken of as standing for self-rule (*svārājyam*) and sovereignty (*vairājyam*) of the trees (*Ait.Br.* VIII. 16=39.2). These are placed in the royal power (*kṣatre*), when the fruits of the Plakṣa tree are brought for the king (*Ibid.* VII. 32=35.6). When the animal-offering is given in the Soma-sacrifice, a branch of the Plakṣa tree is placed above the strew (*barhis*). The *Tait.Sam.* states the *arthavāda* that by means of the sacrificial animal, the gods went to the heavenly world. With the thought that men would follow them there, the gods cut off the animal's head and made the animal's sap stream forth. The sap became the Plakṣa tree (*Tait.Sam.* VI.3.10.2). To commend this *vidhi* concerning the Plakṣa (branches), the *arthavāda* stated in the *Śat.Br.* takes the help of etymology. It is said that when the gods first seized an animal for offering it in the sacrifice, its sap flowed down, from where a tree sprang up. The gods perceived that tree and as it was visible (*prakhyā*) it got the name Plakṣa. When the flesh of the animal is cut into portions on the Plakṣa branches, the animal is made

full of the sacrificial sap (*Śat.Br.* III.8.3.12). The etymology of the word Plakṣa is from *pra + √khyā* 'to see closely' and further, on the non-difference between the syllables *r* and *l* (*ralayorabhedah*).

Aśvattha

The fruits from the Aśvattha tree are to be used in the great anointing (Mahābhīṣeka) of the king, the belief being that the Aśvattha tree stands for the overlordship (*sāmrājyam*) of the trees (*Ait.Br.* VIII.16=39.2). Before buying Soma, fruits of trees such as Nyagrodha etc. are to be kept ready. The *arthavāda* states that the Aśvattha tree was born from brilliance (*tejasah*) and stands for the overlordship of the trees. As the sacrificer-king stands for the lordly power, by using the Aśvattha wood, he or the priest places brilliance (*tejah*) and the overlordship (*sāmrājyam*) of the trees in the lordly power - *kṣatre* (*Ibid.* VII. 32=35.6.). The kindling-sticks from the Aśvattha tree, which is here called '*citriya*' (fr. *√cit* 'to know', *citriya* 'worthy of being known') are enjoined for being placed on the Agni (fire) on which the Brahmaudana (rice made in ghee) is to be prepared. The *arthavāda* based on etymology states that by this *vidhi* there will be '*citra*' i. e. shining prosperity-- *sāyaṇa-vicitram evaiśvaryam bhavati* (*Tait.Br.* I. 1.9.5). The belief that propitiation of the Agni with the kindling sticks of '*citriya*' leads to '*citra*', is obviously based on the principle of sympathetic magic.

While glorifying the *sambhāra* from the Aśvattha tree and the *vraja* (shed) prepared from the same tree, the *Tait.Br.* relates a mythical account. The *Tait.Br.* says that Prajāpati taking the form of a horse hid from the gods. In that form of his, Prajāpati took resort in the Aśvattha tree for a year. Therefore the Aśvattha tree is named so (coming from *aśva--aśva + √sthā* 'to stand' > *ttha*). With the Aśvattha *vraja*, the priest or the sacrificer establishes Prajāpati in his own birth-place (*Tait.Br.* III.8.12.2). While laying down the *sambhāra* of the Aśvattha wood, the *Tait.Br.* relates the same mythical account but the deity is Agni (*Ibid.* I.1.3.9). The leaves of Aśvattha are enjoined for packing saline soil (*ūśah*), such packages being thrown by the common people towards the sacrificer, when he has ascended the sacrificial post together with his wife. This *vidhi* occurs in the Vājapeya sacrifice, which stands for the supreme sovereignty of the sacrificer (*Ibid.* I.3.7.6). The *arthavāda* stated by the *Śat.Br.* in this respect is that Indra on former occasion called upon the Maruts, when they were staying on the Aśvattha tree. The Maruts are the peasants or common people (*viśah*) of Indra and in similar relation stand the common people to the sacrificer, who performs the Vājapeya sacrifice (*Śat.Br.* V.2.1.17).

Śamī (Prosopis spicigera)

Pieces of Śamī wood are enjoined in some rites. A Śamī-stick is used

as a *sambhāra*. The *Tait.Br.* says that Prajāpati created Agni but he was afraid that the latter would burn him. So Prajāpati extinguished Agni with a branch of the Śamī tree. The *Tait.Br.* says here that the use of Śamī as *sambhāra* is for cooling effect and thus for freedom from burns. The Śamī tree is for *śamitva* (fr.√ śam 'to appease, pacify') i.e. for cooling effect (*Tait.Br.* I.1.3.11,12). The same etymological explanation of the word *śamī* (i.e. Śamī tree) figures in the *arthavādas*, which occur in the *Śat.Br.* In the rite of Agnicayana when the Āhavanīya fire is established, the sacrificer gratifies him with food, in the form of pieces of wood and oblations. He first puts on a piece of the Śamī wood. This is to appease Agni and it is not for giving him food. The *arthavāda* states that in early times, when the oblation was offered by gods, the enkindled Agni blazed so much as to cause fear in the minds of the gods. The gods saw the Śamī tree and appeased Agni with it. Hence is the name Śamī given to that tree (*Śat.Br.* IX.2.3.36,37). In the funeral rites, round the sepulchral mound they fix pegs, one of which on the left (i.e. north corner) is of the Śamī wood, the idea being of giving peace to the dead (*Ibid.* XIII.8.4.1). A stick of the Śamī wood is to be placed on the fire in the fire-pan for pacification (*Tait.Sam.* V.1.9.6)¹¹.

It has to be noted that these *arthavādas* based on the etymology of the word *śamī* (meaning a Śamī tree) need not be taken simply as a play on word, but they point out a belief about the Śamī tree deeply rooted in the Vedic tradition. The belief that fire is extinguished with a branch of the Śamī tree or a stick of the Śamī wood and the practice of making an *araṇī* of the Śamī wood, could be regarded as giving rise to a further belief that fire when extinguished enters the Śamī tree. Hence in later literature the Śamī tree is regarded as containing fire or as a resort of fire.

Vikaṅkata

For the offerings to be given in the New-moon and Full-moon sacrifices, there are mentioned ladles from various trees, one of them being from the Vikaṅkata tree. It is said that when Prajāpati sacrificed, the Vikaṅkata tree sprung from the place, where the oblation found support. Prajāpati created offspring at that place. The sacrificer whose ladle (*dhruvā*) is made of the Vikaṅkata wood finds solace and is propagated (*Tait.Sam.* III 5.7.3).

In the Soma-sacrifice the Manthin cup is made of the Vikaṅkata wood, and in it *soma*-juice is mixed with barley. It is said that when the eye of Prajāpati swelled, it fell out and entered the Vikaṅkata tree. It then entered barley and stayed there (*ibid.* VI.4.10.5). The *Śat.Br.* speaks of the Vikaṅkata tree to have sprung forth from Prajāpati, when he rubbed his hands (*Śat.Br.* II. 2.4.10). When Prajāpati performed the first offering and after that cleansed his hands, a Vikaṅkata tree sprang up. The Vikaṅkata-stick thus stands as the first offering to Agni by the sacrificer in the rite of Agnicayana (*Ibid.*

VI.6.3.1). It is said that when Prajāpati created Agni, the lustre of the latter entered the Vikaṅkata tree. The *sambhāra* of the Vikaṅkata wood is for acquiring lustre (*Tait.Br.* I.1.3.12).

Nyagrodha = Nyubja

While enjoining fruits from certain trees, Nyagrodha being one of them, for the great anointing (Mahābhiṣeka) of the king, it is said that Nyagrodha is the lordly power (*kṣatra*) of the trees (*Ait.Br.* VIII.16 = 39.2). The *Ait.Br.* lays down that a *kṣatriya* when consecrated for sacrifice, should press together the descending shoots (*avarodhāḥ*) as well as the fruits of the Nyagrodha tree together with the fruits of the Udumbara, Aśvattha and Plakṣa trees and partake of them (*Ibid.* VII. 30 = 35.4). The importance of the Nyagrodha tree is stated through an *arthavāda* as follows. The gods went to the heavenly world by offering a sacrifice. At that place of sacrifice the gods tilted over (*nyubjan*) the cups and these cups became the Nyagrodha trees. Even today in Kurukṣetra, people call the Nyagrodha trees by the name Nyubja. The Nyagrodha trees are really Nyakroha (*nyakroha*) for they grow downwards. But as the gods like what is abstruse, they call these trees Nyagrodha (*Ibid.* VII. 30 = 35.4; also VII. 31 = 35.5). It is clear that the *arthavāda* here is meant to explain the name Nyagrodha from *nyak* (downwards) + √ruh.

Kārṣmarya

The enclosing-sticks of this tree are mentioned in the Ātithyeṣṭi (guest-offering) in honour of king Soma. It is said the gods perceived that among all the trees this tree was capable of killing the *rakṣases*. The enclosing-sticks used for the Ātithyeṣṭi are of the Kārṣmarya wood with the idea that the evil spirits may not injure this head of sacrifice i. e. this important rite viz. Ātithya-iṣṭi (*Tait.Sam.* VI.2.1.5,6; *Śat.Br.* III.4.1.16). It is said that when the gods seized an animal victim and drew (√kars) it upwards, its sacrificial essence so flowed downwards as to make a tree spring forth from it. Hence the name Kārṣmarya (*Śat.Br.* III.8.2.17).

Kṛmuka

In the Agnicayana rite, when in the period of consecration the sacrificer has to attend on fire, the *Śat.Br.* enjoins a kindling-stick of Kṛmuka-wood to be put on fire. It is said that gods and *asuras*, both sprung from Prajāpati, vied with each other. The gods having placed Agni in front of them went upto the *asuras*, who cut off the point of the flame held forward. This portion of the flame settled on earth and became the Kṛmuka tree. This tree is sweet and is also red as it is a part of the flame. By placing a Kṛmuka stick on the fire, it is actually with the portion of the fire that the sacrificer imparts growth to the main fire (*Ibid.* VI. 6.2.11). The principle of magic working

here is.. 'Like produces like', the red tree making the fire red. i. e. blazing.

Pitudāru

In the Horse-sacrifice, there are twenty-one sacrificial stakes, out of which two are made from the Pitudāru tree. The *Śat.Br.* glorifies the Pitudāru tree by saying that what watery fire (*āpomayam tejah*) and what fragrance there was with Prajāpati, that flowed together and burst forth from the eye and became the tree Pitudāru. The wood of Pitudāru is sweet smelling, for it has originated from the fragrance of Prajāpati and it is inflammable, as it has come from fire i. e. Agni Prajāpati (*Ibid.* XIII.4.4.7).

Rajjudala = Śleṣmātaka

Among the twenty-one sacrificial stakes enjoined at the Horse-sacrifice, the central one is of the wood of the Rajjudala tree.¹² The body of Prajāpati began to swell and the phlegm (śleṣma) burst forth from inside through the nose, to give rise to the Rajjudala tree. This tree is viscid, for it has originated from the phlegm (*Ibid.* XIII. 4.4.6).

Bilva

The *Ait.Br.* enjoins a sacrificial post of the Bilva wood in the animal-sacrifice. This Bilva tree should be one which gets fruits every year, which is a symbol of proper food. Again this tree should be one, which is covered with branches up to its root and that is the symbol of prosperity (*Ait.Br.* II. 1 = 6.1) The *Śat.Br.* enjoins a stake from this tree in the Horse-sacrifice and traces its creation from the *kuntāpa*¹³ and the marrow of Prajāpati, which burst forth from his ear and became the Bilva tree. The tree is yellowish, for the marrow of Prajāpati is yellowish (*Śat.Br.* XIII.4.4.8). *

Varaṇa (Crataeva Roxburghii)

A peg of the Varaṇa tree is enjoined to be fixed round the sepulchral mound (with a peg each of the Palāśa and the Śamī trees). The explanation based on the etymology of the word *varaṇa* is that by peg of the Varaṇa tree, he may ward off (fr. √vr Causal / *vāraya* 'to ward off') sin from the dead person (*Ibid.* XIII.8.4.1).

Karīra (Capparis aphylla)

The fruits of the Karīra tree are enjoined to be offered on the Uttaravedi (on the northern vedi) in the Varuṇapraghāsāh *iṣṭi* (one of the Four-monthly sacrifices). The *Mait.Sam.* says that Indra cut off the wings of the mountains, for they were creating havoc by falling anywhere as per their wish. The wings became clouds, which even now cling to the peaks of the mountains. The liquid which first flowed from the bodies of the mountains became fruits

of the Karīra trees. Hence when he offers Karīra fruits in the Varunapraghāsāh *iṣṭi*, it is for getting abundant rains (*Mait.Sam.* I.1.13). The Karīra fruits are said to be belonging to Soma, for they came into being from the Soma-draught which flew upwards. When this offering of the Karīra fruits belonging to Soma is offered, it impels the rains for the abundance of food (*Ibid.*I.10.12;c.f. *Kāth.Sam.* XI.10; *Tait.Br.* I.6.4.33).

Arka (*Calotropis gigantea*)

In the rite of Agnicayana, when the building of the great Fire-altar has been completed, Agni is said to be the deity Rudra and the Śatarudrīya offering is given to him. In lieu of the ordinary offering-spoon, the Arka-leaf is used for making the offering. The *arthavāda* states that the Arka tree is food and thus Agni (...Rudra) is gratified with food (*Śat.Br.* IX.1.1.4).

Sīdhraka

In the Horse-sacrifice, a dog is killed and is made to float under the horse's stomach. A pestle made of the Sīdhraka tree is enjoined for killing the dog and is spoken of as accomplishing the ritual act (*Tait.Br.* III.8.4.1). As Śāyana points out in his commentary here, the Sīdhraka tree is possessed of iron-like essence of black or red colour and accomplishes pounding etc. of the grains as desired by the sacrificer.

From the details noted above about the trees mentioned in the Vedic ritual, the following points are worthy of taking a note -

1. These trees were important for sacrificial purposes in the Vedic tradition.
2. About some of them certain beliefs were prevalent in the Vedic tradition. These beliefs led to their entry in the Vedic ritual. Example can be given of the Udumbara tree, which could be taken as a Mother-goddess tree, though it is not specifically mentioned as such.
3. At times practice of using some of them in the Vedic ritual from bygone times compelled the ritualists to give some kind of glorificatory explanation for their use in the ritual. However it has to be pointed out that these explanations are perfectly based on the principles of sympathetic magic or as Frazer would like to call it 'homeopathic' magic. Thus on the basis of 'A part stands for the whole', a stick or faggot of a sacrificial (*yajñīya*) tree stands for that tree and so its ritual use. Again based on the principle viz. 'Like produces like', there occur statements such as — Palāśa tree is born from Prajāpati's flesh. As the flesh is red, so the Palāśa tree has red juice.
4. Some trees are said to have been born from a limb of Prajāpati or from his bones, flesh, phlegm etc. This could be traced to a universal concept

of the splitting up of the body of a Creation-Being, giving rise to several things and beings in this world. Lang notes various trends in the savage myths of creation, one of them being that the world or its various parts, had been formed out of the body of some Supernatural Being, a god or a giant or a member of some mysterious race. On the Indian scene we have the Great Cosmic Puruṣa of the famous Puruṣasūkta, from whose body-parts everything in this universe comes into existence.¹⁴

Together with the trees there are several plants as also some varieties of grass mentioned in the Vedic ritual texts. While glorifying these and their use in the ritual, the *arthavādas* stated in the ritual texts indicate the beliefs and practices about them maintained by the Vedic ritual tradition.

Notes and References

1. Macdonell, A. A. *Vedic Mythology*, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1995 (Strassburg, 1898), p. 154.
2. Two types of *sambhāras* are mentioned prior to the establishment of the fires (Agni-ādihāna). The *sambhāras* are the things comprising earth and those from the wood of certain trees. The things from the earth are sand, saline earth, earth dug up by rats, earth from an ant-hill, clay from a never-drying lake, pebbles and gold. The things relating to wood are - sticks or taggots from the following trees viz. Aśvattha, Udumbara, Parṇa, Śamī, Vikaṅkala and from a tree struck by the lightning. For detailed information see Dange, Sadashiv A., *Vedic Sacrifices-Early Nature*, Vol. 1, Aryan Books International, New Delhi, 2000, pp. 21-26.
3. Donald, Mackenzie, *Myths of Pre-Colombian America*, London, year not given, p. 177. The botanical name of the plant Maguey is "Agave Americana" and "pulque" the name of wine from it is derived from the language of the natives of Chile.
4. *Ibid.* p. 180 and the plate which is given opposite of that page. The plate shows the milk-yielding tree with fruits in the form of teats.
5. *Ibid.* pp. 182-183.
6. *Ibid.* p. 183.
7. Eggeling, J. translates the word 'Brahman' here (Śat.Br. II.6.2.8) by 'priesthood', which is not correct. See *The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, Part II, Sacred Books of the East Series (SBE) Vol. 26, Delhi, 1988 (1885), p. 439. The word '*brahman*' is generally translated as '*mantra*' or 'prayer.' But as pointed out by Sāyaṇa '*brahman*' being *parivr̥ḍham karma*, at times also means 'rite' or 'ritual' (see Sāyaṇa on RV I. 105.15; 129. 4 etc.). It also stands for the 'result' or the 'miraculous' brought into effect by both the ritual (*vidhi*) and the 'prayer' (*mantra*). Keith, A. B., translates the word *brahman* as 'holy power'. Vide his tr. of *Tait. Sam.* III 5.7.2. see his *The Veda of the Black Yajus School Entitled Taittirīya Saṅhitā*, Part I, Delhi, 1967 (1914), p. 284.

8. Leaving a kindling-stick of the Vikaṅkata wood, that of the Udumbara wood, the one which is not cut by an axe and the one that has lain on the ground, the rest are of the Palāśa wood.
9. See Eggeling, J., *op.cit.*, part II, p.78. *Śat.Br.* III.3.4.10. Here the word 'gāyatryai' is taken in the sense of the genitive case i.e. ... (feather) of Gāyatrī. This shows a doubt on the part of the *Śat.Br.* regarding the exact entity to whom the *parṇa* (taken as 'feather' or 'leaf') belonged. The composer of the *Śat.Br.* is here relating the mythical account available in his times. The older version seems to be of the *Tait.Sam.* (III.5.7.2) where a leaf of Soma is said to be cut off. The earliest version is of the *RV*, which mentions an archer shooting an arrow at the hawk (*śyena*), when it flew for bringing the Soma. On this occasion, a feather (*parṇa*) of the hawk fell off (*RV* IV. 27.3,4).
10. According to another account, the sound Vaṣaṭ (Vaṣaṭkāra) killed the three earlier Agnis (the three elder brothers of Agni). *Śat.Br.* I.3.3.13; *Mait.Sam.* III.8.6. For the significance of Vaṣaṭkāra, see (Mrs) Dange, S. S., "Vaṣaṭkāra-Symbolic Significance", *Purnatrayī, Shri Ravivarma Samskrita Granthavali Journal*, (Sanskrit College Committee), Tripunithura (Kerala), Vol. XVI. No. 1, January 1989, pp. 33-39.
11. Keith, A. B., *op.cit.*, Part 2, Delhi, 1967 (1914), p. 400, where Keith takes the word 'śāntyai' to mean atonement.
12. Eggeling, J., *op.cit.*, Part V. SBE, Vol. 44, Delhi, 1978 (1900), p. 373, note 2.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 164, note 1. Eggeling points out that the term 'kuntāpa' may refer to the transverse processes (forming spikes; cf. *kunta*) on both sides of the ten lower spinal vertebrae below the vertebra of the last true rib, i. e. of the five lower dorsal, and the five lumbar vertebrae.
14. Dange, Sindhu S., (ed.), "Rgvedic Accounts", *Myths of Creation*, Bombay University Publication, Bombay, 1987, p.8.

INSCRIBED SITE LABELS ON KHAJURAHO SCULPTURES

DEVANGANA DESAI

Khajuraho in central India has three large stone slabs bearing long foundational inscriptions of temples, and also shorter donative inscriptions and pilgrims' records.¹ Apart from these inscriptions, there are hundreds of small engravings with names of sculptors, *ācāryas*, *gaṇas* and others on sculptural panels in temples. Most of these are *in situ* in temples built in the 10th and early 11th century, such as the Lakṣmaṇa (Vaikuṇṭha), Varāha, Viśvanātha, and to a lesser extent in the Devī Jagdambā, Citragupta (Sūrya), and the Kandariya Mahādeva. These minor engravings have been read and analyzed by epigraphist Arvind K. Singh, who has contributed an article "Minor Inscriptions of Khajuraho" to a past issue of our Journal.² He has given detailed documentation of these inscribed names and their categories, and listed their occurrence on different locations of the temple. There are names such as Vaccharāja, Pahasāga, Deda, Jajega, Śrī Jasa, Chiccha and hundreds of others in these small inscriptions on sculptural panels in temples.

Apart from these inscribed names of artists and teachers on sculptural panels *in situ* in Khajuraho temples, there is one name "*Sarjuḥ* (and its variants *Ṣajuḥ*, *Ṣaja*, *Ṣajah*), which is prominently seen on museum images, but not on sculptures *in situ*. Krishna Deva has listed 18 such sculptures with this name, "engraved in an identical Nāgarī script, assignable to circa 11th century AD." He says: "All the inscriptions are engraved by the same hand. Similarly, all the images are alike in style and appear to have been fashioned by the same artist. The inscriptions appear to furnish the name of the sculptor himself and the different spellings only indicate that the sculptor who had engraved them was hardly literate, and spelt the name differently on different occasions as is usually done by the semi-or-neo-literate."³ Stella Kramrisch, commenting on the word "*Ṣajuḥ*" inscribed on the base of a Khajuraho sculpture of Kubera, now in the Philadelphia Museum of Art, also takes it to be a name of the craftsman.⁴ But we will soon see whether "*Sarjuḥ*" and its variants refer to names of sculptors.

In addition, I have been able to find some more sculptures with this name engraved on their pedestals. There are 28 sculptures that bear the name "*Ṣarjuḥ*" or its variants, seen in the Site Museum, Khajuraho; Indian Museum, Kolkata; Allahabad Museum; British Museum, London; and Philadelphia Museum, USA.

Sculptures with “*Śarjuḥ*” or its variants inscribed:

- Ambikā, two-armed, No. 1212, *Śarjuḥ* (Plate I);
 Ambikā, four-armed, seated, No. 1592, *Śajuḥ*;
 Manovegā, No. 940, *Śajuḥ*;
 Indra standing, No. 924 *Śarjuḥ*;
 Four-armed Siva, seated, No. 519, *Śaja*;
 Two images of Vāmana, Nos. 432, 438, *Śajah*;
 Narasimha, No. 1253, *Śajuḥ*;
 Viṣṇu standing, No. 126, *Śaja*;
 Viṣṇu's forms, standing, No. 1561, *Śajuḥ*;
 Navagrahas frieze, No. 480, *Śaja*;
 Kārttikeya, No. 1099, *Śajuḥ*;
 Varuṇa, *Śajuḥ*;
 Parikara with Bhairava and Nandī, No. 1470, *Śajuḥ*;
 A divine couple, No. 348, (open air museum) *Śajuḥ*;
 Brahmā and consort, No. 318;
 Five images of Umā-Maheśvara in Khajuraho Museum, Nos. 351, 494;
 461 (in Dulādeva style) (Plate II); 504 (standing image); No. 524,⁵ and
 Umā-Maheśvara in Allahabad Museum, AIS 13.79, No. AM 263, *Śaja*;
 Also AIS 13.97, No. AM 291, *Śaja*,⁶;
 Umā-Maheśvara in Indian Museum, Kolkata, No. 65/22, (original Khajuraho
 Museum No. 498), *Śaja*;
 Viṣṇu on Garuḍa, Allahabad Museum, No. AM 265, *Śajuḥ*;
 Viṣṇu-Lakṣmī, British Museum, 1957-2-16, of Dulādeva style, similar to
 No. 461 of Plate II, *Śajuḥ*;
 Kubera, Philadelphia Museum of Art, No. 56.75.26, marked *Śajuḥ*.

However, when examining these sculptures, I noticed that they are not of just one period, i. e. 11th century, but range from the middle of the 10th century (seated two-armed Ambikā, No. 1212 of Plate I, Viṣṇu standing, No. 126) to the middle of 12th century, Dulādeva style (Viṣṇu-Lakṣmī, British Museum, and Umā-Maheśvara, Khajuraho Museum, No. 461). The Jaina Śāsanā-Devī Manovegā, No. 940, can be assigned to 11th century, as also several Śaiva figures.

Certainly, the sculptures bearing the name “*Śarjuḥ*” and its variants on their pedestals were works of different periods and hence by different craftsmen, though the engraved name is by one hand.

Krishna Deva adds, in a footnote, a suggestion by S. K. Dikshit that “these inscribed images refer to the *Khajur sāgar* and were meant to adorn its bank”.⁷ This suggestion can be of help in understanding the issue. *Śarjuḥ* could stand for *Kharjuḥ*, the name of the town *Kharjūravāhaka*, the ancient name of Khajuraho, or for the local lake “*Khajursāgar*” as suggested by S. K. Dikshit.

Kha could have been written as Ṣa. Scribes often write "Ṣa" for Ka and Kha in Nāgarī script as Dr. V. M. Kulkarni verified and on which L. H. Bhojak has done research.⁸ So Ṣarju can stand for Kharju.

There are some other sculptures with the name "Sevaṃ Sāgara" or "Seva Sāgara" inscribed on their pedestals.

Sculptures with "Seva Sāgara" inscribed:

Viṣṇu images, Nos. 35, 39, 117, 124 (Plate III);
Śiva-Pārvaī standing, No. 492.

S. K. Dikshit, as referred to by Krishna Deva, has suggested that this engraved name "Seva Sāgara" applies to the Śivasāgar tank (near the Western group of temples), just as "Ṣarjuḥ" refers to Khajursāgar tank near the Khajuraho village. According to Dikshit, these inscribed sculptures adorned the banks of these lakes.

It is also true, what Krishna Deva has said in his earlier quotation, that all the inscriptions are engraved by the same hand and that these were in an identical Nāgarī script. But I would like to point out again that the sculptures range from mid 10th century to mid 12th century, a period of 200 years. How then can we explain engravings to be work of one hand ? To this mystery we will soon return.

Recently, while going through the sculptures of the Khajuraho Museum, my attention was drawn by the engraved name "Ghaṇṭāhī" on seven sculptures. It is also inscribed on a doorjamb from Khajuraho, now in the Indian Museum, Kolkata. The name is engraved generally on the left side of the pedestal or base of the sculptures. Two of the elegant Jaina Ādinātha images of early 10th century, displayed in the main Khajuraho Museum, have this name engraved on left corners; the other sculptures are in the open-air Museum.

Sculptures with "Ghaṇṭāhī" inscribed:

Jina Ādinātha, in the main Museum, No. 1667, on left side pedestal;
Jina Ādinātha, displayed in the main Museum, No. 1682, on the left side pedestal;
Jina Pārśvanātha, open-air Museum, No. 1641, on the pedestal, left side;
Jina Pārśvanātha, on the pedestal, below Padmāvatī Yakṣī, no. 1619;
A part of a doorjamb depicting *gaṇas*, No. 1058;
Elephants and man, No. 989;
Vyāla and man, No. 165.
Doorjamb with Gaṅgā, now in the Indian Museum, Kolkata, No. 65/25.

Significantly, the name "Ghaṇṭāhī" is a 19th century local name of a

Jaina temple in the eastern zone, near the Khajuraho village. This temple, now without walls but consisting of a marvellous doorjamb and exquisitely carved pillars, has the bell or "ghaṇṭā" motifs on pillars. The temple was dedicated to Jina Ādinātha, as the Yakṣī Cakreśvarī presides over the door lintel. But the temple is known as Ghaṇṭāi or Ghaṇṭāhī since the 19th century because of the bell motifs on its pillars. As the two images of Ādinātha bear the label "Ghaṇṭāhī", we know for sure that they were brought to the Museum from this temple. So some classifier who collected the images from this temple site and brought them at one place for preservation must have engraved this name "Ghaṇṭāhī" on such images. This engraving of the site name on pedestals of images is then a 19th or early 20th century doing.

This marking of detached sculptures with site names must have been done not before 1870s. For, recently, while going through old photographs of Khajuraho, preserved in the Oriental and India Office Collections of the British Library, London, I saw a photograph of a 10th century sculptured slab depicting Śiva-Pārvaī, standing on the bank of the Śivasāgar lake. This sculptural slab, now in the open-air Museum, No. 492, did not earlier have any marking of "Seva Sāgara" in the photograph, which is seen now on its right side corner. This proves beyond doubt that the name "Seva Sāgara" was engraved after 1870.

Another proof of the late markings of such names is the engraving of "Nanorātāl" on the left hand side of the famous four-footed (Catuspāda) Sadāśiva image in the Khajuraho Museum, No. 1098. General Cunningham who first reported this image (though wrongly identified it as Śaṅmukha-Kārtikeya, because of six heads) from the western bank of the Khajursāgar tank, does not note this engraved name "Nanorātāl", the local name of the Khajursāgar tank. He gives full details of the two-line inscription on its pedestal with the name of Ācārya Ūrdhva-Śiva.⁹ So until 1883-84, the time of ASI Report, the name Nanorātāl was not inscribed on the Sadāśiva image.

Repair work at Khajuraho has been going on since 1843, the time of Chhatarpur Maharaja Pratap Singh. The late Maharaja, who died in 1854, had left instructions in his Will to spend at least 5 Rupees per day on reparation work, as Vincent Smith tells us in his paper published in 1879.¹⁰ Conservation work at Khajuraho has been noted in the *Progress Report of the Western Circle, 1903-1904*. It reads: "A recommendation was made for the better and safer arrangement of the hundreds of more or less mutilated sculptures already gathered together near the north-western group." The Report of 1906-1907 states that it was decided to get the open-air museum started at once. Finally, the Khajuraho site Museum, then known as the Jardine Museum, started as an open-air shed near the Western group of temples in 1910, by E. W. Jardine, the Political Agent, Bundelkhand.

It seems that before the Khajuraho Museum began to function, the detached sculptures were assembled, brought to one place and were marked with site labels. Those found near Khajursāgar tank were engraved “Śarjuḥ” or its variants, those from the banks of Śivasāgar tank were marked “Seva Sāgara” in Nāgarī script. It is strange that the names were engraved instead of being painted. Generally, white or black paint would be used instead of engraving in stone for marking sculptures. But similar engraving to mark the site name is also exemplified in Buddhist sculptures of Kurkihar in Bihar, where “K” is inscribed in the 19th century on two sculptures, now in the British Museum.¹¹

Thus, the inscribed names “Ghaṇṭahī” and “Nanorātāl”, which are the local names prevalent in the 19th century, help us to solve the mystery of the other engraved site names “Śarjuḥ” and “Seva Sāgara”. What is important to note is that these names are not seen on any of the sculptures *in situ* in Khajuraho temples, but are noticeable only on detached sculptures that are now in museums.

Notes and References

1. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, 1892.
Krishna Deva, *Temples of Khajuraho*, 1990, chapter 4 on Inscriptions at Khajuraho, pp. 334ff.
2. Arvind K. Singh, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay*, Vols. 64-66 for 1989-91, pp.222-237; Dr. Singh presented his findings in a paper at the Khajuraho Seminar in 1987, “Builders of Khajuraho”, printed in *Khajuraho in Perspective*, Bhopal, 1994.
3. Krishna Deva, *Temples of Khajuraho*, ASI, 1990, p. 394.
4. Stella Kramrisch, *Indian Sculpture in the Philadelphia Museum of Art*, Philadelphia, 1960, Plate 32, p. 94.
5. K. M. Suresh, “Umā-Maheśvara Sculptures from Khajuraho”, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay*, Vols. 64-66 for 1989-91, pp. 242-248.
6. Pramod Chandra, *Stone Sculpture in the Allahabad Museum*, not dated, Plates CXXXVIII, CXLII.
7. Krishna Deva, *op.cit.*, p. 10.
8. Verified with Dr. V. M. Kulkarni and Dr. Ajay Mitra Shastri. Also Lakshmanbhai Hiralal Bhojak, “Madhyakālin Nāgarī Lipino Parichaya”, written for Sharadaben Educational Research Institute, Ahmedabad.
9. A. Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey of India*, Report, 1883-84, p. 63.
10. Vincent Smith and F. C. Black, in *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1879, Vol. 48, pp 285ff.
11. Michael D. Willis, Curator in the Department of Oriental Antiquities in the British Museum, showed me two Buddhist images inscribed “K”.

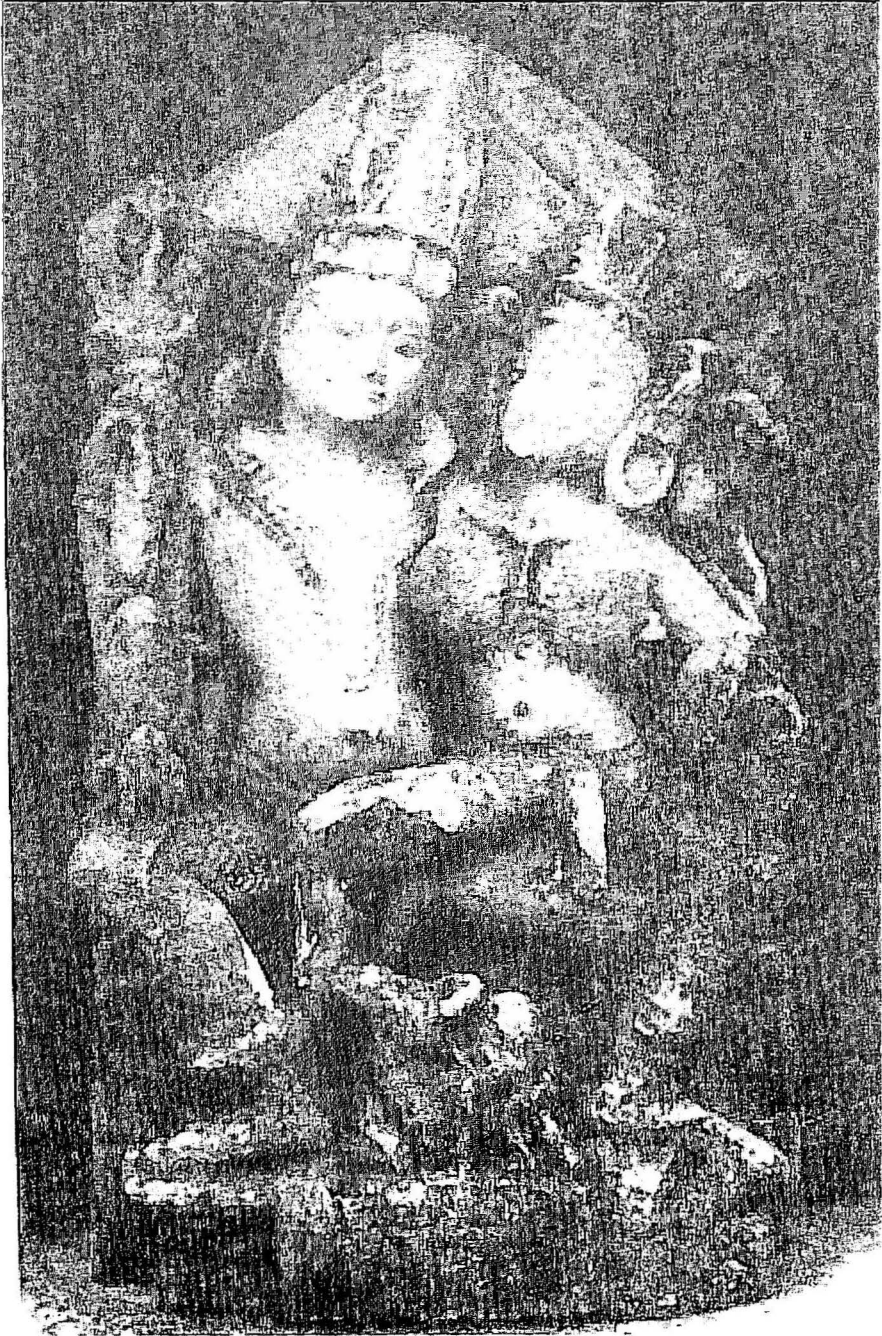
Illustrations

- I. Ambikā, c. mid 10th century, Khajuraho Museum No. 1212, inscribed *Śarjuḥ* (Copyright : ASI).
- II. Umā-Maheśvara, c. mid 12th century, Khajuraho Museum No. 461, inscribed *Śarjuḥ* (Copyright : ASI).
- III. Viṣṇu, c. 11th century, Khajuraho Museum, No 124, inscribed *Sevam Sāgara* (Copyright : ASI).

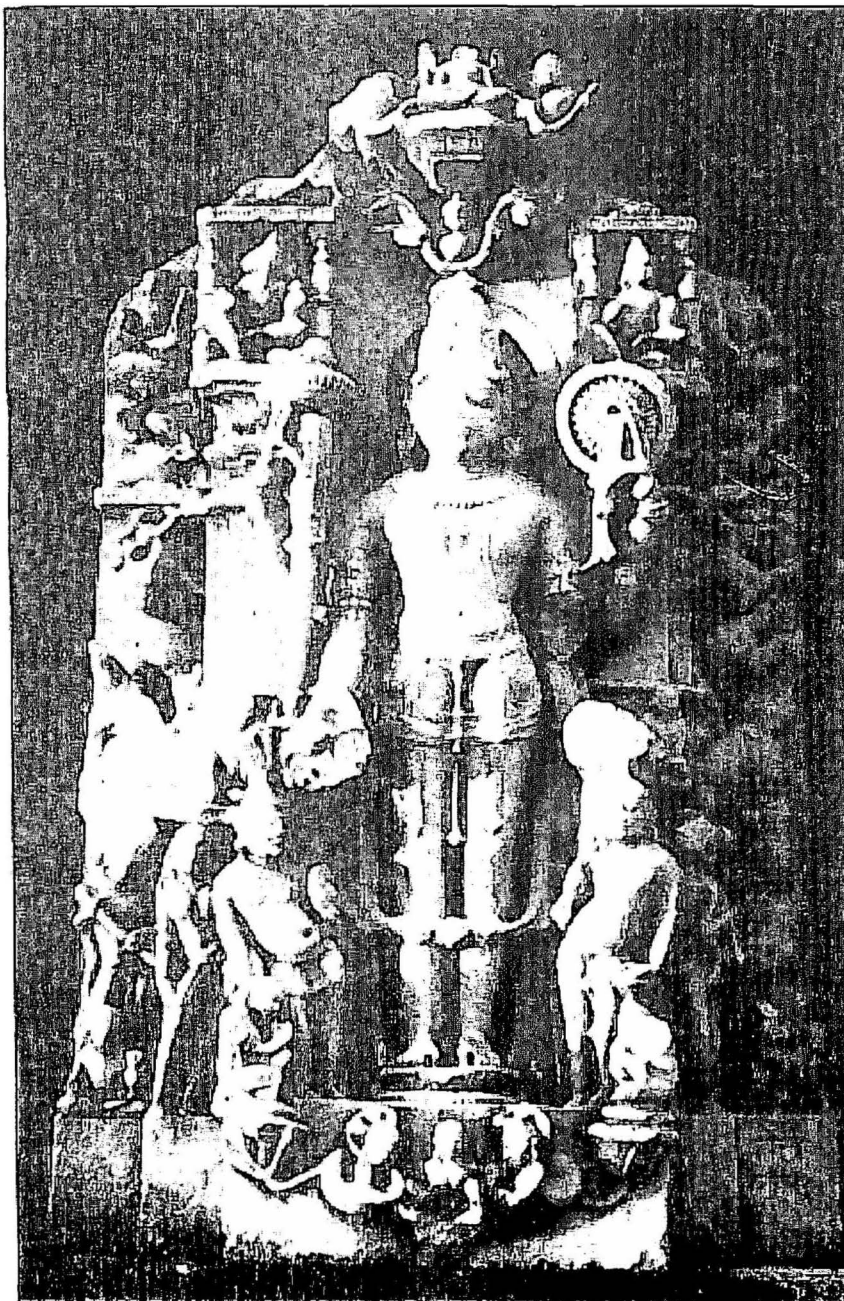
Acknowledgement : The photographs are courtesy the Archaeological Survey of India. The author thanks Franco-Indian Research, Mumbai, for sponsoring her project on Khajuraho museum sculptures.



Ambikā, c. mid 10th century, Khajuraho Museum
No. 1212, inscribed *Sarjuh*.

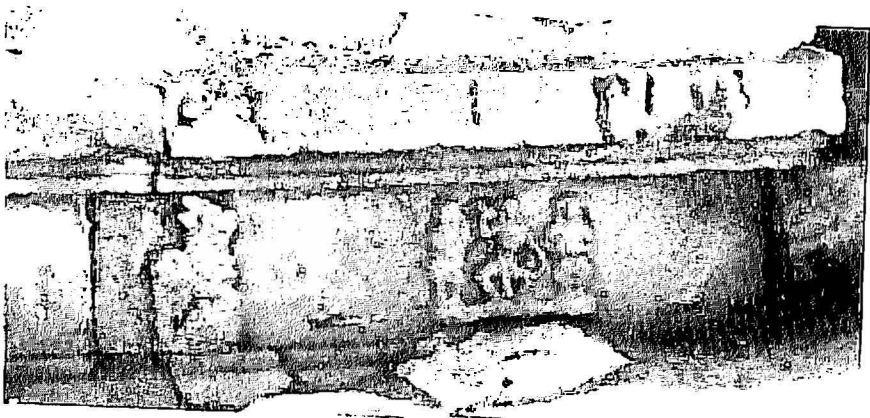
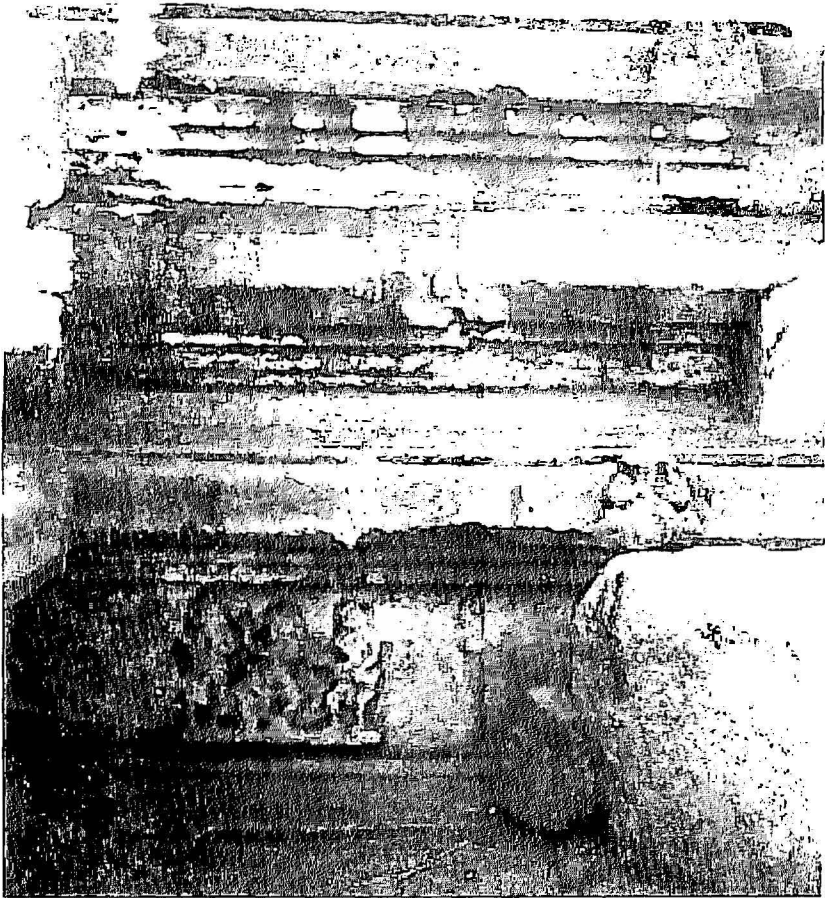


Umâ-Maheśvara, c. mid 12th century, Khajuraho Museum
No. 461, inscribed *Śajuḥ*.



Viṣṇu, c. 11th century, Khajuraho Museum,
No. 124, inscribed *Sevaṃ Sāgara*.

IV



A & B. Jaina temple, Annigiri, *upapīṭha* and *adhīṣṭhāna*,
right side of the stairway.

A NOTE ON THE OLDER PARTS OF THE ANNIGERI JAINA TEMPLE

M. A. DHAKY

Annigeri (Anṅgēri) was the capital of the Belvala county in Karnāṭadeśa. It was a town of some consequence in the medieval as well as perhaps the pre-medieval period. What is more, it was a Jaina centre of repute in Karnāṭadeśa of those times. A Jaina temple was built there as far back as in CE 751.¹ One other Jaina shrine is reported to have been built by Gaṅga Permānaḍi Būṭug II some year between CE 950-960 and the *vasatī*, as a result, was known as the 'Permāḍi Jinālaya.' 'Permāḍi' was, in fact, a Gaṅga prince and ranked among the few very eminent nobles of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa empire of those decades. He was a devout Jaina as also a munificent patron of Jainism as evidenced by the several Jaina temples he built at different Jaina centres in Karnataka.

Permānaḍi's temple in Annigeri was much damaged, apparently during the Cola (Cōḷa) invasion and once again, perhaps, during the strong Viraśaiva uprising in the latter half of the 12th century. The temple, though today surviving as a place of worship, has lost its past glory as well as the older original structural fabric, particularly of the *Vimāna* and its adjuncts. Earlier, while succinctly describing this temple, I had noted : "Of this early building, only the fragments of the Śaḍaṅga Vēḍibhadra upapīṭha and the Kapōṭabandha adhiṣṭhāna still remain at the otherwise totally renovated, now plain and whitewashed, east façade."² The present note wishes to enlarge upon that statement by providing further details of the surviving part with two schematic sketches and a couple of pictures of how those older basal parts at the east façade look.

The *upapīṭha* (stereobate) and the *adhiṣṭhāna* (base) are tightly articulated in elevation, looking as though an undifferentiated whole (see Fig. 1). As for their specific/identificatory typological nomenclature, on the basis of the Dravidian *vāstu* literature, the *upapīṭha* may be classed as the 'Śaḍaṅga-Vēḍibhadra' type and the *adhiṣṭhāna* as a variety of the 'Kapōṭabandha' class. However, there exist differences between the standard Tamilian-Dravidian encountered in the Cola temples and the Karnāṭan Dravidian of the Annigeri instance as regards the shapes of two particular mouldings that go in the composition. For example, what must be *padma* or lotus-petalled *cyma* is here rendered as plain *jāḍyakumbha*; and the *kapōṭa* or roll-cornice is here

Upaṇiṣa | Adhiṣṭhāna

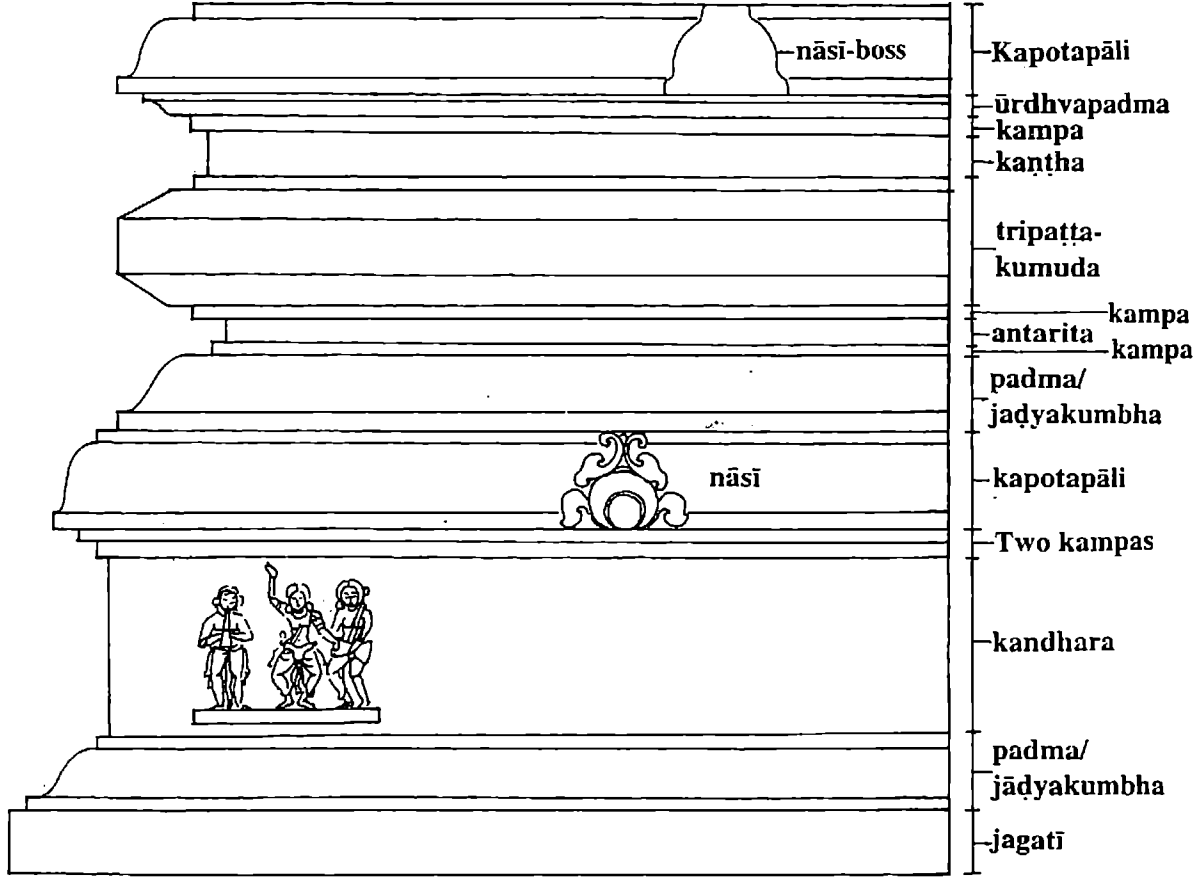


Figure 1

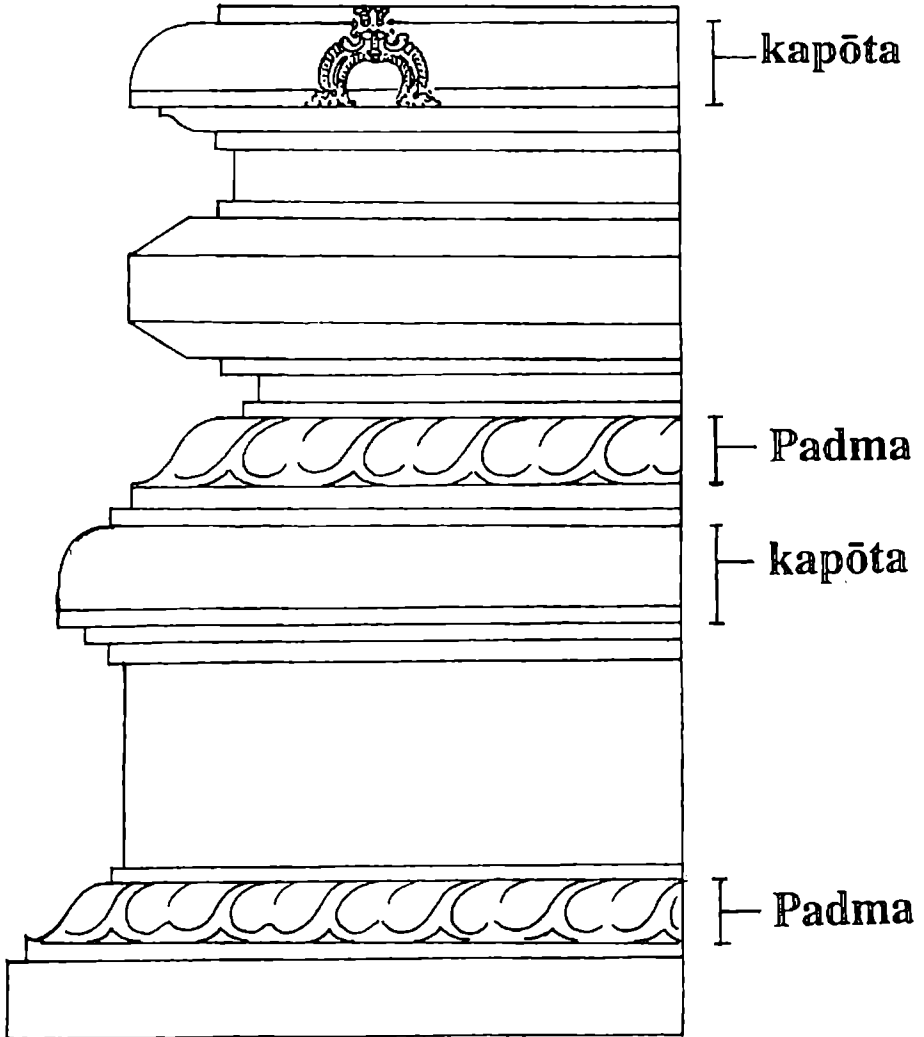


Figure 2

replaced by *kapotapālika*³ or *cyma*-cornice. Now, both these latter mouldings here are of the central and western Indian affiliation, figuring as they do there in temple's *pīṭha* or base; they are not of the typically Dravidian formal type as known from Tamilnadu. The distinction between the two types will be clear when Fig. 1 is compared with Fig. 2 in which those two mouldings in question are hypothetically replaced by the Tamilian-Dravidian, namely *padma* and *kapōta*.

On entering the Annigeri temple-building, on either side of the exterior stairway, is seen the afore-noted *upapīṭha-adhiṣṭhāna* combine (Plates IV-A and B). The only, indeed very sparse, decoration noticeable is in the *kandhara* or dado of the *upapīṭha* where a group of three figures, a female dancer with two companions playing musical instruments appears and a *nāsī*-dormer decoration is featured only as a boss on the *kapotapāli* of the *upapīṭha* and thus without the ornamental enrichment. In the *adhiṣṭhāna*, the '*tripaṭṭa*' is chosen as the form for the *kumuda*.

The building that stands above this stylobate is a rather plain looking structure. Inside its closed hall are columns showing the typical shapes of the Cālukyan period and thus not of the original Rāṣṭrakūṭa period. They clearly are due to the restoration undertaken during the period of Vikramāditya VI. The pillars, though moulded, are unadorned. It is somewhat difficult to date them precisely. One may even suspect whether they are not of a plausible restoration undertaken after the Viraśaiva period destruction if such one had happened. At the eastern entrance to the hall is a banistered stairway of the *hastihasta* type. Its profiles show rich and very chaste carving. While earlier describing it, I had dated this *hastihasta* stairway to the period of the original temple and hence to *c.* mid tenth century. Now I am not so sure.³ The *hastihasta*-banister may have been added during the early phase of the Cālukyas and thus could be of the year around CE 1000. The *hastihasta* details of the type on the profiles need careful comparative study with the examples of known dates. The banister otherwise is predictably the finest, just as it is one of the earliest to be encountered in all Karṇāṭadeśa.

It is regrettable that this notable temple is for the larger part lost.⁴ Since exceedingly few temples of the tenth century survive in northern Karnataka,⁵ this building, which moreover had a fairly precisely dateable structure, could have provided a good landmark of what the temples of the late Rāṣṭrakūṭa age looked like.

Notes and References

1. Cf. P. B. Desai, *Jainism in South India and Some Jaina Epigraphs*, Sholapur 1957, p. 387.
2. M. A. Dhaky, *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture*, Vol. I, pt. 3, South India Upper Drāviḍadēśa, Later Phase, A. D. 973-1326, New Delhi 1996, p. 82.
3. Dhaky, *Encyclopaedia*, Vol. I, pt. 3, p. 82 and plates 213, 214.
4. The only other older part that survives is the pair of *hastihasta*-banister of the stairway leading in the hall of the temple located above the stereobate or socle; the point will be dwelt upon soon.
5. As I recall, among the surviving temples of the tenth century in northern Karnataka are a group at Sirval, another small group at Gokak, and one at Mulgund.

CONCEPT OF SĀHITYA WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO VAKROKTI THEORY

MANJUSHA D. GOKHALE

Poetry is the activity of a poet (*kaveḥ karma kāvyam*) and the word *kavi* means one who possesses intuitional wisdom and at the same time the capacity to convey it through the medium of linguistic expression. Hence so far as poetry and poetics are concerned, the fundamental thought that comes across is about the content and the expression.

Right from the dawn of Sanskrit poetry, it has been known that content and expression united together constitute poetry. The vedic seers have taken into consideration both the aspects of poetic activity, viz. content or *manas* and expression or *vāk*. *Manas* and *vāk* always coexist and are established in each other.¹ In what one speaks, thereby he gives the thought a foundation in the word.² According to vedic poets, both sides are of the same importance. It is clear from the words they use to mean poetry; viz. *manīṣā*, *dhīti*, *mati* on the one hand and *gir*, *svrkti*, *sūkta*, *susṭuti* etc. on the other. A thought flowing out of the heart is fashioned in proper way to create a hymn.³ The poets desire that their hymn should be unequalled both in form and content.⁴ The vedic poets know very well that the profound thoughts when expressed in an adequate manner become appealing and delighting to the deities. They always desire that their hymn should possess matter and manner worthy of each other and should constitute a novel and beautiful piece of art.⁵

The vedic seers are aware of special characteristics *viśeṣas* of content and those of expression to create a piece of poetry. The content should be pure, brilliant, new, containing deep reflection, pleasing, attractive and decked with all beauty.⁶ The expression should be sweet, powerful like the *vajra* that never fails, graceful, skilfully arranged and well-decorated.⁷

The words *vipra* and *kāru*, used to mean a poet, are very significant and suggestive of the thoughtside and the expressionside respectively. According to Prof. Velankar, the words *kavi* and *kāvya* signifying the poet and his poem can be traced to one of the three-four roots which mean to shake with emotion, to think, to speak or to sing.⁸ One may perhaps assign different stages in the process of a poet's function and underline the mutual combination of word and sense in poetry. Especially when the Ṛgvedic poets compare the poetic activity with that of weaving,⁹ they obviously suggest that poetry

is an indivisible whole; it should not be split into parts and one should examine it and enjoy it as a single unit. This can be called the vedic concept of *sāhitya*.

Keeping in mind this vedic concept of *sāhitya* if one examines the realm of Sanskrit poetics, it can be obviously noticed that these fundamental ideas are systematically developed by Kuntaka in his *Vakrokti*-theory.

Of course, Kuntaka is not at all the first poetician to promote this concept. It has come down to him from his predecessors and he has developed it with adequate explanation and established it as the base of poetic creation. *Sāhitya* originally means *sahitātva* or *sahitabhāva* between the *pada* or *vācaka* and the *padārtha* or *vācyārtha*. Hence this *vācya-vācaka-sambandha*, being the prime requisite in all linguistic application, is discussed by *Vyākaraṇa*, *Mīmāṃsā* and *Nyāya*, the systems regarding *pada*, *vākya*, and *pramāṇa* respectively. This relation comprehends the consideration of the structure and varieties of *pada*, of the synthetic import of a succession of words in a *vākya*, and of the logicality of the idea (*pramāṇa*).

In short, the concept of *sāhitya*, in general, consists of grammatical correctness, purity and proximity of the word on the one hand and logical sensibility and consistency of the meaning on the other. The early poeticians rightly thought that it will not be the exclusive characteristic of poetry. Hence it was necessary to explain *sāhitya* from the standpoint of poetry. If poetry is to be distinguished from ordinary and scriptural language, the *sāhitya* in poetry must be of special kind. In other words, *sāhitya* must possess a *viśeṣa*.

Bhāmaha, in his *Kāvyaālankāra*, defines poetry as “*śabdārthau sahitau kāvyam*”. According to V. Raghavan, Bhāmaha is aware of a school strongly influenced by grammatical *śabda-brahman* philosophy of *Vākyapadīya* which emphasises *śabda* only and considers *artha* as *vivarta* of *śabda*; and a school of Nairuktas that considers *artha* as chief and *śabda* as secondary in importance. Hence he emphasises that neither *śabda* alone nor *artha* alone constitutes poetry. It is meaningless to emphasise either of the two. Bhāmaha clearly distinguishes *kāvya* from *vārtā* and hence it is obvious that in his opinion *sahitātva* is a certain charming commensurateness between content and expression, so far as poetry is concerned.¹⁰ This commensurateness is characterised by *vakratā* which endows the whole creation with artistic beauty (*ālankāra*).¹¹ Thus in Bhāmaha’s view poetry is the mutual coherence (*sāhitya*) of *vakra-śabda* and *vakra-artha*. Bhāmaha’s *vakratva* consists of *atīśaya* or extraordinary strikingness. Hence, according to Bhāmaha, the speciality of poetic *sāhitya* lies in beauty (*ālankāra*) infused by artistic employment of word and sense *vakrokti*.

Daṇḍin, in his *Kāvyaḍarśa*, defines poetry as ‘*kāvyaśya śāntam tāvad*

istārthavyavacchinnā padāvalī. Though Daṇḍin uses both terms, viz. *artha* and *pada* (*śabda*) in this definition, it appears that he differs from Bhāmaha and emphasises *śabda* alone. But he agrees with Bhāmaha when he thinks that poetic expression is to be distinguished from other types of expression, and hence it must possess a *viśeṣa*. According to Daṇḍin, *viśeṣa* lies in *śobhā* or beauty, created by *alaṅkāra*; and Daṇḍin's concept of *alaṅkāra* consists of all possible devices of expressional beauty.¹²

Vāmana, like Bhāmaha, accepts that word and sense together constitute poetry. He very well knows that *alaṅkāra* or beauty distinguishes poetic expression from ordinary expression. Hence *śabda* and *artha* in poetry are superior than those in ordinary expression. They are deliberately polished (*sanskṛta*) with devices of beauty like *guṇas* and *alaṅkāras*.¹³ This togetherness possesses *rīti* as its soul; but again, *rīti* is nothing but the peculiar arrangement of words endowed with certain qualities of words and sense, and further beautified by poetic figures.¹⁴

Thus the early poetics proceeded a step ahead from the basic concept of *sāhitya* merely connoting grammatical and logical correctness. They rightly thought of, a certain extraordinary charming quality in the relation of word and sense in poetic expression. But they were mainly engaged in acute analysis of outer form and technique. They mainly concerned themselves with varieties of word, verbal arrangements and enumeration and categorisation of rhetorical embellishments and excellences. Hence the *viśeṣa* of *sāhitya* remained only as the exterior decorative characteristic of word and sense.

These early poetics analysed the word, its structure, varieties and purity on the one hand and discussed the varieties of meaning i. e. *mukhya* and *amukhya* on the other. They enumerated separate groups of *guṇas* and *alaṅkāras* connected with word and meaning. Thus the analysis of word and meaning advanced, but independently of each other as if they were separate entities hardly related to each other.

Ānandavardhana brought a new change in the idea of the standard of poetic beauty. He analysed the meaning and split it into *vācya* and *vyāṅgya*. In his opinion, *śabda* and *vācya* together constitute the *kāvyaśarīra* and the *viśeṣa* of the togetherness, perhaps, lies in their suggestiveness, their propriety (*aucitya*) and their ability to add more charm to the *vyāṅgyārtha*, the soul of poetry.

This image of body and soul became popular to explain systematic placement of the elements of poetry; but it seems that actually it adversely affects the commensuratness of poetic elements and disturbs the concept of *sāhitya*. *Dhvani* or rather *rasadhvani*, which is one of the several aspects of poetic beauty, is proclaimed as the only criterion of poetry and other

aspects are condemned to be subordinate or inferior. Moreover, poetry is split into *vācya* and *vyangya*; one as *bāhya* and the other as *ābhyantara*. This distinction may be grammatical or logical but not aesthetic. Poetry is classified as *uttama*, *madhyama*, etc.; but aesthetic experience would not possess such distinction, classification or gradation. It would demand the concrete unity of synthetic poetic expression. This very idea dwells in Kālidāsa's well-known verse:

वागर्थाविव संपृक्तौ वागर्थप्रतिपत्तये ।
जगतः पितरौ वन्दे पार्वतीपरमेश्वरौ ॥¹⁵

Thus, so far as the poet's view is concerned, poetry is the indivisible union of *vāk* and *artha*. Thus *sāhitya* is the prime requisite of poetic activity which demands *pratipatti* of *vāk* and *artha* blended together. The word *samprkta* suggests that *vāk* and *artha* do not merely co-exist; but are involved in each other. Between the two, anyone is neither superior nor inferior, neither *bāhya* nor *ābhyantara*. The union of *vāk* and *artha* is here used as the *upamāna*. *Upamāna* or the standard of comparison possesses superiority so far as the common attribute *samprkta* is concerned. Hence the union of *vāk* and *artha* is the union par excellence.

It is Kuntaka who explains how the original *sāhitya* comprehending mere *vācya-vācaka-sambandha* is elevated to a superior level and reaches par excellence. Kuntaka is rightly proud of himself because none of his predecessors has pointed out the intrinsic nature of *sāhitya*.¹⁶

The *Alaṅkāra*-school and the *Guṇa-rīti* school emphasise the *viśeṣa* of poetic *sāhitya* as the *dharma* of outward form of poetry, of *vācya* and *vācaka*. The *Dhvani* school considered that *viśeṣa* consists of *vyājanā-vṛtti*, the climax of which lies in *rasa*. Thus the *viśeṣa*, in their hands, remains only as *vastudharma*. Kuntaka, for the first time, declares that it is *kavisvabhāvadharma*.

According to Kuntaka, *kāvya* is nothing but the activity of the poet (*kaveḥ karma kāvyam*). The peculiarity of poetic expression is that it is the product of poet's imaginative power. It is *pratibhā* that transmutes *vācya-vācaka-sambandha* into poetic *sāhitya* which, in its turn, transforms mere statement into poetry. Only *śabdārthau sahita* cannot constitute poetry. They should be displayed in a composition (*bandha*) revealing artistic creativity of the poet and at the same time possessing the capacity to delight the connoisseurs.¹⁷ The epithets *vakra-kavivṛtī* and *tadvidāhī* can be taken as elucidation of *sāhitya*. Thus poetic *sāhitya* is brought about by *kavivṛtī* and aims towards the aesthetic pleasure, and therefore, it is peculiar to poetic expression and absent in other types of expression.

Kuntaka gives special definitions of *śabda* and *artha* which exactly fit

in his idea of poetic *sāhitya*. That unique expression which alone can fully convey the poet's intended meaning out of hundred alternatives is to be regarded as 'word'. Similarly, that alone which possesses such refreshing natural beauty as to delight the reader is called 'meaning'.¹⁸ Their *sāhitya* does not merely mean togetherness, but it implies mutual competition between one word and another and between one meaning and the other.¹⁹ If in an instance, content fails to achieve concord with another content, or one word with another word, it lacks *sāhitya*.

Kuntaka puts equal emphasis on both the aspects of poetry, viz. 'what the poet has to express' and 'how he has expressed it.' Neither beautiful word alone nor the beautiful content alone can constitute poetry.²⁰ The quality of giving aesthetic delight coexists in both.²¹ Hence *sāhitya* implies harmony between words and meanings. Content insufficiently expressed is as if dead (*mṛtakalpa*) and expression conveying something other than the intended idea is disease (*vyādhibhūta*).²² Overemphasis either on *śabdasaundarya* or on *arthasaundarya* would result in a loss of *sāhitya*. That is why Kuntaka severely criticises the use of *śabdālaṅkāras* with special efforts. So long as the two are involved in each other, the absence of concord in one brings a similar absence of concord in the other too. Between the two, there should neither be excess nor deficiency in respect of the contribution of either.²³

Thus *sāhitya* is the extraordinary and beautiful disposition of the words and the senses (*śabdārthayoḥ alaṅkārikā avasthitiḥ*). It is the fundamental quality of word and sense essential to constitute poetry. *Sāhitya* serves to delight the readers through its wonder-provoking character (*cetanacamatkāraṅkāritāyāḥ kāraṇam*).²⁴

Sāhitya is endowed with this peculiar character by its source *kāvīyāpāra*, which is invariably *vakra*. Thus poetic *sāhitya* is characterised by the presence of positive artistic beauty, i. e. *vakrokti*. Kuntaka declares that mutually connected words and senses are the 'adorned' and *vakrokti* is their only possible 'adornment'.²⁵ The word *alaṅkāṛti* stands not for mere figures of speech; but for the very process of beautification having poetic imagination as its underlying principle. Dr. V. Raghavan has explained it as follows - "both word and sense together, having *sāhitya* are *kāvya*, when set in *vakrokti*. Thus word and sense constitute poetry by virtue of what we might call a *guṇa* called *sāhitya* and an *alaṅkāra* called *vakrokti*, both words are used in a large sense".²⁶ Being the manifestation of the poetic process itself, *vakrokti* possesses several varieties and all of them must be set in a glorious race for attaining *sāhitya*.²⁷ All possible varieties of *vakrokti* have to observe *sāhitya*.

It is very significant that Kuntaka here emphasises that poetry is the undivided whole of the *śabdārtha* and their adornment (*sālaṅkārasya kāvyatā*).²⁸ There is no question of super-adding the ornaments to pre-existing poetry. Whatever

decoration the poet wants to impart, must be undertaken in the course of blending together the word and the sense. Thus words, senses, their qualities and adornment all unitedly form an indivisible whole, named poetry.

Thus *sāhitya* of poetic elements is not a loose form of co-existence, but that of the unity of a living organism, distinguishable for the purpose of general analysis, but fundamentally inseparable.

Even from the reader's point of view, poetic elements are not enjoyed serially one after the other; but the reader enjoys poetry as an indivisible whole.

Thus Kuntaka, with his sharp insight and genius, has made special and valuable contribution on the concept of *sāhitya*. He establishes *sāhitya* as the highest perfection the poet should attain (*kavikarmakausalakāṣṭhādhirūḍha*).

The critics have rightly honoured him in these words -

'He shows his independent genius in defining *sāhitya*. Later rhetoricians like Bhoja and Rājasekhara follow him but the originality and strikingly new approach is found only in Kuntaka's treatment of it.'²⁹

Notes and References

1. *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa*, 1.1.33-

यत्र ह्येव मनस्तद् वाक्, यत्र वै वाक् तद् मन इति।
Sāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka, 7.1-

वाङ् मे मनसि प्रतिष्ठिता
मनो मे वाचि प्रतिष्ठितम्।

2. *Saḍvīmśa Brāhmaṇa*, 1.5.5.

3. *Rgveda*, III 39.1-

इन्द्रं मतिः हृद् आ वच्यमाना अच्छा पतिं स्तोत्रतष्टा जिगाति ।

4. *Ibid* VI.31.1; III.39.2; I.54.8.

5. *Ibid* I.143.1-

प्र तव्यसीं नव्यसीं धीतिमग्नये
वाचो मतिं सहस्रः सून्वे भरे।
Cf. *Ibid* V. 47.1.

6. *Ibid* VI.8.1; I.143.7; X.177.2; VI.17.13; VI.32.1; V.85.1; VI.8.1; I.61.16.

7. *Ibid* VIII.3.15 - मधुमत्तमा गिरः।

Atharvaveda, 20.47.3; 134.14-

गिरा वज्रो न संपृतः सबलो अनपच्युतः।
Rgveda, VII.103.6 वाचं पिपिशुः।
Ibid II.35.1- सुपेशस्करति।

Ibid I.130.6 - गिरः शुभामि ।

8. Velankar, H. D., 'Kavi In The Rgveda', Summaries of papers, A.I.O.C, xxiii th session, ed. by Suryakanta, Aligarh, 1966, p. 2.

9. *Rgveda*, V. 29.15 - वखेव भद्रा सुकृता वसूयू... ।

Ibid II.85.56 - मा तन्नुच्छेदि वयतो धियं मे... ।

10. *Kāvyaġānkarā*, II.87.b -

इत्येवमादि किं काव्यं वात्तमिनां प्रचक्षते ।

11. *Ibid* I. 36 - वक्राभिधेयशब्दोक्तिरिष्टा वाचामलङ्कृतिः ।

Ibid V. 66 - वाचां वक्रार्थशब्दोक्तिरलङ्काराय कल्पते ।

12. *Kāvyaġadarśa*, II.214.

13. *Kāvyaġānkarāsūtravṛtti*, I.1.1 and the *vṛtti* thereon -

काव्यं ग्राह्यमलङ्कारात् ।

काव्यशब्दोऽयं गुणालङ्कारसंस्कृतयोः शब्दार्थयोः वर्तते ।

14. *Ibid* I.ii.6;7; 8;III.1.1;2.

15. *Raghuvamśa*, I.i.

16. *Vakroktijivita*; ed. by Krishnamoorthy K., Dharwad, 1977, pp. 23-24 न पुनरेतस्य कविकर्मकौशलकाष्ठाधिरूढरमणीयस्याद्यापि कश्चिदपि विपश्चिदयमस्य परमार्थ इति मनाङ्मात्रमपि विचारपदवीभवतीर्णः ।

17. *Ibid* I.7 -

शब्दार्थौ सहितौ वक्रकविव्यापारशालिनि ।

बन्धे व्यवस्थितौ काव्यं तद्विदाह्लादकारिणि ॥

18. *Ibid* I. 9-

शब्दो विवक्षितार्थैकवाचकोऽन्येषु सत्त्वपि ।

अर्थः सहृदयहृदयाह्लादकारिस्वस्पन्दसुन्दरः ॥

19. *Ibid* P.11-

सहितवित्यत्रापि यथायुक्ति सजातीयापेक्षया शब्दस्य शब्दान्तरेण वाच्यस्य वाच्यान्तरेण च साहित्यं परस्परस्पर्धित्वलक्षणमेव विवक्षितम् ।

20. *Ibid* pp.9-10 न शब्दस्यैव रमणीयताविशिष्टस्य केवलस्य काव्यत्वं, नाप्यर्थस्येति।... तेन शब्दार्थौ द्वौ संमिलितौ काव्यमिति स्थितम् ।

21. *Ibid* pp. 6-7 द्वयोरपि प्रत्येकं प्रति तिलमिव तैलं तद्विदाह्लादकारित्वं वर्तते, न पुनरेकस्मिन् ।

22. *Ibid* p.13 -

परमार्थतः पुनरुभयोरैकतस्य साहित्यविरहोऽन्यस्यापि पर्यवस्यति ।

23. *Ibid* p. 24 यस्यां द्वयोरैकतस्यापि न्यूनत्वं निष्कर्षो न विद्यते, नाप्यतिरिक्तत्वमुत्कर्षो वास्ति ।

24. *Ibid* I.17 and *vṛtti* thereon -

साहित्यमनयोः शोभाशालितां प्रति काव्यसौ ।

अन्यूनातिरिक्तत्वमनोहारिण्यवस्थितिः ॥

अनयोः शब्दार्थयोर्या काप्यलौकिकी चेतनचमत्कारकारितायाः कारणमवस्थितिः विचित्रैव विन्यासभङ्गी।

25. *Ibid* 1.10-

उभावेतावलङ्कार्यौ तयोः पुनरलङ्कृतिः।
वक्रोक्तिरेव वैदग्ध्यभङ्गीभणितिरुच्यते॥

26. Raghavan V., *An Introduction To Indian Poetics*, Madras, 1970, p. 88.

27. *Vakroktijivita*, pp.9-10 किन्तु विशिष्टमेवेह साहित्यमभिप्रेतम्। कीदृशम् वक्रताविचित्रगुणालङ्कारसम्पदां परस्परस्पर्धाधिरोहः।

28. *Ibid* 1. 6 and the *vrtti* thereon.

29. Dr. Mrs. Tapati, H. R., 'Vakrokti and Literary Criticism'; *Principles of Literary Criticism In Sanskrit*; ed. by Dwivedi, R. C. Delhi, 1969, p. 84.

THE BREASTED IMAGE IN MYTH

VIDYA KAMAT

If the definition of the human body is the most tangible marker of gender identity, then specific body parts, their presence and absence have their own distinct function in constructing the idea of identity and social roles. This paper discusses some of the concepts related to female identity constructed through the motif of breasts and their location within mythological narratives. It is based primarily on a study of ancient texts and occasionally an examination of ritual practices, beliefs and customs in ancient societies, to discuss how breasts, as a leitmotif, have been perceived, developed and utilized in these societies. However the scope of this study is limited to comparative reflections and problems implied in mythological narratives, and does not attempt to be a definitive analysis of gender issues.

Mothers/Non-mothers and the Breasted Image

Looking back in time, one gets some idea of how the feminine was conceived through the images and statuettes found in the Stone Age. Some of the first images of women, identified as Venus of Willendorf, Goddess of Lespugue, Goddess of Laussel, and Goddess of Menton¹ are all significant in their characteristic visual expression. These images depict exaggerated feminine features, primarily large bosoms, protruding bellies and broad thighs. In fact, the conspicuously swollen breasts and protruding bellies of these images have led scholars to agree that these are Mother figures; which were probably worshipped for the bestowal of fertility and progeny. It is thus deduced that the idea of motherhood and fecundity were two inter-linked concepts that dominated the religio-social ideology of Paleolithic and Neolithic times. By definition we may have to accept that many of the images or the goddesses found in the Stone Age era could be mother figures.² But, to assume that all these images of the female goddesses were conceived as 'mother' figures is problematic. While fecundity was the underlying concern, the female body signified a much broader aspect of the feminine and even extended to include the issues of nurture and pleasure which were sometimes defined outside the framework of motherhood.

The concept of nurture as 'sustenance' was seen as a quality independent of a person/being. For instance Neumann observes that abundance and nourishment were two primordial experiences that were associated with femininity in ancient times. In most ancient civilizations this is metaphorically summarized through a jar, where the female body is symbolically identified with the jar/vessel.³

The symbol of jar or vessel is usually associated with the female body in general, and in particular with female organs such as breast and womb, both seen as the container of fluids either nourishing/reproductive.

According to a belief in ancient Greece, the first vessel (*patera*) was modelled after Helena's breast.⁴ In the context of Agnicayana, a rite of building a Great Fire-Altar, *Ukhā* (fire pan) made of clay is mentioned.⁵ *Ukhā*, which represents the womb of fire, is further identified as female. Teats-like attachments are shown on the clay fire pan to confer the feminine role to it. Similarly, Zuni women crafted their pitchers in the shape of female breasts. For Zunis, the making of a pitcher was a solemn and religious rite. The shape of the pot was derived from the shape of female breasts and the area corresponding to the nipple was sealed under the secrecy of the averted gaze. It was believed that unless this ritual was observed, women would be barren and children born to these women would die during infancy.⁶

The above examples suggest that breasts were primarily seen as containers of fluids, which are nourishing in nature. Some of the images found in ancient civilizations also reveal that breasts functioned as a charm that invoked the erotic gaze. A statuette belonging to the Sumerian civilization *circa* 2000 BCE shows a goddess, probably Innana, holding her breasts with both hands while gazing straight at the viewer.⁷ A similar conception can be found in Mathura, where the goddess Śrī is shown among lotuses emerging from a brimming urn. The goddess subtly points with her left arm to her breasts while her right hand points to her genitals.⁸ Bhattacharyya points out that similar type of images can be found in the Kulli culture where the breasts of the goddesses are accentuated.⁹ It is pertinent to note that these goddesses are shown unaccompanied by infant figures, ruling out the fact that they are 'mothers'. Unlike images where the role of the goddess as mother is evident from the presence of child beside her, such as Isis nursing her son Horus from the Egyptian pantheon, or the goddess standing on a lion with a child in her arms from Mesopotamia, images of the Sumerian goddesses or Śrī of Mathura do not represent the function of motherhood. Various scholars¹⁰ have made clear distinction between these two types of female representations, suggesting that the function of the two feminine images is not the same.

The question is, if these goddesses do not represent motherhood then how do they signify the power of fertility? Looking at the representation of goddess Śrī one may take into account the related symbols such as *kumbha* and lotus to understand the role of Śrī, which is embedded within the symbolism of life-giving fluid¹¹. The breast motif in this case gets *dissociated* from its primary function, that of nursing an infant and stands as a self-contained representation of nourishing/nurturing fluids. Since no such symbolism is present in the Sumerian goddesses, one may deduce that the latter could be taken

as the site or as a charm for invoking the erotic gaze.

In many ancient civilizations, uncovering the breasts was considered an erotic/fecundative charm. For instance, in Cretan culture uncovering the breasts was seen as a 'sacred action'. The goddess and the priestess of the cult often bared their breasts as a sign of fecundity, prosperity and nourishment.¹² A Minoan image displays a goddess or priestess, holding two serpents in her raised hands. The deity is elaborately dressed in a multi-layered gown covering her whole body except for her breasts.¹³ In the *Rgveda* (*RV*), seers appeal to the goddess *Usas* to bare her breasts.¹⁴ Exposing female breasts in 'orgiastic rites' is still practised in some of the Kālī temples in Kerala during the Bharani festival.¹⁵ Also many iconic portraits of Bhadrakālī, who is an aspect of Kālī, are depicted with a raised bodice exposing her breasts, or with no breast-covering at all.¹⁶

To return to the images of the goddesses *Innana* and *Śrī* displaying their breasts, Neumann notes that such images are prevalent in the Asiatic belt and classifies them as 'Astrate types'. *Innana* a Sumerian fertility goddess is also known as 'Astrate', 'Ashtrate' or 'Ishtar' and is a love goddess.¹⁷ Thus one may deduce that breasts in these particular cases signify the erotic nature of the goddess rather than the nurturing nature of feminine.¹⁸

From Vessels to Handles : Breasts as Knobs

While functioning as an erotic/fecundative charm or as invocations of the erotic gaze, breasts as visible and tangible signifiers of womanhood also assume a location that is similar to that of extensions found on containers, such as handles or knobs. Knobs or handles are a literal metaphor suggesting a protruding quality. A curious tribal myth suggests how these two qualities are interchangeable. A myth of the Bhattara tribe, in Chetliguda district in Orissa, reveals a close connection between pottery and the feminine form, freely borrowing symbolic expressions from each other. However, the metaphor of handles or knobs for breasts distinctly crosses over from the functional to the erotic role of the organ.

Pengu Poroja, with his wife and son, lived in Ranaiguda. But soon after the son's marriage the old woman died and Pengu performed the funerary rites. But soon he too fell ill and sent for a shaman to cure his illness. The shaman asked for a pig as a ceremonial feast to appease the gods. The daughter-in-law cooked the feast in a big cauldron. But while cooking it, she knocked off the knobs of the cauldron. Distressed by this development and afraid of the shaman, she tried to hide the knobs of the cauldron. But not knowing where to keep them, she hid them next to her chest and tied them with a piece of cloth to prevent them from falling out. Once the feast was over, she tried to dispose of the knobs by untying them, but she realized that her skin had grown over, and the knobs had become permanently attached to her body.¹⁹

Iris Young states that the very fact that in slang language, breasts are described as 'knockers' or 'knobs' objectifies breasts into a fetish which can be handled or grabbed.²⁰ Young argues such a representation raises questions about the male attitude towards defining feminine organs irrespective of women's own dispositions towards them. By subverting the mythical concept of the female body as the 'vessel' or jar and fashioning it into a fetish, the female body is transformed into an object of pleasure. As noted earlier, the Bhattara tribal myth seems to mediate on the function of breasts as a sexual organ while bringing forth the similarity between the female body with pottery shapes. Though breasts are fantasised as objects of pleasure, they are often denounced, feared and negated when seen as organs of female sexual pleasure.

The Sacred and Profane : Phallic Breasts

The demarcation between the auspicious/sacred/fecundate and the pernicious/profane/erotic nature of womanhood was often delineated through the various types of representations of breasts. An ideal mother and fecundate woman would often be depicted through her perfectly rounded breasts like *pūrṇa ghata*, on the other hand the feared erotic nature of the feminine was represented by long, phallic shaped breasts. The long or phallic breasts were conceptualized as negative, or rather, the lustful aspect of femininity. For instance, Neumann notes that the representation of the goddess of Bali with emphasis on the pregnant belly and taut phallic breasts, seems to suggest a negative and lustful aspect of the goddess.²¹ Commenting on the angularity of the breast shapes in the African sculptures, Neumann writes, "The hanging breasts artificially induced in Africa are exaggerated to produce phallic form, from which the generative life pours into the receiving child."²² The life pouring/giving activity is seen as aggressive/dominant act-masculine in character as opposed to the nurturing and nourishing-task which is feminine and submissive.

Though African sculptures do not categorically suggest negative connotations through drooping phallic breasts, they do bring forth the question of aggression implied in the act of creation, and the submissive and accommodative implied in nurture and nourishment—which are two different functions requiring two different attitudes. Some civilizations deny such forceful and aggressive attitudes in the feminine and the phallic breasts acquire negative connotations. For instance, a tribal myth from Orissa clearly distinguishes phallic breasts as the negative aspect of the femininity. The myth comes from the Bondo tribe of Koraput district in Orissa:

Once there was a woman with breasts a cubit long. As a result young men would always lust after her. Wearied of this harassment she longed to die. And one day in sheer despair she seized a knife and cut off her breasts and died. From the blood that flowed from her breasts there sprang an orange tree. Since then women have smaller breasts, round like oranges.²³

The myth clearly expresses fear of long/phallic breasts and advocates the need to size them into a 'desired' shape like that of 'oranges'. The round breasts thus contain feminine sexuality within the domain of masculine desire and fantasy.

Multiple Breasts

The motif of multiple breasts is more commonly found in ancient mythical accounts as well as in pictorial depictions. It springs from a close affinity with the animal world. Neumann opines that the archetypal expression of the feminine as all-nourishing is evident in the multiplication of the breast motif.²⁴ The concept of multiple breasts probably borrows its imagery from animal physiology where the beast-mother produces and nurtures more than one child with the help of multiple breasts. The graphic rendition of the Roman twin-heroes, Remus and Romulus being nurtured by a wolf-mother, is clear in its intent, though the legend seems to narrate a candid tale of how the beast-mother nurtured the twin heroes of Rome in their infantile state. The potent image of two human infants suckling the breasts of the beast-mother highlights the comparison between the beast-mother (multiple-breasted) and the human-mother (pair of breasts) in terms of the capacity to nurture, and produce one or more heroes. For instance, the Egyptian Pharaoh was supposed to have been suckled by a goddess with cow's teats, whereas the Greek god Zeus was nursed by a goat-mother or a horned sheep, and the Chinese royal child by a tigress.²⁵ The concept of beast-mothers who were wet-nurses to many gods/heroes endorses the potency of their milk and makes them superior nurturers. The underlying idea is that the multiple-breasted mother can provide more nourishment and therefore the child would grow into a god/hero. It is the multiplicity of breasts that gives the beast-mother an edge over the human-mother to become the preferred mother to the god/hero.

That the motif of multiple breasts has a direct link to the beast realm can be attested through a tombstone found in the vicinity of Bologna. Neumann identifies this image as the "Great Many Breasted Mother" as a ruler and nourisher of the animal world.²⁶ This image of the human-mother nurturing animals as seen in the pre-Etruscan tombstone is an inverse of the beast-mother nurturing human infants. A similar concept can be found in the Roman goddess Diana and the Aztec goddess Mayauel. The bronze statue of the Roman goddess, Diana of Euphesus (Greek Artemis) depicts the goddess in an erect position. Artemis is a virgin goddess in Greek mythology, and is said to be the patron goddess of animals and plants. The iconography of the Roman goddess clearly depicts various animals on her body; she also wears a garland of jars around her neck suggesting a connection to the cult of intoxicating juices. In fact, multiple-breasted images of goddesses are also associated with the vegetal world. Donald Mackenzie notes that trees that produced

'milk-like' fluids had special significance and a sacred status — that of mother goddess.²⁷ Consequently in many ancient civilizations, mother goddesses were represented as trees. For example, the Aztec goddess Mayauel, who is addressed as the goddess with four hundred teats²⁸, is the goddess of the intoxicant juice of a tree called pulque or, as the Aztecs call it, *octli*. Animal/tree-mother often substituted the human mother and the custom of feeding tree-milk to an infant was observed as a ceremonial rite. For instance, in Greece a newly born baby was given 'fig-milk', and in Scotland a similar custom was observed with the hazel nut tree.²⁹ Among Zuni Red Indians it was believed that the 'milk' of un-ripened corn was of divine origin as it provides nourishment to both young and old.³⁰ Commenting on the idea of nurture/nourishment and the feminine aspect brought forth through this mythological motif, Mackenzie writes that "breasted rivers/animals/trees" epitomize the function of femininity primarily through breasts and their produce, milk.

What becomes evident in the case of Diana/Artemis and Mayauel is that nurturing, as a principal feature of femininity, is seen as being reclaimed from the beast realm. The multiplicity of breasts emphasizes the nurturing attribute of the feminine and does not necessarily deal with issues of sexuality and motherhood thereafter. Both Diana (Artemis)³¹ and Mayauel are said to be virgins circumventing the issues of sexuality and motherhood. Thus it is clear that the multiple-breasts motif found in ancient civilizations functions to accentuate the nurturing aspect of the feminine, and not motherhood.

Breasts as Sites of Power

The breast motif occurs in Tamil literature with special reference to motherhood and associated modes of power and femininity. Social and literary critic C. S. Lakshmi writes, "The birth of valorous sons is decided by the quality of the womb and quality of milk from the breasts of woman".³² If the chastity of the woman translates into the birth of a hero or a valorous son, then the cowardly son is the product of limitations and even weakness of the woman's character. It is the superiority of the woman's womb and breasts that eventually leads to the realization of the ultimate power of womanhood.³³ In the Tamil epic *Śilappadikāram*, when driven to wrath, Kannagi expresses her power by cutting off her breasts and burning the kingdom to ashes for wrongly convicting her husband. Being a chaste Brahmin woman, by inflicting the ultimate disfigurement upon herself, she has the potency to destroy the entire kingdom in the flames of her fury.³⁴ A similar motif mentioned in the texts of Purananāru³⁵ shows a mother threatening to cut off her breasts if her son shows cowardice in battle. Breasts as the site of feminine power acquire the potentiality of a weapon.

If Kannagi has the power to destroy by the act of self-mutilation then

by the same logic, cutting off female breasts signifies the ultimate removal of feminine power. In the Tamil version of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the overtly sexual gestures of Śūrpaṅkhā are met with a severe punishment, that of cutting off her nose, ears, hair and breasts by Lakṣmaṇa.³⁶ Cutting off Śūrpaṅkhā's breasts by Lakṣmaṇa is seen not only as dishonoring her femininity, as Erndl aptly points out, but a strategy for exerting control over women's sexual liberties or even the denial of sexuality within a typical patriarchal setting. The belief in rural Maharashtra is that having no breasts is like 'being male', unable to procreate through one's body. Such a state makes a woman barren and sterile. In Maharashtra, it is believed that the seven goddesses called Sātī Āsarā can make woman infertile. Of the seven goddesses, it is specifically the seventh goddess, who 'looks like man' (as she does not possess breasts) who is said to inflict infertility upon a woman.³⁷ The severed/displaced female breast and its identification with maleness can be traced back to Greek warrior women called Amazons, who chopped off their right breast to be able to use the bow more proficiently. The etymology of the word 'amazon' which is formed from the prefix *a* = "not" and *mezos* = "breast", thus refers to the mutilated breast of the Amazon women.³⁸ These mythical (?) women were feared and detested for their masculine characteristics in Greek mythology.

What is apparent is that the breast in a female body which stands for her ability to procreate and nurture, is therefore an object that defines her power as a woman. Having no breasts or even cutting off the breasts signifies a lack of control over female sexual functions suggesting the anxieties related to the female body, subverting its sexuality changing into a male body.

Myths also discuss the unease in having 'three breasts' which places a woman on par with the male hero. Having three breasts does not reduce her feminine nature, but launches her into the male realm, bringing forth the aggressiveness and courage of a male/warrior/hero. The uneven number of breasts becomes an issue and is often a threat to the female body and femininity. The myth which is told in the context of goddess Mīnākṣī of Madurai, raises many questions about the equations of power and the positioning of the feminine within a socio-cultural space, through the motif of the 'third breast':

The King of Madurai was a virtuous and valorous king, but had no children. He had performed 99 horse sacrifices and alarmed by the number of sacrifices, Indra the lord of gods, advised the king to perform a sacrifice to obtain a son. So the king conducted yet another sacrifice to get a son. Although the sacrifice was conducted as per the rule, the king found that a girl with three breasts was born to him instead of a son. The king was worried not only because a girl was born to him, but the presence of three breasts on the girl had compounded his predicament. Just then a voice from heaven reassured the king, and advised that the girl be brought up like a son and at an appropriate time when the girl would meet her husband the third breast would disappear.

The king followed the heavenly command and gave all the necessary training to the daughter, treating her like a son. After the death of the king, the three-breasted princess succeeded to his throne. The princess was a fierce warrior and set out to conquer the world. Her spear sought the flesh of the enemies and soon she captured most of the neighbouring kingdoms. She soon reached Kailāsa, and challenged Śiva's own army. A fierce battle broke out between Śiva's army and the princess. But Śiva's troops proved no match for her and began to retreat. Finally Śiva himself decided to enter the battlefield. But as soon as Śiva and the princess came face to face in the battle, the third breast of the princess disappeared. The princess who was known for her courage and fierceness was overcome with modesty, innocence and shyness. She blushed and a voice from the heavens declared that Śiva is going to be her bridegroom. The princess asked Śiva to accompany her to Madurai and was duly married to him, where he reigned as Cuntarapantiyan.³⁹

The additional breast of princess or goddess Mīnākṣī gives her the power and strength of a male, and the attributes of courage and valour. The disappearance of the third breast brings forth all the feminine traits of the goddess. The absence of breasts rob the woman of the power of femininity, while the additional breast, i. e. the third breast endows her hegemony over areas which are essentially in the male domain.

In yet another tale taken from the folk culture of Tamil Nadu, the motif of three breasts is discussed in relation to the anxieties of male inadequacy. According to this tale, in Madhupura on the northern trade route of Tamil Nadu.

A girl child with three breasts was born to the king. The court brahmins warned the king never to look at the child, lest he be afflicted with blindness for life. So the king avoided the sight of his daughter till she came of age. Once she was of marriageable age, he offered 100,000 gold coins to anyone who would marry her and take her away from his country. Having known of the curse that the three-breasted princess would bring ill luck, no one dared to come forward to marry her. This situation gave an impoverished but clever hunchback an idea. He convinced his blind friend to marry the princess on the grounds that being blind he would never see her and thus the curse would not affect him. Also the money offered by the king would alter their impoverished state. Convinced by this argument the blind man married the princess.

Thus the three-breasted princess, her blind husband and the hunchback friend began to live on the outskirts of the kingdom in isolation. But over a period of time, the hunchback fell in love with the princess and the two began to cheat on the blind husband. One day, the hunchback hatched a plan and decided to kill the blind man. He killed a snake and asked the princess to cook it and feed it to her husband, thinking that poison of the snake would kill him. She complied with the plan. But fate had different pattern. When the snake was being cooked the poisonous smoke rising from it cured the blindness of the husband. But he

kept it a secret, and pretended to be blind. When the hunchback returned from the hunt he hugged the princess and asked her to feed the blind man as quickly as possible, declaring how it would kill him instantaneously. The blind husband (who is no longer blind now) 'saw' the fact and took hold of hunchback and flung him towards the princess. The force of collision straightened the hunchback's body and the princess's third breast was pushed back into her body.⁴⁰

Unlike the tale of Mīnākṣī, the 'three-breasted' conqueror, the three-breasted princess does not acquire the aggression of a male but retains the power of incapacitating the male which is represented through the motif of 'blinding'. The threat of blinding (the father) and later curing the blindness of her husband, are the two opposing states within which the anxieties arising from the three breasts of the princess have been negotiated. The tale belongs to the folk tradition, and does not resolve the impasse by making the third breast disappear as in case of Mīnākṣī. Instead the third breast had to be forced in by the husband to regain his control and authority over his wife's sexuality. If loss of breasts can become the cause of anxiety for the female body then the extra breast certainly becomes a threat to male authority.

Envyng the Female Body: Male Breasts

Though a part of human physiology, the location of breasts in female physiology becomes problematic and a cause of anxiety for the male body. Problematic because her breasts make a woman an object of envy due to her total authority over the nurturing/creating capability of the human body. This sense of envy could be at the root of the impulse to generate the motif of the male god with feminine breasts. The male breast, as a mythic motif, is seen in case of two gods both associated with water. In the *RV* (VII 96.6), Sarasvān, the counterpart of the river Sarasvatī, is addressed as having a breast.⁴¹ In the second instance, the Egyptian river god, Hapi is shown as a male with a breast.⁴² Hapi, the anthropomorphic form of the river Nile was conceived as male having all the physical attributes of a man from high lineage. Shown wearing a narrow girdle whose ends fall free above the thighs, with sandals and a close fitting headdress generally surmounted with a crown of water plants, he is depicted with fully developed female breasts hanging heavily upon his wide chest, and is sometimes represented with water springing from his breasts.⁴³ The Ṛgvedic god Sarasvān is clearly invoked as a male with breast that 'swells with streams' and has the capacity to provide food and progeny to the people. Why should male god have feminine breasts and that too a single breast ?

As argued earlier, goddesses like Innana and Śrī declare their roles as nurturers and nourishers (without their actually being mothers) by pointing to their breasts. The role of Sarasvān is encoded within this argument as he is linked to the liquid/milk/ambrosia/nourishment/life generating fluid and

therefore signifies a creator/nourisher. Sporting feminine breasts and yet retaining a male identity justifies the role of the male divinity as a nurturer and provider of fecundity on par with any female divinity. This appropriation of the female breast is an attempt that acknowledges the inadequacy of male physiology with relation to nurturing and an effort to bring it on par with the female body. Yet the single breast only partially qualifies the god as nurturer and nourisher. Like the three breasts of Mīnākṣī which do not provide her the full potentiality of the male, similarly the single breast of Sarasvān does not render him the power to actualize the full potential of the female capacity of generation. Thus single breast of Sarasvān, like the third breast of Mīnākṣī, is only a metaphoric construct that attempts to level out the inadequacies and anxieties pertaining to the male and female body and sexuality.

These metaphoric constructs of male breasts can be noticed in Vedic texts situating the idea of nurture within the male domain. *Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa* (XIII.11.17-19) mentions two *sāmans* viz. *Madhuścut* as finale (*nidhana*) and the other *Ghṛtaścut*. The two *sāmans* are metaphorically spoken of as the two breasts of (Agni) Prajāpati. It is indicated that these two breasts (actually *sāmans*) would provide milk to (i. e. fulfil) the desires of the sacrificer. Here the nurturing or nourishing nature of the feminine is transferred to the male creator through the breast motif. By shifting this function to the male god, the quality of nurturing is brought into and within the male domain.

Similarly in the Jyotiṣṭoma, Atirātra sacrifice, in the *mantras* (in the form of verses) which employ two verses exceeding to Virāj metre, these two are addressed as the two breasts of Virāj, with which the sacrificer milches (gets fulfilled) his desires.⁴⁴ The metaphor of the metres as breasts that 'milk' (fulfil) the desires of the sacrificer is situated within the framework of the nurturing and nourishing nature of the feminine.

However, in later mythologies one does not see any anxiety or appropriation of female breasts. Creation through male breasts is seen more as an instance of the creative power capable of generating life through any other body part of the divinity. For instance, it is said that the two sons of Brahmā, Dharma and Adharma were born from Brahmā's right breast and his back respectively.⁴⁵ Similarly in the *Maitrāyaṇi Samhitā* (I.6.9), Prajāpati is said to have two breasts in the form of the full moon and new moon sacrifices. However all these examples of male breasts have to be identified within poetic and metaphoric thought.

Mythological narratives only reveal a partial view of the reality by which feminine identity is constructed in a social system. The motif of breasts highlights a few of these problems where gender and femininity are challenged and questioned.

Notes and References

1. See the pictures Graham, Lanier, *Goddesses in Art*, Artabas, New York, London, Paris, 1997, pp 23-25.
2. The argument that goddesses universally emblemise the maternity predominating the mystery of birth and generation in its manifold aspect and attribute is upheld by scholars like N. N. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Mother Goddess*, Indian Studies Past and Present, Calcutta, 1971.
3. Dange, S. A., *Encyclopedia of Puranic Beliefs and Practices*, Vol-III, Navarang, New Delhi, 1987, see under jar.
4. Neumann, Eric., *The Great Mother*, Routledge Kegan Paul, London, 1955, p.123.
5. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* VI.5.2.16, Tr. by Eggeling Julius, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1993 (1882), *S.B.E.* Vol. No. 41, p. 237.
6. Cushings, *A Study of Pueblo Pottery*, p. 512 ff. q. from Neumann, *op.cit.*, p.123.
7. Graham, Lanier, *op.cit.*, p. 27.
8. See Coomaraswamy, A. K., *Yakṣas-Essays in Water Cosmology*, (New Ed.) IGNC & Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1993 (reprint) Pl. no. 72a.
9. Bhattacharyya, N. N., *op. cit.*, p. 22.
10. Srivastava, M. C. P., *Mother Goddess - In Indian Art and Archaeology and Literature*, Agam Kala Prakashan, Delhi, 1979, pp. 23-24.
11. For detailed discussion see A. K. Coomaraswamy *op.cit.* and Agarwala P. K. - *Pūrṇa Kalaśa or Vessel of Plenty*, Prithvi Prakashan, Varanasi, 1965.
12. Neumann, *op. cit.* p. 128.
13. For the image see Lanier Graham *op. cit.* p. 28, also Evans, Sir Arthur, *Palace of Minos*, Vol. I. London, 1922-37 pp. 500ff.
14. *RV* I.92.4- 'She, like a dancer puts her broidered garments on; as a cow yields her udders,so she bares her breasts.' Tr. From Griffith, R. T. H., *Hymns of the Rgveda*, Vol-I, Motilal Banarsidass, New Delhi, 1987 (1889) p. 126.
15. Caldwell, Sarah, *Oh Terrifying Mother, Sexuality, Violence and Worship of the Goddess Kali*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1999, p. 166-q. from Genetes, M. J., 'Scandalising the goddess at Konungallur', *Asian Folklore Studies*, 51(2), 1992, pp. 306-11.
16. *Ibid.*, pp. 173-174. The social custom in Kerala restricted women of lower caste from wearing upper garment, thus these women had to move around exposing their breasts. This custom continued till 1950.
17. Neumann, *op.cit.* p. 128.
18. Srivastava, *op.cit.* p. 21 comment "Holding of breasts is just like a mother feeding a child... Hence is a true sign of motherhood" – subjugates the female body to the procreative function alone thereby negating the sexual and erotic character

of the feminine. The tendency to gloss over the sexual aspect of the feminine is a typical patriarchal approach to encase femininity in the sacred space of divine motherhood.

19. Verrier, E., *Tribal Myths of Orissa*, Oxford University Press, London, 1954, p. 440.
20. Iris M. Young, "Breasted Experience: The Look and the Feeling", *The Politics of Women's Bodies - Sexuality, Appearance and Behaviour*, Ed. By Rose Weitz, Oxford University Press, New York Oxford, 1998, p. 125f.
21. Neumann, *op. cit.* p. 146.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 130.
23. Verrier, E., *op. cit.*, pp.440-441.
24. Neumann., *op. cit.*, p. 124.
25. Mackenzie, Donald, *The Migration of Symbol and their Relation to Beliefs and Customs*, Alfred Knopf, New York, 1926, p. 160.
26. Neumann, *op. cit.*, p.126.
27. Mackenzie, Donald, *op. cit.*, p. 160.
28. *Ibid.* 160.
29. *Ibid.* pp.160-161.
30. *Ibid.* 161.
31. Graves, Robert, *Greek Myths*, Penguin Books, England, 1960, p. 83.
32. Lakshmi, C. S., "Mother, Mother-Community and Mother-Politics in Tamil Nadu", *Economic and Political Weekly*, October 20-27, 1990, p. 72f.
33. *Ibid.* p.73.
34. Erndle Kathleen, "Mutilation of Sūrpaṅkhā", *Many Rāmāyanas: Diversity of a Narrative Tradition in South Asia*, Ed. By Paula Richman, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1992, pp. 81-82.
35. Shulman, David, *Tamil Temple Myths*, Princeton University Press, 1980, p. 207.
36. Erndle, K. *op. cit.* p. 81.
37. Feldhaus Ann, *Water and Womanhood: Religious Meanings of Rivers in Maharashtra*, Oxford University Press, New York, Oxford, 1995, p. 131.
38. However this etymology is not acceptable to all the scholars. And according to some the word Amazon is derived from the tribal origin in the Greek language. See Webster's New Riverside University Dictionary, 1988 ed., under 'Amazon'.
39. Shulman, David., *op. cit.*, p. 202f.
40. *Ibid.* p. 203f.
41. "We call upon Sarasvān, as unmarried men who long for wives, as liberal men

who yearn for sons. Be thou our kind protector, O Sarasvān, with those Waves of thine Laden with sweets and drooping oil. May we enjoy Sarasvān's breast, all beautiful, that swells with streams, May we gain food and progeny." *RV VII. 96.4-6* tr. from Griffith, R.T.H. *Hymns of Rgveda*, Vol-II Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers. Pvt. Ltd., 1987 (1889) p. 100.

42. See Veronica Ions, *Egyptian Mythology*, Hamlyn, London, 1988 (1965) p. 78.
43. Maspero, G., *The Dawn of Civilization - Egypt and Chaldaea*, Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, London, 1922, pp. 36-37.
44. *Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa XX. 1.5.*
45. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa II.6.9.*

ABHINAVAGUPTA ON THE GOAL OF POETRY

V. M. KULKARNI

Abhinavagupta (Abhinava) has no independent work on poetics to his credit. His fame as a literary critic chiefly rests on his two commentaries-*Locana* on the *Dhvanyāloka* (DHV) of Ānandavardhana (Ānanda) and *Abhinavabhāratī* (A. Bh.) on the *Nāṭyaśāstra* (NS) of Bharata. It is universally accepted that Abhinava is the greatest authority in Sanskrit literary criticism. For later writers on Sanskrit poetics and aesthetics, there is no other name more important than Abhinava. Excepting a few writers on poetics all others like Mammaṭa, Hemaçandra, Viśvanātha, implicitly follow him. For them his two commentaries are authoritative and his word is law to them.

With this brief introduction, we now turn to the subject proper, viz. Abhinava's view on the end or goal of poetry (Kāvya - poetry including dramatic poetry). Sanskrit writers usually state at the beginning of their work the purpose, goal (*prayojana*) of writing their works. This is in keeping with the popular adage or maxim 'Even a stupid person does not adopt a course of action without purpose or motive' (*prayojanam anuddīśya mando' pi na pravartate*). Thus Bharata states in the opening chapter of his NS the various purposes of Nāṭya (drama). Some of these are:

"Drama created mental repose for the spectators who are distressed, who are afflicted with tiredness, who are suffering from sorrow and those whose minds are distressed by constant ascetic practices and from various vows. Drama conduces to righteous conduct (*dharmyam*), leads to glory or fame (*yaśasyam*), causes welfare or good (*hitam*) and also causes one's wisdom to grow (*buddhivivardhanam*). It provides instruction in the ways of the world (*lokopadeśajanam*)."¹

Bhāmaha, who is generally believed to be the oldest writer on poetics gives the purposes of poetry in these words: "Reading or study of good poetry bestows fame and pleasure (*prīti*) as well as proficiency in (the four goals of life:) *dharma*, *artha*, *kāma* and *mokṣa* as well as in the fine arts."² Abhinava criticizes this view in his *Locana*:

(i) *Locana* I pp. 40-41 : Although *vyutpatti* (moral instruction) and *prīti* (pleasure) are both present for the reader, even then pleasure is the chief or most important thing. Otherwise how would *kāvya* (poetry, or better imaginative literature) a source of instruction, comparable to a loving wife (*jāyā*, Mammaṭa's word *kāntā* is more appropriate and significant), differ from

Vedas etc., which are also sources of instruction, comparable to a master or from sources of instruction such as the *itihāsa* (*Rāmāyaṇa*, *Mahābhārata*, *Purāṇas*), which are comparable to a friend ? And therefore *ānanda* (delight) [Here Abhinava prefers the religious word *ānanda* to *prīti*]³ has been mentioned here primarily as the purpose of *kāvya*. Even of instruction in the four ends of human life delight is the final (*pāryantika*) and chief (*mukhya*) 'fruit' (*phalam*, fig. result).

This is the first of the six passages from *Locana* which treat of the two purposes, *prīti* (pleasure) and *vyutpatti* (instruction) of *kāvya*. The remaining five are treated consecutively here below:

(ii) *Locana* II (p. 180 to p. 190): In this pretty long passage Abhinava deals with the view of Bhaṭṭanāyaka (as well as the views of other literary thinkers) about the nature of *rasa* and *rasāsvāda* and his own position *vis-a-vis* that of Bhaṭṭanāyaka. The other literary thinkers are anonymously referred to as 'kecit', 'anye', 'apare', 'itare', 'eke' and 'kecana'. Here we concern ourselves exclusively with Bhaṭṭanāyaka's conception of *bhoga* and *vyutpatti* (instruction in four ends of life - *puruṣārthas* and in fine arts) and Abhinava's own position.

Bhaṭṭanāyaka's view : Once *rasa* (really speaking, *sthāyibhāva*) has been universalized (*bhāvita*) its *bhoga* (realization, *sākṣātkāra*) is possible. This realization is altogether different from the perceptions derived from direct experience (*anubhava*) or memory (*smaraṇa*). It takes the form of *druti* (fluidity), *vistara* (enlargement) and *vikāsa* (expansion). It approximates the bliss that results from realizing one's identity with the highest Brahman (*parabrahmāsvādasavidhaḥ*). For it consists of repose in the bliss (*nirvṛti-viśrānti*) which is the true nature of one's own self and it is permeated with *sattva* intermingled with the diversity of *rajas* and *tamas* (the well known three *guṇas* first described in the *Sāṃkhya darśana*). It is the aesthetic pleasure or enjoyment (*bhoga*) alone that is the chief or major element (*pradhāna arśa*) i. e. the chief purpose of *kāvya* (poetry rather literature). *Vyutpatti* is in fact (*nāma*) only subsidiary.⁴ Abhinava's own position is as follows: "For *bhoga* is nothing other than the (*alaukika*) *camatkāra* that arises from aesthetic enjoyment (*rasyamānatā*). But it is not correct to say that aesthetic pleasure (*āsvāda*, *bhoga*) takes only the three forms of *druti*, *vistara* and *vikāsa* for innumerable variations are possible on account of the endless variety created by the *angāṅgibhāva* - the principal-subordinate relation among the three *guṇas*, *sattva* etc. We admit however with Bhaṭṭanāyaka that aesthetic enjoyment is similar to the joy that results from realizing one's identity with the highest Brahman (*parabrahmāsvādasabrahmacāritvam*). We also admit that the *vyutpādana* (proficiency in the four ends of life and in the fine arts) that results from *kāvya* (*poetry, imaginative literature*) is different from the

śāstras (Veda, Smṛti, etc.), through command and instruction and from the historical works (*itihāsa* : *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Mahābhārata*, Purāṇas), through friendly advice (*pratipādana*). In addition to the advice that *kāvya* gives to the reader that he should behave like Rāma [and not like Rāvaṇa], it (*kāvya*) enriches his sensitive and sympathetic faculty, power of understanding and appreciating imaginative literature.⁵

From the above passages it would seem, that Bhaṭṭanāyaka (who is described as a *Mīmāṃsaka*) was the first to compare *rasāsvāda* with *Brahmāsvāda* and also was the first (and not Abhinava) to declare that *prīti* (delight) is the chief or major goal of literature and that *vyutpatti* is only secondary.

(iii) *Locana* III p. 336 (lines 2 to 9) : Abhinava has already described the basic diction in the method of imparting instruction between the *śāstras* (the Vedas), history works (like *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Mahābhārata*, etc.) and *kāvya* (poetry including dramatic poetry). He repeats and somewhat amplifies what he has said earlier⁶ in the present passage: "In this world princes etc. who will one day be kings (rulers of people, their subjects) who cannot be instructed by means of the *Śrutis* (Vedas) and *Smṛtis*, etc., who give commands e. g. "Do this". In this regard the *Śrutis* and *Smṛtis* are like masters (prabhu). Nor are the princes, etc., instructed with the help of history works or Purāṇas which reveal the relation between action and its result (*karma* and its *phala*) in a logical way. Such works (*Itihāsa*, Purāṇa, etc.) thus resemble friends (who only advise). They (the princes, etc.) can be instructed in the means leading to the four goals of human life (*caturvargopāya*) by entering into their hearts (*hrdayānupraveṣa* i. e. by winning their hearts). And this entering into the hearts consists only in aesthetic enjoyment or pleasure (*rasāsvāda*). This aesthetic pleasure comes about by a harmonious combination of the *vibhāvas*, *anubhāvas* and *vyabhicārins* which is invariably connected (*nāntarīyaka*) with instruction (*vyutpatti*) in the means (*upāya*) to the four goals of life. And thus a composition presenting a harmonious combination leading to *rasa* engrosses the princes etc. in aesthetic enjoyment and thus will become the cause of instruction (*vyutpatti*) which as a natural result follows. And therefore joy/delight (*prīti*) itself can be regarded as the cause of instruction. ...Nor are delight (*prīti*) and instruction (*vyutpatti*) really different from each other.

(iv) *Locana* III, p. 399 (lines 1-3) : Ānanda in his *Dhvanyāloka*⁷ says that the sage Bharata (author of *Nāṭyaśāstra*) and the like brought into vogue drama and other forms of entertainment conveying instruction for the benefit of the people who deserve to be instructed. Poetry and drama delight the readers and spectators in the manner of a loving wife and convey indirectly instruction (advice). Hence from the point of view of effectively conveying

(moral) instruction they are superior to *śāstras* like Veda who are like a king or master (*prabhu*), who issue peremptory commands and history works like *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Mahābhārata*, etc., who are like a friend. They do not issue peremptory commands but explain to us the advantages and disadvantages of certain courses of conduct and point out the path which would be the best for us to follow. Poetry and drama are like a loving wife for they convey advice to us in the most agreeable manner. They by presenting *rasas* create in us a state of blissfulness and of readiness to accept advice. All this we have already explained before.⁸ For fear of repetition we have refrained from writing it again here.

(v) *Locana* III. p. 455 (lines 1-4) : Ānandavardhana in his *Dhvanyāloka* makes a significant pronouncement that in the province of poetry the questions of truth and falsity of the suggested meaning simply do not apply (*aprayojaka*). To examine a poem by applying one or the other of the valid means of knowledge (or cognition) would simply lead to nothing but ridicule. This pronouncement reveals that Ānandavardhana had at the back of his mind the idea of autonomy of poetry (or better imaginative literature).

Abhinava agrees with Ānandavardhana and adds such examination is perfectly justified in the case of statements relating to the performance of a sacrifice, say, *agniṣṭoma*. But in poetry the statements ultimately contribute to (and culminate in) the creation of *rasa* i.e. aesthetic pleasure or delight or rapture. Abhinava explains here (but was silent earlier when he was writing about *prīti* and *vyutpatti*⁹) *prīti* as *alaukikacamatkārārūpa*. Referring to this explanation Hiriyanna in his Art Experience¹⁰ observes: "In view of this higher character, it would be better to substitute for it a word like 'joy' or 'delight' but for the sake of uniformity, we shall generally use the word 'pleasure' itself."

It would seem that his above explanation conveys the idea of *rasanā*, *carvanā*, *āsvāda*, *āsvādana* (of *rasa*) - aesthetic pleasure, aesthetic enjoyment, aesthetic rapture. This *prīti* becomes the cause of *vyutpatti* (moral instruction). Abhinava explains the term or phrase '*upahāsāya eva*' as: the person (who attempts to find whether a poem is 'true' or 'false' by applying the usual means of knowledge) will invite ridicule as follows: "He is not a sensitive and sympathetic reader (or spectator). He is unable - not competent - to understand and appreciate aesthetic experience as "his heart has become hard by his indulging in dry logic."

(vi) *Locana* III p. 510 : Ānanda, towards the end of the third Uddyota¹¹ quotes his own stanza "*yā vyāpāravalī rasān*" etc. Commenting on this stanza Abhinava observes: "This stanza is the utterance of the author (Ānanda), who began by first being a devotee of God, and then, simply out of curiosity adopted both the viewpoints of the poet and the philosopher (but found them

ultimately unsatisfying) and once again came to believe that rest in devotion to God was inevitable". He then writes about the different kinds of *sukha* (pleasure, happiness) : (i) *sukha* resulting from the knowledge of both seen and unseen objects (ii) transcendent joy consisting in relishing *rasāsvāda*-aesthetic joy or rapture (iii) the bliss that comes from finding rest in God (*parameśvara-vīśrānti-ānanda*). This bliss is far superior to the first two kinds enumerated above and the *rasāsvāda* (aesthetic joy or rapture) is only a drop of that bliss. (iv) and ordinary worldly pleasure or happiness (*laukika-sukha*) is mostly inferior to even that *rasāsvāda* (aesthetic joy or rapture) for it is mixed with plentiful pain.

A careful study of the above passages reveals the following facts:

(i) It is Bhaṭṭanāyaka who for the first time describes the enjoyment (*bhoga*) of *rasa* as *parabrahmāsvādasavidhaḥ* (similar to the bliss that results from realizing one's own identity with the highest Brahman). Referring to this statement Abhinava says: "We admit with him that the enjoyment of *rasa* (*rasāsvāda*) is similar to the bliss that results from one's own identity with the highest Brahman (*parabrahmāsvādasabrahmacāritvaṁ*).¹² From this statement of Abhinava we can assert that the credit of the unique comparison of *rasa-bhoga* or *rasāsvāda* with *parabrahmāsvāda* goes to Bhaṭṭanāyaka and that Abhinava simply follows him.

(ii) Again, it is Bhaṭṭanāyaka who is *the first* to declare that enjoyment of *rasa* (*bhoga*) or aesthetic rapture alone is the chief element (i. e. goal or end or purpose) of poetry and that *vyutpatti* (intellectual and moral instruction) is in fact (*nāma*) only subsidiary.¹³ Abhinava just follows his lead when he declares "Although (moral and intellectual) instruction and pleasure for the reader are both present (as Bhāmaha has said) nevertheless pleasure is the main thing—major goal or purpose—of poetry (and instruction is only subsidiary).

(iii) In spite of the above statement Abhinava makes elsewhere rather an enigmatic statement:

"*na caite prītivvyutpattī bhinnarupe eva, dvayor apy ekaviśayatvāt*". [Tr. Nor are pleasure or delight and intellectual and ethical instruction really different from each other, for they both (*prīti* and *vyutpattī*) have the same cause (*viśaya*).] The cause is, as Abhinava himself informs us, *vibhāvadyaucitya* (appropriate or harmonious union or combination or presentation of the *vibhāvas*, *anubhāvas* and *vyabhicāribhāvas*).¹⁴ Abhinava probably wants thereby to suggest that the process of aesthetic rapture or enjoyment and its result (*vyutpattī*, which poetry finally creates) together form a single whole and their separation is altogether unwarranted.

(iv) Bhāmaha did not think it necessary to explain the word *prīti* (pleasure,

happiness). It is Abhinava who for the first time explains it as *alaukika-camatkārārūpa*. *Alaukika* literally means 'what is not worldly', 'out-of-the ordinary'. In religious and mystical context it is translated as 'transcendent'. *Camatkāra* has been defined by Abhinava as "a seizure by joy, unbroken and continuous satisfaction".¹⁵ According to Gnoli, "Camatkāra may be defined as an immersion in an enjoyment which can never satiate and is thus uninterrupted".¹⁶ In view of this higher character, Hiriyanna remarks "it would be better to substitute for it a word like "joy" or "delight",¹⁷ (instead of the word "pleasure").

(v) Ordinary worldly happiness (*laukika-sukha*) is considered to be inferior to even that aesthetic joy or delight, because it is mixed with abundant suffering as well.¹⁸

(vi) Abhinava describes *rasāsvāda* at one place as *parabrahmāsvādasavidhaḥ* similar to the joy or delight or rapture that comes from realizing one's own identity with the highest Brahman and at another, strangely enough, as only the reflection (*avabhāsa*) of a drop (*vipruṣ*) of that joy or delight that comes from finding rest in God (*paramēśvara-viśrānti-ānandah*).¹⁹ This is a glaring example of inconsistency.

(vii) From the explanation of *pṛīti* (pleasure) as *alaukika-camatkārārūpa* given by Abhinava, it would seem, that he shies away from the word *pṛīti* as the goal of literature. He would rather prefer the religious word *ānanda* to *pṛīti*. Although we must admit that he occasionally uses the word *sukha* (happiness). Thus in his *A. Bh.* he says: "In this connection, all these *rasas* are dominated by pleasure (*sukha-pradhāna*) ... All the *rasas* thus consist in beatitude (*ānandarūpa*)." Abhinava first uses in this passage the word *sukha* but soon after, as if correcting himself, he uses the word *ānanda* (bliss, beatitude).²⁰

Most of the later writers on poetics follow Abhinava and describe the combination of *pṛīti* (*sadyahparanirvṛti* as Mammata says) and *vyutpatti* (intellectual and ethical instruction) (in the manner of a loving wife) are the purposes of poetry. Of these two purposes, pleasure or delight is the major purpose of poetry.

Notes and References

1. दुःखार्तानां श्रमार्तानां शोकार्तानां तपस्विनाम् ।
विश्रान्तिजननं काले नाट्यमेतद्भविष्यति ॥
धर्म्यं यशस्यमायुष्यं हितं बुद्धिविवर्धनम् ।
लोकोपदेशजननं नाट्यमेतद्भविष्यति ॥

2. धर्मार्थकाममोक्षेषु वैचक्षण्यं कलासु च ।
करोति कीर्तिं प्रीतिं च साधुकाव्यनिषेवणम् ॥
- Bhāmaha, *KāvyaĀlankāra*, I. 2.
3. ...तथापि तत्र प्रीतिरेव प्रधानम् । .. कोऽस्य काव्यरूपस्य व्युत्पत्तिहेतोर्जायासंमितत्वलक्षणो विशेष इति प्रधान्येनानन्द एवोक्तः । चतुर्वर्गं व्युत्पत्तेरपि चानन्द एव पार्यन्तिकं मुख्यं फलम् ।
- *Locana, Bālapriyā* edn, pp. 40-41.
4. भाविते च रसे तस्य भोगः... रजस्तमोवैचित्र्यानुविद्धसत्त्वमयनिजचित्त्वभावनिवृति - विश्रान्तिलक्षणः परब्रह्मास्वाद सविधः । स एव च प्रधान भूतोंऽशः सिद्धरूप इति । व्युत्पत्तिर्नामप्रधानमेव ।
- *Locana, Bālapriyā* edn, p. 183.
5. रस्यमानतोदितचमत्कारानरिक्तत्वाद्भोगस्येति । परब्रह्मास्वादसब्रह्मचारित्वं चास्त्वस्य रसास्वादस्य । व्युत्पादनंच... यथा रामस्तथाहमित्युपमानातिरिक्तां रसास्वादोपायस्वप्रतिभाविजृम्भ रूपां व्युत्पत्तिमन्ते करोतीति कमुपालभामहे ।
- *Locana, Bālapriyā* edn, p. 190.
6. See *Locana* I, pp. 40-41.
7. See *Locana* III. p. 398-399.
8. See *Locana* I. pp. 40-41 and *Locana* III. p. 336.
9. See. f. n. 6 above.
10. p. 32, f. n. 1.
11. DHV. III, pp 508-509.
12. See f. n. 5 above.
13. See f. n. 4 above.
14. *Locana* III p. 336, ॥2-10 (इह-प्रभुसम्मिन्तेभ्यः ... द्वयोरप्येकविषयत्वात् । and विभावांघौचित्यमेव हि सत्यतः प्रीतेर्निदानमित्यसकृदवोचाम । (pp. 336-337).
15. See A. Bh. Vol. I. p. 273.
16. *The Aesthetic Experience According to Abhinavagupta* by Gnoli, p. 59.
17. Art Experience, p. 32 f. n. 1.
18. लौकिकं तु सुखं ततोऽपि निकृष्टप्रायं बहुतरदुःखानुषन्नादिति तात्पर्यम् ।
- *Locana* III, p. 510 (*Bālapriyā* edn.).
19. ... यदपि वा लोकोत्तरं रसचर्वणात्मकं तत उभयतोऽपि परमेश्वरविश्रान्त्यानन्दः प्रकृष्यते तदानन्दविपुष्पात्रावभासो हि रसास्वाद इत्युक्तं प्रागस्माभिः ।
- *ibid*, p. 510.
20. तत्र सर्वेऽपि सुखप्रधानाः स्वसंविच्चर्वणरूपस्यैकधनस्य प्रकाशस्यानन्दसारत्वात् । ... इत्यानन्दरूपता सर्वरसानाम् ।
- A. Bh. I. p. 276.

Bibliography

1. *Aesthetic Rapture*, Vol. I. Text } by J. L. Masson, M. V. Patwardhan,
2. *Aesthetic Rapture*, Vol. II: Notes } Pub. Deccan College, Poona, 1970.
3. *Art Experience*, by M. Hiriyanna, Kavyalaya Publishers, Mysore, 1978.

4. *Kāvyaśāstrakāra of Bhāmaha*, Kashi Sanskrit Series, No 61, Benares, 1928.
5. *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharatamuni with the commentary *Abhinavabhāratī*, Vol. I. ed. K. Krishnamoorthy, Oriental Institute, Vadodara, 1992.
6. *Śāntarasa and Abhinavagupta's Philosophy of Aesthetics* by J. L. Masson, M. V. Patwardhan, Bhandarkar O. R. Institute, Poona, 1969.
7. *The Aesthetic Experience according to Abhinavagupta*, R. Gnoli, Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Vol. LXII, Varanasi, 1968.
8. *The Daśarūpaka of Dhanañjaya*, with the commentary *Avaloka* of Dhanika, Nirṇaya Sagar, Bombay, 1941.
9. *The Dhvanyāloka of Ānandavardhana*, edited with the *Locana* of Abhinavagupta and the *Bālapriyā* of Rāmaṣāraka, ed. Pattabhirāma Sastri, Haridas Sanskrit Series, No. 135, Benares, 1940.

THE MAKING OF A POET

W. K. LELE

Today I have decided to speak on 'Making of a poet' as discussed by our ancient writers on *Alamkāraśāstra*.^{*} They have, as all of us know, written about this subject under the head काव्यहेतु. I propose to consider this subject under the following subheads:

(1) नानातंत्रज्ञान, (2) लोक, (3) अन्यकाव्यपरिचय, (4) गुरुशुश्रूषा and (5) अभियोग.

Let us take up these subtopics one by one.

1. नानातंत्रज्ञान

First we deal with the concept नानातंत्रज्ञान. Keśavamiśra in his *Alamkāraśekhara* has used this term as synonymous with व्युत्पत्ति.¹ Almost all ancient Indian poeticians have advised the prospective poets to gain a knowledge of various sciences.

1.1 For example, Bhāmaha first asks them to try to know all the knowable subjects² and then adds : शब्दश्छन्दोभिधानार्था इतिहासाश्रयाः कथाः । लोको युक्तिः कलाश्चेति मन्तव्या काव्यगैर्हामी ॥१॥ शब्दाभिधेये विज्ञान...³

1.2 Dandī calls it श्रुतं च बहु निर्मलम्⁴ which his commentator Ratnaśrijñāna explains in these words: काव्याङ्गविद्याश्रवणं श्रुतमयं व्याकरणक्रिया-कल्पछन्दोविचिति-आदि-अनेक विद्याविषयत्वात्, अनेकशः प्रवृत्तत्वाच्च बहु पर्याप्तं निर्मलं परिशुद्धम्, आम्नायविशुद्धया सन्देहविपर्यास-विरहात् ।⁵

1.3 Vāmana prefers to use the word विद्या as a synonym for तंत्र or शास्त्र and explains it thus: शब्दस्मृति-अभिधानकोश-च्छन्दोविचिति-कलाकामशास्त्र-दण्डनीतिपूर्वा विद्याः ।⁶

1.4 Rājaśekhara devotes one full chapter called शास्त्रनिर्देशः of his *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* to the discussion of this topic and includes अपौरुषेय, पौरुषेय, वैदिक and अवैदिक शास्त्र together with 64 कलाs or उपविद्याs in the term शास्त्र.⁷ During the course of the discussion of this topic he observes that nobody will be able to master completely all the sciences even if he or she lived a thousand plus years.⁸

* Keynote address delivered on 3.3.2001 at a seminar on Poetics at the Asiatic Society of Bombay, Mumbai.

1.5 According to Kṣemendra an obstinate bad poet keeps on composing most unintelligible poems as long as he does not diligently study various शास्त्रs⁹, but once he studies the following शास्त्रs carefully and then composes poetry, the learned hail him as the emperor among poets: 'तत्र तर्क-व्याकरण-भरत-चाणक्य-वात्स्यायन-भारत-रामायण-मोक्षोपाय-आत्मज्ञान-धातुवाद-रत्नपरीक्षा-वैद्यक-ज्यौतिष-धनुर्वेद-गजतुरगपुरुषलक्षण-द्यूत-इन्द्रजाल-प्रकीर्णेषु परिचयः कविसाम्राज्य-व्यंजनः'¹⁰

1.6 Mammata while clarifying the meaning of the term व्युत्पत्ति in his famous कारिका 'शक्तिर्निपुणता लोकशास्त्रकाव्यादि-अवेक्षणात्' etc. names almost the same शास्त्रs as Kṣemendra does.¹¹

1.7 Vāgbhaṭa, the author of *Vāgbhaṭālaṅkāra* defines व्युत्पत्ति in the following कारिका :

शब्द-धर्मार्थकामादिशास्त्रेषु आमनायपूर्विका ।
प्रतिपत्तिर् असामान्या व्युत्पत्तिरभिधीयते ॥¹²

Vāgbhaṭa has emphasized two points in this respect: the knowledge of various शास्त्रs should be acquired in accord with the tradition and it ought to be sound, so that it could be used without hesitation or doubt.

1.8 The शास्त्रs listed above include empirical, theoretical, positive, normative, physical, natural as well as social sciences besides fine arts. On noting this fact many questions as the following ones cross a curious reader's mind: What, after all, is the purpose of this advice ? Why have the literary theorists insisted on the poet's gaining knowledge of so many sciences ? Do they not consider that the scientific knowledge runs counter to the creative activity ? How far does this knowledge help the literary artist in his writings ? Have the काव्यालंकारशास्त्रकारs ever raised these questions and if so, whether they have furnished any answers to them ?

Let us now consider these questions:

1.9 Bhāmaha is the first theorist to give a general answer in the following verse which goes to tell assertively that there is no word, no meaning, no way of systematic thinking or no art that is not useful to poetry. The poet's responsibility is indeed very great !

न स शब्दो न तद् वाच्यं न स न्यायो न सा कला ।
जायते यत्र काव्यांगं अहो भारो महान् कवेः ॥¹³

He says elsewhere that a poetic composition based on sound scientific knowledge gives delight to several generations of appreciators,¹⁴ but the one unbacked by scientific knowledge is condemned by the lovers of good literature. Moreover, such condemnation of a poet is as painful to him as death !¹⁵

1.10 Vāmana happens to be the first poetician to establish a relation between sciences and poetry. While discussing the विद्या काव्यांग (the term used by Bhāmaha in the कारिका quoted above) he says: शब्दस्मृत्यादीनां तत्पूर्वकत्वं पूर्वकाव्यबन्धेषु अपेक्षणीयत्वात् ।¹⁶

1.11 Rājaśekhara reiterates this conviction along with a दृष्टान्त as under: शास्त्रपूर्वकत्वात् काव्यानां पूर्वशास्त्रेषु अभिनिविशेत । न हि अप्रवर्तितप्रदीपास् तमसि तत्त्वार्थसार्थं अध्यक्षयन्ति ।¹⁷

He means to say that the scientific knowledge is a precondition for poetic compositions. So a prospective poet should first acquire scientific knowledge and then attempt poetic compositions. Scientific knowledge is like a lamp which enables you to see in darkness. Elsewhere he observes that since imaginative literature is written in prose or composed in verse, since it is the characteristic attribute of the poets and since it is advisory in nature, it follows the instructions of sciences.¹⁸

Rājaśekhara has also to offer some additional comments on this point. According to him, the scientific knowledge throws light from all possible angles on the real nature of the describable subject¹⁹; it clarifies the ways of the world;²⁰ and it adds to the human knowledge by revealing the concealed meaning²¹. In addition to different sciences, there are 64 कलाः or उपविद्याः which are considered to be the very livelihood of the art of poetry.²²

1.12 Ksemendra agrees with Rājaśekhara in respect of these matters and adds that a poet versed in scientific knowledge acquires the ability to describe various objects perfectly and beautifully and this ability raises his status in the assembly of the learned people.²³

This is as far as sciences in general are concerned. Now as to the individual sciences.

1.13 First is व्याकरण, the science of grammar, that is to say, the science which lays down 'the rules in a language for changing the form of words and combining them into sentences.'²⁴ In this connection Bhāmaha adds that all sciences make free use of grammar; that the one who aspires to be a good poet must himself necessarily acquire adequate knowledge of grammar; that he who depends on the knowledge of others in this respect is unable to satisfy the fastidious appreciators of poetry; that the student-poet should learn from the study of grammar how to avoid the use of words such as are not easily understandable, as are ambiguous, jarring to the ear, dry-as-dust, uncultivated, meaningless, Vedic, flat, commonplace and unattractive: that he should, at the same time, learn from the study of grammar to make use of such words as are accepted by the tradition, as are pleasing to hear, rich in meaning, fitting most harmoniously into the phonetic structure of the

sentence or verse, deviated and hence arresting. In short, a would-be poet should learn from grammar the distinction between the प्रयोज्य (i.e. usable) words and the अप्रयोज्य (i.e. unusable) words, because the beauty of words and expressions in poetry far excels all other forms of beauty.²⁵

1.14 Vāmana observes in this connection that the knowledge of grammar enables the poet to distinguish the grammatically acceptable words from the rejectable ones.²⁶

Similarly, the knowledge of prosody removes the learner-poet's doubts about the मात्राs, यतिs, and other technical niceties of different metres;²⁷ the study of dictionary helps him to determine the correct meanings of the words in specific contexts;²⁸ the knowledge of the theory of fine arts as music, dance, painting and so on enables him to describe the art-objects without error or perversion;²⁹ the study of the science of polity acquaints him with the characteristics, activities, motives etc. of the नायक and the प्रतिनायक³⁰ and the knowledge of other विद्याs also richly contributes to his literary compositions.³¹

In fine, such all-round, profound and tradition-based scientific knowledge enhances the thinking faculty of the poet, it makes him discriminating, it brings restraint on his speech and it changes him into a developed literary artist. The writings of such a poet show signs of maturity and flawless beauty. Such beautiful poetry gives immense pleasure to its appreciators. Thus the varied scientific knowledge proves beneficial to the poet and his poetry beneficial to the society (हिताय सुकविः कुर्यात् |³² in Keśavamiśra's words.)

1.15 Before closing this section a small point needs to be discussed. In Bhāmaha's verse न स शब्दो च तद्वाच्यं etc. quoted above, he has referred to the poet's responsibility which is to be understood as the poet's responsibility as a literary artist, that is, as a responsible constituent of a cultured society. As we know, almost all the writers on अलंकारशास्त्र have defined, explained and illustrated several पददोषs, पदार्थदोषs, वाक्यदोषs, वाक्यार्थदोषs and रसदोषs. Some of the दोषs have a direct bearing on the subject under consideration as will be evident from the following discussion.

Bhāmaha, Daṇḍī, Vāmana, Vāgbhaṭa and others strongly feel that a good poet should treat his readers with great care and caution and should never offend them or emotionally upset them or hurt their sensitivity by using अनर्थक, अन्यार्थ, अपक्रम, अपार्थ, अप्रतीत, अप्रसिद्ध, अलक्षण, अवद्य, कर्णकटु, क्लिष्ट, गूढ, खंडित, रुचिच्युत or व्यस्तसंबद्ध words and/or expressions.³³

Secondly, the literary artist should never tire his readers out intellectually.³⁴ If this at all takes place the readers will prefer to keep themselves away from this pleasurable cultural activity.

Thirdly, the poet should scrupulously use decent diction so as to care

for his readers' literary taste.³⁵

Fourthly, the poet's composition should never give the readers shocks through self-contradictory descriptions.³⁶

Fifthly, a poet should avoid descriptions which are contrary to the accepted conventions and customs of the society (together with the scientifically determined states or conditions of the movable and immovable world).³⁷

Lastly, a poet should desist from using words whose meanings are confined only to the poet himself (स्वाभिप्रायकल्पित).³⁸ If a poet happens to use such words, his readers will never know what he desires to convey. Consequently, they will be deprived of the काव्यानंद.

In short, the poeticsians expect that the poets use their pens with care and caution in order to protect and promote the cultural welfare of the readers.

We now turn to the next subtopic, viz; लोक.

2. लोक

This is a very comprehensive concept according to the ancient poeticsians. The term लोक includes both the animate and the inanimate worlds as will be evident from the few definitions quoted below:

2.1 Bhāmaha's definition : स्थास्नुजङ्गमभेदेन लोकं तत्त्वविदो विदुः ।³⁹

2.2 Daṇḍī expresses the same idea in these words:

चराचराणां भूतानां प्रवृत्तिर्लोकसंज्ञिता which Ratnaśrījñāna explains thus: चराचराणां स्थावरजङ्गमानां भूतानां प्रवृत्तिः यथास्थिति लोक इति संज्ञिता समाख्या(ता) लोकसंज्ञिता लोके विज्ञायते ।⁴⁰

2.3 Vāmana's definition: लोकवृत्तं लोकः ॥२॥ लोकः स्थावरजङ्गमात्मा तस्य वर्तनं वृत्तं इति ।⁴¹

2.4 In Rājasekhara's opinion लोक is one of the twelve काव्यार्थयोनिः⁴² and the लौकिक काव्यार्थ has two main divisions, viz प्राकृत and व्युत्पन्न. Again the व्युत्पन्न is two-fold, viz, समस्तजनजन्य and कतिपयजनजन्य and the first of these two (i.e. समस्तजनजन्य) is manifold because of the fact that the countries are numerous (तयोः प्रथमोऽनेकधा देशानां बहुत्वात् ।).⁴³

2.5 Mammata⁴⁴, Hemaçandra⁴⁵ and others hold the same view about लोक as their above-named predecessors do.

2.6 Let us try to elaborate the above concept. स्वर्ग, पृथ्वी and पाताल are the three well known लोकs. पृथ्वी, also called भूलोक, is the abode of human beings, animals, birds and creatures living in the water, on the earth and

in the sky. In Bhāmaha's opinion काव्य depends or rests on the लोक (तत्र लोकाश्रयं काव्यम्).⁴⁶

As a result, the activities, tendencies, characteristics, peculiarities, manners, conditions, lifestyles, life cycles—all these things are reflected in the काव्य. Naturally, it describes in an arresting manner small and big, poor and rich, good and bad, lucky and unlucky men and women following different professions, having varied dispositions, talking various languages and belonging to dissimilar age groups and castes. The काव्य also describes non-humans, birds, animals, creatures etc, besides plants, flowers, rivers, mountains and so on. Thus the term लोक embraces this unlimited variety of things. Dhanañjaya rightly observes in his *Daśarūpakam*-

रम्यं जुगुप्सितं उदारं अथापि नीचं
 उग्रं प्रसादि गहनं विकृतं च वस्तु ।
 यद्वा अपि अवस्तु कविभावकभाव्यमानं
 तत्रास्ति यत्र रसभावं उपैति लोके ॥⁴⁷

In view of this, the poet's responsibility, as stated earlier, is really very great!

To enable the poet to discharge his responsibility efficiently, effectively and elegantly, the poeticians have come forward with some pieces of advice to the poets.

Let us try to understand them.

2.7 Rājaśekhara advises them to mix freely with the masses in order to get acquainted with their modes of life and expressions. The mode of life, according to Rājaśekhara is generally recognized as of two varieties; the cultured and the uncultured. Rājaśekhara explains in two verses how the cultured men and women behave and how they express themselves. In two more stanzas he gives us a true to life 'description of the way of life of the uncultured men and women.' Rājaśekhara further divides the people into two groups, viz. समस्तजनजन्य and कतिपयजनजन्य with a view to explaining to the poets how the people in general react and how a limited circle of people reacts and behaves. Rājaśekhara has also furnished the geographical peculiarities of Nepal.⁴⁸

2.8 Kṣemendra, the author of the *Kavikanthābharana*, is more enthusiastic in this respect. Interestingly he gives a hundred pieces of advice (शिक्षाणां शतं इति उक्तं)⁴⁹ a few of which could be rendered here: Kṣemendra recommends to the poets that they should gain a thorough knowledge of how the people behave (लोकाचारपरिज्ञानम्⁵⁰). He advises the poets to make friends with good people, to witness dramatic performances, to cultivate good literary taste by listening to कथाs and आख्यायिकाs, to watch beautiful paintings,

to observe the skill of the artists or craftsmen, to watch warrior-fights, to observe minutely the birds' nests and men's houses, to recapitulate one's own experiences, to read carefully letters and old documents, to observe closely the dispositions of birds and animals, to watch the changing conditions of the seas, rivers, hills etc., to gain knowledge about the heavenly luminaries like the sun, the moon, the stars and so on, to acquire knowledge of all the seasons, to participate in the assemblies of the learned, to learn provincial dialects, to make a collection of rare and beautiful articles etc. etc.⁵¹

2.9 Ruyyaka in his *Sahityamimamsa* gives a description of ladies of several countries and their complexions, of various festivals and sports related to different countries and different seasons.⁵²

2.10 Similarly Vāgbhaṭa gives long lists of countries with the rivers, plants and products peculiar to them in the commentary called *Alamkārtilaka* on his own *Kāvyaṅuśāsana*.⁵³

2.11 The poeticians have realized the fact that the animal kingdom has very intimate relationship with the human world. The beasts, birds and other creatures have an inevitable place in human life. Some animals play a very important role in man's affairs. Flora and fauna, streams and rivers, and hills and mountains are very useful for man's existence as also for his emotional needs. In other words, Nature makes his life endurable, complete and happy. Considering this vital position of animate and inanimate things in the creative writing, the theorists have advised the poets to gain flawless or correct knowledge of all the aspects of the लोक and then to describe the latter unerringly. A creative writer who succeeds in this exercise displays a lively interaction between his characters and the लोक.

Here we come to the end of the consideration of लोक.

The काव्यहेतु has two main features: theoretical and practical. The former has two sides, viz; the knowledge of different sciences (i.e. नानातंत्रज्ञान) and the knowledge of the स्थावर and जंगम worlds (i.e. लोक). We have discussed these two so far. Now let us turn to the practical side of the काव्यहेतु. This again is divided into three parts, viz; अन्यकाव्यपरिचय, गुरुशुश्रूषा and अभियोग. Let us, therefore, take up the first one for consideration.

3. अन्यकाव्यपरिचय

3.1 In this respect Bhāmaha advises the budding poet first to read carefully the compositions of other poets and then to try his hand at an independent composition of his own:

विलोक्य अन्यनिबन्धांश्च कार्यः काव्यक्रियादरः।⁵⁴

3.2 Vāmana uses the term लक्ष्यज्ञत्व for अन्यकाव्यपरिचय, considers it under the प्रकीर्ण काव्याङ्ग and explains it as under: अन्येषां काव्येषु परिचयो लक्ष्यज्ञत्वम् । ततो हि काव्यबन्धस्य व्युत्पत्तिर्भवति ।⁵⁵ लक्ष्यज्ञत्वम् means the state of knowing the literary works. This knowledge is gained by an apprentice poet by reading attentively and squarely the compositions of other poets. Sincere efforts put in by an apprentice poet in this respect enable him to gain a thorough knowledge of the subject-matter of the composition, the manner and mode of its presentation, the strong and weak points of the form of literature chosen for the purpose, its all-round technique with its minute characteristics, the method of description and characterization, the mode of expressing ideas and emotions and the way of using language with a view to producing the intended result. The mature poet's लक्ष्यकाव्य stirs the young poet's imagination, suggests to him new and suitable subjects for compositions and kindles an aspiration within him to excel his idol.

3.3 Kṣemendra gives more concrete advice to the budding poet. He says:

पठेत्समस्तान् किल कालिदासकृतप्रबन्धान् इतिहासदर्शी ।
काव्याधिवासप्रथमोद्गमस्य रक्षेत् पुरस् तार्किकगन्धं उग्रम् ॥

...

महाकवेः काव्यनवक्रियायै तदेकचित्तः परिचारकः स्यात् ।⁵⁶

Kṣemendra wants the budding poet to be a student of history, to read Kālidāsa's one and all poems, to avoid the company of a logician, to protect the 'first bud' of poetry and to read a great poet's compositions with utmost concentration.

What Kṣemendra probably wants to suggest is that if a budding poet follows the above instructions he would be thoroughly acquainted with both the craft and art of literary composition.

We now pass on to the second point viz., गुरुशुश्रूषा.

4. गुरुशुश्रूषा

This is a very influential objective source of gaining practical knowledge of the poetic art. गुरुशुश्रूषा means the worship of knowledge, the worship of accumulated experience and the worship of thoughts and ideas handed down by tradition. All ancient poeticians were disciples of their गुरुs and later became themselves गुरुs of their own disciples. Some of the गुरुs had their own private पाठशालाs while many others were university teachers. We have a long and illustrious line of गुरु-शिष्यs in Mukulabhaṭṭa and Pratihārendurāja, Bhaṭṭendurāja and Abhinavagupta, Bhaṭṭatauta and Abhinavagupta, Lakṣmanagupta and Abhinavagupta, Sahṛdaya and Ānanda, Śīlabhadra and Namisādhu, Rājasekhara and Mahīpāla, Abhinavagupta and Kṣemendra, Kṣemendra and Udayasīmha, Kṣemendra and Lakṣmanāditya and so on.

According to a Kashmirian tradition Abhinavagupta had 1200 disciples.⁵⁷ Some students used to go thousands of miles away from their hometown to acquire indepth knowledge of the subject they were interested in from a renowned गुरु. For instance, Pratiharendurāja, originally a resident of कौकण, went all the way to Kashmir to learn अलंकारशास्त्र.⁵⁸ Rājaśekhara had migrated from महाराष्ट्र to कनोज.⁵⁹ Dandī's commentator Ratnaśrījñāna left श्रीलंका, settled in मगध and wrote his commentary *Ratnaśrī* there.⁶⁰ The शिष्य used to sit at his गुरु's feet and take lessons from him. For example, Bhaṭṭendurāja had himself explained the *Dhvanyāloka*, to Abhinavagupta⁶¹. Similarly Bhaṭṭatauta, had taught the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata to Abhinavagupta⁶².

In view of this educational cum-cultural tradition, the poeticians have advised the prospective poets to learn the poetic art directly from the काव्यगुरु. Let us now turn to their actual advice.

4.1 Bhāmaha says:

शब्दाभिधेये विज्ञाय कृत्वा तद्विदुपासनाम् ।
विलोक्यान्यनिबन्धांश्च कार्यः काव्यक्रियादरः ।⁶³

Here Bhāmaha advises the apprentice poet to study grammar and semantics, to take practical instructions from a knowledgeable गुरु, to read carefully the compositions of other poets and then to try to compose independently. Bhāmaha means to say that a शिष्य receives valuable training of the poetic art every moment in the company of a competent गुरु.

4.2. Vāmana is more specific on this point as is evident from the following excerpt:

काव्योपदेशे गुरुशुश्रूषणं वृद्धसेवा ॥१४॥
काव्योपदेशे गुरवः उपदेशारः तेषां शुश्रूषणं वृद्धसेवा । ततः काव्यविद्यायाः संक्रांतिर्भवति ।⁶⁴

Vāmana uses the word वृद्धसेवा for गुरुशुश्रूषा. According to him the science of poetic art is passed from गुरु to his शिष्य. This transfer of knowledge becomes easier because of the शिष्य's constant attendance at the गुरु's teachings.

4.3. Kṣemendra is all the more categorical in his advice which runs as under:

कुर्वीत साहित्यविदः सकाशे श्रुतार्जनं काव्यसमुद्भववाय ।
न तार्किकं केवलशाब्दिकं वा कुर्याद् गुरुं सूक्तिविकासविघ्नम् ॥⁶⁵

Kṣemendra tells the would-be poet that he should sit beside a गुरु who knows poetics (very well) and get instructions from him to be able to compose poems. However, he should not choose a logician or a grammarian as his गुरु because both of these are detrimental to literary activities.

4.4 Here गुरु is not one who is merely a साहित्यशास्त्रज्ञ but he is himself a good कवि too. He is fully aware of the difficulties and intricacies in the way of poetic composition. His guidance is, therefore, precise and practically useful. In his grey hair resides the knowledge of the poetic tradition, the knowledge of गुणस, दोषस, रीतिस, कविसमयस etc. together with the knowledge of the ways and means of handling the subject matter, metres and language. He first of all makes an assessment of the potentialities of his शिष्य and then uses suitable devices or methods to develop those potentialities in accordance with the शिष्य's intellectual ability, creative aptitude, sense of propriety and literary taste (यथामति यथाशक्ति यथा औचित्यं यथारुचि).⁶⁶

Since the art of poetry, like human language changes, grows and develops from generation to generation, the गुरु shows the prospective कवि the past of the poetic science, acquaints him with its present and directs him to its future. The कवि-शिष्य gains knowledge from the कवि-गुरु with प्रणिपात, परिप्रश्न and सेवा and thus tries to reach the very heart of the art of poetry. This is how the power of poetic composition is transmitted from गुरु to the शिष्य. (And also this is how experience-based educational culture is kept alive.)

We now pass on the last topic, viz., अभियोग.

5. अभियोग

Poeticians have used two terms, अभियोग and अभ्यास in this respect. अभियोग means close application to learn something or continued steady effort to achieve something. अभ्यास means repeated or continued practice.

Let us first enlist the poeticians' views about this concept.

5.1 Bhāmaha uses the term काव्यक्रिया (कार्यः काव्यक्रियादरः⁶⁷) which means a literary composition.

5.2. In his oft-quoted famous कारिका 'नैसर्गिकी च प्रतिभा...' etc. Daṇḍī uses the word अभियोग with अमन्द as its qualifier and Ratnaśrījñāna explains these two terms thus : अमन्दश्च अभियोग इति । श्रुतस्य चिन्तनं ऊहापोहमुखेन यथाम्नायं अविपरीतार्थनिश्चयनम् । निश्चितस्य च भावनं अभ्यासः आवृत्तिः स्थिरीकरणं इति द्विविधोऽभियोगः अभ्यासः । स च अमन्दः पर्याप्तः यावद् भावितत्वात् ।⁶⁸ In terms of this explanation अभ्यास has two stages. The first stage means contemplation of the knowledge gained with full discussions in accordance with a view to determining the correct or true meaning. The next stage is called भावन which means stabilizing the 'determined meaning' through continued steady effort (आवृत्तिः). Establishing the correct knowledge in the mind with repeated efforts equip the apprentice poet with the power of poetic composition (श्रुतेन यत्नेन च वागुपासिता / ध्रुवं करोत्येव कमप्यनुग्रहम्).⁶⁹

5.3 Vāmana expresses the concept of अभियोग in the following words

: काव्यबन्ध-उद्यमोऽभियोगः ॥१३॥

बन्धनं बन्धः काव्यस्य बन्धो रचना काव्यबन्धः । तत्र उद्यमोऽभियोगः । स हि कवित्वप्रकर्ष आदधाति ।⁷⁰

According to Vāmana, अभियोग means efforts put in to compose poetic pieces. Such efforts enable the aspirant to compose excellent poetry. Vāmana desires to suggest that sincere efforts do not go to waste; they do produce the desired result sooner or later. He has written one full अधिकरण and named it प्रायोगिक, in which he has given so many instructions about the काव्यसमय and the शब्दशुद्धि⁷¹ a few of which may be rendered here : a poet should not repeat the use of the same word except those as हि, च etc.; he should not normally use a full-fledged metre in prose; similarly, he should avoid using खलु, इव, किल and such other words at the beginning of a stanza; he should not use a बहुव्रीहि compound to convey the meaning of a कर्मधारय compound and vice versa; likewise he should not stuff a sentence with a number of लाक्षणिक words; he should use only a विशेषण when the meaning of the विशेष्य stands already conveyed; he should not frequently resort to संबंधसंबन्धे षष्ठी; he should use देशी words sparingly; he should desist from using देशी and लाक्षणिक words which are not freely and frequently used; ordinarily, he should not break the rules of grammar but he may take liberties with such words as have been used in secondary senses by ancient poets; similarly, words which mean 'hand', 'eye', 'breast', etc. are always to be used in dual number. These are some of the important practical suggestions made by Vāmana to the prospective poet.

5.4 Kṣemendra also likes to give some useful directions to a budding poet. He calls them शिक्षाणां शतम्, a century of pieces of advice, a few of which have been referred to in 3.3 above and a few others are being considered here. Kṣemendra advises : he who has gained profound knowledge of grammar and prosody should listen to sweet and beautiful poems with untiring efforts; he should attentively listen to the folk-songs, composed and sung in the प्राकृत languages; he should show interest in the discussions organized to find new meanings in charming verses; he should aspire to make समस्यापूर्ति; by way of practice he should try to compose a verse in a standard metre with words which may or may not convey any meaning; he may also change the words of a known stanza without changing its meaning and recompose it. Kṣemendra has actually shown how Kālidāsa's famous मंगलाचरण of *Raghuvamśam* could be recomposed as under:

वाण्यर्थो इव संयुक्तौ वाण्यर्थप्रतिपत्तये ।
जगतो जनकौ वन्दे शर्वाणीशशिखरौ ॥⁷²

5.5 Vāgbhāṭa has defined अभ्यास in the verse quoted below:

अनारतं गुरूपान्ते यः काव्ये रचनादरः ।
तं अभ्यासं विदुस् तस्य क्रमः कोऽपि उपदिश्यते ॥⁷³

According to him अभियोगिता is one of the five causes which together throw light on the meaning.⁷⁴ He has given a number of directions to the budding poet which could be briefly summarized as under:

An apprentice poet should compose metrically beautiful verses, without caring much for the meanings of the words used; he should thus gain proficiency in prosody; if he finds that new and pleasant ideas do not strike him because of his inexperience, he should hold discussions with the seniors; he should try to complete the meaning in the first half of the stanza and use figures of speech in the latter half; he should attempt to express one and the same thought, idea or emotion briefly and elaborately using various figures of speech; he should not make use of च and such other indeclinables at the beginning of a stanza; he may, however, feel free to begin a stanza with the words as रे, धिक्, हा, किं, न, आ: etc.; he should study the कविसमयस and make their proper use; he should get to know the words approved by earlier poets and use them correctly.⁷⁵

5.6 Lastly we take into account what Hemacandra has to say on this point. He explains अभ्यास in the following words:

अभ्यासं व्याचष्टे -
काव्यविच् छिक्षया पुनः पुनः प्रवृत्तिर् अभ्यासः।
काव्यं कर्तुं जानन्ति विचारयन्ति वा ये ते काव्यविदः कविसहृदयाः ।...
तेषां शिक्षया वक्ष्यमाणलक्षणया काव्य एव पौनःपुन्येन प्रवृत्तिर् अभ्यासः ।
अभ्याससंस्कृता हि प्रतिभा काव्यामृतकामधेनुर् भवति । यदाहुः - 'अभ्यासो हि कर्मसु कौशलं आवहति' ।⁷⁶

which mean - अभ्यास means repeated exercise done in order to improve one's skill at the instructions imparted by the experts at poetic compositions. Those who know how to compose poetry or those who can reflect on the poetic art are known as काव्यविदः or कविसहृदयाः. They give certain directions the repeated exercise of which is called अभ्यास. The genius refined by अभ्यास produces poetry as sweet as अमृत. It is said that practice produces skill in actions.

Although Hemacandra has realized the place and importance of अभ्यास in the process of creative writing, he does not discuss it in the manner in which Ratnaśrījñāna, Ksemendra and Vāgbhāta do. Under शिक्षा he considers the popular three-fold कविसमयस, viz; सतोऽपि अनिबन्धः, असतोऽपि निबन्धः and नियमः. To these he adds the छायादि-उपजीवनम् which he has borrowed from Rājaśekhara.⁷⁷ One, therefore, feels that Hemacandra has not been able to do justice to this topic. However, we can formulate a fairly good idea about

the concept of अभियोग or अभ्यास on the basis of the detailed discussion of this point made by Ratnaśrījñāna, Ksemendra and Vāgbhata.

To sum up it can be said that the अभियोग impresses upon the apprentice poet's mind the importance of perseverance and patience. It tells him that the साधना is to be continued uninterruptedly and steadfastly. It makes him realize that no success is achieved overnight; a banyan tree does not grow in a couple of days. The अभ्यास enjoins him to strive hard, to exert day and night and to shed his blood, as it were, to reap the harvest of excellent poetry.

5.7 Ready aids to compositions.

Before concluding, two more points deserve to be noted. The first is the lists of some literary items drawn up by the poetics, meant to be of use to the beginners and the seasoned poets alike. Daṇḍī for instance, has listed as many as 66 words and expressions suggestive of सादृश्य (शब्दाः सादृश्यसूचिनः) and they are, according to him, agreeable to the poets (कवीनां बुद्धिसौख्यदाः⁷⁸). A poet could use any one of these synonyms ready to hand to suit the context, the subject matter, metre or the associative field of words. Deveśvara has written a work called *Kavikalpalatā* to enable the intelligent people to compose verses quickly.⁷⁹ This work is divided into, four स्तवकs, viz: शब्द, शेष, कथा and अर्थ which in their turn are sub-divided into 22 कुसुमs in all. Since this work is meant to be a handy handbook for poets Deveśvara gives a series of items in the above स्तवकs and कुसुमs. He begins the topic of अनुप्रास with these words: 'अथो कथादिके राजवर्णनादि-उपयोगिनः । अनुप्रासस्य सिद्धर्थं शब्दान् कतिपयान् ब्रूवे ॥⁸⁰ and thereafter, actually gives कतिपय शब्द for the सिद्धी of the अनुप्रास. Similarly, he provides a list of words useful for the रूपक⁸¹, and also explains the method of समस्यापूर्ति giving a number of examples.⁸²

Keśavamiśra, the author of *Alaṅkāraśekhara* (who is acquainted with Deveśvara's *Kavikalpalatā*⁸³) emulates Deveśvara and lists a number of उपमानs to be used for describing the various limbs of men and women and furnishes the details useful for describing other related items, giving examples.⁸⁴ Such illustrative inventories must have proved very much helpful especially to the poets having average creative ability.

5.8 Process of creative writing.

This is the last point to be considered with respect to the five-fold काव्यहेतु. The first ancient poetician to discuss this problem is Bhāmaha. He has ended the first परिच्छेद of his *Kāvyaśāstra* with the following verse:

एतद्ग्राह्यं सुरभि कुसुमं ग्राम्यं एतन् निधेयम्
धत्ते शोभां विरचितं इदं स्थानं अस्यैतद् अस्य ।

मालाकारो रचयति यथा साधु विज्ञाय मालां
योज्यं काव्येषु अवहितधिया तद्वद् एवाभिधानम् ॥⁸⁵

Which means: Just as a garland-maker makes the garland after knowing pretty well that this fragrant flower is acceptable (i.e. worth interweaving), this another one being wild is discardable; this, on being strung, would look attractive; this is the appropriate place of this another one or this is the right place of this flower, (and this is the right place of that another flower) so also the poet should first attentively examine the words from different angles and then use them in his poems. Bhāmaha wants to suggest here that the initial tentative choice and the final firm use of words in a literary composition are subject to rigorous examination. The poet takes into account the sounds, meanings, forms, kinds and associations of the words that initially come to his mind and rejects those that are not suitable, uses the most appropriate ones in their places and thus makes his final selection. The words so selected come to stay. This process of trying, removing and using the words continues till the poet feels sure that the words he has finally chosen do convey his intended meaning.

Vāmana is the next poetician who has considered this phenomenon. His oft-quoted stanzas in this respect read as under:

आधानोद्धरणे तावद् यावद् दोलायते मनः ।
पदस्य स्थापिते स्थैर्ये हन्त सिद्धा सरस्वती ॥
यत् पदानि त्यजन्ति एव परिवृत्तिसहिष्णुताम् ।
तं शब्दन्यासनिष्णाताः शब्दपाकं प्रचक्षते ॥⁸⁶

Vāmana says: As long as the poet's mind is in an oscillating condition (that is, it cannot firmly decide whether a certain word is or is not appropriate), the act of using and removing the words continues. But once the exactly right word or phrasing is selected and used, the poet delightedly feels that the goddess Sarasvatī is pleased with him, as it were. During this process of trying and erasing the words, a moment comes when as if the words themselves start saying : Enough is enough. We will no more tolerate any change. The poets who are skilled at organizing the words call that state the perfection or maturity of words.

It is clear that Vāmana has added the concept of शब्दपाक to Bhāmaha's आधानोद्धरण notion. Rājasekhara who is familiar with both Bhāmaha and Vāmana goes a step ahead and gives the form of a चतुःसूत्री to Bhāmaha-Vāmana's पदाधानोद्धरण process, in the following words :

अधिकस्य त्यागो, न्यूनस्य पूरणम्, अन्यथास्थितस्य परिवर्तनम्,
प्रसृतस्य अनुसन्धानं च इति अहीनम् ।⁸⁷

which mean : the additional (i.e. excessive and therefore unwanted) word

should be dropped, the wanted one (that is, the one necessary to complete the sense) should be used, the one used in a wrong place (or in a wrong order) should be removed from there and used in its proper place and the one left out through inadvertence should be recollected and put. In this way the composition should be made flawless.

It should be noted here that Brooks, Warren, Turner, Marjorie Boulton, Bowden, Read, Vallins, Nowotny Freeman, Warner, Ullmann, Enkvist and other western literary theorists and stylisticians have no doubt considered the आधानोद्धारण process and the details related to it, but none of them has been able to state it in the briefest four-fold सूत्र form as Rājāśekhara has been able to do.⁸⁸

To sum up :

- i) Composition of good poetry is a serious and strenuous intellectual activity.
- ii) It is achieved by sound theoretical knowledge and sustained practical efforts.
- iii) These two together produce pleasing and lasting creative writing.

Notes and References

1. व्युत्पत्तिर्नातन्त्रज्ञानम् । - केशवमिश्र, अलङ्कारशेखरः, ed. A. R. Vetal, The Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, Benaras City, 1927, p. 5.
2. आचार्य भामह-विरचित काव्यालङ्कार (Hindi edition), ed. Devendranath Sharma, Bihar-Rashtrabhasha Parishad, Patna, 1962, p. 4.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 5.
4. दण्डिकृतं काव्यादर्श-अपराभिधम् काव्यलक्षणम्, ed. A. L. Thakur and Upendra Jha, Mithila Institute of Postgraduate Studies and Research in Sanskrit Learning, Darbhanga, 1957, p. 58.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 59.
6. पण्डितवरवामनविरचितानि काव्यालङ्कारसूत्राणि स्ववृत्तिसमलङ्कृतानि, ed. Narayan Ram Acharya, Nirnayasagar Press, Mumbai, fourth ed., 1953, p. 8.
7. काव्यमीमांसा of राजशेखर, ed. C. D. Dalal and R. A. Sastry, Oriental Institute, Baroda, 1934, pp. 2-5.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 3.
9. महाकविक्षेमेन्द्रकृत कविकण्ठाभरण (Hindi edition), ed. W. K. Lele, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi-Patna-Varanasi, first, 1967, p. 98.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 99.
11. काव्यप्रकाश of मम्मट with बालबोधिनी, ed. R. D. Karmarkar, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Pune, Seventh, 1965, pp. 11-12.
12. श्रीभाष्यप्रणीतः काव्यालङ्कारः सिंहदेवगणिविरचितया संस्कृतटीकया समेतः (Hindi edition), ed. Satyavrata Singh, The Chowkhamba Vidya Bhavan, Varanasi, 1957, p. 5.

13. footnote 2, p. 108.
14. 'उपेयुषां अपि दिवं सन्निबन्धविधायिनाम् ।
आस्त एव निरातङ्कं कान्तं काव्यमयं वपुः ॥ *ibid.*, p. 4.
15. कुक्कवित्वं पुनः साक्षान् मृतिं आहुर मनीषिणः । *ibid.*, p. 6.
16. footnote 6, p. 8.
17. footnote 7, p. 2.
18. 'गद्यपद्यमयत्वात् कविधर्मत्वात् हितोपदेशकत्वाच्च तद्धि शास्त्राणि अनुधावति । *ibid.*, p. 4.
19. *ibid.*, p. 2.
20. *ibid.* p. 4.
21. *ibid.* p. 5.
22. *ibid.*
23. footnote 9, pp. 120-121.
24. *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English*, ed. A. S. Hornby and others, OUP, fifth edition, 1996, p. 517
25. footnote 2, pp. 143-171
26. 'शब्दस्मृतेर् व्याकरणात् शब्दानां शुद्धिः साधुत्वनिश्चयः कर्तव्यः ।' footnote 6, p.8
27. *ibid.*
28. *ibid.* p. 9.
29. *ibid.*
30. *ibid.* p. 30.
31. *ibid.*
32. footnote 1, p. 59.
33. footnote 2, pp. 6, 21, 23, 24, 87, 154 etc.; footnote 4, pp. 5,47,254-55; 261,263, etc.; footnote 6. pp. 15, 16, 26 etc.; footnote 12, pp. 22, 24, 26, 27, 28, etc.
34. footnote 2, pp 20, 37, 140; footnote 4, p. 47.
35. footnote 2, p.11; footnote 4, p. 40; footnote 6, p. 41; footnote 12, p. 25.
36. footnote 2. pp.12, 97; footnote 4, p. 256; footnote 6, p. 23; footnote 12, pp 20-22.
37. footnote 2, p. 97; footnote 4, p. 269; footnote 6. p. 27; footnote 12, p. 28.
38. footnote 12, p. 20.
39. footnote 2, p. 101.
40. footnote 4, p. 269.
41. footnote 6, p. 8.

42. footnote 7, p. 35.
43. *ibid.*, p. 39.
44. footnote 11, p. 12.
45. The *काव्यानुशासनम्* of हेमचन्द्र with his own gloss, ed. Shivadatta and others, Nirnayasagar Press, Bombay, second, 1934 p. 6.
46. footnote 2, p. 126.
47. *धनञ्जयविरचितं दशरूपकम् (सावलोकम्)* (Hindi edition), ed. Bholashankar Vyas, Chowkhamba Vidya Bhavan, Banaras, 1955, p. 282.
48. footnote 7, pp.35-41.
49. footnote 9 p. 72.
50. *ibid.* p. 66.
51. *ibid.* pp. 66-72.
52. vide *History of Sanskrit Poetics*, P. V. Kane, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, third revised edition, 1961, p. 282.
53. vide *ibid.*, p. 296.
54. footnote 2, p. 5.
55. footnote 6, p. 10.
56. footnote 9, p. 53.
57. footnote 52, p. 241.
58. *ibid.*, p. 205; Also
 'विद्वद् अग्न्यान् मुकुलकाद् अधिगम्य विविच्यते ।
 प्रतीरिन्दुपजेन काव्यालंकारसंग्रहः ॥३॥'
काव्यालङ्कारसारसंग्रहः of Udbhata with the *लघुवृत्ति* of Indurāja ed. N. D. Banhatti,
 B. O. R. I., Pune, first, 1925, p. 1
59. footnote 52. p. 213.
60. footnote 4 Introduction, p. 19.
61. footnote 52, p. 205.
62. *ibid.*, p. 218.
63. footnote 2, p. 5.
64. footnote 6, pp. 10-11.
65. footnote 9, p. 51.
66. (भोजविरचितम्) *सरस्वतीकण्ठाभरणम्*, ed. Anundoram Barooah, Publication Board Assam, Gauhati, reprint 1969, p. 52.
67. footnote 2, p. 5.
68. footnote 4, p. 59.

69. *ibid.*, pp. 59-60.
70. footnote 6, p. 10.
71. *ibid.*, pp. 68-94.
72. footnote 9, pp. 51-54.
73. footnote 12, p. 5.
74. मनःप्रसत्तिः प्रतिभा प्रातःकालोऽभियोगिता ।
अनेकशास्त्रदर्शित्वं इति अर्थालोकहेतवः ॥ *ibid.*, p. 9.
75. *ibid.*, pp. 5-17.
76. footnote 45, p. 9.
77. footnote 7, pp. 62-78.
78. footnote 4, pp. 85-86.
79. 'निबद्धेयं मया धीराः त्वरितश्लोकसिद्धये ।' - *कविकल्पलता* महाकवि श्रीदेवेश्वरविरचिता, ed. Ram Gopal Bhattacharya, Siddheshwar Press, Calcutta, 1895, p. 1.
80. *ibid.*, p. 17.
81. *ibid.*, p. 71.
82. *ibid.*, pp. 73-82.
83. अत्र श्रीपादानुसारिकविकल्पलताकार एतावद् अधिकं आह - footnote 1, p. 51.
84. *ibid.*, pp. 40-58.
85. footnote 2, p. 28.
86. footnote 6, p. 11.
87. footnote 6, p. 52.
88. *भामह'स काव्यालङ्कार A Stylistical and Methodological Study*, W. K. Lele, Mansanman Prakashan, Pune, First, 26-8 1999, pp.27-46.

DR. P. K. GODE'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE DHARMA-ŚĀSTRA

S. G. MOGHE

Dr. P. K. Gode's name is known to the scholarly world for his solid contribution to the several branches of Indology. Right from the year 1916 to 1959, Gode contributed 474 research papers to the research journals. These papers have also appeared in book form in six volumes published by different research institutes such as the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona and Vishveshvarananda Vedic Research Institute, Hoshiarpur, Punjab. In this paper, therefore, an attempt is made to highlight his contribution to the domain of Dharma-Śāstra particularly in the context of the monumental *History of Dharma-Śāstra* by MM. Dr. P. V. Kane.

1. Gode published a paper¹ on the *Vyavahāra Mañjarī* by Bhojarāja in the year 1936. This is treated as an unknown work of Bhojarāja. One would be surprised to find that there is no reference to this work in Kane's *History of Dharma-Śāstra*. Besides, there is no entry of this work on the name of Bhojarāja in the indexes prepared by Kane. The first volume of the *History of Dharma-Śāstra* was published in the year 1930. And Gode's article appeared in the year 1936. One may note here that when Kane revised the first volume of the *History of Dharma-Śāstra*, his attention was not drawn to this unknown work of Bhojarāja. Besides, a further question arises whether Bhojarāja is identical with Bhojadeva or not. Anyway the entry of this work in the list of works and authors on the Dharma-Śāstra has become absolutely necessary.

2. It is the practice of Kane to mention the works of the writers on Dharma-Śāstra. Accordingly, Kane has drawn the attention of the readers to the works of Nāgojībhāṭṭa, by quoting the article² of P. K. Gode and the probable date of this author. But there is no mention of the article of Gode indicating the chronology³ of the works of Nāgojībhāṭṭa in the *History of Dharma-Śāstra*. Hence this entry has also become necessary in the monumental work of Kane. This is so, because in deciding the chronological position⁴ of the works of Nilakaṇṭha, Kane has devoted a special chapter in his introduction to the excellent edition of the *Vyavahāra-Mayūkha* of Nilakaṇṭha.

3. The date of the manuscripts on the Dharma-Śāstra and of the authors also plays a very important part in the academic study. It would be interesting to see the dates of the manuscripts and the authors suggested by Gode, particularly against the position established by Kane. 1) Gode has fixed the

date⁵ of the manuscript entitled *Prāyaścitta-Candrikā* of Viśvanātha Bhaṭṭa, the son of Narasiṃha Dīkṣita, as before 1540 CE. It is worth noting here that Kane has made the entry of the manuscript *Prāyaścitta-Candrikā* of Viśvanātha Bhaṭṭa, in his *History of Dharma-Śāstra*, Vol. I/III p. 1073, but there is no reference to the date of this work, although it was fixed by Gode. This paper was written by Gode in the year 1945 and naturally Kane could not concentrate his mind on many such articles at the time of the revision of the volume. 2) Gode considered that the date⁶ of the *Vyavahāra-Nirmaya* of Varadarāja falls between 1100 CE and 1350 CE. But Kane in his *History of Dharma-Śāstra*, has accepted the date of Varadarāja as falling between 1450 and 1495 CE. While fixing the date of Varadarāja, it appears that Kane has not made even a passing reference⁷ to the article of Gode. This is particularly so because Gode's article appeared in the year 1937 and Kane has not taken any pains to refute the position of Gode at the time of the revision of the volume, because of his old age. 3) In the year 1937, Gode wrote a paper⁸ to decide the age of the *Kālikā Purāṇa*. He fixed it as before 1000 CE. But in the fifth volume of the *History of Dharma-Śāstra*, Kane refers to the viewpoint of R. C. Hazra. He held that it falls in the 11th century CE. Kane, however, has placed the *Kālikā Purāṇa* as falling before 1000 CE. It thus becomes clear to the readers that Kane has favoured⁹ the viewpoint of Gode against the viewpoint of Prof. R. C. Hazra, though it is true that Kane has quoted the viewpoint or the article of Gode on the point of the date of the *Kālikā-Purāṇa*. Hence a reference to the entry of Gode's article in the fifth volume of the *History of Dharma-Śāstra* became absolutely necessary. It is further evident that this article of Gode published in the year 1937 has not escaped the eagle eye of Kane. 4) There is no chapter on the *Smṛtimuktāphalam* of Vaidyanātha Dīkṣita in the first volume of the *History of Dharma-Śāstra*. This gap is slightly filled up by the writer¹⁰ of this note. In the table¹¹ of the chronological dates of the authors, Kane has taken 1600 CE as the probable date of the work entitled *Smṛtimuktāphalam*. In the year 1938, Gode wrote a paper¹² on the 'Date of the *Smṛtimuktāphalam* of Vaidyanātha Dīkṣita' and fixed it as after 1686 CE. As there is no mention of Gode's article in Kane's *History of Dharma-Śāstra*, it is possible to take the view that old age did not permit Kane to refer to this view. 5) Gode has further fixed the date of the commentator¹³ of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. He contributed a learned paper on the date of Śrīdhara Svāmī, the commentator of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* and fixed it as 1350-1450 CE. As Kane has not discussed the topic of the dates of the commentators of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* in the fifth volume of the *History of Dharma-Śāstra*, it is just natural that Gode's valuable paper on this aspect does not find any place in it.

4. The authorship of the work is also a great problem in the *History of Dharma-Śāstra*. In the year 1935, Gode contributed a paper¹⁴ on the 'Authorship of the Sarasvatī-Vilāsa'. In that article, he held that Lolla Lakṣmīdhara

was the author of this work. But Kane in his *History of Dharma-Śāstra* came to the conclusion¹⁵ that Pratāparudradeva is the author of the *Sarasvatī Vilāsa*. Kane further held that Lolla Lakṣmīdhara was a braggart and further held that Gode is wrong in holding such a view.

5. The problem of the identity of the authors is very taxing to the mind of the scholars. Kane has tackled this problem in very scholarly manner in his monumental *History of Dharma-Śāstra*. But he has failed to make a pointed reference to the paper of Gode which was published in the year 1939. Gode wrote a paper¹⁶ on 'Identification of Dalpat Rāi mentioned in Burhan-i-Masir with Dalapati rāya, the author of the Nṛsīṃhaprasāda.' This paper was read by Gode and it was published in the *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, (Allahabad 1938). It is rather surprising that Kane has not made any reference¹⁷ to this article of Gode in the section on Nṛsīṃhaprasāda, particularly in the second part of the first volume of the *History of Dharma-Śāstra*. Hence the writer of this note takes the reasonable view that there should be an entry of this article in the *History of Dharma-Śāstra*.

6. Sacrifice is again an interesting topic of the *History of Dharma-Śāstra*. Kane has discussed the nature of the Aśvamedha sacrifice in the *History of Dharma-Śāstra* vol.II/III pp. 1228 to 1239. He has also mentioned the kings who performed this sacrifice. There is also a reference to the King Savai Jayasing of Amber (1699-1744 CE). This topic is pursued by Gode by contributing four papers¹⁸ on this sacrifice by consulting different sources for different papers. But there is no reference to these four articles of Gode in Kane's *History of Dharma-Śāstra*. Hence it would be proper to say that there should be a special foot-note for the performance of the Aśvamedha sacrifice, indicating the sources of this actual performance of the sacrifice. Hence the revision of the *History of Dharma-Śāstra* by Kane cannot be said to be adequate. For this, due concession will have to be given to Kane's old age.

7. Kane's treatment of the topics in the Dharma-Śāstra is admitted to be thorough and exhaustive. But this view will have to be slightly modified. In some topics, Kane has not given very exhaustive treatment to the topic as compared with the treatment that is given by Gode in his papers. This point can be best expounded by drawing attention to some of the topics of the *History of Dharma-Śāstra*. 1) The importance of the trees in the context of expiations is an admitted fact. But Kane has not at all touched this aspect. Gode has touched the topic¹⁹ of the history of the Akṣayavata (undecaying Banyan tree) at Prayāga and Gayā as revealed by some Sanskrit texts between the first century CE and 900 CE. This is published in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*. 2) The Divālī festival is discussed by Kane in his *History of Dharma-Śāstra* Vol. VII pp. 194-210. But for this

topic, Gode has spent three valuable articles.²⁰ He has utilised the sources of the *Nilamata Purāna* (500-800 CE) and Sukhasuptima of *Ādityapurāna* for this purpose. This article covers 12 printed pages. Gode has also discussed the history of the Divālī festival in the *Journal of the Bhandarkar Institute*, covering 50 printed pages. These two cases are enough to prove that Gode has done more justice to the topic of the Divālī festival. 3) Kane has discussed the importance²¹ of the river Ganges in the *History of Dharma-Śāstra* Vol. IV. But Gode has supplied additional matter²² on the use of the waters of the river Ganges particularly by the Muslim rulers. Here the qualities of the waters of the river Ganges are mentioned and its medical use is pointed out. For this purpose, Gode has consulted many historical and literary sources and this article covers 26 printed pages. This will indicate that in addition to the spiritual quality of the waters of the river Ganges, there are other noteworthy points which are touched by Gode in his articles. 4) The topic of Bhojana (eating food) is also a topic of practical importance. Kane has dealt with this topic in the *History of Dharma-Śāstra* Vol. II/II pp. 755-799. But Gode has consulted the manuscript evidence on this topic. i) He utilised the manuscript²³ of *Bhojana Kutūhala* by Raghunātha belonging to 1625 C.E. for the article in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute*. For the second article, Gode made the best use²⁴ of the contemporary evidence of Sāmji Nāyaka Puṇde's manuscript for the *Journal of the University of Bombay*. For the third²⁵ article, however, Gode used the evidences of the Dharma-Sūtras and Gṛhya Sūtras in respect of the Avarāna. This article, he wrote for the *Poona Orientalist*. From these evidences, it would be just reasonable to hold that whatever sources Kane left untouched are consulted by Gode and importance of these sources can hardly be neglected. Hence the value of the manuscript evidence can be said to be correctly understood of Gode. Here it must be stated that in other respects, Kane has utilised manuscripts but on the point of Bhojana, Gode has certainly made valuable addition to the matter of Kane. Here, incidentally, it should be stated that for Bhojana, Gode used the term 'dietics' of the modern language. 5) The topic of Tāmbūla eating is also very interesting in the context of the Dharma-Śāstra. Kane has given meagre treatment to this topic in the *History of Dharma-Śāstra* Vol. II/II, pp. 734-735, by discussing the ingredients, guṇas and the persons to whom the tāmbūla should not be given. It must be pointed out in this respect that for this topic of Tāmbūla eating, Gode devoted 18 printed pages and wrote three articles²⁶ for expounding the importance of Tāmbūla eating. 6) Gode has considered the material of the Dharma-Śāstra from the point of view of medical science. In this respect, it is worth noting that Kane in his *History of Dharma-Śāstra* Vol. II/II, p. 885 refers to Ārogyaśālā (Hospital) and relies upon Aparārka's commentary on the Yājñavalkya-Smṛti I. 209. Gode has consulted the Sanskrit and non-Sanskrit sources for this topic (from 500 CE to 1900 CE) in the article contributed to the *New Indian Antiquary*. He

further laid stress on the Purānic extracts quoted by Aparārka for the point of the Hospital system, appointment of a physician, the care to be taken by the nurses etc. This goes to show that Gode has certainly made a laudable improvement upon the topic which is slightly touched by Kane in the *History of Dharma-Śāstra*. Incidentally, it may be remarked that the introduction of the system of Hospital by the French civilisation cannot be regarded as something foreign to the Indian land.

From the above discussion the following legitimate conclusions can be drawn.

- 1) Gode has contributed to the dates of the works of the Dharma-Śāstra authors, and the commentator of the Purāṇa work.
- 2) He has shown the chronological position of the works of Nāgojibhaṭṭa.
- 3) He has given more exhaustive treatment to the topics which are slightly touched or not touched at all by Kane.
- 4) There is no reference to the important articles of Gode in the *History of Dharma-Śāstra*, which would have enhanced the value of the work of Kane.
- 5) Kane's revision of the first volume of the *History of Dharma-Śāstra*, though excellent, cannot be treated as thorough and exhaustive, as is generally held by the scholars and this view needs modification.
- 6) The present writer takes opportunity to suggest that when the question of the revision of Kane's work would arise again the above interesting points raised in this article should be given proper consideration by the authorities of the Bhandarkar Institute.

Notes and References

1. Gode-Vyavahāra Mañjarī - an unknown work of Bhojarāja-in *Dharma-Śāstra-Mīmāṃsā Prakāśa* Vol. I, pp. 10-11.
2. Gode-Date of Nāgojibhaṭṭa - *Journal of Oriental Institute*, Tirupati, Vol. I, part 4, pp. 1-16.
3. Gode-Chronology of the works of Nāgojibhaṭṭa - *Oriental Thought* - (Nasik), Vol. I, No. 1, October 1954, pp. 59-62.
4. P. V. Kane - *Vyavahāra Mayūkha* - Introduction pp. xx-xxiv, 1926.
5. P. K. Gode - Date of the Prāyaścitta Candrikā - *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras, Vol. XVI, part I, September 1945, pp. 34-36.
6. Gode - Vyavahāra Nirṇaya of Varadarāja - *Mīmāṃsā Prakāśa*, Vol. III. pp. 15-18 (1938).

7. P. V. Kane - *History of Dharma-Śāstra* Vol. I/II, p. 823.
8. Gode - Date of Kālikā Purāṇa - *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras, Vol. X, pp. 289-295, (1937).
9. Kane - *History of Dharma-Śāstra*, Vol. VIII, p. 888.
10. S. G. Moghe - Vaidyanātha Dīkṣita - *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bombay*, Vol. 60-61 for 1985-86, pp. 56-61.
11. Kane - *History of Dharma-Śāstra*, Vol. III.
12. Gode - Date of the Smṛtimuktāphalam of Vaidyanātha Dīkṣita - *Mīmāṃsā Prakāśa*, Vol. III, pp. 39-42.
13. Gode - Date of Śrīdhara Svāmī, commentator of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa - *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Poona (A.B.O.R.I.) Vol. XXX, pp. 277-283, 1950.
14. *Ibid* - Authorship of the Sarasvatī Vilāsa - *Calcutta Oriental Journal* Vol. II, pp. 233 -234.
15. Kane - *History of Dharma-Śāstra*, Vol. I/II, pp. 877-878.
16. Gode - Identification of Dalpat Rāi with Dalapati-Rāya - *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, Allahabad (1938), pp. 313-318.
17. Kane - *History of Dharma-Śāstra*, Vol. I/II, pp. 860-868.
18. Gode's four articles on the Aśvamedha sacrifice by Savai Jayasing of Amber - such as published in following journals:
 - i) Some contemporary evidence regarding the Aśvamedha sacrifice performed by Savai Jaising - *Journal of Indian History* (Madras), Vol. XV, pp. 364-367.
 - ii) Aśvamedha performed by Savai Jayasing of Amber - *Poona Orientalist*, Vol. II, pp. 166-180 (1937).
 - iii) Description of Aśvamedha performed by Savai Jayasing Jaipur as given in the *Īśvaravilāsa Kāvya* of Kṛṣṇapati - *Mīmāṃsā Prakāśa* Vol. II, pp. 44-46.
 - iv) Some contemporary evidence regarding the Aśvamedha of Savai Jaising of Amber in a Hindi work of Dietics of 1739 A.D. - *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Aligarh, 1943, p. 378.
19. Gode - The History of Akṣayavata - *A.B.O.R.I.* Vol. 38, pp. 82-92.
20. Gode - History of Diwālī festival - *A.B.O.R.I.* Vol. 38, 1946, pp. 216-262, ii) *Ganganatha Jha Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapitha*, Vol. III, pp. 215-216, iii) *Journal of the Bhāratiya Vidyā Bhavan*, Vol. VIII, New Series, Nos. 3-4, pp. 53-73. It may be noted here that this last article is based on the evidence of Purāṇa relied upon by Hemādri, in *Caturvargacintāmaṇi*.
21. Kane - *History of Dharma-Śāstra* Vol. IV, pp. 585-617.
22. Gode - Use of the Ganges water by Muslim Rulers (from 1300 to 1800), *Annals of the Tirupati Oriental Institute*, Vol. I, part 3, pp.1-15.

23. Gode - A topical analysis of Bhojanakutūhala, a work on Dietics composed by Raghunātha between 1675 and 1709 *A.B.O.R.I.* Vol. XXII, 1942, pp. 254-263.
 24. Gode - A contemporary manuscript of Bhojanakutūhala of Raghunātha, belonging to Śāmji Nāyak Puṇḍe between 1650 and 1685 - *Journal of Bombay University*, (New Series), Vol. XIII, part 2, (September) 1944, pp. 40-45.
 25. Gode - Studies in the History of Indian Dietics - *Poona Orientalist* Vol. XII, Nos. 1-4 (1948), pp. 1-9.
 26. For the use of Tāmbūla - i) Gode - *Poona Orientalist* Vol. XIII, parts 3-4, 1948, pp. 10-14. It may be added here that this paper is based on Purāṇic extracts quoted by Aparārka in his commentary on the *Yājñavalkya-Smṛti* I-209. For Tāmbūla ii) Gode - *Journal of Oriental Institute*, Baroda - Vol. I, pp. 275-277. (1952). For Tāmbūla - iii) Gode's paper in *New Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VIII, pp. 76-79 (1946).
- ★ It may be mentioned here that for this paper, adequate use of the Bibliography of the published writings of P. K. Gode published from P. K. Gode's Commemoration Volume brought out in 1960 is made.

AN OVERVIEW OF THE ART OF ANCIENT BACTRIA

FROM THE ACHAEMENID TO KUṢĀṆA PERIOD

(6TH CENTURY BCE TO 4TH CENTURY CE)

LOLITA NEHRU

This is the edited text of a lecture* which covered a time span of a millennium and the large geographical area of western Central Asia, comprising northern Afghanistan north of the Hindu Kush mountains, the four Central Asian Republics of Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Kirgiziya, and the southern fringe of Kazakhstan where it borders the grasslands of the great Eurasian steppe. The time covered was from the Achaemenid to Kuṣāṇa period, from the 6th century BCE to 4th century CE. Only by adopting this broad canvas was it possible to highlight the major art historical trends in western Central Asia during the early centuries, and to distil the main elements in the complex process of cultural interaction which was taking place between the different cultural traditions in the region.

The term 'western Central Asia' is, of course, a modern coinage, and refers to a cultural rather than a political entity. Historically, western Central Asia has been a cultural buffer zone, because of its geographical location, open to the influx of the settled civilisations to the south, that of Iran and India, and to the periodic inflow of nomadic cultures from the north, out of the Eurasian steppe. Thus the intermixtures between the sedentary and the nomadic are a recurrent theme in the history and art of western Central Asia.

This paper focuses on one area of western Central Asia, the region of ancient Bactria, which, because of its rich archaeological evidence, from the Bronze age (3rd-2nd millennium BCE) onwards, can be viewed, in many respects, as a microcosm of western Central Asia. The period covered is the millennium from the Achaemenid to Kuṣāṇa period, the objective of the paper being, to present a distilled overview of the main patterns of cultural intermixture which characterised the art of this region.

Ancient Bactria encompassed present day northern Afghanistan, and the

* This paper is based on the 10th Smt. Nabadurga Banerjee Endowment Lecture delivered at the Asiatic Society of Bombay on 5 May 2000.

southern parts of Uzbekistan and Tajikistan. It was bounded on the north by the Gissar mountains, and on the south by the Hindu Kush ranges, both branching out from the high Pamirs. Flowing through the heart of Bactria was the river Oxus, or the Amu Darya (the modern boundary between Afghanistan and the Central Asian Republics), one of the longest rivers in western Central Asia, rising in the Pamirs and emptying its waters in the Aral Sea.¹

In order to understand the artistic developments which occurred in Bactria, it is necessary to begin with a brief sketch of the history of western Central Asia, of which Bactria was an important part. Already in the 6th century BCE, when the Achaemenids, or Persians, came to power in western Iran, Cyrus, the first major Achaemenid ruler, crossed over into western Central Asia to conquer large tracts of territory, which were then included among the satrapies, or provinces, of the extensive empire which the Achaemenids established. In fact, this was one of the first exploits which Cyrus took in hand, to create a large buffer zone, in order to safeguard against nomadic incursions the main centres of Achaemenid power in western Iran. Cyrus ended his reign in the manner he began it, fighting against a nomad group, the Massagatae, in the region of the Aral Sea. The river Jaxartes, or Syr Darya, represented, broadly speaking, the line of Persian control in western Central Asia during the centuries of the Achaemenid empire. Achaemenid rule in western Central Asia lasted for over two hundred years, from the middle of the 6th century BCE till the appearance of Alexander in this part of the world, in the second half of the 4th century BCE. The Achaemenid conquest is a major watershed in the history of western Central Asia as it laid the foundations of Iranian civilisation in the region, and links with Iran, historical and cultural, continued virtually throughout its history.

Alexander, as we all know, conquered the entire Persian empire. Thus, after the years of Persian rule, large parts of western Central Asia, particularly the southern regions, came under the control of the Greeks. After the death of Alexander, in 323 BCE, the eastern provinces became a part of the Seleucid empire, as the Hellenistic Greek empire of the east was called, controlled from its centres in western Iran. But within 75 years, in c. 250 BCE, two major provinces declared themselves as independent kingdoms, outside the control of the Seleucids. These were Bactria and Parthia (the region to the south east of the Caspian Sea). In Parthia, the Seleucids were overthrown by the nomadic Parthians. Bactria, however, continued to be ruled by the Greeks, a local Bactrian Greek dynasty, till c. 140 BCE, when they also were overthrown by nomadic invasions from the north. Greek rule in Bactria, therefore, lasted for about two hundred years, from the conquest of Alexander, in the second half of the 4th century BCE, till c. 140 BCE. Greek culture, or Hellenism, had a profound impact, for centuries, on the cultural and artistic expressions of Bactria.

The nomadic peoples who overthrew the Greeks in Bactria, in c. 140 BCE, were probably the Yueh-chi of the Chinese annals, who migrated to western Central Asia, in successive stages, from the Gansu region in the north western borders of China. The Yueh-chi played a critical role in the history of Bactria, specially from the middle of the 1st century BCE onwards, i. e. about a hundred years after they entered Bactria, when the several clans of the Yueh-chi were united under the leadership of the strongest clan among them, and took its name, Kuṣāṇa.

The unification of the Yueh-chi or the early Kuṣāṇa rulers occurred at a particularly opportune time in history, when the famous long distance trade between Rome, India and China was becoming more active. This was at the turn of the millennium—1st century BCE to 1st century CE—and the Kuṣāṇas were quick to grasp the opportunities it offered. Within a few decades of consolidating their power in Bactria, they crossed over the Hindu Kush mountains into India, in the middle of the 1st century CE, to take control of the trade routes. It was not long before they built up a vast empire on the profits of this trade. Rivals to the Kuṣāṇas in the profits of trade were the Parthians, who ruled over an equally large empire from their centres in western Iran, having overthrown there the Seleucid Greeks in the meantime. Intensive trade networks were built up between east and west, in the early centuries CE, involving routes by both land and sea. In close conjunction with the expansion of mercantile activities during these centuries there was a major spread of monastic Buddhism from India, into both western and eastern Central Asia (Xinjiang). Buddhism, as we know well, became thereafter one of the dominant religious systems in these regions for over a millennium.

The sprawling, flourishing empires of the Kuṣāṇas and the Parthians continued till the middle of the 3rd century CE, till they were both overthrown by a new dynasty which had emerged in western Iran, the Sassanian. In Bactria, the Kuṣāṇas continued to retain some control, as the Kusano-Sassanians, till the end of the 4th century CE, though the history of this later phase of their rule is not very clear.

Thus, the early history of western Central Asia was clearly intertwined with the history of the ancient world which stretched from the eastern Mediterranean to India, and further east to China: Achaemenids, Hellenistic Greeks, nomadic people from the steppe, Kuṣāṇas, Indians, Sassanians - also the Parthians and nomadic Sakas who for a time controlled parts of western Central Asia. And when the trade activities between east and west intensified, with the opening of the Christian era, there was an even greater degree of movement of different peoples across the region. The outcome was an intense and continuous process of intermixture between peoples and cultures. This continuous process of intermingling of the different civilisations and cultures

is the principal characteristic of the history of western Central Asia, and consequently of the art which emerged in the region.

Let us turn now to the art of Bactria during the centuries we have outlined, beginning with the Achaemenid period, 6th to 4th century BCE. Despite the long centuries of Achaemenid rule in western Central Asia, relatively little has survived of their visual arts in the eastern satrapies. This is not altogether surprising as the monumental architecture and sculpture in stone of the Achaemenids were associated with their imperial centres in western Iran, at Persepolis, Susa and Ecbatana.

What has survived in Bactria is a wide range of small finds, belonging to the category known as the applied or minor arts. The objects are generally of a high technical and aesthetic quality, and often in precious materials. The main body of evidence is the famous Oxus Treasure, found at the end of the nineteenth century in the Kobadian region of northern Bactria, and now housed in the British Museum.² The hoard contains material dating from the 7th-6th to 2nd century BCE, though most of the objects date from the Achaemenid period (5th-4th century BCE).³

A gold armband from the Oxus Treasure is a particularly fine example of the applied arts tradition during the Achaemenid period (Pl. V-A).⁴ The two mythical winged griffins with horns, represented face to face, are typically Achaemenid, both in heraldic conception and in the refinement of execution. Depictions of the hybrid griffin go back further in time, to the West Asian and Assyrian civilisations which the Achaemenids had inherited. Early connections can be traced also in pre-Achaemenid material from Iran, as well as in nomad material from the northern steppe. Another example of Achaemenid work, dated to the 5th-4th century BCE, can be seen in an ivory fragment of a lion, probably part of a rhyton (Pl. V-B), found in a hoard at the site of Takht-i Sangin, situated on the Oxus, in northern Bactria.⁵ The stylised treatment of the lion is in the finest tradition of Achaemenid workmanship.

It is highly conceivable that a great number of Achaemenid objects such as these, in precious materials, would have been melted down over the centuries, or scattered. A recent discovery of a second Oxus Treasure, interestingly exactly a hundred years after the first, is now in the Miho Museum in Japan.

The small finds of the Oxus Treasure include examples, dated to the Achaemenid period, of artistic traditions other than the Achaemenid. There are, for example, objects which recall the Classical Greek tradition, such as a tall figure, rather like a kouros, made in silver, and dated to the 5th century BCE (Pl. VI-A).⁶ It is not surprising to find evidence of Greek norms as far east as Bactria long before the arrival of Alexander, as it is well known that despite the wars between them, the Greeks and Persians absorbed many

artistic and iconographic elements from each other.⁷ A superb example of a griffin, for example, belongs to a common vocabulary shared by Persians and Greeks during the Achaemenid period (Pl. VI-B). The griffin is engraved on a piece of translucent milky white chalcedony, retrieved from a site of a later period, Tillya Tepe, in northwestern Afghanistan, dated to the 1st century BCE / 1st century CE.⁸ Another example, in gold, dated to the 5th-4th century BCE, belongs to yet another tradition present in western Central Asia, that of the nomads of the Eurasian steppe. (Pl. VII-A).⁹ This highly stylised depiction of a griffin, which is yet taut with energy and movement, is a superb example of the nomadic 'animal style' of art.

At the same time, the intermixtures which were evidently taking place during the Achaemenid period between different cultural traditions are highlighted in an ivory dagger sheath from Takht-i Sangin, dated to the 5th century BCE (Pl. VII-B).¹⁰ While the heraldic depiction of the lion and the stylised treatment of its face are typically Achaemenid, several stylistic features relate to Greek norms, such as the rendering of volume and perspective in the lower half of the body of the lion, and the use of a Greek *ovolos* motif along the edge. The 'animal style' of nomad art is also present in the stylisation and taut circular movement of the hybrid creature at the base.

It is interesting to find expressions among the objects in the Oxus Treasure of a local artistic tradition. This can be seen particularly clearly in two male heads, hollow and made in gold, dated to the 4th century BCE, and evidently depictions of the local people of the region (Pl. VIII-A).¹¹ What is particularly interesting here is the pronounced delineation of ethnic features, and furthermore, the realistic almost individualised treatment of the face, which indicates the presence of a distinct local artistic perception in Bactria during the Achaemenid period.

The Oxus Treasure, mirroring the history of the time, provides clear evidence of the different cultural traditions present in Bactria during the Achaemenid period—Achaemenid, Classical Greek, nomadic, local—and intermixtures which were taking place between them.

The Persian empire came to an end with Alexander, who ushered in two centuries of Greek rule in Bactria. For a very long time, however, in fact for over a hundred years, the two centuries of Greek rule in Bactria were known to historians only from a series of Bactrian Greek coins, though these did number in the thousands, and equalled, or as some scholars hold, surpassed, in technical excellence, their counterparts from the eastern Mediterranean. The genealogy of the rulers, the dynastic breaks, the emergence of new dynasties, were meticulously pieced together (not without debate) by generations of scholars on the basis of these coins alone. As no other material evidence was forthcoming for the two centuries of Greek political

domination of Bactria, the discovery, in 1951, by Schlumberger, of an inscription in stone using the Greek script from Surkh Kotal, in north eastern Afghanistan, was a major turning point for historians working on the history of the region.¹² The inscription from Surkh Kotal was the first evidence, other than the coins, of Greek occupation of the region, even though the language was Bactrian, rather than Greek, and even though the inscription dated from the 2nd century CE, more than 250 years after the end of Greek political control of the region. Since then, Greek settlements dating from the actual period of Greek control have been unearthed at some sites, containing evidence of the Greek way of life, and their artistic expressions.

One of the most important sites, discovered in 1964, by Schlumberger, and excavated by Bernard, is the Hellenistic city of Ai-Khanum, in north eastern Afghanistan, on the banks of the Oxus.¹³ Ai-Khanum was laid out as a typical Greek city, with a palace, agora, theatre, temple, propylae, gymnasium, and has yielded a great wealth of material. Inscriptions were found using the Greek script and Greek language, as well as pillar capitals, in marble, representing all three orders of Greek architecture, Doric, Ionian and Corinthian. Sculptures in stone were unearthed, typically Greek in conception, style, and technical quality of execution, the first to be discovered being a Hermaic pillar. Among the more remarkable finds, all in marble, are a large, finely carved fragment of a foot, which probably belonged to a monumental sculpture of Zeus, a nude male statuette, and a bas relief of a young man (Pl. VIII-B).¹⁴ The accuracy and precision in the rendering of human anatomy, as a major characteristic of Greek art, is particularly notable in these examples.

About 100 km. downstream from Ai-Khanum, and also situated on the Oxus, was another settlement of Hellenistic times, Takht-i Sangin, discovered in the late 1970's and excavated by Litvinsky and Pichikiyan.¹⁵ Unlike Ai-Khanum, which was largely abandoned after the nomadic invasions of c. 140 BCE, Takht-i Sangin continued to be inhabited till the early centuries CE. Takht-i Sangin has yielded a cross-section of material similar to Ai-Khanum. Hellenistic sculptures have been found, in clay and stucco, some of them retaining traces of original paint, as in a figure of a youth and a diademed head of a ruler (Pl. IX-A).¹⁶

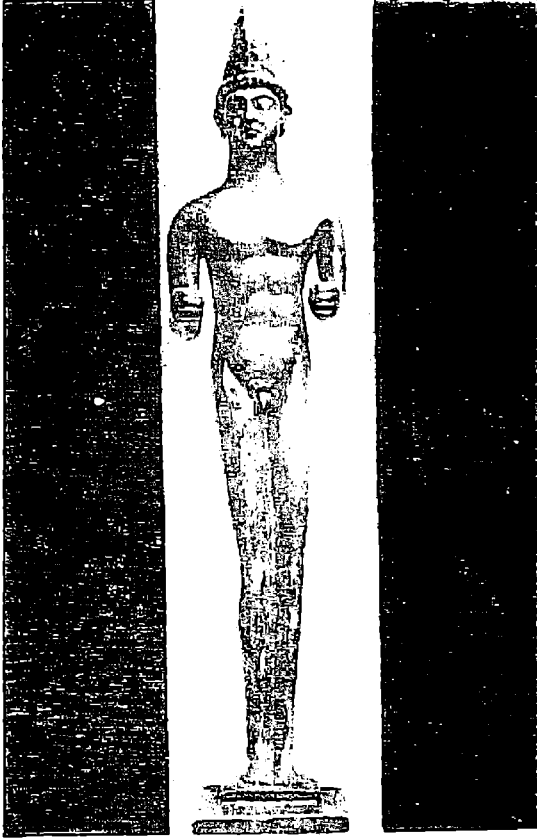
However, being remote from the main centres of the Hellenic world in the eastern Mediterranean, the artistic expressions of the Greeks in Bactria were not always of the same quality as their counterparts in the west. This is well illustrated in a bronze statuette of Herakles from Ai-Khanum (Pl. IX-B).¹⁷ The figure is obviously Greek in conception and iconography, but the precise and realistic treatment of anatomy which characterised the Greek-Hellenistic style has been considerably diluted, the divergence evident not only in the anatomical inaccuracies in the rendering of the body, and also in the awkward



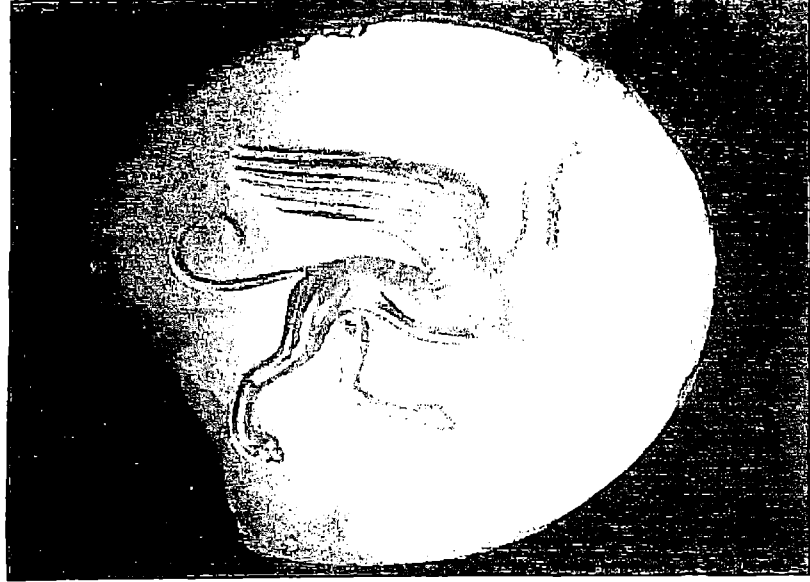
A. Gold armband. Oxus Treasure (No. 116),
5th century BCE.



B. Ivory fragment of a lion, probably part
of a rhyton. Takht-i Sangin, 5th-4th
century BCE.



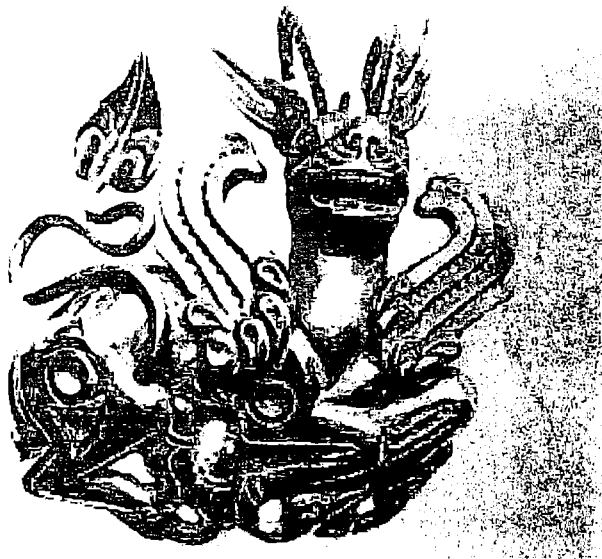
A. Silver statuette. Oxus Treasure (No. 4),
5th century BCE.



B. Intaglio with representation of a griffin, milky-white
chalcedony. Tillya Tepe.

A. Winged griffin in gold. Oxus Treasure (No. 23), 5th-4th century BCE.

B. Ivory dagger sheath. Takht-i Sangin, 5th century BCE.





A. Gold head. Oxus Treasure (No. 5),
probably 4th century BCE.



B. Bas-relief of a young man, marble.
Ai-Khanum, 3rd century BCE.



A. Diademed head of a ruler, stucco. Takht-i Sangin,
3rd century BCE.



B. Bronze statuette of Herakles. Ai-Khanum.



A. Statuette in limestone. Ai-Khanum.



B. Terracotta figurines. Ai-Khanum.



A. Head of a Heraos clansman, clay.
Khalchayan, mid 1st century BCE.



B. Terracotta figurine. Dalverzin-Tepe,
1st-2nd century CE.



A. Bodhisattva, stucco. Dalverzin-Tepe,
2nd-3rd century CE.



B. Relief of Buddha with monks, stone.
Fayaz Tepe, 3rd-4th century CE.



A. Head of a monk, stucco. Dalverzin-Tepe, 1st century CE.

B. The First Sermon, grey schist. Loriyan Tangai, 2nd-3rd century CE.





A. Painting of Buddha with monks. Kara Tepe, 2nd-3rd century CE.

B. Head of Athena (detail), clay. Khalchayan, mid 1st century BCE.



distribution of body weight.

Side by side with Greek norms, Achaemenid traditions appear admixed with Greek, as in a limestone statuette from Ai-Khanum (Pl. X-A), in which the realistic treatment of volume in drapery, associated with Greek perceptions, appears together with a schematism which draws on Achaemenid practice.¹⁸ The nomadic 'animal style' is also in evidence in a tiny object in gold, from Takht-i Sangin, the intertwined and stylised feline forms encrusted with turquoise, being a typical example.¹⁹

It is interesting to find, during the Hellenistic period, in Ai-Khanum, a few examples which reflect the local traditions of the region, even though these generally occur only in the more humble medium of terracotta (Pl. X-B).²⁰ The examples recall those from the Oxus Treasure, of the Achaemenid period (Pl. VIII-A), in their depiction of ethnic traits and realism of treatment, and indicate the continuation of local artistic perceptions.

Hellenic culture, the persistence of Achaemenid norms, local traditions, nomadic traditions - this was the cultural and artistic fabric of Bactria at the close of the Hellenistic period, in the middle of the 2nd century BCE. It is interesting to note that there were evidently two levels of artistic expression at work in Bactria, throughout the Achaemenid and Hellenistic period. At one level, the various cultural traditions which were present in Bactria—Achaemenid, Hellenistic, nomadic, local—each retained its own independent expression, without the infusion of any other norm. At another level of artistic expression, there was quite a considerable degree of intermixture, in both style and iconography, between the different traditions present.

The next stage in the history and art of Bactria, over the next 550 years, is dominated by the Kušāṇas, first as the Yueh-chi-early Kušāṇa chieftains, and later as imperial rulers of a vast empire. As mentioned earlier, the Hellenistic Greeks of Bactria were overthrown by the nomadic invasions of the Yueh-chi, in c. 140 BCE. After this date, however, the history of the Yueh-chi is resumed only after a gap of about a century, in the middle of the 1st century BCE, but represented by finds from two major archaeological sites: Khalchayan, excavated by Pugachenkova between 1959-1963, and Tillya Tepe, excavated by Sarianidi in the late 1970's.²¹

The site of Tillya Tepe, in north western Afghanistan, dated between the mid 1st century BCE and the early 1st century CE, was in all probability the gravesite of the Yueh-chi or early Kušāṇa rulers. It reflects well the nomadic traditions of the steppe which they brought with them. The grave goods at Tillya Tepe are not unlike those from the kurgans or rich burial mounds of nomad chieftains of the open steppe. And, like the kurgans of the steppe, the graves have yielded thousands of objects in gold. The chieftains were

buried in full splendour, their garments sewn with hundreds of small decorations in gold.²² The vital and energetic 'animal style' of the steppe nomads can be seen in many of the objects from Tillya Tepe. It is brilliantly evident in a gold plaque, in the intertwined animal forms, highly stylised, and taut with the depiction of swift movement.²³

The vitality and energy of the nomad tradition, if not the stylisation of the 'animal style', is carried into the remarkable series of sculptures and paintings from Khalchayan, situated on the Surkhan Darya, one of the northern tributaries of the Oxus, in northern Bactria.²⁴ The site was excavated by Pugachenkova, who identified it as the palace of Heraos, the leader who succeeded in drawing the Yueh-chi clans together into a Kušāna unity. The identification is based on the remarkable resemblance, noted by Pugachenkova, between some of the faces preserved in the Khalchayan sculptures with the profile head depicted on coins issued by Heraos in the mid 1st century BCE. The palace at Khalchayan therefore, is dated by Pugachenkova to the same time.²⁵

The sculptures from Khalchayan were reconstructed, by Pugachenkova, into three large compositions believed to be expressions of a dynastic cult followed by the Kušānas.²⁶ The panels depict the early Kušāna rulers, other members of the ruling aristocracy, and perhaps a Parthian ally. One of the panels shows figures riding horses and shooting arrows in the characteristic manner known as the 'Parthian shot', associated with the special skills of nomads in battle.²⁷ This panel was believed by Pugachenkova to be a representation of the military prowess of the Kušānas, but a more recent interpretation suggests, with considerable plausibility, that it represents the victory of the Yueh-chi over a rival nomad group in the region, possibly the Sakas.²⁸

The sculptures from Khalchayan were all made in unbaked clay (which was then plastered and painted), a widespread medium for sculptural work throughout western Central Asia. What is particularly remarkable about the Khalchayan sculptures is the extraordinary vitality and energy which they exude (Pl. XI-A), together with a quality of bold realism, which renders each sculpture into a vivid portrait.²⁹

The realism of these sculptures indicates the continued impact of Greek realism, a century after the end of Greek rule in the region. At the same time, however, the bold and more impressionistic treatment of realism at Khalchayan, coupled with the keen depiction of different ethnic facial types, marks a divergence from the more refined and idealised realism of Greek art. The divergence of the Khalchayan style indicates the working of a local tradition, alongside the Hellenistic, evidence of which we have already noted as a continuum through the Achaemenid and Hellenistic periods (see Pls. VIII-A, X-B).³⁰

In fact, it is more than likely that Hellenistic realism made the impact it did in western Central Asia—and not only in Khalchayan, and not only in the mid 1st century BCE, but for centuries after—because there existed already a local tradition or imagination which was receptive to the Greek perception. This local imagination can be recognised in a series of indigenous terracottas, which follow a folk idiom, and which have been found throughout western Central Asia (Pl. XI-B), and which, despite regional variations, share remarkable affinities in the almost exaggerated depiction of ethnic traits, coupled with a marked realism of treatment.³¹ It would appear that the Greeks provided the catalyst to a nascent realism already present in the local imagination, provided also the technical skills of execution, and the results flowered in the remarkable productions of Khalchayan.

The periods of Achaemenid and Hellenistic Greek rule, followed by the early phase of the Yueh-chi Kušānas, brings us from the 6th century BCE to the end of the 1st century BCE / early first century CE. It might be useful at this point to make a brief summary, and try to identify in broad terms the main trends in artistic expression:

1. the independent expression of individual styles and traditions - Achaemenid, Hellenistic, local, nomadic.

2. the fairly wide range of intermixtures between them. In fact, a far more complex and intricate process of intermixture, in both style and iconography, than there is space here to discuss.

3. the remarkable synthesis, by the middle of the 1st century BCE, of nomadic, local and Hellenistic expressions in the sculptural art of Khalchayan.

Khalchayan and Tillya Tepe represent a major watershed in the history and art of Bactria. The next historical phase, which opened in the early 1st century CE, brought in a complex weave of historical forces. The expansion of the Rome-China-India trade and the growth of mercantile activities led to the expansion of the Kušāna empire, and with it the spread of monastic Buddhism, and its artistic expressions, out of India into both eastern and western Central Asia. The Buddhism from India which flowed into Central Asia, came primarily from the region of ancient Gandhara, in northwestern Pakistan, which lay to the south east of Bactria, across the Hindu Kush mountains. *Stūpas* and monasteries mushroomed at numerous sites in Bactria. Termez, on the Oxus, became the major centre of Buddhism in Bactria during this period, a vast complex with several monastic establishments, such as Kara Tepe, Fayaz Tepe, Zurmala, Old Termez. A few kilometres upriver from Termez was the Buddhist site of Airtam, the first such to be discovered in the region in the early 1930's by a Soviet archaeological team. Dalverzin Tepe, on the Surkhan Darya, a northern tributary of the Oxus, not far from Khalchayan,

was another important Buddhist site in northern Bactria. Buddhist centres south of the Oxus, in southern Bactria, were numerous, at Kunduz, Surkh Kotal, Balkh, Bamiyan and elsewhere.³² Buddhist sites in Bactria remained active till the 7th-8th century CE (or till the intrusion of Islamic forces), some more than others, with a period of lull during the 5th century CE, when the Huna invasions created disturbances.

The expression of Buddhism in Bactria, from the early 1st century CE till the end of the 4th century, reveals remarkable affinities with contemporary Gandharan Buddhism, in both style and iconography. Just a few examples will suffice. A representation of Bodhisattva in stucco, 2nd-3rd century CE, from Dalverzin Tepe, in northern Bactria (Pl. XII-A), is easily comparable with a Bodhisattva in stone from Taxila in Gandhara, of the same date.³³ A seated Buddha with monks, in stone, from Fayaz Tepe (Pl. XII-B), of the 3rd-4th century CE, or a Buddha, in stucco, seated in meditation from Kara Tepe in Termez (2nd-4th century CE), can be compared with contemporary examples from Jaulian in Taxila.³⁴ The close contact between Bactria and Gandhara continued into the next period, 4th-5th century CE, when the Gandharan Gupta style extended into Bactria: a head of the Buddha, from Fayaz Tepe, in stucco, clearly echoes examples in stucco from Hadda.³⁵

Alongside the inflow of Gandharan Buddhism, it is interesting to see the persistence of Achaemenid traditions. A winged lion, in stone, from Termez, of the 2nd or 3rd century CE, is Achaemenid in conception, if considerably debased in execution.³⁶

It is significant that the powerful stream of Bactrian realism also continued into this phase. A head of a monk, in stucco, from Dalverzin Tepe, of the 1st century CE, is a bold reminder of the realism of Khalchayan (Pl. XIII-A, and compare with Pl. XI-A).³⁷ It is particularly interesting that the vein of Bactrian realism was evidently sufficiently deeply rooted so as to permeate canonical depictions of the Buddha himself. A painting of the Buddha with monks from Kara Tepe in Termez, of the 2nd-3rd century CE, derives from typical Gandharan compositions of the same date, such as a depiction of the First Sermon, in stone, from Loriyan Tangai (compare Pls. XIII-B, XIV-A).³⁸ They share a characteristic Gandharan format, in the ordered schematic arrangement of monks and trees on either side of a central seated Buddha figure. However, the portraited treatment of the Buddha's face in the example from Kara Tepe, expressed in the individualised rendering of the mouth and eyes, almost in local ethnic terms, clearly reveals the infusion of the local tradition of realism continuing from earlier periods. The face is curiously not unlike a head from Khalchayan (mid 1st century BCE), supposedly of Athena (Pl. XIV-B)³⁹, in the small close set eyes and small pursed up mouth. The Buddha and Athena alike are here conceived in local ethnic terms.

Indeed, the bold portraited realism of the Khalchayan style, of the mid 1st century BCE, with its clear depiction of ethnic traits, can be recognised all over western Central Asia, and represents one of the hallmarks of the art of the region. We can recognise it in sculptures of the 1st century CE from Dalverzin Tepe in Bactria,⁴⁰ as easily as in the art of the 2nd and 3rd century CE from Toprak Kala, in Choresm,⁴¹ on the borders of the Aral Sea. It can be recognised even much later, in heads of the 7th century CE from the Buddhist site of Adzhina Tepe, in northern Bactria.⁴²

It is difficult to draw simple conclusions from this complex body of material spread over several historical periods and spanning a millennium. Each period expresses a variety of intermixtures between different artistic traditions, the interplay between the nomadic and the sedentary, as well as a fairly constant trend in which each tradition maintained its own norms without the infusion of others.

Perhaps the one characteristic which can be highlighted in this complex interweave, and which can be referred to in terms of a local indigenous imagination in Bactria and western Central Asia, was the widespread tendency to a bold realism of treatment, with a marked interest in the depiction of ethnic traits. This local tradition was probably the amalgam of sedentary local with nomadic cultures out of the Eurasian steppe, built up over centuries, and probably from long before we encounter it in the Achaemenid period. It acted as a critical filter, modifying, rejecting or absorbing, but in accordance with its own local perceptions, the various elements, stylistic and iconographic, from the wide range of cultures which came into Bactria and western Central Asia over the centuries.

Notes and References

1. It is generally agreed that the Hindu Kush mountains represented the southern limit of ancient Bactria, but there is scholarly dispute about the northern boundary, whether it was the river Oxus or the Gissar mountains. This need not, however, detain us here, because with regard to cultural expressions, it is generally held that the regions both north and south of the Oxus shared a common cultural character.
2. Dalton, O. M. 1964 (3rd ed.), *The Treasure of the Oxus*, London.
3. Almost all the objects of the Oxus Treasure, apart from the coins, date from the Achaemenid period, according to P. Bernard, 1994, 'Le temple du dieu Oxus a Takht-i-Sangin en Bactriane: temple du feu ou pas ?', *Studia Iranica*, 23.1, p. 106. R. D. Barnett in 'The art of Bactria and the treasure of the Oxus', *Iranica Antiqua*, VIII, 1968, pp. 38, 51, 53, discusses the longer time span of the objects from the pre-Achaemenid period to the 2nd century BCE.
4. Dalton, *Oxus Treasure*, Pl. I (116), pp. 32-34.

5. Litvinsky, B. A. and Pichikiyan, I. R. 1981, 'The Temple of the Oxus', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, pp. 133-67; Zeimal', E. V., 1985, *Drevnosti Tadjhikistana, Katalog vystavki*, Dushanbe, p. 72 (Cat. 186).
6. Dalton, *Oxus Treasure*, Pl. II (4), pp. 2-3. For comments on the admixture of Greek with local traditions in this figure, see Nehru, L., 2000, 'Khalchayan Revisited', *Silk Road Art and Archaeology*, 6, p. 226, Fig. 11.
7. See for example, Nylander, C., 1970, *Ionians in Pasargadae*, Uppsala; Richter, G.M.A., 1946, 'Greeks in Persia', *American Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. L, pp. 15-30; Guepin, J. P., 1963-64, 'On the Position of Greek Artists under Achaemenid Rule', *Persica*, No. 1, pp. 34-52.
8. Sarianidi, V., 1985, *Bactrian Gold*, Leningrad, Pl.74, pp. 45f, 253 (Cat 8).
9. Dalton, *Oxus Treasure*, Pl. I (23), pp. 11-13.
10. 'Zeimal', *Drevnosti Tadjhikistana*, p. 71 (Cat.183) and illus. p. 73; Litvinsky, *JRAS*, pp. 133-67.
11. Dalton, *Oxus Treasure*, Pls. III (5), II (6), p.3. For further analysis of the local elements in these two heads see Nehru 'Khalchayan Revisited', p.222f., Figs. 6,7.
12. Schlumberger, D., 1961, 'Excavations at Surkh Kotal and the Problem of Hellenism in Bactria and India', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, Vol. XLVII, pp. 77-95.
13. Bernard, p., 1967, 'Ai-Khanum on the Oxus: a Hellenistic city in Central Asia', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, Vol. LIII, pp. 71-95. Reports of a preliminary survey by Schlumberger and subsequent excavations by Bernard (1964-78) appeared almost annually in the *Comptes rendus de seances de l'Academie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres (CRAI)* from 1965-80, and in *Memoires de la Delegation archeologique francaise en Afghanistan (MDAFA)*, XXI, XXVI-XXXI, XXXIII between 1973 and 1992.
14. Bernard, P., 1972, 'Campagne de fouilles a Ai-Khanoum (Afghanistan)', *CRAI*, pp. 623-25, Fig 13; for the range of sculptural material from Ai-Khanum see Nehru, L., 1989, *Origins of the Gandharan Style*, Delhi, pp. 29-32, Pls 29-36.
15. Litvinsky, *JRAS*, 1981, pp. 133-67; Zeimal', *Drevnosti Tadjhikistana*, pp. 69-99.
16. Zeimal, *Drevnosti Tadjhikistana*, p. 91 (Cat. 204), illus. p. 74, and p. 92f. (Cat. 209), illus. p. 76 respectively.
17. Bernard. P., 1974, 'fouilles de Ai-Khanoum (Afghanistan), campagnes de 1972 et 1973', *CRAI*, p. 302, fig. 13. For an analysis of the admixtures between Greek and local traditions in this statuette see Nehru 'Khalchayan Revisited', p. 227f., Fig. 13.
18. Bernard, *CRAI*, 1972, p. 628f., Fig 15; Nehru, *Origins Gandharan Style*, p. 30, Pl.35.
19. Zeimal, *Drevnosti Tadjhikistana*, p. 94 (Cat. 220).
20. Guillaume, O. and A. Rougeulle, 1987, *Fouilles d' Ai Khanoum, VII. Les petits*

- objets*, MDAFA, XXXI, Paris, p. 61, Pl. XIX, 7,8 (Nos. 1137-8: terracotta figurines). For a full discussion of examples of the local tradition from Ai-Khanum see Nehru, 'Khalchayan Revisited', pp. 220, 222, Figs. 3-5 and note 46.
21. The two principal reports of the Khalchayan excavations are Pugachenkova, G. A., 1966, *Khalchaian*, Tashkent, and Pugachenkova, G. A., 1971, *Skulp'tura Khalchaiana*, Moscow. The finds from Tillya Tepe were published in Sarianidi, V., 1985, *Bactrian Gold*, Leningrad, and Sarianidi, V. I., 1980, 'The Treasure of Golden Hill', *American Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. 84, pp. 125-31.
 22. Sarianidi, *Bactrian Gold*, Pls 1-11.
 23. *Ibid.*, Pl. 123, p. 251 (Cat. 123).
 24. Refs. in note 22 above.
 25. Pugachenkova, *Skulp'tura Khalchaiana*, p. 130, figs 63, 112. Other members of the Heraos clan appear in *ibid.*, pp 130, 131, figs, 61, 63-4, 68, 78-9. There is some debate about the date of the Heraos coins, and therefore about the date for Khalchayan, as some scholars place the date of the coins in the 1st century AD, or even later-see Cribb, J., 1993, 'The "Heraos" coins: their attribution to the Kushan king Kujula Kadphises, in c. AD 30-80', *Essays in Honour of Robert Carson and Kenneth Jenkins*, ed. M. Price, A Burnett and R. Bland, London, pp. 107-34; Stavisky, B.I.1986, *La Bactriane sous les Kushans*, Paris, pp. 225-30. In the perspective of artistic changes and developments in Bactria over a period of four centuries, Nehru is in agreement with the mid 1st century BCE date proposed by Pugachenkova for the Khalchayan sculptures-see Nehru, 'Khalchayan Revisited', p. 217.
 26. Pugachenkova, *Skulp'tura Khalchaiana*, pp. 129-30 and pp. 51, 61, 71 for reconstructions of the three panels.
 27. *Ibid.*, p. 131 with reconstruction on p. 71.
 28. Bernard, P., 1987, 'Les nomades conquerants de l'empire greco-bactrien: reflexions sur leur identite ethnique et culturelle', *CRAI*, p. 758-68.
 29. Nehru, 'Khalchayan Revisited', p. 219f., Figs. 1,2; Pugachenkova, *Skulp'tura Khalchaiana*, pp. 103, 105, 110-11, 129, 132-4 and figs. 34, 36-9, 42-4, 47-8, 55, 59, 61, 63-5, 67-8, 77-80, 85, 91-2.
 30. For a full discussion of the sources of realism in the Khalchayan sculptures see Nehru, 'Khalchayan Revisited', pp. 217-39.
 31. Terracotta figurine from Dalverzin-Tepe, dated 1st-2nd century CE-see *Antiquities of Southern Uzbekistan*, 1991, The Ministry of Culture of Uzbek SSR, The Khmza Fine Arts Research Centre, Soka University, Fig. 68. See also Nehru, *Origins Gandharan Style*, P. 34, Pls. 44,45; Pugachenkova, *Skulp'tura Khalchaiana*, figs. 119-20 (terracottas from Khalchayan); Pugachenkova, G. A., 1979, *Iskusstvo Baktrii Epokhi Kushan*, Moscow, figs. 91,150-51, 173, 178-79, 185,188-89 (terracottas from Barat Tepe and Dalverzin); Pugachenkova, G. A. and L. I. Rempel, 1982, *Ocherki iskusstva Srednei Azii*, Moscow, figs 69-73, 75-76 (terracottas from Toprak Kala, Koi Krylgan Kala, Afrasiab, Bukhara, Merv, Dalverzin).

32. For an overview of Buddhism in western Central Asia see Litvinsky, B. A. 1970, 'Outline of History of Buddhism in Central Asia', *Kushan Studies in USSR*, ED. B. Gafurov and others, Calcutta, pp. 53-132; Nehru, *Origins Gandharan Style*, pp. 36-7, Pls. 52-55; Stavisky, *La Bactriane sous les Kushans*, pp. 202-15.
33. For the Bodhisattva from Dalverzin Tepe see *Antiquities of Southern Uzbekistan*, Pl. 125; for a Bodhisattva from Mohra Moradu, Taxila, see Marshall, J. M., 1960, *The Buddhist Art of Gandhara*, Pl. 99.
34. For the relief from Fayaz Tepe see Pugachenkova, *Ocherki iskusstva Srednei Azii*, illus. on p. 61; for the image from Kara Tepe see Stavisky, B. I., 1996, *Kara Tepe*, Vol. 6, fig. 24 on p. 69; for an example from Jaulian in Taxila see Marshall, J., 1951, *Taxila*, Vol. III, Pl. 155, a, b.
35. Stavisky, B. I., 1979, *Mittelasien Kunst der Kuschan*, illus. on p. 141.
36. *Ibid.*, Pl. 128.
37. Pugachenkova, G. A., 1978, *Les Tresors de Dalverzin-Tepe*, Leningrad, Pl. 19.
38. For a particularly good reproduction of the painting from Kara Tepe see Stavisky, *Mittelasien Kunst der Kuschan*, Pls. 110-11; for the relief from Loriyan Tangai see Marshall, *Buddhist Art of Gandhara*, Pl. 82.
39. Pugachenkova, *Skulp'tura Khalchaiana*, Pl. 88.
40. Pugachenkova, *Dalverzin-Tepe*, Pls. 19, 30, 33.
41. Pugachenkova, *Ocherki iskusstva Srednei Azii*, illus. on p. 69.
42. Litvinsky, B. A. and T. I. Zeimal', 1971, *Adzhina Tepe*, Moscow, figs. 35, 44, 46-7, 54, 65-6.

Illustrations

Map of Ancient Bactria

V-A Gold armband. Oxus Treasure (No. 116), 5th century BCE.

V-B Ivory fragment of a lion, probably part of a rhyton. Takht-i Sangin, 5th-4th century BCE.

VI-A Silver statuette. Oxus Treasure (No. 4), 5th century BCE.

VI-B Intaglio with representation of a griffin, milky-white chalcedony. Tillya Tepe

VII-A Winged griffin in gold. Oxus Treasure (No. 23), 5th-4th century BCE.

VII-B Ivory dagger sheath. Takht-i Sangin, 5th century BCE.

VIII-A Gold head. Oxus Treasure (No.5), probably 4th century BCE.

VIII-B Bas-relief of a young man, marble. Ai-Khanum, 3rd century BCE.

IX-A Diademed head of a ruler, stucco. Takht-i Sangin, 3rd century BCE.

IX-B Bronze statuette of Herakles. Ai-Khanum.

X-A Statuette in limestone. Ai-Khanum.

X-B Terracotta figurines. Ai-Khanum.

XI-A Head of a Heraos clansman, clay. Khalchayan, mid 1st century BCE.

XI-B Terracotta figurine. Dalverzin-Tepe, 1st-2nd century CE.

XII-A Bodhisattva, stucco. Dalverzin-Tepe, 2nd-3rd century CE.

XII-B Relief of Buddha with monks, stone. Fayaz Tepe, 3rd-4th century CE.

XIII-A Head of a monk, stucco. Dalverzin-Tepe, 1st century CE.

XIII-B The First Sermon, grey schist. Loriyan Tangai, 2nd-3rd century CE.

XIV-A Painting of Buddha with monks. Kara Tepe, 2nd-3rd century CE.

XIV-B Head of Athena (detail), clay. Khalchayan, mid 1st century BCE.

SOME REFLECTIONS ON THE THERIANTHROPIC

AVATARS OF VIṢṆU

PRATAPADITYA PAL

Among the ten conventional images of Viṣṇu's avatars, the first four are of animal forms: Matsya (fish), Kūrma (tortoise), Varāha (boar) and Simha (lion). While most books on iconography refer to the first three by the animal names such as Matsya, Kūrma and Varāha, the fourth is rarely designated as Simha. Rather, the preferred name is Nrsimha or Narasimha, both meaning man-lion. This is true of ancient iconographic texts as well. For instance, in the *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa* (c. 7th century), one of the earliest iconographic texts where the form is described, he is referred to as *nrsimha* as in *nrsimharūpanirmānam* (ch. 78/2) and not *simharūpanirmānam*. On the other hand, for the description of Varāha, the chapter heading states *varāharūpanirmānam* (ch.79). The same is true of both Matsya and Kūrma. I do not know whether any of the modern iconographers have noted this reluctance among the ancient iconographers to refer to the lion avatar simply by the animal designation when they have no such qualms with the three other animal forms. Although I am unable to offer any explanation, I thought the peculiarity was worth noting.

Generally, both Narasimha and Varāha are represented in art as therianthropic figures (Plates XV, XVI). With one early exception, I know of no representation of Narasimha that portrays him simply as a lion,¹ whereas it was quite common to depict Varāha as a boar (Plate XVIII). However, whether represented as an animal or in a composite form, he is generally referred to as Varāha rather than Nrvarāha, even though in the *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa*, both Varāha and Nrvarāha forms are referred to.² The more common form in which this avatar is represented in art is the therianthropic form in which, like Narasimha or Nrsimha, he has the body of a man with the head of a boar. And yet, unlike Narasimha, this form is always referred to as Varāha and not Nrvarāha, which would be a more appropriate appellation.

When portrayed theriomorphically, Varāha is a colossal figure with all sorts of mythic representations on his body (Plate XVIII), as is the case with images of cosmic Buddha and Bodhisattva in Western Tibet, Central Asia and China. The crux of the myth in such instances—his rescue of the earth—is not always depicted with clarity or dramatic intent, though here the earth goddess is an impressive figure. In therianthropic forms, however, the god

is a heroic figure and the kernal of the myth is represented often with a great deal of vigour and aplomb, the most elaborate being that at Udaygiri in Madhya Pradesh. The late Kuṣāṇa or early Gupta image illustrated here (Plate XVI) is not without interest both stylistically and iconographically. The unornamented god with a long garland wears a short *dhotī*. Both his hands rest on his thighs almost symmetrically and the graceful earth goddess dangles, presumably from his tusk. The body of the god is massively conceived with strong limbs and a thick neck with rolling flesh. Usually in such representations the goddess is proportionately a smallish figure, thereby emphasizing the god's cosmic nature but in the theriomorphic depiction (Plate XVIII) the earth goddess has distinctly gained in stature. Significantly it is this pure animal form of the god that is known as Yajña-Varāha.

In the case of Narasimha, whose cult was extremely popular with royalty,³ there is a greater variety of images. He is either shown as a hieratic, placid figure, seated or standing, or as a terrifying being disembowelling the poor titan called Hiranyakaśipu.⁴ In a fine and powerful representation from Bihar in the Norton Simon Museum (Plate XV) the lion headed god has torn open Hiranyakaśipu's stomach and with barbaric gusto is extracting all his innards. This stele, according to the *Śāradātilakatantra*,⁵ depicts the god's *krūra* (cruel or malevolent) form, as opposed to the *soumya* or placid form in which blood and gore are eschewed for a calm image like that of conventional Viṣṇu but with a lion head. It is interesting that the text uses the expression *krūra* rather than the more common and less loaded *raudra* or *kruddha* (angry) to describe this form.⁶ To my knowledge, no such distinction is made with any of the other avatars, either in text or in art.

A noteworthy feature of the Simon sculpture of Krūra or Raudra Narasimha is a pillar atop which is a lion head to the right of the central scene. Clearly the intent here is to show that the deity is "emerging" from the pillar which is made more graphic in other Pāla period representations, thereby justifying the epithet *sthauna*.⁷ One cannot help but note the conceptual similarity with the theme of Śiva's emergence from the flaming pillar to assert his supremacy over Brahmā and Viṣṇu. In any event, although the relief does reveal a strong narrative intent, the figure of Prahlāda, the devotee of Viṣṇu and the son of Hiranyakaśipu, to save whom the god appeared as man-lion, is not included in the composition.⁸

As has been remarked, generally in sculpture both Matsya and Kūrma are represented theriomorphically. Sometimes, Kūrma avatar is portrayed with narrative details, providing support for the churning stick as recounted in the myth. However, in Pāla art, one does come across composite forms of both Matsya and Kūrma but in reverse configurations.⁹ The animal part is confined to the lower portion, making Matsya appear like a "merman", while

almost the complete anthropomorphic figure of Viṣṇu emerges from the mouth of the tortoise, whose head is turned up, as is sometimes the case in images where a deity stands on a tortoise.

It should be noted that there is another popular avatar of Viṣṇu, though not counted among the first group of the conventional ten, where he is given a horse's head, as may be seen in an early representation now in the Bharat Kala Bhavan (Plate XVII). However, this form is not designated as *Aśva* or *Nṛ-aśva*, *Haya* or *Narahaya*, but is called *Hayagrīva* (one with the horse's neck) as well as *Hayānana* or *Vājīmukha* (with the horse's face). By the same token, *Narasimha* could have been called *Simhagrīva*, *Simhamukha* or *Simhānana* and *Varāha*, *Varāhagrīva*, *Varāhamukha*, or *Varāhānana*, but these combinations proved not to be popular even if they do occur occasionally in literature. Tradition does know of a famous pilgrimage of *Varaha* where he was called *Kokāmukhasvāmī*, the work *koka* being a synonym of *varāha*.¹⁰ It should also be remembered that the word *hari* is a synonym of lion and is a very popular general designation of Viṣṇu. However, when one says simply *Hari* one does not think of *Narasimha* but of the anthropomorphic form of Viṣṇu.¹¹ *Narasimha* is sometimes called by the composite expression *Narahari*. The Bharat Kala Bhavan *Hayagrīva* is unusual in that except for the animal head it is a conventional representation of Viṣṇu seated in the yogic posture and with four arms. The two attributes that are clearly recognizable are the club and the wheel.

A brief mention of two famous figures of Indian iconography will not be out of place. The popular deity *Gaṇeśa*, like *Narasimha*, is rarely shown simply as an elephant. On the other hand the history of *Mahiśāsura*, the antagonist of the goddess *Durgā*, shows a unique transformation from a theriomorphic form (*Kuṣāṇa* and Gupta periods) through a transitional therianthrope form (6th through 8th centuries) to a human form. For the last millennium it has remained popular to show the human titan emerging from the neck of a decapitated buffalo.

In conclusion, the preference among Indian sculptors was to represent the first two avatars theriomorphically, whereas *Narasimha* and *Hayagrīva* are portrayed therianthropeally. Only *Varāha* is depicted both as an animal and as a composite man-animal character. However, in both instances, like *Matsya* and *Kūrma*, he is known commonly by his animal name and not by a composite name. *Narasimha* and *Hayagrīva* on the other hand are rarely if ever identified by their animal names only. Another interesting feature is that in representing such composite therianthrope forms the Indians followed Egyptian and West Asiatic mode of grafting an animal head on a human body - as also with *Nāsatyas*, *Gaṇeśa*, *Garuḍa* and numerous Buddhist deities of the *Vajrayāna* pantheon. Only in rare instances, such as some Pāla images of *Matsya* and

Kūrma did they depict the upper body as human and the lower as faunal. The generic exceptions are serpents (*nāga*) and celestial entertainers called *kinnara-kinnarī*. In these forms of therianthropic representations the visual source seems to have been the classical tradition of the Mediterranean.¹² It should not be overlooked that composite forms of animals as well as humans and animals do appear on seals in the Indus civilization in the third millennium BCE but they are unlikely to have been the immediate forebearers of the therianthropic forms of the historical period.

Notes and References

1. The exception is the famous Iksvāku period relief found in Andhra (S. and J. C. Huntington, *The Art of Ancient India* [New York, 1955], p. 181, fig. 9.30).
2. Ch. 79, w 1-2.
3. For example, the important Tantric compendium *Śāradātīlakatantra* (ch. 16, 20-30) describes how the ruler should identify himself with Narasimha and then perform certain rites by reciting the appropriate mantra of the deity before undertaking an invasion against his enemy. In three of his inscriptions the Sena king Lakṣmaṇasena (r. 1178/9-1206) calls himself *paramanārasimha*. Very likely under the threat of Muslim invasion his devotion of Narasimha increased.
4. Unlike Varāha, Narasimha stands both in *sampada* and in *ābhāṅga* and can be seated with both legs pendant from the seat or with raised and folded knees with a *yogapatta* around the legs.
5. *Śāradātīlakatantra* (ch. 16, v. 13n) *soumye soumyam smaret krūre krūramimam bhajet |*
6. According to the *āgama* tradition this form is also called *sthauṛa* because the avatar emerges from a stone pillar (Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I., 1, Delhi, 1971 Reprint, pp. 149-152). The placid form is called *girija* because the lion belongs to the mountain. In these images, if he is seated then the posture is either *lalitāsana*, *pralambapādāsana* or *utkuṭikāsana*. The images where he is seated in the last-mentioned posture are also called Yoga-or Kevala-Narasimha. It is difficult to understand therefore why scholars (see Huntington and Huntington, *op. cit.* p. 584, fig.23.15) describe the famous image of this form surviving in Hampi, and demonstrating once again the popularity of this avatar with Vijaynagar royalty, as Ugra Narasimha, since the expression *ugra* has the same meaning as *raudra* or *kruddha*.
7. In a stele from Dilna, published in E. Haque, *Bengal Sculptures* (Dhaka, 1992, fig. 79), the bust of the lion-headed deity with his right hand raised as if about to strike appears from the top of the pillar. In even a more interesting image from Vikrampur (fig. 81), we see in addition to the bust of Narasimha with the left hand displaying the gesture of admonition (*tarjanimudrā*), Hiranyakaśipu kicking the column.

8. In the Vikrampur stele cited in note 7, the scene of the discussion between Hiranyakaśipu and Prahlāda is added in a vignette beside Narasimha's left leg. It should be noted further that on top of the stele are the images of Brahmā, Śiva and Viṣṇu, with Śiva in the middle. Dr. Haque has made no comment on these interesting Narasimha images in his brief description (*ibid.*, p. 110).
9. Haque, *Ibid.*, figs. 73 and 75.
10. Haque, (*Ibid.*, p. 107) however, takes the name to refer to Narasimha. This is clearly an error for the epigraphical allusion is definitely to a shrine and pilgrimage of Varāha and not Narasimha. See P. Pal, *Vaiṣṇava Iconology in Nepal* (Calcutta 1970), pp. 4-5 for textual citation from the *Brahmapurāṇa*. See also N. L. Dey *The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India* (New Delhi 1971), p. 101.
11. For instance, in such expressions as *jaya jagadīśa hare, Harihara, etc.*
12. See T. K. Biswas, "Kinnara-kinnarī" in *Chhavi-2* editd by Anand Krishna, Banaras 1981, pp. 266-269, for a discussion of the origin of such composite forms.

Illustrations

- XV. Angry Narasimha Avatar, Bihar, c. 1000, grey chlorite, h: 118.7 cm. The Norton Simon Foundation (F. 1975.17.47.S), photo courtesy The Norton Simon Museum, Pasadena.
- XVI Varāha Avatar, Uttar Pradesh, 4th-5th century, Sandstone, Bharat Kala Bhavan (Acc. No. 29, 225), photo courtesy T. K. Biswas.
- XVII Hayagrīva Avatar, Uttar Pradesh (Mathura), 3rd-4th century, h: 13.7 cm. Bharat Kala Bhavan (Acc. no. 4846), photo courtesy T. K. Biswas.
- XVIII Varāha Avatar, Rajasthan, 12th century Black Phyllite, 55.3 x 75 cm. The Alsdorf Collection, photo courtesy Art Institute of Chicago.



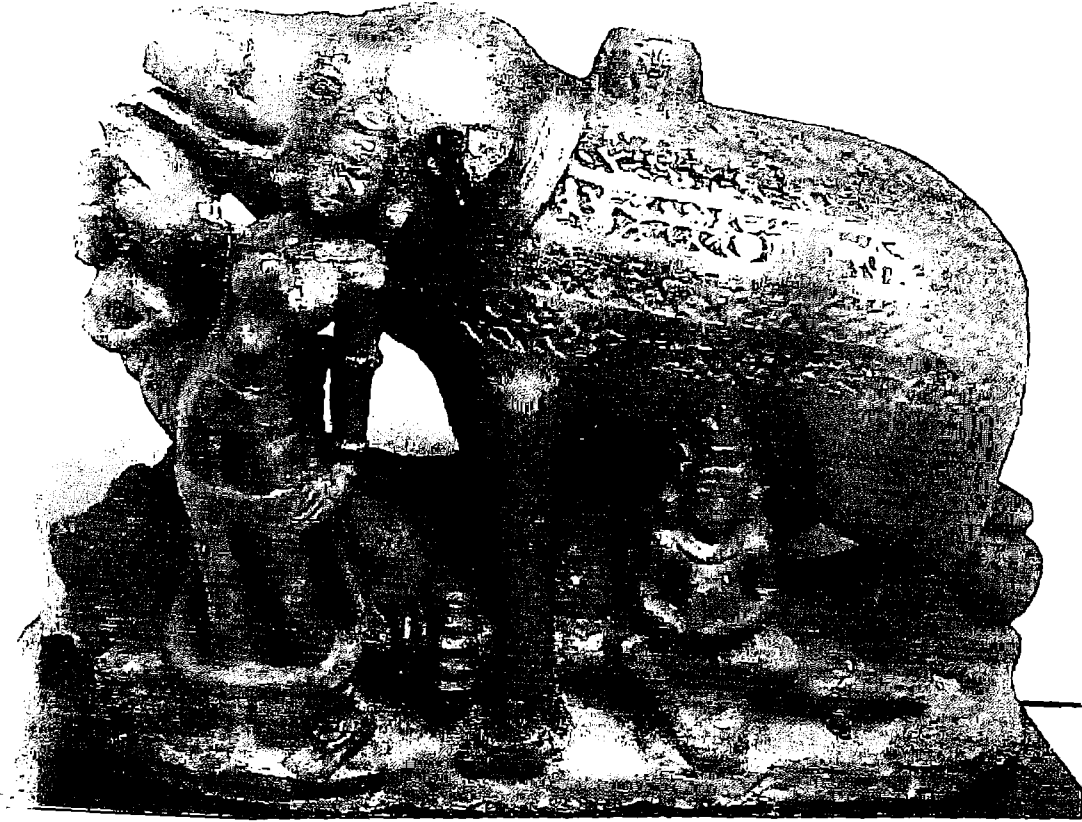
Angry Narasimha Avatar, Bihar, c. 1000,
The Norton Simon Museum, Pasadena.



Varāha Avatar, Uttar Pradesh, 4th-5th century,
Bharat Kala Bhavan, Varanasi.



Hayagrīva Avatar, Uttar Pradesh, 3rd-4th century,
Bharat Kala Bhavan, Varanasi.



Varaha Avatar, Rajasthan, 12th century, The Alsdorf Collection, Art Institute of Chicago.

EDWARD CONZE'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE DOCTRINE OF BUDDHA'S BODIES

ARVIND SHARMA

Perhaps the best-known doctrine of the bodies of the Buddha is the *trikāya* doctrine of Mahayana Buddhism. Its classical formulation is attributed to Asaṅga and may be summarized thus:

The body of Buddhas is threefold. The essential body is the dharma-body (*dharmakāya*), and it is distinguished by revulsion of the support, i. e. the revulsion which has turned from everything illusory to ultimate reality. It is the same for all Buddhas. It is said to be the "support" of the two others, for ultimately only it exists, and is hence called essential (*svābhāvika*). The second, the body of enjoyment (*sambhoga-kāya*), is "that through which Buddha affords enjoyment of the doctrine in assemblies." As Buddhas are described in the sūtras as existing in all universes and preaching to great assemblies of bodhisattvas and gods, this body of enjoyment was a concept which made it possible to harmonize the doctrine of these sūtras with the apparently contradictory teaching about his Nirvāṇa. This body is said to be different in all Buddha-fields and assemblies. Buddhas reveal themselves to bodhisattvas in this body in the Akanīṣṭha heaven, the highest of the heavens of form. The transformation-body (*nirmāṇa-kāya*) is "that by which he works the good of all creatures", i. e. the person of the historical Buddha, who passed through all the stages of his existence, taught the doctrine, and attained Nirvāṇa.¹

The emergence of the doctrine in this form in the fourth century CE² was the result of a gradual evolution. Thus the Suvāṇaprabhāsa Sūtra "contains in the Sanskrit version no doctrine of the triple body"³, and while the "Tenkaya dogma is not fully developed in" the Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra "each member of the trinity is traceable in such ideas as Dharmata-Buddha, Vipāka-Buddha and Nirmāṇa-Buddha."⁴

II

The evolution of the doctrine, however, can be traced further back. Thus the Sarvāstivādin Abhidharma "distinguished the following three bodies: (1) The material body (*rūpakāya*) which is the result of past karma. It is corruptible, though in other ways superior to that of ordinary beings. (2) The Buddha can through his magical power conjure up fictitious bodies (*nirmāṇakāya*) which allow him to appear anywhere. (3) Finally there is the Dharma-body,

which consists of the five 'portions of Dharma', the possession of which makes a Bodhisattva into a Buddha."⁵

In the Theravādin Abhidhamma, although "Buddha's personality as such remains in the background", "he is (1) an impersonal metaphysical principle, (2) a supernatural potency and (3) a type."⁶

The actual living Buddha is a combination of the impersonal metaphysical principle of Dharma with a 'vile body', and it is obvious which one of the two matters. The Buddha has at all times been subordinated to the Dharma, and his significance lies in being a channel of its eternal Truth. Since 'persons', as we saw, do not exist, even the procedure of 'taking refuge' with the Buddha must take account of the dharma-theory. What in fact happens is that refuge is taken with the dharmas which make a Buddha or which lead to someone being called a 'Buddha'. 'His body, born of his parents, consists of impure dharmas, and is not worth taking refuge in; refuge is taken in the dharmas of an adept, which bring about enlightenment, and constitute the Dharma-body.' Others say that the eighteen special dharmas of a Buddha are the refuge sought for.

The Buddha, as we saw, is clearly more than a solitary individual who quietly fades out from this world. His actions or deeds have great repercussions for this world and those who live in it.

When the Buddha is called a 'Tathāgata' his individual personality is treated as of no account. Tathāgatas are 'types' who at certain predestined times appear in solemn procession in this world, from the unthinkable past to the unthinkable future. The period of each Tathāgata is fixed beforehand, and each one undergoes a stereotyped career and follows the same Path, fixed once and for all for all of them. The Tathāgatas differ only in trivial details, but in essentials, in their Buddha-dharmas, they are all alike.⁷

Going back to the Sūtras themselves, to which the Abhidhamma was a subsequent addition, "the distinction of a temple body is found by way of suggestion already".⁸ The three bodies there are "(1) the corruptible body, (2) the 'mind-made' bodies which allow the Buddha to visit heavens, etc, and (3) his Dharma-body which is his teaching."⁹

III

It will be noted that in these discussions of the bodies "Buddha's personality as such remains in the background."¹⁰ Indeed "In the older Buddhism of the Sūtras the Buddha's personality was so unimportant that H. Oldenberg's classical work on the Buddha can devote to him just 7 out of 401 pages."¹¹

It will now be suggested that Edward Conze provides virtually another doctrine of the triple body of the Buddha which forges a bridge between the Buddha of history and the Buddha of the Sūtras. This he does by suggesting that "The Buddha can be considered from three points of view:

- As a human being
- As a spiritual being
- As something in between the two."¹²

Let the Buddha now be considered from each of these points of view.

1 As a human being:

This refers to the Buddha as "the Gautama Buddha" who "lived probably between 560 to 480 BCE in the north-east of India."¹³

2 As a spiritual being:

This refers to the Buddha as a Tathāgata:

The original meaning of the word 'Tathāgata' is no longer known. Later commentaries explain the term as composed of the two words 'Tathā, 'Thus', and the past participle 'āgata', 'come', or 'gata', 'gone'. In other words, the Tathāgata is one who has come or gone 'thus' i. e. as the other Tathāgatas have come or gone. This explanation stresses the fact that the 'historical Buddha' is not an isolated phenomenon, but that he is just one in an endless series of innumerable Tathāgatas, who appear throughout the ages in the world and always proclaim the same doctrine. The Tathāgata is, therefore, essentially one of a group. Sets of seven, or twenty-four, or a thousand, Tathāgatas were particularly popular. In Sanchi and Bharhut, for instance, the seven Tathāgatas, i.e. Śākyamuni and his six predecessors, are represented in art by the seven stūpas which contained their relics, or by the seven trees under which they won enlightenment. In Gandhara, Mathura, and Ajanta, the seven Buddhas are shown in human form, one practically indistinguishable from the other.¹⁴

3 As something in between the two:

This refers to the Buddha as a *mahāpurusa*; as possessing a "glorified body":

A list of 32 'marks of a superman,' often supplemented by a list of 80 'subsidiary marks', described the most salient features of the Buddha's 'glorious body.' The list of the 32 marks is common to all schools, and it must be fairly old. The paintings and statues of the Buddha which we find in Buddhist art, never depicted the human body visible to all,

but they always try to represent the 'glorious body' of the Buddha.

Far from being invented only in the later stages of Buddhist history, the idea that various signs on the body, known only to the wise, indicate a person's destiny, stature, and future, is very much older than Buddhism itself. The 32 signs of the superman are derived from a pre-Buddhistic manual of astrology. The Buddha's 'glorious body' did not suffer from the physical limitations of an ordinary body. It can move about in a space which is not bigger than a mustard grain, and, on one occasion, the Buddha rose in three steps to the heaven of Indra, which is very distant indeed.

It would lead us too far to discuss all the traditional signs of a superman in detail, although an understanding of Buddhist art is quite impossible without a thorough acquaintance with them. The Buddha's 'glorious body' was 18 feet high, and many of the statues of the Buddha have attained that height. The body was golden in colour. "Between the Lord's eyebrows there was a woolly curl (Ūrṇā), soft like cotton, and similar to a jasmine flower, to the moon, to a conch-shell, to the filament of a lotus, to cow's milk, to a hoar-frost blossom." Many-coloured light radiates from this hairtuft, which is as white as snow or silver. Sculptures usually represent the Ūrṇā by a simple dot or by a jewel.¹⁵

Thus Edward Conze presents us with three bodies of the Buddha: the historical, the archetypical and the glorified, and by thus extending the notion of the three bodies into the historical and cultural context of the sūtras enables the notion of the three bodies to be anchored even further into the deeper reaches of Buddhism.

IV

It must now be pointed out, however, that the above version is an amended account of Edward Conze's own description of these three types, so much so that he might disown the above version notwithstanding its family-resemblance to his own full account.¹⁶

It appears that Edward Conze is keen not in any way to do violence to the spirit of Buddhism in his presentation, as if afraid that his trichotomization might lead to a truncation of the Buddha. Thus, after identifying the Buddha as a historical human being he immediately adds, "The historical facts of his life cannot be isolated from the legend which all Buddhists accept. The existence of Gautama, or Śākyamuni (*The Sage from the Tribe of the Shakyas*), as an individual, is, in any case, a matter of little importance to Buddhist faith. The Buddha is a type that has been embodied in this individual and it is the type which interests the religious life. While it is possible, though

by no means certain, that ordinary believers may have thought sometimes of the Buddha as a personal being, the official Buddhist theology does nothing to encourage such a belief. In the official theory, the Buddha, "the Enlightened", is a kind of archetype which manifests itself in the world at different periods in different personalities, whose individual particularities are of no account whatsoever."¹⁷ Similarly, after describing the three ways of looking at the Buddha, he concludes by saying: "Whenever the word Buddha is used in the Buddhist tradition, one has this three-fold aspect of the Buddha in view. To the Christian and agnostic historian, only the human Buddha is real, and the spiritual and the magical Buddha are to him nothing but fictions. The perspective of the believer is quite different. The Buddha-nature and the Buddha's 'glorious body' stand out most clearly, and the Buddha's human body and historical existence appear like a few rags thrown over this spiritual glory."¹⁸

It will now be suggested that this keenness on the part of Edward Conze to abide by the spirit of Buddhism has led him to make connections which conceal the true nature and extent of his contribution to Buddhology. Thus when he tries to identify the Buddha as a spiritual principle he remarks that "When the Buddhists consider the Buddha as a spiritual principle, they call him the Tathāgata or speak of his Dharma-body".¹⁹ Clearly the Dharmakāya is meant here. But when Edward Conze interprets the Tathāgata idea archetypically he seems to make a contribution to Buddhology, while connecting the spiritual principle with the Dharma-body does not add to our insight. Perhaps the expression "spiritual principle" may itself be modified to "archetypal principle" in the light of the doctrine of *anatta*. Similarly Edward Conze tries to identify the notion of the glorified body with that of "the enjoyment body."²⁰ This seems to refer to the Sambhoga-kāya. What is interesting in this respect is that Edward Conze does not refer specifically to the Nirmāna-kāya, though his description of Buddha as a human being can be seen to correspond to it. If now (1) the connections which Edward Conze tries to make between his "three points of view" and the *trikāya* doctrine of Mahayana are dropped and (2) his "three-fold aspects of the Buddha are placed at the beginning of a discussion of the development of the doctrine of the three bodies"²¹ through the Sūtras and Abhidharma and then Mahayana literature, then the original nature of his contribution to Buddhological studies seems to shine forth."²²

Notes and References

1. Edward J. Thomas, *The History of Buddhist Thought* (New York: Barnes & Noble, Inc., 1971), pp 242-243; also see Kenneth K. S. Ch'en, *Buddhism* (Woodbury, New York: Barron's Educational Series, Inc., 1968), pp. 65-66; D. T. Suzuki, *Outlines of Mahayana Buddhism* (New York: Schocken Books, 1963), Chapter X.
2. *Ibid.* p. 65.

3. Edward J. Thomas, *op.cit.*, p. 244.
4. D. T. Suzuki, *The Lankavatara Sutra* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1973), p. xiv.
5. Edward Conze, *Buddhist Thought in India* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1962) p. 172.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 171.
7. *ibid.*, pp. 171-172.
8. *Ibid.* p. 172.
9. *Ibid.*
10. *Ibid.*, p. 171.
11. *Ibid.*
12. Edward Conze, *Buddhism: Its Essence and Development* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1959), p. 34.
13. *Ibid.*
14. *Ibid.*, p. 36.
15. *Ibid.*, pp 36-37.
16. *Ibid.*, pp 34-38.
17. *Ibid.*, pp 34-35.
18. *Ibid.*, p 38.
19. *Ibid.*, p 36.
20. *Ibid.*
21. See Edward Conze, *op.cit.*, p. 171.
22. For a concise discussion of the various aspects of the Buddha see Richard A. Gard, ed., *Buddhism* (New York: George Brazillier, 1962), Chapter II. Shashi Bhushan Dasgupta's remark, quoted by Richard A. Gard (*Ibid.*, pp. 85-86) apropos the *trikāya* doctrine that "Later on, this Buddhology, cosmology and ontology were all confusedly mixed up" seems particularly relevant.

THE TOWN OF ERICH : ITS ANTIQUITY AND COINAGE

AJAY MITRA SHASTRI

With the disintegration of the Maurya empire in the early second century BCE ended the age of strict control of a central authority over far-flung areas of the Indian subcontinent (Bhāratavarṣa). The Śuṅgas, though succeeding in a large part of the empire, couldn't keep it intact for a long time and the centre's hold over distant regions had turned slack and fickle. During their rule a large number of small chieftains grew in strength, and the result was the growth of a large number of small states which later threw off the central yoke and declared their independence.

A remarkable feature of this phase was the issue of what are called 'city coins'. We thus had the issues bearing the names of Takṣaśilā, Vārāṇasī, Kauśāmbī, Ayodhyā, Ujjayinī, Eran (ancient Erakanya), Māhiṣmatī, Vidiśā, Bhāgilā, Kurarā, Tripurī, Suktimatī, etc. That these were not the only towns in whose names the coins were issued is amply demonstrated by fresh discoveries of such coins. And the most important epochmaking discovery in this field happens to be the find of monetary issues of Erikaccha or Erikacha, now represented by the small town of Erich situated on the right bank of the river Betwā (ancient Vetravatī) in the Garauthā Tehsil of the Jhansi district of Uttar Pradesh. It is about 70 km north-east of Jhansi and has a circumference of about 2 km. But that in the past it was much larger and of great political and administrative importance is shown not only by these coins but also by other equally important antiquarian remains including inscribed bricks.¹ It continued to occupy a somewhat prominent position during the Paramāra rule as evidenced by the Mahobā plates of king Paramardideva, dated Vikrama Saṁvat 1230 (= 1173 CE) which refer to it as the name of a *viṣaya* or district called Eracha-*viṣaya*.² It is mentioned as Iriz in a Persian record in the local Jāmā Masjid and as Airach in a manuscript of the Hindi work *Hari-carita* (composed in Saṁvat 1912) of Nidhāna Giri found in the local Nṛsiṁha temple.³

The meaning and interpretation of the name Erikaccha are somewhat enigmatic. Dr. Mohan Lal Gupta, a literary figure and enthusiast collector of antiquities including coins, has ingeniously suggested that the name is probably formed by the Sanskrit words *aiśvara* (meaning magnificent, strong, associated with Śiva or regal [sic]) and *kaccha* (connoting a river-bank or located near a river). The original name, following his view, was Aiśvarakaccha which would mean 'a prosperous town on the river-bank.'⁴ But it would imply, besides

grammatical inadequacies and incongruities, the turning of *ai* into *e* and the elision of *śva* as early as the second century BCE when the coins bearing this name were first minted. We think that the name refers to vegetation or vegetation-cum-its location. *Eraka* in Sanskrit denotes, *inter alia*, a kind of grass of emollient and diluent properties and in this sense occurs in ancient Indian literature,⁵ and the word *kaccha*, too, denotes, besides other things, the plant known botanically as *Hibiscus Populneoides*,⁶ and Sanskrit lexicons take it to be synonymous with *kūṇi*, *kāntalaka* and *nandivṛkṣa*,⁷ and, according to Bhānuji Dīkṣita's Rāmāśramī gloss on the *Amara-kośa*, it is the same as that commonly called *tūni*.⁸ Thus, if we were to take both these words in their botanical sense, the name would refer to a locality where both these plants (*eraka* and *kaccha*) grew in abundance. And it may probably find some support if one were to accept the spelling of the name Erakakaccha met with in the Buddhist Pali text *Therīgāthā*.⁹ But the word *kaccha* also, and more commonly, means a marshy region or an area on the river-bank.¹⁰ And it is better to take the word in the name in question in this sense, especially because of its location on the bank of the river Betwā (ancient Vetravafī). As a well-known instance of a name based on or derived from the *eraka* vegetation, one may especially mention *Airakanya*, modern Eran in the Sāgar district of Madhya Pradesh, which is not very far from Erich and of a high antiquity.

What is especially noteworthy in the present context is that the name of the place is found, as known at present, first in the Buddhist Pali literature. In the *Petavattu*, it (spelt as Erakaccha) is spoken of as a well-known town of the Dasanna (Daśārṇa) *janapada* while in the *Therīgāthā* (spelt as Erakakaccha) it is mentioned as an abode of a very opulent goldsmith.¹¹ It will be noticed that while in the latter form both the components (*eraka+kaccha*) are intact, in the former the first component has lost the terminal *ka* which, though not stated explicitly in the dictionaries, is, in fact, a diminutive suffix as seen from a comparison of the two spellings. It appears to have been a stronghold of Buddhism in early times as seen from references in the Buddhist Pali literature.

On the coins we don't find any of the two spellings and the name is spelt either as Erikacha or Erikacham. The change in the form including the elision of *c* before *ch* and the substitution of *i* for *a* in *eri* may perhaps indicate lapse of some time between the Pali texts *Petavattu* and *Theigāthā* on the one hand the coins in question on the other. The earliest of these coins can consequently not be dated much earlier than about mid-second century BCE.

This is true also about other city issues. These issues have been generally assigned indiscriminately to the third¹² or early second century BCE¹³ mainly

on palaeographical considerations. It must be remembered, however, that the legends on these coins comprise only a few (3-4) characters which had often to be compressed in the short space afforded by these metallic pieces. Secondly, palaeographical development in all the areas was not the same during a given period as various factors were at work. It is consequently risky to be dogmatic about fixing the dates of these coins only on palaeographical grounds. We must therefore take other factors also into consideration. The earliest Indian specie were uninscribed and the practice of giving legends on coins became more popular, not initiated, as a result of the impact of Indo-Greek issues. And the city issues were perhaps one of the oldest, if not the oldest, Indian coins to bear inscriptions. And this could not have occurred much prior to about mid-second century BCE.¹⁴ And generally speaking, the issues carrying the name of Erikaccha, too, belong to *circa* 150-100 BCE though, as true of most of the early Indian monetary series, they might have remained in circulation for some more time.

All the Erikaccha coins, like those of other cities, are of base metals like copper or bronze. As regards shape, they are rectangular, square or round or roundish. They are produced by all the three known techniques, viz. punch-marking, casting in moulds and die-striking, which may indicate a chronological framework. In several cases the reverse is blank though mostly these are bi-facial. In case of some of the cast coins, the metallic slug is left out. In most of the cases the obverse gives only the legend and the reverse the devices; but sometimes we get devices on both sides. The devices are a variety of tree-in-the-railing, strung bow-and-arrow, Ujjain symbol, three- or six-peaked hill, sometimes capped by a crescent, an animal figure to left or right or disposed back to back and some accessory auspicious symbols. The hill symbol is sometimes formed in a unique and strange manner. In short, there is a tremendous variety of devices. It is difficult to determine which of these is peculiar to and can be said to be the speciality of Erich though the strung bow-and-arrow might be a claimant to this honour.

It is not without interest that the Erikaccha coins show an unprecedented variety and volume in the entire gamut of city issues. As many as just a little over thirty coins had been published earlier,¹⁵ but now we have as many as fifty-two specimens.¹⁶ None of the other city series can claim such an honour as in most other cases a much smaller number is known. Making an allowance for the fact that what is known at present represents only a small fraction of the total volume in circulation in all the cases, the volume in the case of Erikaccha coins must have been undoubtedly much larger which is enough to show its greater importance as compared to all the urban centres whose coins have come down to us. This fact has been brought home very vividly by Mohan Lal Gupta.¹⁷

The question about the authority issuing the city coins has been debated ever since they came to light, and there is a wide divergence of opinion on this problem. Some scholars contend that following the termination of Aśoka's reign or the fall of the Mauryas some prominent cities of the erstwhile Maurya empire turned into independent city states that minted coins in their own name. And to buttress this contention the example of Greek city-states is quoted.¹⁸ We, however, have no reference whatever to the existence of such city states in indigenous Indian literature or inscriptions and the alleged allusions in the Classical sources are of a doubtful character. As against this lack of supporting evidence we know that most of the localities known from the coins in question were prosperous centres of trade and industry and were situated on trade-routes. Moreover, there is dependable evidence to demonstrate that minting in ancient India was not a state monopoly and guilds of traders and manufacturers and other corporate bodies were also allowed to strike coins in their own names.¹⁹ And such issues have, in fact, been reported, in small numbers though. The Negamā series of Takṣaśilā,²⁰ the coin of the people or traders of Kauśāmbī²¹ and those of the perfumers' guild²² afford some such instances. Traders are also known to have issued their own coins, and in literature we get numerous allusions to the *drammas* issued by bankers (*śreṣṭhins*). We may therefore hold reasonably that the so-called city issues, too, belong to the same category. However, as these coins refer only to the names of the cities without specifying any organisation, we shall not perhaps be far from the truth if we take these specimens as the monetary tokens or coins issued by the city administration for the purpose of local circulation.²³

In addition to these 'city issues' Erich has also yielded a large volume of uninscribed cast coins as well as coins issued by some local rulers. The uninscribed coins are the earliest though it is difficult to be sure that they were all minted at Erich, such a possibility is very likely though. The coins issued by the local kings and included by Gupta in his monograph bring to light the chiefs named Mugamukha (Mrgamukha²⁴), Ajita, Kāśerana (?), Bavana (?), Rathina (?), Virasena, Sāhasamitra who assumed (or continued to employ) the military title *Mahāsenāpati* ('the great commander') even though he had become an independent monarch to be able to mint in his own name, Aditimitra, Īsvaramitra, Sāhasasena, Mitrasena, Agnimitra, Mahārājamitra (or a *mahārāja*²⁵ named Mitra) and Mitrajyeṣṭha. In view of the great commercial importance of Erich in those days it is likely that some of these coins came to the locality in course of trade or individual travel, but there should be no doubt that many of the kings known from them must have been local rulers who had their official mint (or mints) at Erich. Keeping in view sheer numerical considerations we may conclude that Īsvaramitra was one of the most prominent monarchs of Erich. And the fact that he employed Sanskrit for legend on his coins (*Īsvaramītrasya*) would show that he was the latest

(or one of the latest) ruler fairly close chronologically to the Imperial Guptas all of whose coins bear legends in chaste Sanskrit and flourishing style, not to speak of the inscriptions many of which furnish examples of high-flown poetic style.

Erich in the early centuries CE was definitely a very prominent commercial and administrative centre even if not the capital of a king, for some inscriptions noticed at the site have brought to historical notice four generations of a ruling family culminating with one Āṣāḍhamitra who got a stepped well (*puṣkarinī*) excavated. All the four members bore the military title *senāpati* and the last two are styled *Daśārṇādhīpati* and *Daśārṇeśvara* respectively.²⁶ We may therefore conclude that at least the last two were rulers of the Daśārṇa country or eastern Malwa region of Madhya Pradesh. It need not necessarily lead one to conclude that the two kings had the whole of the Daśārṇa region under their political authority, for they could claim lordship over it even if they exercised control over only some part of it. It is not impossible that after the decline of the Śūṅgas and the Kānvas, under whom Vidiśā was the capital of Daśārṇa,²⁷ it was shifted to Erikaccha as the lords of Daśārṇa performed their pious acts at this place as seen from the inscriptions. It would be highly desirable to excavate the site extensively with a view to expose the stratigraphically dated archaeological wealth of this locality as its great archaeological potential is already known. It is sure to be immensely rewarding.

Notes and References

1. For an account of these remains, see O. P. L. Srivastava, *Archaeology of Erich, Discovery of New Dynasties*, Varanasi, 1991.
2. Hira Lal, 'Mahoba Plates of *Paramardideva*: (Vikrama-) Śamvat 1230', *Epigraphia Indica*, XVI, 1921-22, p. 12, line 8.
3. See O. P. L. Srivastava, *op. cit.*, p. 5, note 1.
4. *Erich : An Ancient City on River Betwā (Its History, Coinage and Discovery of New Dynasties)*, Krishna Prakashan, Jhansi, 2001, pp.2-3 (Hindi version) and 32-33 (English version).
5. Monier-Monier Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 232, s. v. *eraka*.
6. *Vide Ibid.*, p. 242, s. v. *kaccha*.
7. *Amara-koṣa*, with Bhānuji Dikṣita's commentary, Nirmayasagar Press, Bombay, 1944, II 4. 128: *kuniḥ kacchaḥ kāntalako nandivṛkṣaḥ*.
8. *Ibid.*, commentary on the above stanza, p. 172.
9. Bharat Singh Upadhyaya, *Buddha-kālīna Bhāratīya Bhūgola* (Hindi), Prayag, Vikrama Śamvat 2018, pp. 463-64.

10. See *Amara-koṣa*, II, 1.10, which equates it with *anūpa* which is defined as *jala-prāya* or almost watery.
11. *Nagaramhi Erakakacche suvaṇṇakāro aham bahutadhani*, cited by Bharat Singh Upadhyay, *op. cit.*, p. 464.
12. *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India (JNSI)*, XIII, p. 74; XVII, p. 94.
13. John Allan, *Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum: Coins of Ancient India*, London, 1936, p. cliv.
14. See Ajay Mitra Shastri, 'A New Variety of Māhishmaṭī Coins', *The Journal of Academy of Indian Numismatics and Sigillography (JAINS)*, II, 1978-79, p. 3.
15. See S. K. Bhatt and Narendra Singh, 'A rare coin of Erikiccha', *JAINS*, VI, 1988, Professor Ajay Mitra Shastri Felicitation Volume pp. xxxiii-xxxv, (however, the authors have erroneously attributed the coin to the town of Eran); Dilip Rajgor, 'Copper Coins of Erikachchha', *Indian Coin Society's Newsletter*, No. 10, September, 1991; Amiteshwar Jha, 'Coins of Erikachha - A City State', *IIRNS Newslines*, No. 23, July 1999 (he published as many as twenty-six coins); Om Prakash Lal Srivastava, 'Two Types of City Coins of Erikachha', *Numismatic Digest*, XXI-XXII, 1997-98, pp. 1-3.
16. See for these, Mohan Lal Gupta, *op. cit.*
17. *Op. cit.*
18. *JNSI*, XIII, pp. 40ff.
19. See D. C. Sircar, *Studies in Indian Coins*, Delhi, 1968, pp. 101ff.; K. D. Bajpai, *Indian Numismatic Studies*, Delhi, 1976, pp. 1ff.
20. John Allan, *op. cit.*, pp. cxxv-cxxvi, 214-18
21. K. D. Bajpai, *op.cit* p. 4, pl. I. 2.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 3, pl.I.1.
23. *Vide* Ajay Mitra Shastri, *op.cit.*, p.3.
24. *Mrga-mukha* literally means 'one whose face is like that of a *mrga* (deer or a wild animal in general)'. One need not be surprised at such a name as we come across even more opprobrious names like Śvetāśvatara, Śunaḥśepa, etc. and even at present such names are in vogue in India.
25. Whether the bearer of this title was a more powerful king or he just assumed this superior regal style is difficult to ascertain at present. But the assumption of this title certainly indicates a late date for him.
26. See O.P.L. Srivastava, *Archaeology of Erich*, pp. 8-10.
27. Even Kālidāsa, who flourished most probably after the Śuṅgas in the first century BCE, mentions in his celebrated poem *Meghadūta* Vidiśā as a capital (*Vidiśā-lakṣaṇā rājadhānī*), evidently of Daśārṇa. That it was the capital of the Śuṅgas during the reign of Bhāgabhadra (probably identical with the fifth king of the dynasty who is called Bhadraka in some of the Purāṇic accounts) is clearly established

by the Besnagar Garuḍa pillar inscription of the Greek envoy Hellodora (Hellodorus) who had come to this locality as an envoy of the Indo-Greek king of Takṣaṣilā, viz. Antialkidas who is mentioned as Antalikita in this record.

THE ŚŪRYA TEMPLE OF BOUDHA DANDA

A. K. SINGH

Introduction

The Sidhi District in eastern Central India (M.P.), though less known for its antiquarian remains, is nonetheless important from archaeological standpoint. The archaeological explorations undertaken in and around the region have yielded artefacts belonging from prehistory to historical and modern period. Interestingly, since the beginnings of constructing structural buildings in the Maurya-Śunga times, the Vindhyan region has witnessed the rise and fall of various schools of art and architecture. The *stūpas*, the temples, the monasteries, the lecture-halls, the gate-houses and reservoirs scattered in the region, endorse the forenoted statement. The Mauryas, the Śungas, the Guptas, the Kalacuris and the Pratihāras, who held sway over this region, were not only great builders but also extended patronage to several arts and hence to the concerned craftsmen. Sidhi tract is no exception. My recent exploration in that area has brought to light some outlandish antiquities which in turn may prove seminal in understanding the development of art traditions in that region and in fact north India in general. Fossil bearing sites, Mara caves,¹ a monolithic temple,² and the brick temple of Madfe Danda,³ show only the tip of the iceberg. Future exploration possibly may reveal more number of archaeological remains in the region. Previously, the region was considered a stronghold of the Kalacuris in early medieval period⁴ and the monastery and a temple at Chandrehe were the only standing monuments of paramount importance.⁵ Since then things have started changing.

The Site

The paper discusses Boudha Danda group of temples situated at Medhulia near Tenduha village of Singarauli Tehsil in Sidhi District. The temples stand in lush green and picturesque surroundings, situated as they are in a dense forest near a perennial *nalah* named Suravan and is three km away from Devara railway station of the Central Railway on Katni-Chopan route. Nearby are scattered seven small mounds of burnt bricks, each brick being 10.3 x 10.3 x 10.3 cm in dimension. Also, there is a small mound of potsherds called 'Chaukiya'. Broken pieces of an *āmalaka* and other architectural members are visibly present. Madfe Danda is not far away from here. One who wishes to visit Boudha Danda has to travel through an undulated terrain and cross a few rivulets. Well known Mara caves, as the crow flies, are approximately

20 km (approx.) from that point.

Temple No. 1

The twin temples of Boudha Danda (Plate XIX) are of modest height. Temple No. 1 is 4 m. high, while temple No. 2 is 3 m. in height, both being of stone and face west. On plan, temple 1 comprises a cubical *garbhagrha* internally measuring 1.30 x 1.30 x 1.52m. while outer dimensions are 2.70 x 2.50m. It had a *mandapa* or hall measuring 2.15 x 1.34m. It is in ruins. As the basal remainders of the pillars of the *mandapa* are peeping out from the ground, their once existence in the hall is inferrable. The hypothesis gains ground from the fact that the west façade of the temple including the fronton of the *sikhara* is much damaged (Plate XIX), its stones can be noticed scattered here and there. The doorjamb (1.15 x 80m) (Plate XXI-B) seems at some point to have undergone renovation. It is entirely plain. Left doorjamb is provided with a figure of an attendant (?) at the lower end which, due to intense weathering, is unidentifiable. The *lalātabimba* on the face of the architrave (*uttarāṅga*) is adorned with an image of Gajābhīṣeka-Lakṣmī or Kamalātmikā, this being a popular appellation.⁶ The two-armed goddess is seated cross-legged on a blossomed lotus. Attribute in her right hand is a lotus stalk while left hand rests in her lap. Her elongated ears are clearly noticeable. The headdress, too, is noteworthy. The Devī is attired. She wears necklace and waistband. Two elephants, one on each flank, are pouring lustral water over the goddess with a vessel each held in their trunks. The *sanctum sanctorum* is today devoid of the cult image. Hence nothing directly can be ascertained including the question as to whom the temple was dedicated. Internally, the *garbhagrha* walls are plain.

In elevation, the temple comprises *vedibandha*, *janghā*, and the *sikhara* (Plate XX). The dvi-āṅga temple stands on a base where the plinth-course alone is visible on the surface, followed by the *jādyakumbha* : the *vedibandha*, which consists of the usual members - *khura*, *kumbha*, *kalaśa*, *kapotikā* - the *antarapaṭṭa*, however is unsubstantial. The *kumbha* moulding is provided with human heads (?) while *kalaśa* is adorned with *gavākṣa*-dormer motif in low relief, a prominent feature of the Pratihāra period temples in Central India.⁷ The recess between the *kalaśa* and the *kapotikā* moulding is relieved with *tulā-pīṭha* whereas the same motif occurs in the central Indian Pratihāra temples at the level of the *kalaśa* moulding.⁸

The *janghā* is divided into three registers, the lowest being elongated while the upper two are somewhat shorter and both are of equal height. The *bhadra-khattaka* is provided with a pilastered niche, divided into two. The upper niche on the south façade contains a seated female figure with āṅ oval face, elongated ears, and folded hands (Plate XX). The lower niche encases dancing Gaṇeśa. The four-armed deity holds *paraśu* or axe in his upper

right and *modaka* in the palm of the lower right arm. The attribute in the left upper arm is unidentifiable, while left lower arm rests on the thigh. His trunk is directed upwards. Pilasters have capitals which, however, are unpretentious. Each *bhūmi* in the *karṇa-rekhā* shows *gavākṣa*-dormer containing two pilasters each and a *lumbikā* hanging above in the middle. The *bhadra* niche on the east side, however, contains an image of the standing Sun god (Plate XXI-A). Each of his two arms holds a fully blossomed lotus (Plate XXII-A). The *khattaka*-niche at the north shows a female deity, probably Pārvaṭī. The *praṇāla*, too, is inserted, as is customary, at the north side. The *jaṅghā* at its farther end is embellished with *lumbikās*, one *gavākṣa*-dormer applied on each *karṇa* of the *śikhara*, and three *gavākṣa*-dormers along the *bhadras* of the *śikhara* are also noticeable. Each *gavākṣa* contains a female head with an unique headdress and earrings. The *varaṇḍikā* separates the *jaṅghā* from the *śikhara* and in between is a continuous row of *tulāpītha*-ends shown in a sunk panel.

The *śikhara* of the temple is partially preserved, the pinnacle is lost; hence nothing definite could be said about its shape. Each *bhūmi* invariably consists of two compressed pilasters with stunted capitals. The *madhyālatā*, however, is adorned with *gavākṣa* motifs with *lumbikās*. Two *āmalakas* rest on the *karṇa*. The confines of the two *bhūmis* are demarcated with a continuous row of *gavākṣa*-dormers. The presence of *salilāntara* may also be noted.

In the vicinity of the temple, to its north, is placed a mutilated Śiva *līṅga* and a figure of some deity (Plate XXII-C), both are today found beneath a tree. It seems that they are still worshipped by the local populace. The four-armed deity holds a spear in his right upper arm and a snake in left upper arm, rest of the hands are broken. The *jaṭā*-crown, earrings, necklace, waistband, armband, sacred thread, anklets and shoes are prominently displayed. The half-opened eyes suggest contemplative mood. He is attired in *adhovastra* or lower garment, fringes of which are hanging in front. An attendant is standing below right. In attenuating the figure's waist and elongating the body contour, the sculptor has commendably displayed his skill. The deity cannot be identified. The *līṅga* and this figure may have belonged to Temple 2.

Temple 2

To the south of Temple 1 stands this small, plain, square shrine (1.58 x 1.58m.) which also faces west (Plate XXII-B). The *garbhagrha* (.95 x .95 x 1.10m.) is without the cult image. The doorjamb (1.20 x .85m.), too, is plain. In elevation the temple has a low and simple *adhiṣṭhāna* and *jaṅghā* (1.00 m. in height), made up of slabs put vertically. The *phāmsanā* or tiered pyramidal superstructure with five tiers is *dviāṅga*. Each tier is decorated with *gavākṣa* motif in low relief. The *kalāśa* is missing. The temple is cognate in style with the early Pratihāra temple at Deour Kothar.⁹ On stylistic

considerations, the two temples on the site seem contemporary.

Discussion

Temple 1 may have been dedicated to Āditya whose image significantly is stationed in the east wall *bhadra*-niche. As for its date, in default of an associated inscription, we must rely on the style of the building. The regional pattern as regards the form, compositional elements and their rendering helps estimate the period of construction. The unpretentious plan, stunted *śikhara*, *gavākṣa*-dormers carved on the *kalaśa* moulding in the *pīṭha*, and the *tulā* and *lumbikā* motifs are suggestive of the Boudha Danda Temple 1 being a creation of the pre-Pratihāra tradition. Human head carved on the body of the temple leads to the same conclusion. The Pratihāra temple at Sitamadhi has repeated the same idiom at the *lalāṭabimba* and the *śikhara*.¹⁰ The date seemingly was the close of the seventh century CE. The partially integrated primitive *kamakūṭas* point toward the Dakṣiṇa-kośala style; there are examples, possibly, somewhat later than our temples at Boudha Danda, at Dhobani and a few other sites. Eastern Central India had experienced an upsurge of building activity under the influence of local post-Gupta ruling houses, whoever they may have been.

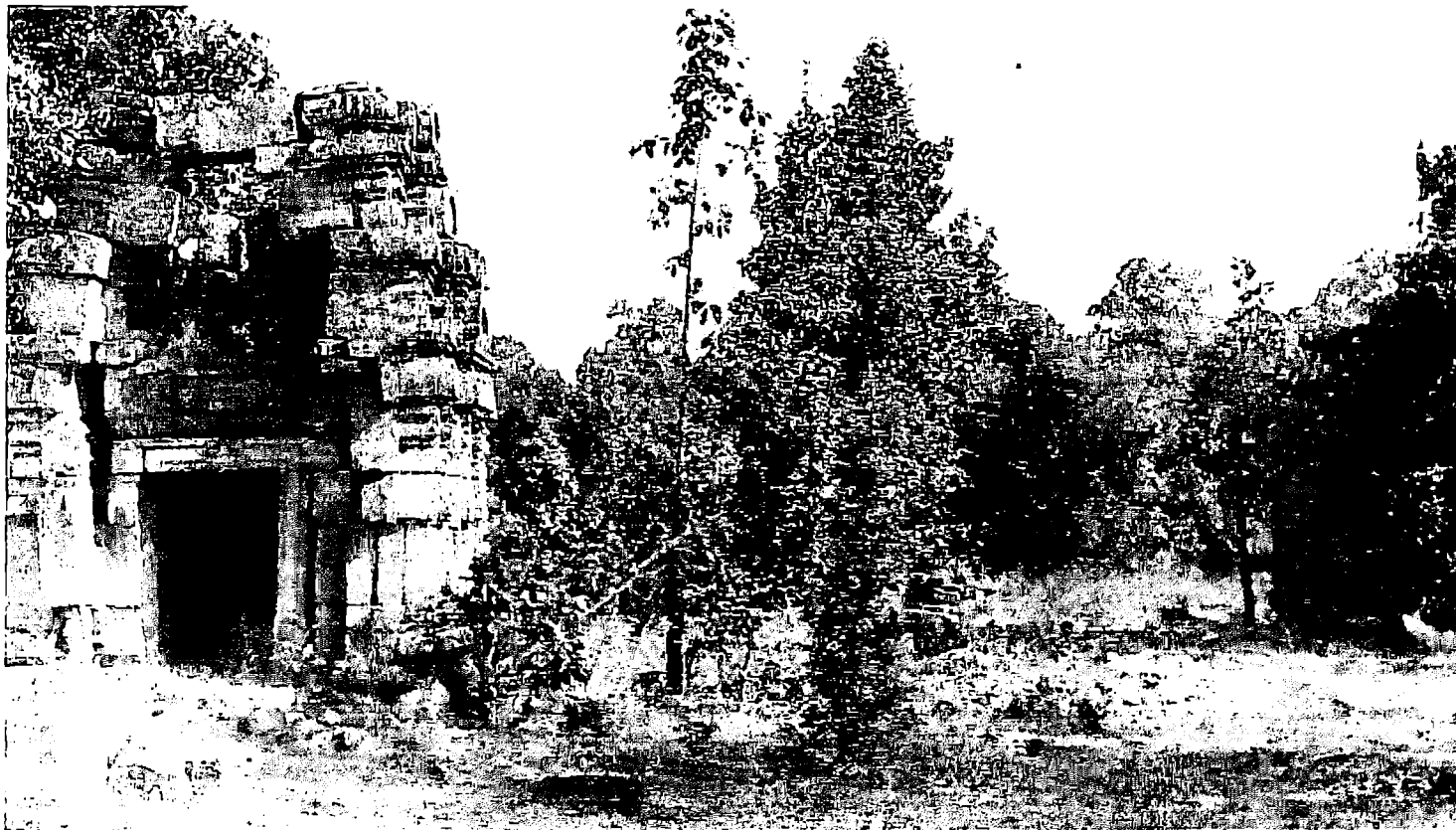
Notes and References

1. A. Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey of India Report*, XIII.20, Reprint 1970.
2. While exploring the region, I came across a monolithic temple perched on the hillock encasing the Gaṇeśa Māra. Though of moderate dimensions (3.80 x 2.90m.) and the ceiling lost, it is perhaps for the first time that any monolithic temple is being reported from this region.
3. Though dilapidated, ruined brick temple at Madfe Danda was a precious find of the recent explorations. Presence of a Siva *liṅga* with *arghā* in the *sanctum sanctorum* suggests that the temple was dedicated to Siva. The *vitāna* (ceiling) of the temple is lost, the *janghā* is embellished with pilasters and floral pattern.
4. A. K. Singh, "A peep into architectural remains from the Vindhya", *Symposia Papers*, Vol. II, World Archaeological Congress-3, 1994.
5. R. D. Banerji, *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1931, 23:32.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 53.
7. R. D. Trivedi, *Temples of the Pratihāra Period in Central India*, 1990. Trivedi is of the view that the *kapotikā* is carved with *caitya* window motif in the First Phase *Pratihāra* temples of Central India, whereas, according to the new information, in eastern Central India the *kalaśa* is adorned with the same motif.
8. *Ibid.*
9. A. K. Singh, "Vindhya mein Pratihāra śailī ke sthāpatya" (Hindi), *Gaon Desh*, I, 3-4, 14-16.

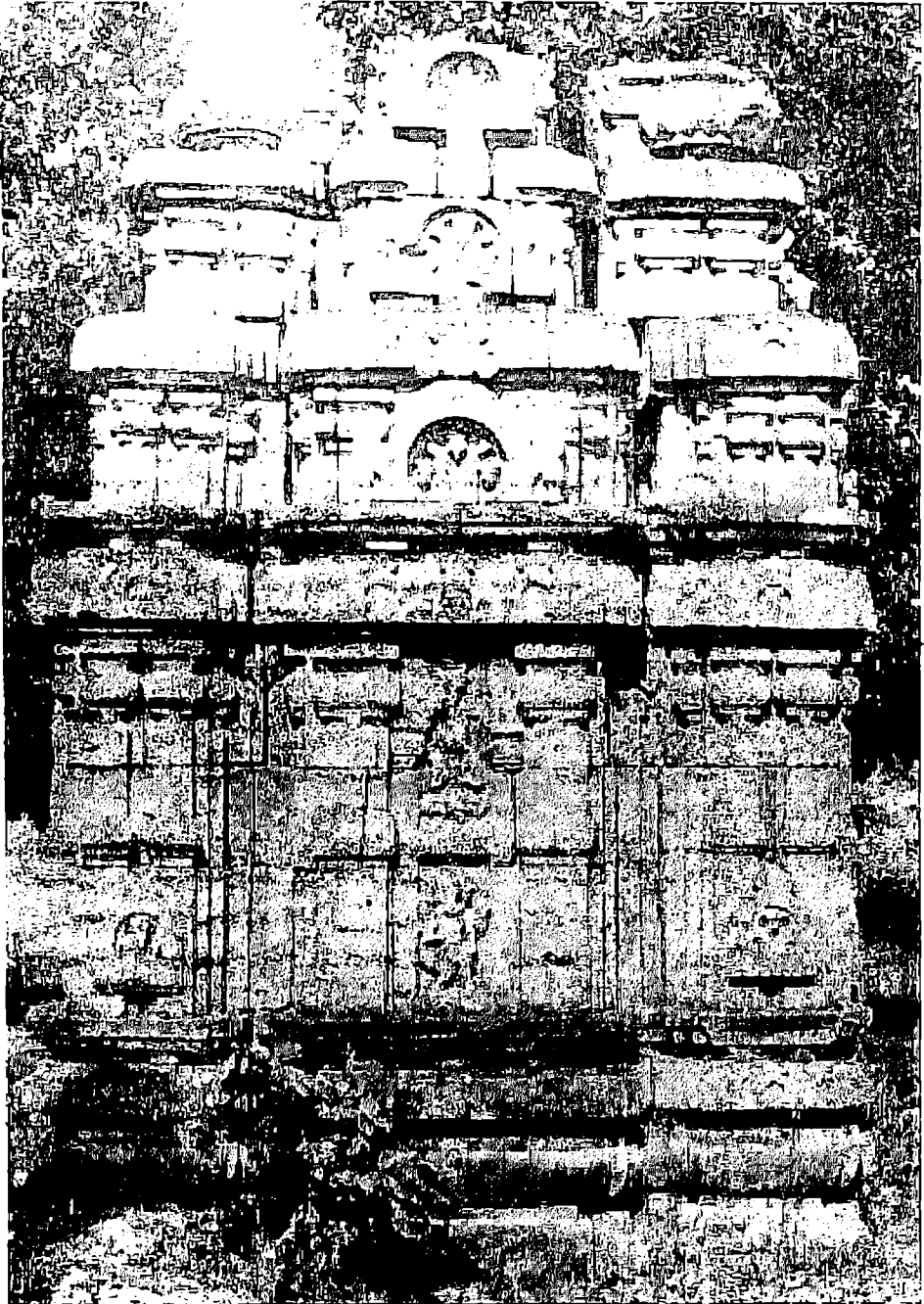
10. A. K. Singh, "The Pratihāra temple of Sitamadhi-some interesting features", *Kṛṣṇa Smṛti-Studies in Indian Art and Archaeology*, Eds. Agrawal & Mishra 1994, 204-207.

Illustrations

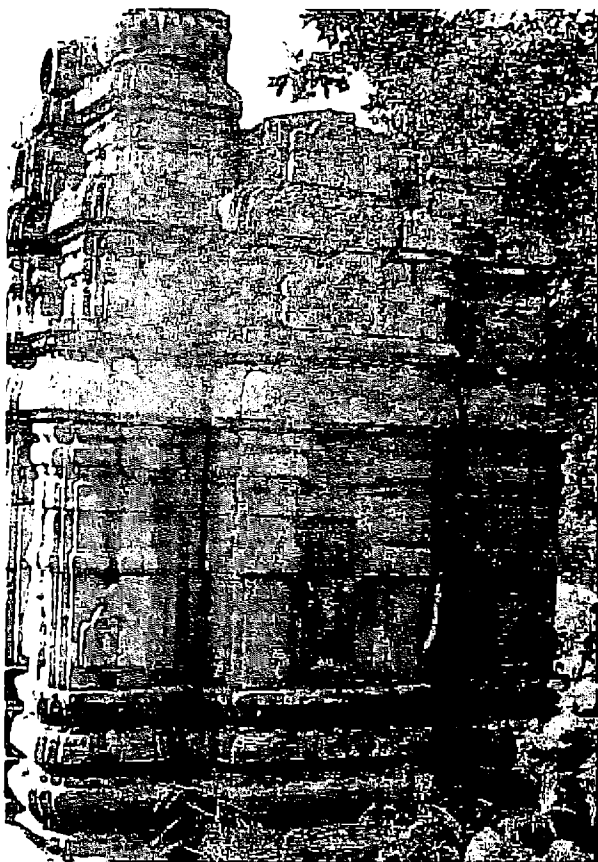
- XIX The twin temples, Boudha Danda
XX Southern façade, Temple No 1, Boudha Danda
XXI-A Eastern façade, Temple No. 1, Boudha Danda
XXI-B Doorway, Temple No. 1, Boudha Danda
XXII-A Sūrya, Temple No. 1, Boudha Danda
XXII-B Temple No. 2, Boudha Danda
XXII-C A deity, Boudha Danda



The twin temples, Boudha Danda.



Southern façade, Temple No. 1, Boudha Danda.



A. Eastern façade, Temple No. 1, Boudha Danda.



B. Doorway, Temple No. 1, Boudha Danda.



A. Sūrya, Temple No. 1, Boudha Danda.



B. Temple No. 2, Boudha Danda.



C. A deity, Boudha Danda.

CHINA AND KARNATAKA 7TH-16TH CENTURIES

(WITH REFERENCE TO SEA TRADE RELATIONS)

K. G. VASANTHAMADHA

Introduction

The nature of contact between China and south-western portion of India, Karnataka is appraised on the basis of variety of contemporary sources. These sources are scattered and in the form of numismatic archaeological excavations, epigraphs (including recently discovered inscription at Kumta) folk traditions and literary works substantiated by the foreign records and travelogues. Although, we get disconnected information, the study of these suggests that the sea trade determined the contact between China and Karnataka. This trans-oceanic contact ushered in a period of marine prosperity. The study of the topic is analysed as follows :

1. Antiquity of Contact

The vague idea of China's contact with Karnataka is derived from numismatic evidence. The Chinese coin known as *Hasvali* assigned to second century BCE was discovered in the Chitradurga district, Karnataka.¹ This indicates that some sort of contact existed between China and Karnataka. The clear picture of contact emerged from the seventh century CE onwards. This is revealed in the travelogue and documents of the Chinese. These accounts refer to Karnataka, its flourishing cities, and the characteristic of features of their residents. For example, one of the Chinese travellers, Hiuen-Tsang, (CE 620-640) sojourned Karnataka (CE 639) and made useful and interesting information. For instance, he pays compliments to the people of the Calukya kingdom as being brave, honest and proud. He visited Banavasi, one of the historic cities of Karnataka. He called it Kong Kin Pulo which was bordered by forest on north and south. According to him "the land was rich in vegetation and fertile. It was regularly cultivated and produced large crops. The disposition of the people was ardent and quick. They loved learning and esteemed virtue." He noticed that the royal palace had close to it a monastery inhabited by 300 monks who were men of learning.²

Within a few years we notice the arrival of the large ship from western India via Funam (Cambodia) to China. This is mentioned in one of the Chinese accounts *Liang Se Kung Tse Li*, written by Chang Y between 667-730.³

The above account enables us to infer that there was trans-oceanic contact between China and West coast of India on which Karnataka is situated.

In the course of centuries, the Chinese were aware of the ports of West coast of India and the availability of the products which they needed. In this context the Chinese sources refer to the best pepper available in the Mangalore region which is estuary to Malabar. In the middle of the fifteenth century the Chinese had acquired fair knowledge of south India particularly its west coast. This is revealed in their works. These Chinese works provide information about topography of the West coast, its residents, their customs and manners, climate and products.⁴ In the same century China's contact with kingdom in Karnataka, Vijayanagara was an established fact as evidenced by the discovery of the Chinese relics found at Hampi, the capital of the kingdom and in the port of Goa. For instance, during the excavation conducted at Hampi the following items such as the Chinese porcelain (white and red, white and blue, and gold hues), circular copper coins of China of Ming Yuang Lo (1403-1428) are found.⁵ In the port of Goa⁶ the Chinese pottery, inscriptions in Chinese shards dateable to the fifteenth century have been noticed.⁷

In the same period, large fleet of the Chinese known as Junks led by famous General Chen Ho voyaged across the Indian ocean and visited many south Indian ports, particularly those on the west coast.⁸

2. Diplomatic Relations

A few historic documents often refer to exchange of diplomatic missions between Chinese emperors and the rulers in Karnataka. Usually these were commercial in nature but occasionally we come across missions of religious and diplomatic nature. First we hear of the diplomatic missions of the Calukya rulers of Badami to the court of the Chinese emperor. This is recorded in the Chinese encyclopaedia, composed in the eleventh century. It states that in the third month of third year the Caluka ruler sent an embassy to the court of the Chinese emperor. This event took place in the second half of the seventh century.⁹ Detail of this mission is not forthcoming. Again we hear of a Chinese envoy in the court of the Cālukya ruler Vinayāditya in the year 692. It is said that the envoy met a Buddhist scholar, Budhiruchi in the court and invited him to China. The Buddhist scholar accepted the invitation, came to China and rendered remarkable services to the study of Buddhism till his death in 713.¹⁰

We hear of a series of diplomatic missions between Chinese emperors and South Indian rulers in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The main reason for these missions was restless ambition and insatiable curiosity of Kublai Khan. One such mission acquainted Mangalore in Karnataka with the availability of the best pepper. For instance, in 1282, ordered by the Chinese emperor,

Kublai Khan, the mission under the leadership of Yung Ting Pi voyaged to Kullam (Quilon)¹¹ and came to know of a kingdom, *Su mu ta*¹², situated north of Malabar. This kingdom, the mission came to know was another place known for fine pepper which the Chinese liked. The document also states that the chief of *Sumuta* sent his representative to the Chinese court.¹³

Within a few years the Chinese court received another envoy from Mangalore which was one of the prosperous ports on the west coast of India. The envoy was accompanied by other envoys from the other neighbouring kings.¹⁴

In the middle of the fifteenth century Karnataka witnessed the emergence of a new political force in the form of the Vijayanagara kingdom. Its rulers were aware of China and often set up contact with the latter. For instance, the annals of the *Ming* dynasty of China record that Emperor Bukka Rāya I (1356-1377) sent an embassy with a tribute to the court of China in the year 1374. The name of the envoy was *Bi ni si*. Among other things the envoy presented a stone which had power of neutralizing poison.¹⁵ There is also a view that the Vijayanagara rulers had kept contact with China between the years 1403-1423.¹⁶ But the details of these are not known. The Vijayanagara ruler knew China in the Saka year 1384=CE 1462 as evidenced by a copper plate found at Kaiganahalli, Mysore district. The inscription records of the victory of the Vijayanagara king over many countries including China.¹⁷

3. Trade Contacts

It was the trade interest of the Chinese that determined her relations with the neighbouring and far off countries, particularly west coast of India. Contemporary historic documents of the Chinese aver that they were anxious to procure the products that were abundant in South India. Therefore, with an intention of procuring certain products available in the Indian Ocean region, the Chinese set up special Mission. Its function was to explore the above region.¹⁸

With reference to Karnataka, the study of the numismatic relics indicates that some sort of trade contacts with China were in vogue in the second century BCE. However, the picture is vague. It emerged from the seventh century CE onwards. One of the Chinese sources states that vessels from western India brought mirror of peculiar variety of rock crystal to China. The peculiar mirror attracted the Chinese traders.¹⁹

By the middle of the thirteenth century the Chinese merchant ships visited Quilon and from there they proceeded northwards, to Mangalore, Honnavar and Goa. Again one of the Chinese annals informs us of their trade intercourse with many ports in West coast of India, namely Mangalore and Honnavar.²⁰ The traded commodities in these ports were satin clothes, blue and white

jar (*Chine Pingani*), iron-ore, coloured beads, cloves, cardamom and musk.

The indigenous sources refer to a few interesting bits of information about the trade of the Chinese in the ports of coastal Karnataka. In support of this we cite the information of the Chinese trade in the port of Mangalore mentioned in the work known as *Sharabhu Maha Ganapati Mahime* (glory of *Sharabhu Maha Ganapati*). This work is in Kannada language and date of its composition is still unknown. It mentions of the arrival of big Chinese ships with huge masts and number of sails to the port Mangalavatipuram (Mangalore). These ships brought gold mixed soil which was in great demand in the region. Further the same work states that in the course of the voyages, their big ships were grounded at the mouth of the river Netravati. In this critical situation, the Chinese captains sought the help of the king of Mangalore. The latter helped the captains and the ships were brought to the shore. The same work also states the local people purchased the gold mixed soil and other cargoes in the vessels. It seems that this event took place toward the end of thirteenth century.²¹

It is interesting to note that the study of a few inscriptions alludes to the Chinese trade in coastal Karnataka. For instance, one of the Mudabidre inscriptions dated CE 1430 mentions of the purchase of the Chinese cloth (*Chinnambara Vikraya Preja karim No. 22*).

Foreign sources often speak of the Chinese trade activities in the ports of coastal Karnataka. For example, one of the Portuguese documents of the early decade of the sixteenth century states that Chinese silk was purchased in Honnavar in exchange for copper, tin, vermilion etc.²³

A few folk literary and local traditions furnish interesting bits of information about the Chinese trade in coastal Karnataka. One of the folk songs known as Tulu Paddana, refers to the trade of local merchants with Macao (China).²⁴

Similarly, local tradition informs us of the Chinese trade activities in the port of Basrur, one of the prosperous ports in coastal Karnataka. It states that the Chinese big ships used to arrive from China to the above-mentioned port in the month of *Āsāḍha* (July-August). The Chinese sailors came there for procuring ginger, sugar-cane, coconut etc. These were exchanged for Chinese silk (*Chine Pati*), colourful vessels and variety of glasses. The same account mentions that in the course of one such voyage, the Chinese captain ridiculed one of the venerated local deities, Panjurli there. The deity became so furious that it sunk the Chinese ship. Finally the work ends by stating that the Chinese captain became attendant deity of Panjurli. In the course of years the attendant deity is worshipped by the local people as *Chine Bhuta*.²⁵

4. The Chinese Vessels

There is a contention that in initial stages the Chinese had no ships of their own. It was only after their contact with South India the Chinese built and used ships for their trans-oceanic trade.²⁶ In the course of centuries we hear of their huge ships of different sizes managed by the Chinese sailors often touching the ports in the West coast of India. These Chinese ships were known by different names - *Junk* (huge ships with high mast), *Zus* (medium size) and *Kakam* (small size). The Chinese Junks which touched the shores of South India were described as mountains sailing on the sea.²⁷ The local versions, prevalent in the coastal Karnataka, refer to the anchoring of the Chinese Hadagu in the ports of Mangalore, Basrur, Honnavar. According to contemporary source of 1325-43 CE the Chinese vessel had four decks, rooms, cabins, and saloons for merchants; their large ships with masts with many sails were not lowered, but turned according to the direction of the wind.²⁸

5. The Chinese Settlements

The mention of the Chinese settlements in the port towns of Karnataka is another interesting point to be taken into consideration. A few indigenous sources refer to settlements and resettlements in the region under study. For example, one of the indigenous local traditions avers that in the beginning of the thirteenth century, the chief of Mangalore (Chandrasekhara Banga) encouraged the Chinese trade and also their settlement in his port (Mangalore).²⁹ The Chinese fresh settlement is known to us from a Chinese inscription, undated, found at Kumta (Uttara Kannada district). It states that *Kow Sang Wen*, hailed from Gu Ang Don (a village in South China), set up a fresh Chinese settlement, probably in and around the find-spot of the inscription. It says that this is a memory stone of Wen.³⁰

Conclusions

I. The study of the subject reveals that the account of the Chinese contact with Karnataka is not continuous and the information gathered is scattered. The contact was often dominated by trade interest. On account of the availability of certain products in coastal Karnataka, the Chinese came to the ports in Karnataka to buy them because they needed these very much. Similarly, the Chinese commodities attracted the people of Karnataka.

II. It seems that the Chinese trade contact with coastal Karnataka was continuation of their similar activities in Kerala. There was scarcity of essential products in Kerala as known from the Chinese sources.³¹ In this context, the Chinese merchant vessels sneaked into the ports in coastal Karnataka to purchase their required products which were available in plenty. In a few

instances, the Malabar traders served as middlemen in the trade transactions between the merchants in coastal Karnataka and China. In the first two decades of the sixteenth century, the crafts from Malabar visited the ports of Mirjan, Honnavar, Bhatkal, Basrur, Mangalore and Kumbala where their crafts were loaded with coconuts, copras, palm-oil, black rice and pepper which were then taken to ports in Malabar. The Chinese conducted trade of products brought from the ports of coastal Karnataka, by the Malabar merchants, in the ports of Eli (Elimala), Valapattana, Kodangalur, later on Cananore, Calicut and even Cochin. Thus the region of Kerala played its vital role in the trade transactions between China and the coastal Karnataka.

III. The impact of Chinese contact with Karnataka was felt on agriculture and textile activities of the latter. The increasing cultivation of cucumber known as *Chine Kumbala* was the outcome of the Chinese contact. The silk products in Karnataka received impetus.

IV. The Chinese contact with Karnataka influenced the folk belief of the latter. This is known to us from the worship of the *Chine Bhutas* in some places in coastal Karnataka.

Notes and References

1. R Narasimha Achar, "Karnataka Country" *Quarterly Journal of Mythic Society* (Bangalore), X, p. 251. Here Karnataka includes the region between the rivers Godavari and Kaveri and the narrow west coast belt stretching from Goa to the north of the Chandragiri river. This is the historic boundary of Karnataka. Chindananda Murthy, *Kannada Sasanagala Samskritika Adhyana* (Kan. Mysore First ed., 1966 second ed., 1978) p. 386.
2. Beal Samuel *Buddhist Records Of Western World*, Translated from the Chinese of Hiuen Tsang (London 1906) pp. 253-256. A few scholars refuted the identification of Kong Ken Na Pula with Banavasi. After thorough examination of various documents, Moraes G. M. came to the conclusion that Kong Ken Na Pula was Banavasi. At present the scholars have accepted it. See Moraes G. M. *Kadamba Kula*, A History of Ancient and Medieval Karnataka, (Bombay 1931 second ed., 1991) p 62. The proper spelling of Hiuen Tsang has been subject of considerable discussion and various spellings are still in vogue. Here the spelling of the Chinese traveller is used by V. A. Smith, *Early History Of India* (Oxford 1967) p 25.
3. Saletore B. A., *Karnataka Trans Oceanic Contact* (Dharwar 1955) p 67.
4. Harprasad Ray "Sino-Indian Commercial and Diplomatic Relations, 9th to 15th centuries." *Quarterly Review Of Historical Studies*, (VOL XXXVII, Calcutta APRIL September 1997) p 115.
5. I. K. Sharma "Indian Sea Faring Traditions : Archaeological Perspective, 'An Integrated Approach To Marine Archaeology, Proceedings of the Fourth Indian Marine Archaeology Of Indian Ocean, (Vishakapattanam 1994) p 96, Cited this as PIMA).

6. Goa was then within the sphere of Karnataka rulers. Kannada was found in a few inscriptions found there.
7. Nambirajan, Goa An Entry point for Arab merchant into Deccan and South India *PIMA III* Dharwar, 1992, pp. 110-11.
8. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *A History Of South India*, (Oxford, Madras 1966) pp 334, Roderich Ptak, "China and Calicut in the Early Ming Period, Envoys, and Tribute Embassies" *Journal Of The Royal Asiatic Society*, (London 1989) No. 1, pp. 81-107 cited this as *JRAS*.
9. Saletore, B. A, *Ibid.*, pp. 68-9.
10. V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, *South India And China*, First ed. 1945 Reprint Madras 1991) pp. 37-38.
11. It was one of the prosperous ports in Kerala and it was known to the Chinese navigators of the seventh century. The Arab traveller Sulaiman mentions that the Chinese ships touch Quilon on the way to the Persian Gulf. According to him, the port was the most considerable centre of trade in South India. K. M. Panikkar, *Malabar And The Portuguese* (Reprint New Delhi 1997) p. 56. A Chinese account of the thirteenth century, *Zhufan Zhi* mentions of the Chinese trade with Quilon. Noboru Karashima, "Development of Overseas Trade Under Vijayanagara rule," *Karnataka Historical Review*, XIV No. 12 n (Dharwad 1990) p. 10.
12. Rochill's suggests it may be Mangalore or near about. Dikshitar, *Ibid*, 30.
13. Dikshitar, *Ibid*. Meera Abraham, *Two Mediaeval Merchant Guilds Of South India* (New Delhi 1988) p. 150.
14. Dikshitar *Ibid*. p. 31.
15. V. A. Smith "An Embassy from Vijayanagara to China" *Indian Antiquary*, 1916, p. 140.
16. *PIMA* IV. p. 99.
17. *Epigraphia Carnatica* (Revised ed.,) V. Krishnarajapet, No. 71, p 533. This statement is an exaggeration.
18. V. R. R. Dikshitar *Ibid*. p. 5.
19. Saletore B. A. *Ibid.*, p. 67.
20. Appadorai *Economic Conditions In South India*, (Madras first ed 1936 Reprint Madras 1990) ii pp 567-68.
21. "Sthalapurana of Sharabhu Maha Ganapati Mahime" quoted by Nage Gowda, *Pravasi Kanda India* (Kan, Mysore, 1966) I, p 101f. Sharabhu Maha Ganapati is one of the sacred shrines in Mangalore. According to Aigal Ganapati Rao, the king of Mangalore at that year was the Banga chief, Chandrasekhara. See Aigal, *Dakashina Kannada Jelleya Prachina Ithihasa* (Mangalore 1923 cited as *Ithihasa*.) p. 269.
22. *South Indian Inscriptions*, VII NO 196.
23. Fulner R. J. Lima *Subsides Para Historia Da India Portuguesa* Quotd by B. S.

- Shastri, "A Glimpse of The Socio-Economic conditions of the Port-Towns of coastal Karnataka in The Sixteenth and the Seventeenth Centuries as described in Some Contemporary Portuguese Sources" *Studies In Karnataka History And Culture, Proceedings of the Karnataka History Congress, II Mysore 1987*, p. 96.
24. Saletore B. A., *Ancient Karnataka*, History of Tuluvas (Poona 1936) p. 483.
25. Vivekananda Kamath, Barsurua Garadi *Saradavani*, Annual Magazine of Sharada College, Basrur 1977-78, p. 24. Panjurli, one of the popular local deities. It is in pig form. The antiquity of the worship may be traced from the beginning of the sixteenth century. Viveka Rai, *Tulu Janaada Saahitya*, (Tulu Folklore, Bangalore 1985) p. 231.
26. V. R. R. Dikshitar, *Ibid.*, p. 5.
27. Ibn Battuta, *Travels In Asia And Africa* (Translated and selected by H. A. R Gibb with an introduction and Notes, AES, New Delhi 1992) p. 235, V. R. R. Dikshitar, *Ibid.* p. 12.
28. Ibn Battuta, *Ibid.*, Regarding the discipline observed in the Chinese ship, see Appadorai, *Ibid.*, ii p. 652.
29. Aigal M. G., *Ibid.*, p. 269.
30. This Chinese inscription was first noticed by Late M. R. Shanbhag, found in the prakāra of Santika-paramesvari temple at Kumta. He brought to the notice of Dr. Suryanath Kamath, the Editor of Karnataka State Gazetteer. Dr. Kamath received its meaning from Dr. Noboru Karashima. The former wrote a note on this inscription which appeared in Weekly Kannada Journal *Sudha*. He assigned the event to the middle of the nineteenth century. However, on the basis of circumstantial evidence, the event may be assigned to prior to 1433. See *JBRAS* (1989) p. 106. Similar matter is found in another Chinese inscription found at Haliyala, North Kanara (Uttara Kannada) district. Information secured through Dr. H. R. Raghunath Bhatt, Professor of Ancient Indian History and Epigraphy, Karnataka University, Dharwad.
31. Ashin Das Gupta and M. N. Pearson, (ed.) *India And The Indian Ocean* (Oxford 1987) pp. 166-7.

A RARE DEPICTION OF SACRED FEET IN HAMPI-VIJAYANAGARA

ANILA VERGHESE AND ANNA L. DALLAPICCOLA

Vijayanagara city, the present-day Hampi in Bellary District, Karnataka, is set within magnificent surroundings. The river Tungabhadra forms its northern boundary; south of the river are rocky outcrops and fertile valleys. This site, which served as the capital of the Vijayanagara kingdom from the mid-fourteenth century to CE 1565, has been the locus of intense archaeological interest in recent times.

Vijayanagara sculpture is noted for the wide variety of themes, both sacred and secular, that it engendered, as well as for the vast quantities of its output. The sculptures at Hampi are found both in natural settings as well as within architectural contexts such as walls, pillars, ceilings, towers and parapets of monuments. Of the former variety are the innumerable reliefs and etchings found on boulders or on the sheet-rock. There are also monoliths and reliefs carved on stone-slabs. This article is on a unique sculpture found at the site, namely, that of an unusual carving of sacred feet.

Feet play a central role in Indian culture: for instance, the feet of deities, elders, *gurus*, holy men and *satīs* are the object of worship. In everyday life, the feet of a person are touched either as a sign of respect, or to indicate a request for forgiveness.

A number of beliefs and associations are attached to feet: thus, the auspicious touch of the foot of a young girl would cause a tree to flower. In love poetry, the feet of the beloved with their intricate lac-dye decorations and tinkling jewellery are an object of loving and painstaking description.

A deity's feet are imbued with special powers. It is therefore not surprising that the footprints of a deity are an object of worship. For example, Buddha's footprints were worshipped along with other objects associated with him long before the creation of his human form. In Jainism, the footmarks of the *īrthan̄karas* and those of preceptors were carved on stone tablets and regularly worshipped. In Hindu practice, the worship of the *Viṣṇupadas* is very common: small stamps bearing the auspicious footprints are used by worshippers to stamp their bodies. Small metal or painted *Viṣṇupadas*, kept in *pūjā* rooms or household shrines, are regularly worshipped. *Viṣṇupadas*, embossed on

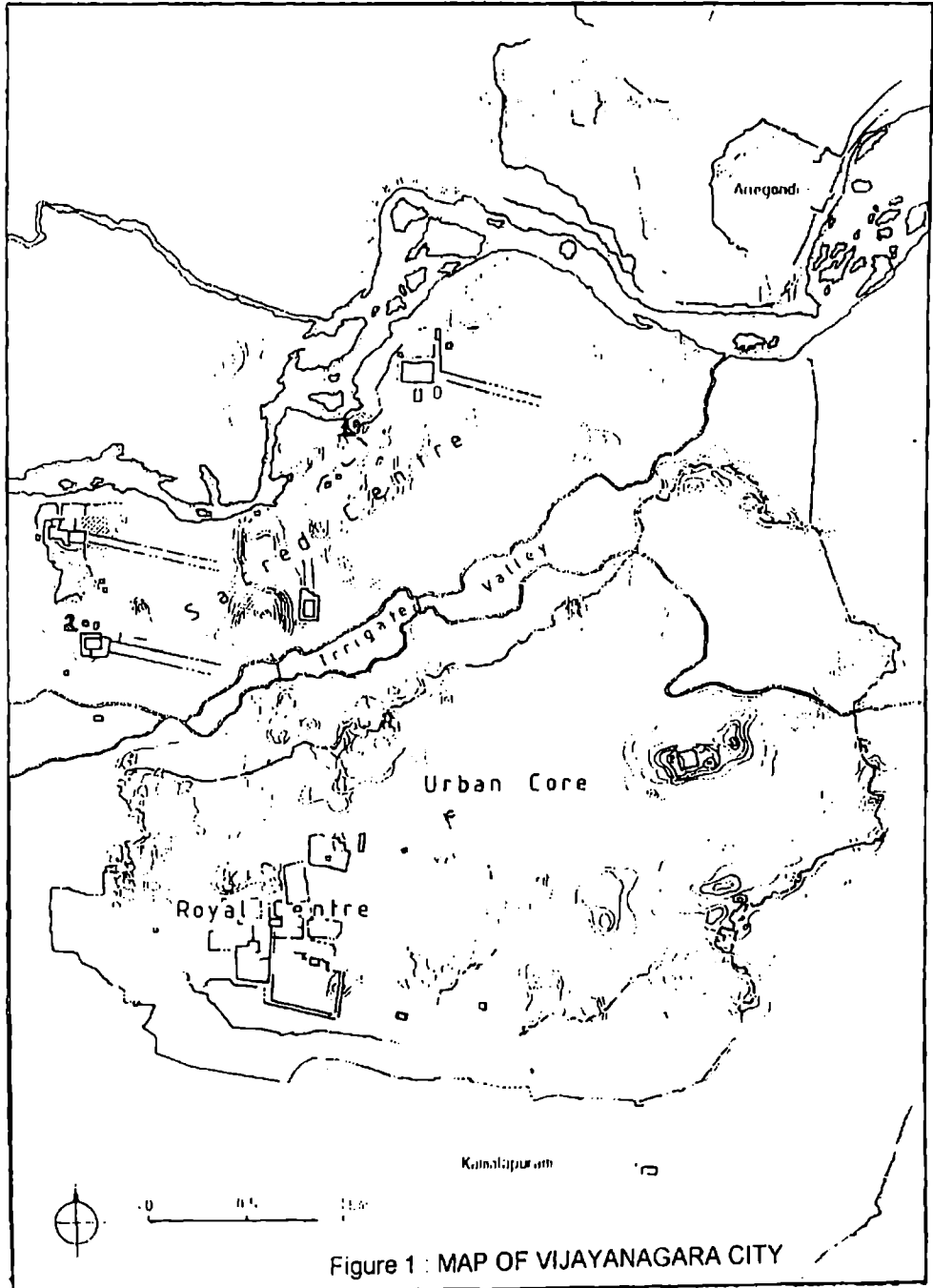


Figure 1 : MAP OF VIJAYANAGARA CITY

1. Location of the rare depiction of sacred feet
2. Sacred feet within a shrine, Hemakuta hill

amulets and talismans, are also worn on the person. Another common practice in a number of temples is the placing of a crown bearing a relief image of *Viṣṇupadas* on the devotee's head at the conclusion of the *pūjā*, symbolising the deity's total protection.

Carvings of sacred feet are not uncommon at Vijayanagara. Occasionally, one comes across, either carved on the sheet-rock or on slabs, a pair of feet often encircled by a serpent. Such feet may be symbolic representations of revered deities, saints or preceptors or other great persons. Such veneration of feet is also noted in inscriptions.

Thus, on a boulder in the river at the bathing *ghāṭ*, north of the Virūpākṣa temple, are carved a pair of feet around which is written that these are the feet of god Virūpākṣa and recording a curse to those who came there and did not worship the feet.¹ An epigraph from the Viṭṭhala temple of 1543 ends with the following imprecation: "if anyone transgresses these commands he is against the feet of Śrī Viṭṭhala."² However, in this case there is no depiction of feet along with the inscription. Another record from the site, below a pair of feet, refers to them as those of Hagarideva of Mayilapuri.³ Another on a rock refers to the feet of Dharmabhūṣaṇa bhāṭṭārakadeva;⁴ the title *bhāṭṭāraka* is usually associated with Jaina preceptors. Still another on a boulder at the bathing *ghāṭ* north of the Virūpākṣa temple is written on four sides of a pair of feet inset in a lotus. It refers to Hoṇṇappā of the Kaśyapa *gotra*.⁵

As compared with the above-cited examples, the one referred to in this article is unusual in its size, the unfamiliar combination of imagery and symbols and the fact that there is no inscription to explain it. It is situated near the river Tungabhadra, to the south-west of Viṭṭhalāpura in a shallow crevice in the rock, one end of which forms a natural shallow tank. Stones have been placed to form a square-shaped boundary around the natural crevice (Plate XXIII-A).

At the centre of the sculpture are a pair of large opposing footprints (both of right feet). Each foot is approximately 50 cm in length. The arch of the northernmost foot-print contains a lotus with eight petals. The foot-prints are encircled by a cobra, which in turn is surrounded by a wide rectangular border, approximately 1.2 metres long and 1.07 metres wide. There are seven symbols carved along the surface of the rectangular border: on the south side a *triśūla*, on the east the sun and an unknown object, on the north the *cakra* and *śarīkha* and what appears to be either a column or a lamp and on the south side the crescent moon (Plates XXIV and XXV and Figure 2).

This panel is part of a group of sculptures; for along the natural contours of the rocky crevice is a carving of a large multi-hooded serpent, which faces the reliefs of a *liṅga* and Nandi (Plate XXIII-B).

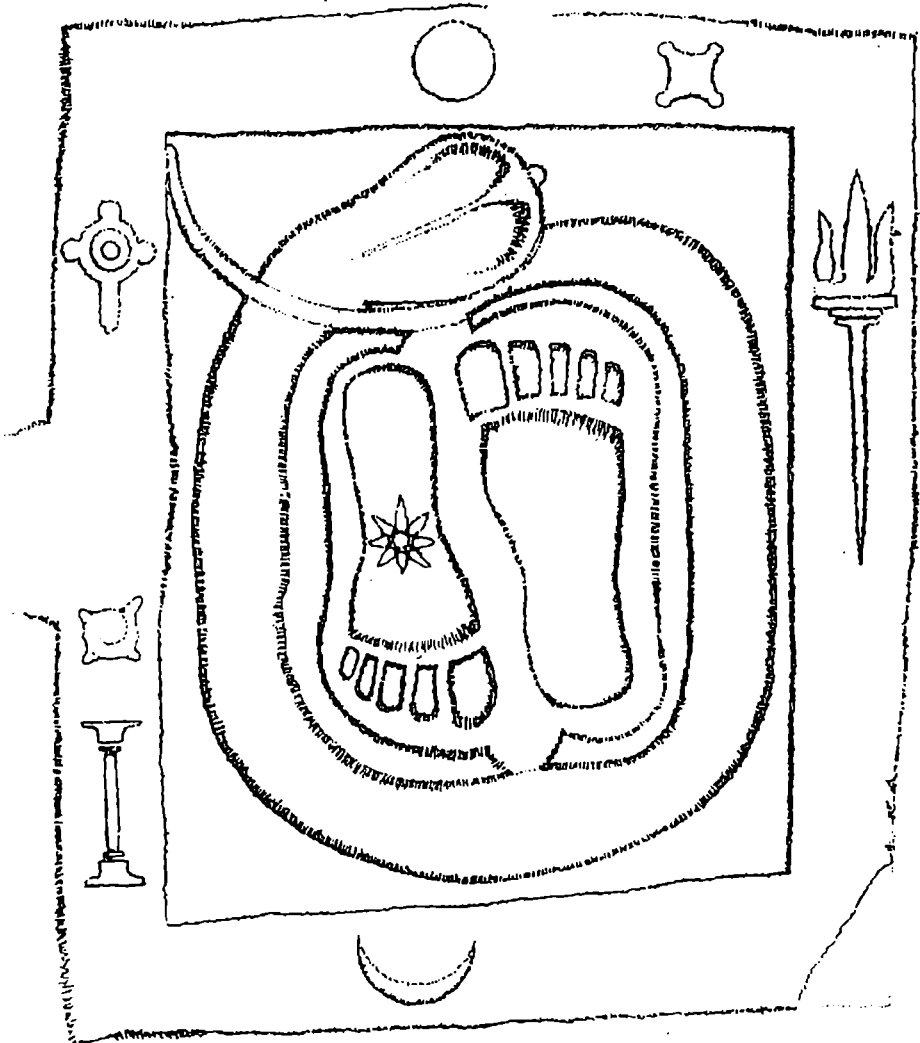


Figure 2

Although there are many carvings of sacred feet at Hampi, this example is unique. There is only one that is somewhat similar to it in size and composition. It is located on the south slope of Hemakūta hill (outside the fortification around the hill) and to the south-east of the smaller Gaṇeśa monolith there. This one, too, is set within a large rectangle, which has a *praṇāla*. The feet, encircled by a serpent are fairly large (but under 50 centimetres each). Along the rectangle various symbols are carved such as a flower in each corner, the sun and crescent moon in the east and west sides respectively, a lamp on the *praṇāla* and some circles and unknown objects elsewhere (Plate XXVI-B). A small shrine (Plate XXVI-A), comprising a sanctuary and a porch, has been built around this carving on the sheet-rock. Since this sculpture is enshrined for worship it is evidently of a deity. One author has identified it as the feet of Viṣṇu.⁶ However, it is more likely to be a representation of a Śaiva divinity; probably of Bhairava as revealed by the snakes on the door-jamb and also its location on the south side of hill; for not only do snakes accompany this fearsome deity but also the south side is where Bhairava is generally situated.⁷

The similarity of the pair of feet near the river (except that here they face in opposite directions and are both right feet, with Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava symbols around them) with the enshrined pair on Hemakūta indicate that these too are sacred feet. The question that arises is whose feet are these? One author, who has attempted a cursory study of this sculpture has postulated that it may refer either to the syncretic deity Harihara or, perhaps, to Pārśvanātha, the Jaina saint.⁸

The local people have given an interesting name to this crevice; they call it "crab's hole" (*edi-guddhu*) and relate a creation myth to explain the sculpture: at the beginning, Śiva and Pārvatī decided to populate the earth with humans. By chance they saw two beings (a young man and a girl) emerging from a cave. Once they came nearer, the deities requested them to reveal their identity. The young couple identified themselves as a brother and sister. Śiva then asked them to stand back to back, the boy facing in one direction and the girl in the opposite. This created some confusion in their minds. When they came out of their stupor, the man said "This is my wife" and the girl remarked "this is my husband." The young couple were blessed by Śiva and Pārvatī; the latter gave the girl a flower (hence there is a flower on one footprint). According to some other local tradition, the flower on the foot represents Brahmā, who also came to bless the couple, the snake Viṣṇu and the water nearby the Gaṅgā.⁹ Though this myth is interesting, it does not satisfactorily explain the iconography of this carving.

Another authority suggests that the feet may represent a *guru* of the Harihara cult; the opposite direction of the feet representing some mystic

concept.¹⁰ Among the syncretic and composite images of the Hindu pantheon two, namely Ardhanārīśvara and Harihara, stand out prominently. The origin of Ardhanārīśvara is intimately connected with cosmic creation and evolution, namely the union of male and female, Śiva and Śaktī. The local tradition, which is also a creation myth, hints at a similar idea. The Harihara image, half Śiva and half Viṣṇu, in which Viṣṇu can be seen as the female aspect necessary for cosmic creation, is the outcome of the strong desire to bring about a *rapprochement* between the two major antagonistic brahmanical sects of Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism.

However, to identify this pair of feet as of either Ardhanārīśvara or Harihara, or of a *guru* of the Harihara sect, poses certain problems; for the two feet are not of one being, since they are both right feet.

One conclusion is that this is a carving in the form of a *yantra* or mystic diagram, representing both Śiva and Viṣṇu. That this represents both Śiva and Viṣṇu has been corroborated by a local scholar of the Śaivāgama school.¹¹

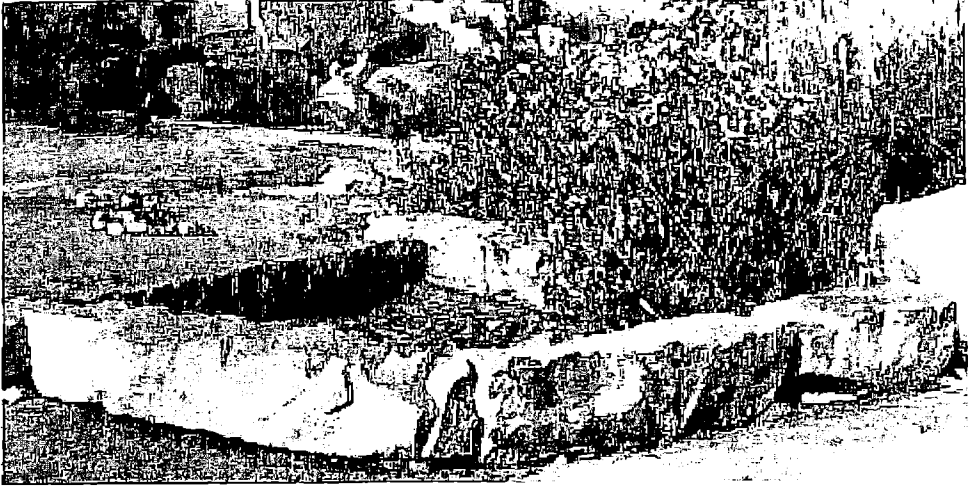
The interesting aspects of this sculpture are that the sacred feet are set within the context of a small *īrth*. For not only is the Tungabhadra river close by, but the crevice in the sheet-rock on which it is located forms a shallow cistern at one end.

While the foot with a lotus flower in its arch is that of Viṣṇu, the other foot is of Śiva. Viṣṇu's foot faces westwards and Śiva's eastwards. Viṣṇu's *cakra* and *śaṅkha* and the *triśūla* of Śiva are found carved beside their respective footprints. On the overhanging rocky shelf are carved not only the *liṅga* and Nandi, but also the multi-hooded large serpent, possibly Ādiśeṣa. Thus, both Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava features of iconography are present.

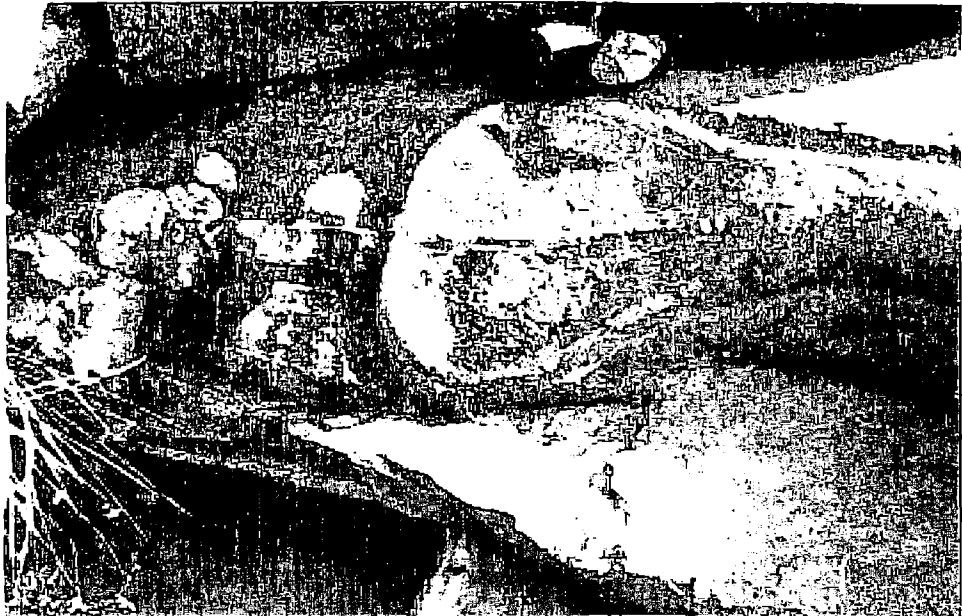
An interesting question is why the feet are placed side by side and yet pointing in opposite directions. Possibly this hints at both the need for *rapprochement* between the two sects of Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism and at the same time at the underlying bi-polarity and tension between the two. The whole composition is evidently a type of *yantra*, meant to be worshipped, for in one side of the rectangular border there is a break, an incipient *praṇāla* through which the ritual fluids could flow out. To this day local people evidently consider it to be a sacred image, for it is generally adorned with sectarian marks and offerings of incense and flowers.

Notes and References

1. D. Devaraj and C. S. Patil, *Vijayanagara : Progress of Research 1984-1987*. Mysore : Directorate of Archaeology and Museums, 1991, No. 21, p. 31.
2. E. Hultzsch et. al. (Eds.), *South Indian Inscriptions*, 23 Vols. Madras/New Delhi : Government Press and Archaeological Survey of India, 1890-1979, Vol. IX, Part



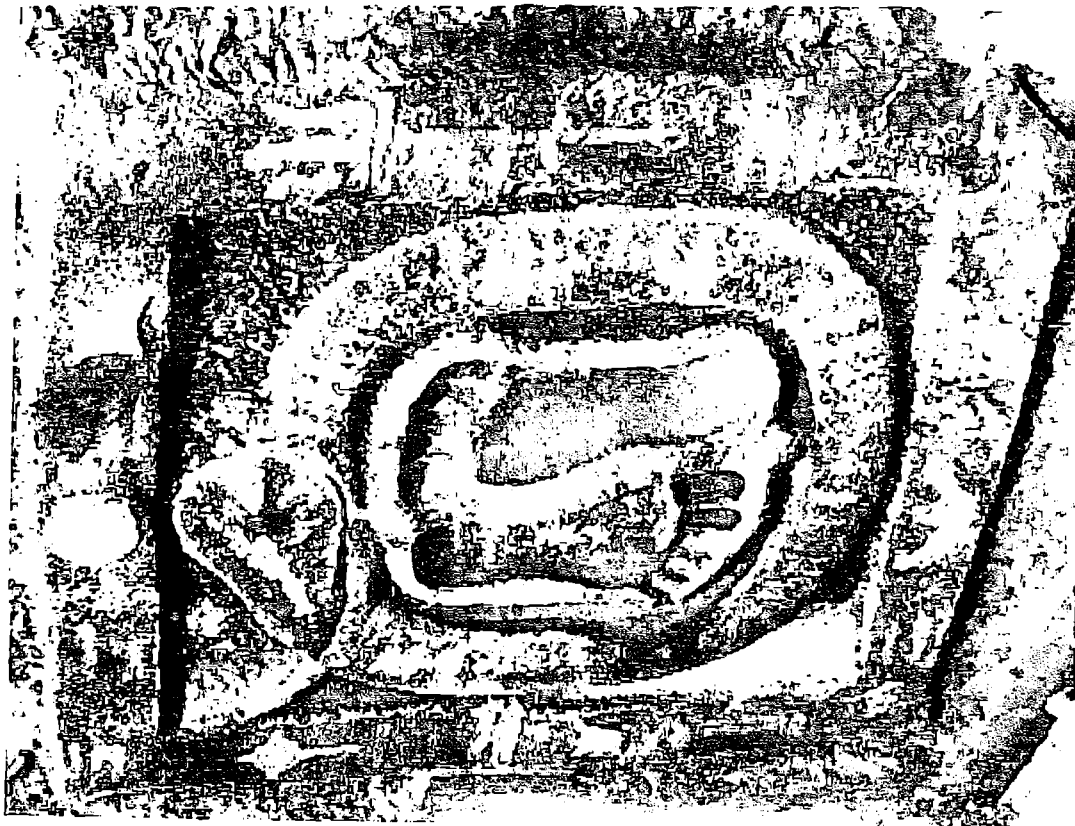
A. The carving of the sacred feet within a boundary of stones.



B. Close up of *linga* and Nandi and the multi-hooded serpent, detail of Plate XXIV.



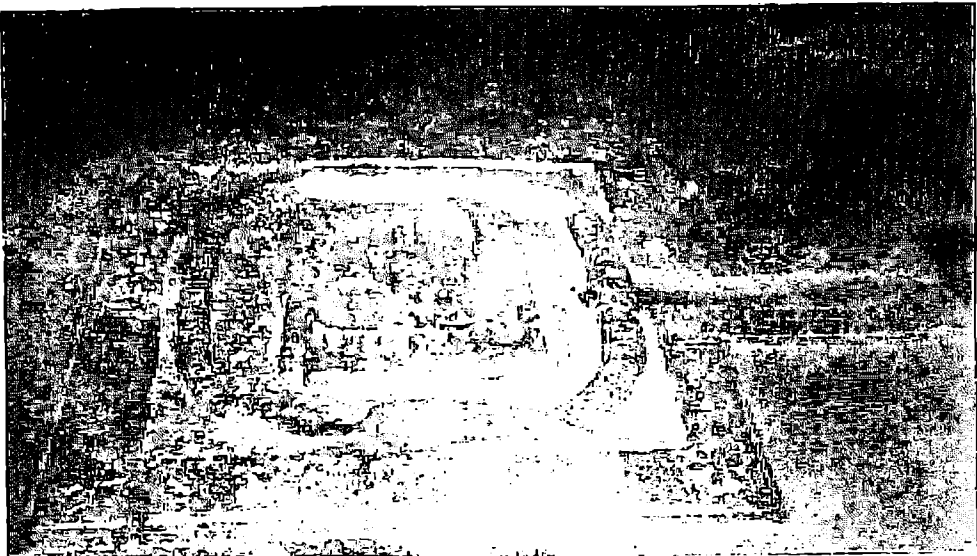
The rocky crevice with the carvings of the pair of feet and those of *linga* and Nandi and the multi-hooded serpent.



The *yantra* of the sacred feet, the two pointing in opposite directions.



A. Shrine with carving of pair of sacred feet on Hemakūta hill.



B. Close up of the sacred feet on Hemakūta hill.

II, No. 607.

3. D. Devaraj and C. S. Patil, *op.cit.*, No. 41, p. 36.
4. *Ibid.*, No. 40, p. 36.
5. *Ibid.*, No. 21, p. 31.
6. D. Devakunjari, *Hampi*, 2nd edition. New Delhi : Archaeological Survey of India, 1983, p. 50.
7. T. M. Manjunathaiah, personal communication.
8. Alan Smith, "Rock-cut Features at Vijayanagara", *South Asian Studies*, Vol. 15, 1999, p. 45.
9. Information collected by B. Virupaksha, a local tourist guide.
10. C. T. M. Kotriah, personal communication.
11. Checked by T. M. Manjunathaiah of the Office at the site of the Karnataka State Directorate of Archaeology and Museums. We are grateful to him for contacting the Saiva scholar on our behalf.

Illustrations

Figure 1 : Map of Vijayanagara City

Figure 2 : Drawing of the sacred feet

XXIII-A : The carving of the sacred feet within a boundary of stones

XXIII-B : Close up of *linga* and Nandi and the multi-hooded serpent of Plate XXIV.

XXIV : The rocky crevice with the carvings of the pair of feet and those of *linga* and Nandi and the multi-hooded serpent.

XXV : the *yantra* of the sacred feet, the two pointing in opposite directions

XXVI-A : Shrine with carving of pair of sacred feet on Hemakūṭa hill

XXVI-B : Close up of the sacred feet on Hemakūṭa

Acknowledgement : Map and drawing are courtesy the Vijayanagara Research Project. We thank its Directors, Dr. J. M. Fritz and Dr. G. Michell for their kind permission to use the same.

REVIEWS

AMRITA : THE COLLECTED PAPERS CONTRIBUTED BY PROFESSOR A. M. GHATAGE, published by J. B. Shah, Shreshthi Kasturbhai Lalbhai Smarak Nidhi, Sharadaben Chimanbhai Educational Research Centre, Ahmedabad, 2000, pp. 520. Rs. 600.

Dr. A. M. Ghatage, a pre-eminent and senior Indologist of India, has won international fame by his outstanding work in the field of Prakrit Languages and Prakrit Literature, Sanskrit Language and Grammar, Linguistics and Lexicography. This volume *Amrita*, (significantly, it happens to be the first name of Dr. Ghatage), is a collection of forty papers including Key-note Address for a seminar on Lexicography, Address as President to the Section of Indian Linguistics, General Address as President to the Session of All-India Oriental Conference, Introduction to a Comprehensive and Critical Dictionary of Prakrit Languages, and to Dictionary of Sanskrit on Historical Principles. His other Papers falling under various groups were published from time to time in various research journals, during the long span of six decades and a half. Most of these papers had remained scattered in various research journals and other academic publications. All these writings are collected together in this large volume.

Some of the papers, on account of the very nature of the subject matter, make rather tough reading, whereas some others, pleasant reading. Each and every paper is important and contributes to knowledge. In a brief review like the present one, it is, however, not possible to do justice to the many merits of Dr. Ghatage's work. We shall therefore content ourselves with drawing attention of readers only to a few of them.

From amongst the eight papers dealing with Prakrit Languages, in the opening one Dr. Ghatage shows that to preserve the syllabic quantity of a word is a basic tendency of Prakrit Languages and observes that it is probably the strongest proof in favour of regarding the Prakrit languages as having a natural origin (p.9).

From among the 13 papers on Prakrit literature, the one dealing with "Māhārāṣṭrī Language and Literature" (pp. 95-148) is perhaps the best and most important. He convincingly refutes Ghosh's view that Śaurasenī was really the Prakrit par-excellence (and not Māhārāṣṭrī as held by Daṇḍin). He describes at length the 'linguistic nature of Māhārāṣṭrī', discusses, among other

things, the problem of the "Home of Māhārāṣṭrī", "The Origin and Development" of this language, the relation between 'Māhārāṣṭrī' and 'Marathi' and finally presents a detailed and critical account of "Māhārāṣṭrī Literature". His critical remarks on "Māhārāṣṭrī Verses in Alaṅkāra Works" are worth quoting. "All such stray verses quoted in the Alaṅkāra works produce a strong impression that they are essentially the poetry of the populace with all its frankness and rough good common sense, lack of courtesy, pomp and delicacy. They lack the usual formal phrases and expressions which are so prominent in the Sanskrit literature and a kind of naturalness imparts them a peculiar charm and simplicity." (p. 138).

From amongst the ten papers on "Sanskrit Language" attention may be drawn to "Some Etymologies In Manusmṛiti". In this paper, Ghatage discusses etymologies of seven words : 1. Nārāyaṇa, 2. Om, 3. Atithi, 4. Māmsa, 5. Vṛṣala, 6. Jāyā, and 7. Putra. This discussion is interesting and illuminating, which he concludes in these words – "Whenever the material in Sanskrit language was insufficient to arrive at the correct source of the word, the Indian etymologists have simply satisfied their desire for derivation in a fanciful manner with obviously wrong explanations. But when the language afforded them the slightest help as in the case of 'atithi' and 'jāyā', they have rightly hit upon the real source of the word." (p. 322).

From amongst the nine papers on "Linguistics and Lexicography" the two comprehensive introductions – 1. "Dictionary of Sanskrit on Historical Principles" and 2. "A Comprehensive and Critical Dictionary of the Prakrit Languages" are highly important and deserve to be read in full. In passing, however, attention of readers may be drawn to Dr. Ghatage's discussion about the misplaced criticism of some Western scholars - Tr. Bloch, Pischel, Niti Dolci, Alsdorf and others - against Hemacandra's statement (*Siddhahema-Śabdānuśāsana*, Ch. VIII. i. 209: (रुदिते दिना ण्णः...रुण्णं ॥) अत्र केचिद् ऋत्वादिषु इत्यारब्धवन्तः स तु शौरसेनीमागधीविषय एव दृश्यते इति नोच्यते ।)

"The scholars (mentioned above) have blamed Hemacandra quite unnecessarily by saying that he has copied this passage from somewhere and without understanding it." Dr. Ghatage concludes his discussion with these words : "*Instead of blaming him (Hemacandra) on the count of copying without understanding, we must admire his skill in following a far more systematic and rigorous procedure in this case.*" (italics ours) - pp. 496-498.

Most of Dr. Ghatage's papers, articles, introductions, etc., were scattered in various research journals and other academic publications, indeed not always easy to lay hands on, spread as they also are over long decades of his scholarly endeavours. Prof. M. A. Dhaky and Dr. J. B. Shah, Director, the Sharadaben Chimanbhai Educational Research Centre, Ahmedabad, persuaded

Dr. Ghatage to bring them out in a collection and have now brought them out in the present volume.

We warmly congratulate both the author and the publishers for making these valuable papers available to scholars as reference work for further research on the topics presented in this valuable volume. The printing is pleasing to the eye, and get-up attractive.

V. M. Kulkarni

THE NĀTYAŚĀSTRA OF BHARATAMUNI, (Adhyāyas 1,2,3 and Adhyāya 6 with *Abhinavabhāratī*) Ed. TAPASVI S. NANDI, with Translation in Gujarati, Saraswati Pustak Bhandar, Ahmedabad, 2001, pp. 165+487. Rs. 600.

Dr. Tapasvi S. Nandi is a prolific writer. He has several works on *Alamkāra* to his credit. As mentioned earlier in our review of his Hemacandra's *Kāvyaṅuśāsana* (Gujarati), it was a new feather in his cap. This work is yet another feather in his cap. It falls into three parts : Part - I consists of a detailed, informative and scholarly introduction (pp. 165). Part - II comprises Bharata's text of the *Nātyaśāstra* (*NS*). Chs. I, II and III and Ch. VI with *Abhinavabhāratī* (*A. Bh.*) accompanied with translation in Gujarati (pp. 164). Part-III includes explanatory notes for a clearer understanding of the text (pp. 165-487) and two indexes - one, giving half verses and the other containing Nandi's paper : "The Secret of *Rasānubhūti* or Art-experience."

The introduction opens with a short account of the editions of the *Nātyaśāstra*, its age and authorship. It then treats of its contents, its principal theme, Bharata's predecessors and successors, his commentators; Nandi then informs us about the last commentator Abhinavagupta's works, more importantly of *Abhinavabhāratī* the only available commentary on *NS*. He also deals with the writers on dramaturgy who wrote their works based on, of course Bharata's *NS* like Dhananjaya who wrote his *Daśarūpaka*.

He then discusses at some length the meaning and significance of the conception of *Nātya* according to Bharata and Abhinavagupta, and the origin of Sanskrit drama according to Bharata and modern writers. The rest of the introduction is devoted to a detailed discussion of the all-important theory of *rasa* in its various aspects and the controversial topic of *Śāntarasa*.

The introduction is otherwise excellent but for the exposition of Abhinavagupta's concept of *anuvyavasāya* (p. 44). Mere literal translation

of his sentences like 'अनुव्यवसायविशेषविषयीकार्यं नाट्यम्' I; 'अनुव्यवसायात्मकं कीर्तनं रूषितविकल्पसंवेदनं नाट्यं, तद्वेदनवेद्यत्वात्' I hardly helps a reader in understanding Abhinavagupta's philosophical concept of *anuvyavasāya*. It would have been appropriate if a separate note explaining this term in clear words had been added by way of a footnote on p. 44.

In Part-II we have the text of *NS* and the *Abhinavabhāratī* commentary on it. The text of *A. Bh.* bristles with corrupt readings. Years ago this writer had corrected several of these corrupt readings and published a number of articles in the Journal of Oriental Institute, Baroda, and a few in the Journal of The Asiatic Society of Bombay restoring scores and scores of corrupt readings. The text of *A. Bh.* as published in the work under review presents the text as published in Baroda edition. By way of example, a few of the corrupt readings and their restoration are noted here below :

P. 112. para - 4 :

“यथा हि 'वर्धते' लुनाहि etc.” The original correct text of this verse runs as follows :

दीवडि तेल्लु णाहि पलु द्रम्भि गविड्डा ।
लावण्णुज्जलंगु घरि ढोल्लु पविड्डा ॥
(दीपके तैलं नास्ति पलु द्रव्यं गवेषितम् ।
लावण्योज्ज्वलाङ्गः गृहे प्रियः प्रविष्टः ॥) इति छाया

- *Kalpalatāviveka*

P. 115, last but one line :

“तादृश्यां दशायां स्वजीवितनिन्दात्मिकायां तद्देहोपभोगसारं रत्यात्मकावस्थाबन्धोऽपि विच्छिद्यत एवेति सम्भव एव ।

The corrected text should read : “तादृश्यां दशायां... तद्देहोपभोगसारं - रत्यात्मकावस्थाबन्धादि विच्छिद्यत एवेत्यसंभव एव ।”

- Hemacandra's *Kāvyañūsāsana*

P. 125 - last two lines :

“तथा... गाम्भीर्यादनुदितहासोऽपि । परकीयहासावलोकने तत्क्षणं हासविशेषः सम्पद्यत एवेति स्वभावः ।”

The corrected text should read :

“तथा... गाम्भीर्यादनुदितहासोऽपि परकीयहासावलोकने तत्क्षणं हासविवशः संपद्यत एवेति ।

- Hemacandra's *Kāvyañūsāsana*, p. 114

P. 126 - last two lines :

“स्मितस्ये (ञ्च)षत्तायाम् । हसितं ततो विशेषेण । ततोऽपि परस्य गतं समीपगतमन्यत् ।
अपहसितमतिशयेन चेत्युपसर्गभेदादर्थभेदः ।”

The corrected text should read : “स्मितस्य ईषत्तायां व्यपगतायां हसितम्, ततो विशेषेण (विहसितम्) ततोऽपि परस्य समीपं गतम् (उपहसितम्) अन्यद् अपहसितम्, अतिशयेन च (अतिहसितम्) इत्युपसर्गभेदादेवार्थभेदः ।

Hemacandra's *Kāvyañuśāsana*, p. 115

But for such corrupt readings, Nandī's translation is lucid and faithful to the original.

Part-III which carries the title “*Abhyāsa Nandha*” consists of four commentaries by Nandī on the four chapters of *Nāṭya-Śāstra* : 1. *Nāṭyotpatti*, 2. *Maṇḍapavidhāna*, 3. *Raṅgadaivata-pūjana*, and 4. *Rasādhyāya*. They are called *Cinmayī*, *Sragdharā*, *Pārthapriyā* and *Harṣavati* respectively. One noteworthy feature of these “*Abhyāsa Nandhas*” - Notes to aid study - mostly relates to technical terms as well as difficult words. Nandī has done well in drawing upon modern Sanskrit and Hindi commentaries of the traditional Pandits : 1. Hindi *Abhinavabhāratī* (*NS Adhyāyas* 1, 2 and 6) ed. with Hindi translation and commentary by Acharya Vishveshvara and 2. The *Madhusūdanī* commentary and *Bālakrīdā* of Pandit Shri. Madhusudana Mishra. The notes will be found very useful by students, even advanced students of *Nāṭyaśāstra* in better understanding Bharata's text and Abhinavagupta's unique commentary. Judicious readers would agree with this writer that *Harṣavati* is the best of Nandī's commentaries. Nandī's article on “The Secret of *Rasānubhūti* or Art-experience” given as Appendix-II is a welcome contribution to the studies on the Rasa theory.

V. M. Kulkarni

ĀCĀRYA HEMACANDRA'S KĀVYĀNUŚĀSANAM, (with a Critical Introduction and Gujarati Translation) ed. T. S. NANDI, L. D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad, 2000, pp. 408. Rs. 480.

Hemacandra's *Kāvyañuśāsana* (*Kāś*) is edited with a critical introduction and translation in Gujarati by Dr. T. S. Nandī. Nandī is a voluminous writer. Several works on *Alaṅkāraśāstra* are to his credit. He has also contributed over seventy-five research articles to various Oriental Journals of repute. These are related to *Alaṅkāraśāstra*. He is chiefly interested in Sanskrit Literature

and Sanskrit Poetics. The present work is a new feather in his cap.

Hemacandra's *Kāś* deals with the subject of Sanskrit Poetics in all its aspects. The late Professor R. B. Athavale had translated in Gujarati only two of its chapters - the First and the Sixth. Nandi presents here, perhaps *for the first time*, a translation in Gujarati of all the eight chapters of *Kāś* adding a comparative and comprehensive study by way of a Critical Introduction. It extends over full one hundred and twenty pages and forms the very kernel of this work.

In the course of his study, he does not hesitate to criticise the modern *muni-traya* in the *Alamkārasāstra* - 1. P. V. Kane, 2. S. K. De and 3. V. Raghavan. He also criticises the two editors, Parikh and Kulkarni of *Kāvyañuśāsana*, especially for their failure to point out Hemacandra's indebtedness to Mahimabhaṭṭa from whose *Vyaktiviveka* he has adopted passages after passages. In fairness to Nandi it must be said that there is nothing personal in his criticism against the said scholars. To further the cause of the study of *Alamkārasāstra* is the sole motive behind this criticism.

Nandi's defence of the great aesthete and literary critic Ānandavardhana and those who follow him in selecting Prakrit verses - in preference to Sanskrit ones - to illustrate various points of poetics though brief is very sound and convincing and is clothed in striking and appropriate language (see Introduction-pp. 20-21). So also, his evaluation of Hemacandra as a poetician towards the end of the Introduction (p. 121) is, on the whole, fair and just.

Now about a few errors. While going through the book, we come across-

(i) a few misprints -

p. 4 नाख्यवेद *विवृत्ति* for विवृति;

p. 92 - hazzy for hazy;

p. 117 - अवस्कन्ध, कबन्ध for अवस्कन्धक, बन्ध;

p. 366 - मध्यादुपान्तो वा for मध्यादुपान्ततो वा.

(ii) a misstatement -

p. 20 - हालनी 'सप्तशती' जे अत्यारे अनुपलब्ध छे.

(Hāla's *Saptaśatī*, which is not at present extant). This *Saptaśatī* also called *Gāthāsaptaśatī* is available even today in Oriental Libraries as well as book-shops. The text of *Saptaśatī* is accompanied with translation in a modern language like Marathi.

(iii) Misinterpretation - p. 364 - The Sanskrit sentence runs - विदग्धमानिभिः

क्षिप्तानीति तद्विदो भाषन्ते । The Translation reads (p. 365) - (जातने) विदग्ध माननारा केटलाक वडे त्यां खलनो नंखाया (= जोवायां) छे एम तद्विदो कहे छे.

The translation misses the whole point and simply misinterprets the expression 'galitakāni'. Hemacandra first states that Prakrit epics *Rāvanavijaya*, *Harivijaya* and *Setubandha* are composed in a single metre (that is the Skandhaka) from the beginning to the end and then adds - the galitakas are later interpolations inserted by some who fancied themselves to be learned or wise.

The *Tippanam* given as Index-I (pp. 567-607) to the edition, followed by the translator, reads - गलितकानि छंदांसि ॥ p. 607. Hemacandra in his *Chando'nuśāsana* deals with *galitaka* metres in Ch. IV, pp. 142-149.

Incidentally, it may be mentioned here that Nandi's critical and expert eye has not noticed the serious mistake committed by the two editors. The *Vilāsa Alamkāra* has been already defined (and illustrated) earlier (*sūtra*-37). So there was no question of defining *Vilāsa* again (at *sūtra*-45). In fact, the sentence given as *sūtra*-45 forms an integral part of the passage that immediately follows. This passage brings out the distinction between *Vilāsa* defined at *sūtra*-37 and *Lalita* defined at *sūtra*-44 and illustrated by citing v. 735 (that precedes immediately before this integrated passage which distinguishes between the two Alamkāras). This apart, in a massive work covering over four hundred pages the few errors pointed out above hardly detract from the merit of this excellent work. Dr. Tapasvi Nandi deserves hearty congratulations for this excellent work. It would be only appropriate if the L. D. or some other Research Institute persuaded him to translate in Gujarati Hemacandra's *svopajña* commentary *Viveka* as a companion to this volume.

V. M. Kulkarni

IMAGES FROM VEDIC HYMNS AND RITUALS, S. A. DANGE, Aryan Books International, New Delhi, 2000, pp. xix + 374 (Illustrations 353-358). Rs. 750.

The volume consists of thirty three essays by late Professor S. A. Dange selected from earlier publications as "essential thought from the Vedic tradition was sought to be placed before the general reader, avoiding too much of intricacy but with necessary references and comparisons" (p.vii).

Two characteristic features are prominent. Dange's depth in the subject is marked in the profusion of information. Secondly, he is free from the common inhibitions and any unnatural urge to see the highest and the holiest in the

Vedas. This imparts an ability to go into detail leaving no stone unturned.

Dange is no structuralist, but a pattern of thought is accepted for the Vedas. The thought moves around the sacrifice 'a medium through which the priest-seers could be assured of prosperity on the earth' (p.xi). So rain came to be a major object of praise and the emphasis was not so much on cosmogony as on cosmic activity with the poet mystically nearing himself to 'the lord of the cosmic activities..' (xii). To speak in other terms : symbolism-often sex-symbolism, the pivotal position of the sacrifice and 'the needs of pastoro-agricultural life' (xiii) that is to say magico-religious utilitarian ideas of a society just on the threshold of formal civilisation are the common factors of this outlook. Various concepts, terms and personalities are dealt with without moving away from the basic standpoint stated above.

The said approach and an analysis conforming to it are well demonstrated in the first chapter on 'Folk-beliefs and rain imagery of the Vedic seers' where the major Vedic and some non-Vedic Indo-European speaking (Dange p. 20 uses the term Aryan; also on p.18) people's rituals and ideas are depicted as rain related. The theme continues in the second chapter on 'The thunder and the *akṣara*' where all-pervading speech, *akṣara* and thunder are related to the idea of the source of water in the atmospheric region, and then up to ch. 11 dealing with the 'cosmic foetus in the form of the rainful cloud' (ch. 3,4), the son-husband concept in *Apām napāt-Agni* (ch.5) as 'an explanation to solve the mystery of creation' in the context of agriculture and prevailing henotheism (pp. 104-105) (but see below), *krandasī* - 'belief in the worlds being closed in a clasp' before separation, marriage, creation and rain, all reflected in the ritual (ch.6). Three chapters (7-9) relate to Soma, the *rasa* theory of later *Ālaṅkārikas* being traced to the Soma-drink (ch.9).

The eye of *Prajāpati* (ch.10) symbolises the sun shedding the fertilising fluid and *Tryambaka* (ch.11) the threefold *Agni*. One notes more variety in the topics and themes from ch. 12 but these are not alien to the main pattern. *Sasarparī* (RV.3.53.15,16) is identified as *Gāyatrī-Sāvitrī* (RV.3.62.10) and as a war-spell. Three more chapters on war deal with its banner and relation to the sacrifice (13), *Indra* and *Chāyā's* war dance (14) and *Vāṇa* (originally war trumpet, (15).

There is no dearth of interesting discussions. The attraction lies in the fact or concept sought to be revealed, e. g. in the idea of the jar as signifying divine womb (16 'The birth of *Vasiṣṭha*'), extra attachments to the helmet or to the sides (17 '*Dvibarhas...*'), having hornlike erection on the helmet (18 *śiprin*), or in the targeted word (19 *admasad*, 18 *śipiviṣṭa*, 21 *jāmī*), or in both (22 '*Garta* and *Garta-āruk*'). Forgotten sects (20), concepts, obsolete words, customs and functions are revisited.

The papers (23,24) on Dīrghatamas and metempsychosis seek to trace developments within the *R̥gveda*. The *jīvātman* idea of the individual soul, which replaces the earlier concept of *asu* or *prāṇa*, was developed by Dīrghatamas according to the author. Another interesting point is Dange's thesis that the macro-micro relation between the cosmic soul (*asu*) and the individual soul is an innovation of Dīrghatamas. Even the *jīvātman* is noted as a double entity - an immortal and a mortal one. The discussion crosses over to metempsychosis from the above thesis.

Two chapters (25,26) relate to the ritual new birth of the sacrificer and three (27-29) to the relation of Tantrism to the Vedic sacrifice. Śakti is seen as developing out of Mahānagnī mentioned in the Atharvaveda with fusion of Vedic figures like Sarasvatī.

Another two chapters (30,32) try to show certain cosmic unitariness as represented in the microcosmic unitariness of one fire, one altar, one continuous action in the sacrifice etc., to facilitate control through the sacrifice.

There is a chapter (31) on Hotrvūrya 'the prototype of the later Hotrpravara' and another trying to show 'that the plan for the Hindu temple of later times had its origin in the Mahāvedi'.

With exemplary sincerity and devotion Professor Dange has tried to bring out the significance of items of the Vedic sacrifice and of obscure Vedic terms and concepts leading one deep into the territory of Vedic thought. One is reminded of Pischel-Geldner's three volumes of *Vedische Studien* with the difference that no attempt had been made by the two scholars to link their explanations to a given pattern. It goes without saying that one may differ on some interpretation or even conclusion. But the validity of the approach is to be accepted. It is scientific and constructive.

It is no easy task to offer plausible explanation of Vedic matter in conformity with a stated magico-religious outlook. Such attempts are often flawed by emphasis on just the existence of such an outlook termed 'exaggerated emphasis on the religio-philosophical aspect of ancient Indian culture' by Dandekar (Foreword to G. U. Thite's 'Medicine') or overstating a single idea like the 'power concept'. Both lack a constructive approach on which Dange cannot be faulted.

The discussions raise the interested reader to a level from where he can think of further utilising the results achieved. One may ask if the recent growth in the application of the structural methods shows the line in which further developments are called for. In fact Dange's acceptance of 'a pattern of vision' (p. xii) is an unconscious step in the direction of structural approach. A conscious approach which takes note of cosmogony and cosmology may

be very fruitful according to the present writer.

To cite an example, from a purely synchronic-descriptive point of view Dange's thesis on the son-husband concept of Agni and Apāṁ napāt is correct and revealing. But the idea is absent in the Avestic Apāṁ napāt. Darmesteter's explanation of the term *khsathrīm* as 'lord of the females' (SBE, XXIII, p.6 and passim) is misleading since the word means only 'royal' or 'lordly' (Bartholomae, *Aiw*). The absence of the R̥gvedic concept in the Avesta is further confirmed by structural consideration. The Avestic idea of creation, the very structure of thought with Ahura Mazda as the creator and the position of the waters and Apāṁ napāt below is such as to render the son-husband concept alien to it.

I cannot desist from making one comment. This beautiful collection does not give any information about the original place of publication of the papers. However, there are many useful aids to readers including a summary of the book in the Introduction.

Dipak Bhattacharya

ŚILPARATNAKOŚA, A GLOSSARY OF ORISSAN TEMPLE ARCHITECTURE, STHĀPAKA NIRANJANA MAHĀPĀTRA, Sanskrit Text critically edited with English Translation and Illustrations by BETTINA BÄUMER and RAJENDRA PRASAD DAS, Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts, New Delhi, and Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, Delhi, 1994, pp. 228, Plates 35, Drawings 61. Rs.400.

The *Śilparatnakośa* was composed in 1620 CE. The text is divided into two sections on temple architecture and temple sculpture. It gives a detailed account of the *rekhā prāsāda* followed by a lucid description of the Mañjuśrī type of temples from Orissa. Of particular interest is the detailed account of the *nāga* and *vyāla* motifs.

This work served as a practical architectural dictionary (*kośa*) to the students of Śilpa and Sthāpatya, first to let them understand the existing historical temples, and second, to assist them in the construction of temples in future. Another important function of this text is to reveal the symbolic significance of the temple and all its parts.

The sixteen parts of the vertical divisions of the temple are identified with sixteen parts of the Purusha (the human body). Another fundamental conception is that of the five elements, the earth, water, fire, wind and space,

which assume visible shape in the temple. Similarly the three *gunas* (tamas, rajas, sattva), constituting the nature of reality, find their expression in different context.

The greatest contribution of this text lies undoubtedly in its description of the Mañjuśrī temple type as a Śriyantra which has helped the authors to reidentify the Rājarāṇi temple at Bhuvaneswar as a temple dedicated to Rājarājeśvarī in the form of Śricakra.

Sthāpaka Nirañjana Mahāpātra, the author of the *Śilparatnakōśa*, hailed from Aṣṭadurga, now known as Athagada, in the Ganjam district of Orissa. He later settled in Śrīksetra, the modern town of Puri. He was honoured by the then Gajapati ruler of Khurda, Puruṣottama Deva (1600-1621). He decided to compile, and preserve for posterity, the *śāstric*, Śilpa tradition of Orissa.

The book is provided with a glossary, bibliography, śloka index, general index, 61 illustrations and 35 plates. The text has been edited from three palm-leaf manuscripts. This text is an important addition to the Śilpa/Vāstu literature published so far, and it will be very useful to all those interested in Orissan temple architecture.

B. V. Shetti

WORSHIPING ŚIVA IN MEDIEVAL INDIA, Ritual in an Oscillating Universe, RICHARD H. DAVIS, Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, Delhi, 2000, pp. xvi+ 200, 6 photographs, 11 figure drawings. Rs. 295.

The Southern Śaiva tradition, both in its Sanskrit and Tamil sub-divisions flourished in the early medieval period, and reached its apogee between the 11th and 13th centuries CE. An overview of both Northern and Southern Śaivism would suggest that despite differences in the main doctrines, there are many similarities in the ritual and textual portions. It is more useful to view the Śaivite tradition on an all-India basis, where such distinctions would get blurred.

Śaṅkara, (8th century CE) in his *Brahmasūtra Bhāṣya* (11.2.37) does not distinguish between the sub-divisions of the Maheśvaras. Vācaspati Miśra (840 CE) in his *Bhāmati* speaks of the four sub-divisions of this sect. Ānandagiri, in his *Śaṅkara-vijaya* refers to six different systems of the Śaivas. From the 9th century onwards Śaivism was thought to be divided into four schools: Śaiva Siddhānta, Pāśupata, Kālāmukha and Kāpālīka. The *āgamas* which were

the main texts of the siddhāntins were considered the direct utterances of Śiva, and hence were even superior to the Vedas, which were only his breath. This has resulted in their historicity being vague. When the *paddhatis* appeared, their chronology could be ascertained. These texts tried to arrive at a consonance between the differences in the ideologies of the different *āgamas*. This lack of coherence in the *āgamic* treatises resulted in the choice of the two texts on which Richard Davis, the author of the book under review, relies. These two texts, the author states, represent "the views of an important, even central, group of early medieval Śaiva siddhānta masters who sought to articulate a compelling and coherent Śaiva world-view and to advance it as the highest form of knowledge, the *parajñāna* (p.21). These texts are the *Kāmikāgama* and the *Kriyākramadyotikā*, composed in Tamil Nad, during the 11th and 12th centuries.

Śaiva siddhānta was of pan-Indian popularity and had royal patronage under the Coḷas. Rājarāja was a great devotee of Śiva, and he built the monumental Brhadīśvara temple of Tanjavur. Religious patronage by royalty was quite common amongst most dynasties in this period, but was of longer duration in the South. Building of a temple bestowed on the donor both *bhoga*, and *mokṣa*. The act was devotional as well as political. When regional kingdoms rose from tribal settlements, to hold on to their kingdoms, without their disintegrating back into smaller centres of tribal power, the kings resorted to various measures, one of which was to build new "imperial temples" within the core region of their kingdoms. The symbiosis between the king and the *brahman* was changed to that between *kṣatra* and *kṣetra*. The Brhadīśvara temple assisted Rājarāja in stabilising his kingship, by creating a centralised ritual structure, keeping his feudatories in a vulnerable ritual dependence. The author coins a word for this politico-religious movement. He describes this as "temple Hinduism". This according to him was followed by different sects, who formulated a set of rituals as they tried to relate the microcosm to the macrocosm. The relationship between the devotee and the deity was not reciprocal, as during the Vedic period, but became hierarchical. This was nowhere more evident than in the temple rituals relating to the embodied god.

Śaiva siddhānta conceives of reality in three ultimate, irreducible modes: *pati* - the Lord (God), *paśu* - the bound soul (self), and *pāśa* - the bond (world). They are not part of a whole, but are primordial, distinct modes of reality. They cannot be derived from one another, much less, together do they form a whole. The soul on release or attainment of *śivatva*, does not merge in Śiva, but retains its entitative difference from God. The difference between bondage and release is that while in the former the soul experiences through *pāśa*, in the latter it does so through *pati* (Śiva). Though in release it is free from *mala*, it does not share with Śiva his five functions. Thus

mokṣa is experience of unity in duality.

There are four stages which help the soul's evolution towards *mokṣa*, as advocated by the *Āgamāntins* or *śuddha Śaivas*. These are : *caryā* - practical piety, by following the enjoined duties and rites; *kriyā*- the confirmatory sacrament and the purificatory rites associated with worship; *yoga* - the eight observances of this path; and *jñāna* - the true knowledge which prepares the soul pre-eminently fit for *mokṣa*. Of these the author uses the two most important *pādas* - *kriyā* and *jñāna* - to demonstrate how the siddhāntins in their daily worship reflect the world-view as envisioned by them. The author uses the 'oscillating' mode to explicate the Śaiva ritual as imbedded in Śaiva philosophy, using the abovementioned two "feet" of the siddhānta. The Hindu, he says, views the universe as oscillating between creation and reabsorption, and this has its parallels in the rituals, as well as in the iconography of the Dancing Śiva. He attempts to prove the metaphysical unity of knowledge and action, and though initially a dichotomy between these may be found useful in the study, as one gains insight one realises the blurring of these differences into an undifferentiated unity in the human consciousness.

In the longest chapter of this work (2nd), the author describes in detail the *ātmaśuddhi*, a preparatory ritual for worship. This is achieved by locating *mantras* on the fingers, and then on the limbs of the worshipper. Thus cleansed the devotee now proceeds to worship Śiva, the main deity of the temple. These purificatory rites are illustrated by 6 photographs. There are further illustrations which help us understand with clarity the process and placements of the *mantras*, and their alignment with the five elements, and the five aspects of Sadāśiva. The temple plan, placement of the main deity, his *parivāra devatās*, and entourages, etc., radiating from the centre outward are also clearly illustrated. The text narrates the mode of emission and reabsorption not only of the devotee as he enters and leaves the temple, but also of Śiva as he appears during worship in the *līṅga* (though latently present always), and as he comes out during processions.

While discussing the few *dīkṣās* of this sect in the next chapter, the author deals in detail with the *nirvāṇadīkṣā*, where the body is elaborately and completely ritually purified. We also learn of the unique funerary rites of this sect, when in the midst of those rites some essential rites of the *nirvāṇadīkṣā* are performed to permanently loosen the fetters of that soul and set it free. Thus the *ātmaśuddhi* rites are used in varying intensity and elaboration in the *nirvāṇadīkṣā* and the funerary rites.

In chapter 5, the rituals of worship are detailed, starting with the *āvāhana* (invitation, invocation) right upto the *visarjana* (dismissal) of the deity. Each component of the worship is a synecdoche of the complete view of the Śaiva

world in the limited area of rituals. To highlight the difference between the worship of Śiva and that of other deities, the food offered to the god is mentioned. *Prasāda*, as this offering is called after it is offered to the god, is said to be infused with the grace of that particular deity, and as such it is cherished by the devotees. But in Śiva *pūjā* one cannot acquire Śiva's grace by merely eating this *prasāda*. The unpurified and uninitiated is not considered fit enough to partake of this food, and great sin attaches to anyone who wilfully does so.

The author takes us step by step through the intricacies of the siddhānta temple worship. The lucid text describing the complex rites attains greater clarity with the illustrations. Richard Davis has well proven his initial objective of showing the close inter-relationship between *kriyā* and *jñāna* as he explicates the oscillating (ritual) world of the Śaiva devotee. This is a commendable work filling a lacuna in Śaiva studies.

Indira Aiyar

JAINA DARŚANA MEM ŚRADDHĀ (SAMYAGDARŚANA), MATI-JÑĀNA OUR KEVALA-JÑĀNA KĪ VIBHĀVANĀ, Conception of Śraddhā (samyagdarsāna), matijñāna and kevala-jñāna in the Jaina philosophical system) NAGIN J. SHAH (Tr. by Dr. Sanatkumar Rangotia). Pub. by Dr. Jagruti Dilip Sheth, B-14, Devdarshan Flat, Nehrunagar Char Rasta, Ambawadi, Ahmedabad - 380015. Sanskrit Samskṛti Granthamālā - 8) (pp. 8 + 70); Rs. 50.

This is a Hindi translation of three lectures delivered by Dr. N. J. Shah on January 19, 20, 21-2000 in the Popatlal Hemcand Adhyātma Vyākhyāna-mālā of the B. J. Institute of Learning and Research, Ahmedabad. N. J. Shah is a well-known scholar who has devoted special attention to the epistemological theories of the different systems of Indian Philosophy as also to the philosophical views propounded therein. He approaches the problems he tackles with an open mind and boldly points out the anomalies he detects in the arguments of the ancient thinkers. He has been able to do so because he compares the corresponding concepts and their treatment in the different *darśanas*, and thus has been successful in tracing the mutual influences of these systems even while each system remains faithful to its own basic philosophical stand.

Lecture 1 on śraddhā (*samyag-darśana*) starts with the discussion of the interpretation and use of the words 'jina' and 'nirgrantha' in early works

and how gradually the words came to be restricted to the Jaina sect. Dr. Shah rightly says that the mention of '*vāta raśanāh munayah*' in the Rg-Veda need not be taken as referring only to Jaina *munis* as there were a number of sects in ancient India which preached the spiritual value of 'nagnatā', (Nudism). Shah has suggested that individuals in ancient times were known by their tribe-name; for example, Buddha is known as Śākya-putra and Mahāvīra as 'Jñātr-putra'; similarly, Pārśva, the 23rd tīrthānkara of the Jainas could have been 'Parśu-putra', a scion of the 'Parśu' tribe.

As mentioned above, Shah has stressed that the different philosophical systems should be understood in the light of one another. They did not develop in vacuum. This should be all the more true in the case of Jainism, which believed in Anekāntavāda, knowing things in all their aspects and modes.

It is very interesting to note that in the treatment of 'samyag-darśana' (true faith), N. J. Shah has discussed at length the four steps of the spiritual ladder mentioned in the *Bṛhadāranyaka Upaniṣad*, 2.4.5 - आत्मा वा अरे द्रष्टव्यः श्रोतव्यः मन्तव्यः निदिध्यासितव्यः. It has always been a serious query with commentators and scholars as to how *darśana* is mentioned before *śravaṇa*, *manana* and *nididhyāsana*; and the answer generally given is that the final aim, *darśana* (*sākṣātkāra*, direct perception, realisation) is mentioned as one to be attained through *śravaṇa* (scriptural teaching), *manana* (contemplation) and *nididhyāsana* (meditation). Taking the help of the statements in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* नामत्वा विजानाति मन्वैव विजानाति... नाश्रद्धन् मनुते श्रद्धदेव मनुते (7,18-19) and एवं पश्यन् एवं मन्वानः एवं विजानन् (7,25), he proves that 'darśana' is used here in the sense of faith (*śraddhā*), faith in the *guru* one approaches, as also in the scripture one adheres to for guidance on the spiritual path. Dr. Shah cites passages from Buddhist *pitakas* in support of his stand that '*darśana*' is used in the sense of '*śraddhā*'. Whether one is inclined or not to agree with him, his stand is certainly thought-provoking. Dr. Shah has a broad outlook and very firmly says that it is not at all proper that the Buddhists are criticised as 'anātmavādins' in Jaina works, for the Jainas are as much '*anātmavādins*' as the Buddhists as they admit momentary *pariyāyas* (modes) in a *dravya*.

Lecture 2 is devoted to *mati-jñāna*. It is interesting to note how Dr. Shah views the five-fold classification of knowledge (*jñāna*), viz *mati*, *śruta*, *avadhi*, *manah-pariyāya* and *kevala jñāna* - in the light of the Upaniṣadic four steps of the spiritual journey - *darśana*, *śravaṇa*, *manana* and *nididhyāsana*. *Śruta* is nothing but *śravaṇa*. *Mati* and *manana* are one and the same. *Avadhi* (visual intuition), *manah-pariyāya* (revelation of the objects thought of by the minds of others) and *kevala-jñāna* (pure and perfect knowledge) can be included in *nididhyāsana* for they are all yogic knowledges. He compares the concepts of the various steps of *dhyāna* (meditation) in the *Yoga-sūtra*

and Buddhist works. One inspired by faith (*śraddhā*) approaches his *guru* and studies under him the scriptures. This is *śravaṇa* or *śruta*. Then he contemplates on what he has heard - *manana* or *matī*. And one who contemplates or does *manana* employs knowingly or unknowingly *pratyakṣa* (perceptual cognition), *smṛti* (memory), *pratyabhijñā* (recognition), *tarka* (reasoning) and *anumāna* (inference). The Jainas in order to build up their own theory of knowledge (pramāṇa-śāstra) totally ignored the four steps of the spiritual journey - something which cannot be forgiven, though it is understandable that each school must have its own epistemological theory. Still there are clear indications that *matī-jñāna* is the same as the original *manana*. *Indriya-pratyakṣa* (sensuous perception), *smṛti* (memory), *pratyabhijñā* (recognition), *cintā* (discursive thought, *tarka*) and *anumāna* (inference) are all brought under *matī* in Jaina logic on the ground that they are the outcome of the *kṣayopāśama* (subsidence-cum-destruction) of the *matijñānāvāraṇīya karman* (*karman* obscuring *matī-jñāna*). This is a purely dogmatic reason. The fact is that *matī* is nothing but the third step, *manana*, of the four-fold Upaniṣadic ladder of spiritual elevation, as these are all employed in *manana*. *Śruta* is classified separately in Jaina logic on the ground that it results from the *kṣayopāśama* of *śrutajñānāvāraṇīya karma*, which is again a dogmatic reason that is unacceptable. The fact is that this is inspired by the *śravaṇa* step of the four-fold ladder. Otherwise, it could be subsumed under *matī*, which also is *parokṣa-jñāna* (indirect knowledge). The four stages, *avagraha* (perception), *īhā* (speculation), *avāya* (perceptual judgment) and *dhāraṇā* (retention) are also the stages of *manana* which are retained in the case of *matī-jñāna* (sensuous perceptual knowledge).

Dr. Shah interprets in his own way *vyañjanāvagraha* and *arthāvagraha* which are regarded in Jaina logic as two sub-stages of *indriya-pratyakṣa* (sensuous perception) (p. 35). These he interprets as *śabda-grahaṇa* and *śabdārtha-grahaṇa* (*śabdārtha-grahaṇa* and *vākyaṛtha-grahaṇa* are both included in *arthāvagraha*). But the Jaina logicians interpreted them in connection with sensuous perception so that they could discuss the problem of sense-object contact and the problem of *prāpya-kāritva* and *aprāpya-kāritva*.

In short, N. J. Shah's comments on Jaina logic are very bold and he justifies his stand in a thought provoking manner.

The third lecture is on *kevala-jñāna* (pure-knowledge). The prevalent belief in Jaina darśana regarding *kevala-jñāna* is that it is simultaneous knowledge of all the individuals of each class in all their modes (*pariyāyas*). Individual things of each substance are infinite in number and each individual has infinite modes. Each *pradeśa* (space-point) of the soul which has obtained *kevalajñāna* is equipped with the qualities of each and every sense-organ so that nothing is beyond its reach. Dr. Shah examines the arguments advanced to establish

omniscience (*sarvajñatā*) and then shows how hollow these arguments are (pp. 47-50). His stand is that *kevala-jñāna* signifies knowledge free from any *rāga* (attachment) or likes and dislikes viewing a thing as it is without in any way being affected by this. According to some thinkers it is pure knowledge devoid of the shape of the object. According to Kundakundācārya omniscience means only self-consciousness (*ātma-jñāna*). (Compare the Upaniṣadic statement आत्मनो वा अरे विज्ञानेन सर्वं विदितं भवति ।). Even the word *kevala-jñāna* does not express the meaning of omniscience - knowing each thing, past, present and future, in all its modes.

Dr. Shah examines which of the other systems of philosophy accept the concept of omniscience, and if they accept how they accept it. He tries to show that mostly the concept of *kevala-jñāna* was concerned with *vīta-rāgatā* (being unaffected by attachment or likes and dislikes) and *dharmajñatā* (knowledge of the religious path).

Shah further shows that the concept of *sarvajñatā* is opposed and contradictory to the *karma-siddhānta* (doctrine of karman), for *sarvajñatva* signifies knowledge of past, present and future which cannot be contradicted, and this should mean that an individual has no chance to set aside his failings and go ahead on the spiritual path, the path of good conduct, as his future life is already determined by past *karmans*. On the other hand, the *karma-siddhānta* would say that what we have in any life is due to the *karmans* of earlier lives, but there is full scope for effort in the direction of betterment if one strives in good faith. The concept of *sarvajñatva* is totally contradictory to the doctrine of *karman* and would only promote *Niyati-vāda* (Doctrine of Determinism).

In conclusion, we can only say that Dr. Shah's lectures are thought provoking and convincingly show the right direction in which philosophical doctrines and the works on them should be interpreted. This book is a valuable addition to the treasury of Sanskrit Vidyā.

Esther A. Solomon

MAKARANDA, (Madhukar Anant Mehendale Festschrift), Editors M. A. DHAKY, J. B. SHAH, Sharadaben Chimanbhai Educational Research Centre, Ahmedabad, 2000, pages VIII + 270; Rs. 600.

This felicitation volume dedicated to Prof. (Dr.) M. A. Mehendale, the distinguished and internationally renowned scholar is a collection of twenty-five erudite essays in Sanskrit, Prakrit and Avestan studies written in Sanskrit,

English and Gujarati. Twenty-five scholars, most of whom know him personally and intimately for many years, have contributed learned papers to this volume. The first essay by P. D. Nawathe studies "Kampa pronunciation in स्थानो न ये रः *RV* 10.78.4". *Kampa*, which means tremor, is a peculiar kind of pronunciation that frequently occurs in the traditional recitation of the *Rgveda*. The second essay deals with the "Emendation to the text of the *Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā*" by T. N. Dharmadhikari. The *Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā* no longer figures in the oral tradition and is limited to a few manuscripts only. However this text has been critically edited and brought out by Schroeder in Leipzig in 1881-1886 and later by Satavalekar in Aundha (Maharashtra) in 1942. Similies abound in literature and the *Brāhmaṇas* are no exception. While the similies in the *Āitareya* and *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* have been studied before, the third essay in this volume, "On some Similies in the *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa*" by Madhavi Kolhatkar is a pioneering work. Hanns-Peter Schmidt looks into the description of animal sacrifice in the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* in his essay "How to Kill a Sacrificial Victim". "Vārāha Śrautasūtra, A further textual study" is a well researched essay by C. G. Kashikar who came across parts of the *Vārāha Śrautasūtra* in the middle of an old manuscript of *Maitrāyaṇīya Sūtra* text which he retrieved quite by chance. G. U. Thite's "Vedisms in Daivarāta's Chandodarśana" is most interesting. Daivarāta was a modern ṛṣi, to whom 448 mantras are supposed to have been revealed. A collection of hymns thus revealed to him is called *Chandodarśana*.

S. J. Noel Sheth in "The Justification of Kṛṣṇa's Annihilation of his own Clan" looks into an episode that occurs in the *Mausala Parvan* (Book 16) of the *Mahābhārata* where the Yādavas are decimated, Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma leave this world and the city of Dvārakā is submerged by the ocean. "A note on Śabara's India" by Shripad Bhat is thought-provoking. Śabara was a *Bhāṣyakāra* whose work, *Śābarabhāṣya* formed the basis for all later *Mīmāṃsā* works. This essay highlights the geographical, social and cultural facts as reflected in his work. "An Earlier Reference to Śālātūrīya (Pāṇini)" is an incisive essay by M. A. Dhaky where he conclusively proves that George Cardona, one of the front ranking authorities on Pāṇini and Pāṇinian literature was right in assigning 500 BCE as the probable date for this great grammarian. Anna Radicchi discusses the authorship of the various parts of the *Kāśīkāvṛtti* by Jayāditya and Vāmana respectively in her article "Vivakṣā in Kāśīkāvṛtti: Jayāditya and Vāmana". Sanskrit is the only language that has a large number of finite and nonperiphrastic desideratives (*sannantas*).

V. P. Bhatta studies the "Meaning of the Accusative in Desiderative" using clear examples. "Semantic Randomness and the Comparative Method" by Henry M. Hoenigswald is highly scholarly treatise on double articulation and narrow phonological and wide-ranging morphemic structure. Ludo Rocher's essay "The Aurasa Son" studies the different kinds of sons recognized by ancient

ṛṣis. "Sāra, A-sāra, Sam-sāra" by Minoru Hara is one of the most readable essays in this volume. The word *sāra* seems to vary in accordance with the nature of contexts in which it occurs with the prefixes *a* and *sam*. Ānandavardhana was a great poet of both Sanskrit and Prakrit and had first-hand knowledge of the poetic process. His research work *Dhvanyāloka* is the topic of the essay by C. Panduranga Bhatta entitled "Ānandavardhana's Contribution to Research Methodology". The relation between man and Nature has always been a part of Indian tradition and "Ecological Awareness in Indian Tradition (specially as reflected in Sanskrit Literature)" is a very readable essay by Leela Arjunwadkar. She examines the relation between man and Nature, and her conclusions are : The ancient Indian attitude as reflected in Sanskrit literature has never been anthropocentric and relation between man and Nature has always been that of love, harmony and peaceful interdependence.

"Vyāsa's Leftovers : Food Imagery in Indian Literature" is a well-written article by Vidyut Aklujkar where the most valuable theoretical and conceptual contributions of South Asia to the study of food are discussed. She presents the treatment of left-over food in life and literature. She covers topics such as purity and pollution, clannish acceptance and rejection, Bhakti or worship and its ritual practices. In her discussion on "originality and plagiarism", however, she leaves out altogether any reference to the two outstanding literary critics Ānandavardhana and Rājasekhara. Indian materialism is discussed in Krishna S. Arjunwadkar's "The Ressurrection of Cārvāka". He critically examines Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya's work, *Lokāyata: A study in Ancient Indian Materialism*, and A. H. Salunkhe's three studies : *Cārvākadarśana* rather in aggressive and provocative language and combative spirit. He says that these studies are the outcome of a motivated research : Chattopadhyaya is interested in establishing roots of Materialism in ancient Indian thought while Salunkhe sees in Cārvāka an ancient champion of anti-Brahmanism and anti-Vedism.

"Valāhassajātaka and Telapattajātaka" by Siegfried Lienhard evokes the legend of the merchant Simhala. We come across many such fairy tales in the Buddhist and Jaina literature. Such fairy tales of mariners can easily find place in the voyage literature of the world. "Notes on Avestic Asha 'Truth'" by Helmut Humbach looks into the numerous phrases in the Avesta that have parallels in the *R̥gveda*. Avesta is the sister language of Sanskrit and with careful observance of certain phonetic laws, entire stanzas may be converted from one language to another. N. M. Kansara's "Avestan Eschatology" is a lucid essay that deals with concepts of death and after-life in Zarathustra's teachings.

B. V. Shetti's essay, "Manuscript Collection in the Asiatic Society of Bombay" is the most informative of all the essays. After a brief history of the Society he goes on to present the Society's most extraordinary manuscript collection

lovingly introducing each of the masterpieces like Dante Alghieri's *Divina Commedia* of the mid fourteenth century or the illustrated *Shāhnāmāh* by Firdausi. The list of the rare manuscripts given at the end of the article will be extremely useful to scholars. Hukum Chand Patyal's "Concept of Śiṣṭācāra" discusses the concept of *śiṣṭācāra* (practice or conduct of the *śiṣṭas* or learned or virtuous persons) concludes the English section of this volume. The other section includes articles in Sanskrit by V. B. Bhagvat and in Gujarati by Jitendra Shah.

The articles are well researched and presented. However, there are some typographical errors, which should have been corrected. The entire volume is neatly organized and printing is pleasing to the eye. We heartily welcome this publication and congratulate the authorities of the Sharadaben Chimambhai Educational Research Centre for bringing out this publication.

V. M. Kulkarni, Vidya Vencatesan

THE COLLECTED ESSAYS OF A. K. RAMANUJAN, General Editor VINAY DHARWADKER, Oxford University Press, Bombay, 1999, pages xviii + 638. Rs. 750.

Attipat Krishnaswami Ramanujan was one of the most erudite scholars of South Asian language and culture. In the course of his pioneering research spanning four decades, Ramanujan lectured and published articles on literature and culture based on his experience and creative insights. His work blazed a new trail in the field of Indological studies. This book that brings together thirty such essays for the first time is a boon for students and scholars alike.

The general editor, Vinay Dharwadker has divided the book into four parts namely *General Essays on Literature and Culture*, *Essays on Classical Literatures*, *Essays on Bhakti and Modern Poetry* and *Essays on Folklore* followed by a detailed section of Notes and References and a helpful chronology of select books and essays by A. K. Ramanujan. Thus this edition brings together all the finished scholarly pieces that Ramanujan left behind in typescript or in print, that are not available in his other book-length works and that he had contemplated including in such a volume.

The introduction is a moving article by Milton Singer that gives us a rare glimpse of Raman as he was known to friends, the man and colleague, while the brief biography by Edward C. Dimcock Jr. and Krishna Ramanujan gives this serious work a human touch. Similarly each section is preceded by a critical introduction by noted Indologists like Wendy Doniger, Vinay

Dharwadker, John B. Carman, Stuart Blackburn and Alan Dundes.

The first section on *General Essays on Literature and Culture* contains six essays : "Where Mirrors are Windows : Towards an Anthology of Reflections", "Is there an Indian way of thinking ?", "An Informal Essay, Towards an Anthology of City Images", "Food for Thought : Towards an Anthology of Hindu food images", "Language and Social change: The Tamil example", "Some Thoughts on "Non-Western" Classics : with Indian examples." Each of these essays sheds a new light on often hypertrophied discussions, clarifies and goes beyond fashionable approaches.

The second section entitled *Essays on Classical Literatures* includes six famous essays : the first essay "Three Hundred Ramayanas : Five Examples and three Thoughts on translation" deals with the two epics and questions the Orientalist theories about an Ur-text and subsequent tellings or variants while the second essay "Repetition in the Mahabharata" takes up the complementary issue about how a loose-leaf compilation comes to take on a definite structure employing the principle of repetition. The following four essays study classical Tamil poetry. "Classics Lost and Found" recounts the dramatic story of how the Tamil people discovered and recovered their own classical poetics and poetry, late in the nineteenth century, through the traditions of preservation, learning and transmission maintained by the Jains, outside the circles of Hindu culture and brahmanical scholarship.

"Form in Classical Tamil Poetry", forcefully demonstrates the alterity and autonomy of classical Tamil poetic theory and practice in relation to Sanskrit poetics and poetry. "On Translating a Tamil Poem" displays the multiplicity of histories and cultures in the subcontinent to a fuller extent by examining the peculiar combination of possibilities, opportunities and difficulties involved in the act of translating a lyric poem from classical Tamil, which is at least two thousand years old, into contemporary English. "From Classicism to Bhakti", an article that is co-authored by Norman Cutler dwells on the issue of how classical Tamil poetry and culture, emerging on the periphery of the epic and classical worlds of Sanskrit in north India, historically shape the subsequent poetry and culture of *bhakti*, as the latter appears in the works of *Sri Vaisnava Alvars*, especially Nammalvar.

Six essays make up the third section of this book, *Essays on Bhakti and Modern Poetry*. "On Women saints", "Men, Women and Saints" attempt to generalize on a vast range of stories and story-cycles about the *bhakti* saints. In these two essays which should be read as a single project, he distinguishes between highcaste Hindu men who become saints and all other saints, including both low-caste men and all women, and he then points out the distinctive features of women saints. In "The Myths of Bhakti : Images

of Siva in Saiva poetry" Ramanujan discusses Viraśaiva poetry and its "subliminal use of mythic images" and illustrates the "intimate innovative images of Siva in the lives of the saints." The essay "Why an Allama Poem is not a Riddle: an Anthological Essay" the antistructural message of Viraśaiva bhakti is exemplified in the words of its most radical representative, Allama Prabhu. "Varieties of Bhakti" is a short foray into a comparison of bhakti poetry with Western devotional poetry. "On Bharati and his Prose Poems" delves into the world of Subramania Bharati, one of the most inspiring poets the Tamil language saw in the early part of the twentieth century. His individual work recapitulates the various phases and forms of his cultural past namely Tamil, Indian and Western Literature.

The last section of this book that deals with *Essays on Folklore* is perhaps the most fascinating. Folklore was always Ramanujan's first love and he had started collecting folklore in Kannada in his early twenties. He was the first to raise questions about the extent to which Indic folktales did or did not fit into the European folkloristic typological categories. He was also the first modern scholar from India to look at folklore as an independent field of enquiry. As essays like "The Clay Mother-in-law: A South-Indian folktale", "Some Folktales from India", "Hanchi: A Kannada Cinderella", "The Prince who married his own Left Half" demonstrate how Ramanujan transcended the dichotomy of "Great and Little Traditions" to develop a theory of the Indian civilisation as "context-sensitive", pluralistic and reflexive. On the other hand, "The Indian Oedipus", "A Flowering Tree: A Woman's Tale", "Towards a Counter System: Women's Tales", "Telling Tales", "Tell it to the Walls: On Folktales in Indian Culture" deal with his famous statement "Genres are Genders". The essays "Two Realms of Kannada Folklore", "On Folk Mythologies and Folk Puranas", "Who Needs Folklore ?" demonstrate that even counter - systems are not entirely independent of other systems to which they respond. Folklore overlaps perhaps at the deepest levels with other expressive systems in India.

This book both brilliantly researched and wittily written is much pleasure to read.

Vidya Vencatesan

INDIAN FIRE RITUAL, MUSASHI TACHIKAWA, SHRIKANT BAHULKAR, MADHAVI KOLHATKAR, Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, Delhi, 2001, pp. 212. Rs. 495.

Rituals, particularly sacrificial rituals, are at the core of the Vedic culture. The symbolism in these rituals later developed in an abstract philosophy as reflected in the Upaniṣads, which, as is known, enchanted the thinkers all over the world. Even so, the tradition of fire rituals is fairly unbroken in India. Time and again, we hear of the occasional performances of *yajñas* and *yāgas* for peace and prosperity of this country and the world.

The Vaidika Saṁsodhana Maṇḍala, Pune, is one of the rare Institutes in India where this ancient culture is studied in depth and is preserved in various ways.

The present volume is an outcome of such an effort and it records the performance of a specially arranged Iṣṭi viz. Pavitreṣṭi. This Iṣṭi is described in the Prāyaścitta section of the *Baudhāyana Śrautasūtra*, the oldest of the Śrauta Sūtras, belonging to the Taittirīya recension of Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda. It is also mentioned in Vādhūla, Bhāradvāja, and Aśvalāyana Śrauta Sūtras. The purpose of Pavitreṣṭi is to remove the deficiencies - ritualistic or otherwise - that might have developed due to non-performance or lapses in performance in other usual rituals.

Sanskrit studies have been encouraged in Japan, more so in the 19th century, and it was at the instance of Musashi Tachikawa of National Museum of Ethnology, Osaka, that this special performance was commissioned and recorded audio-visually on 27th of July 1979.

Dr. Shrikant Bahulkar of Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapeeth, Pune was instrumental in arranging the entire performance with the help of reputed priests well versed in Vedic texts and rituals, who hailed from Nashik. The team consisted of an *Adhvaryu*, *Agnidhara*, *Hotr*, *Brahman*, *Yajamāna* and a few *Sadasyas*. The venue was the Sacrificial Hall of the Vaidika Saṁsodhana Maṇḍala. The performance commenced at 7.30 a.m. on 27th July 1979 by vitalising the sacrificial fire on *araṇi* in the traditional way and ended at 11.30 a.m. by relinquishment of the vow.

All the rites have been captured in a video camera and the relevant photographs are arranged in this volume in a sequential order. The elaborate description below each photograph and sketches with reference to respective *mantras* enable the reader to grasp the essence of the particular part in the sacrifice.

The photographs and sketches are arranged in four parts. Part I

(pp. 31 to 51) contains photographs of priests, utensils and preparation of the *isti*. Part II (pp. 55 to 114) contains photographs of all preliminary rites. Part III (pp. 117 to 166) shows the main rites. Part IV (pp. 169 to 173) are about the concluding rites.

The joint authors have taken care to present the text of the entire *Pavitreṣṭi* in Roman script as well as its English translation. The elaborate introduction, to otherwise a purely pictorial book, has added to the value of the book. The Foreword by C. G. Kashikar, the veteran Vedic scholar smoothly introduces the theme of the book.

The event on which this monograph has been written is of 1979. The book is out in 2001. The time lag has not been explained by the authors anywhere in the preliminary pages.

The entire book is printed on art paper and all the 140 photographs are superb. The get-up and the printing are exceptionally good. The book is surely going to satisfy all those who are interested in knowing sacrificial details relating to Pavitreṣṭi or Darśapūrṇamāsa.

N. B. Patil

ĀB-E-HAYĀT, *Shaping the Canon of Urdu Poetry*, MUHAMMED ḤUSAIN AZAD : Tr. and edited by Frances Pritchett and Shamsur Rahman Faruqi. Oxford University Press. Price not given.

Urdu language has its own tradition of history writing. It all began with the compilation of biographical notes about Urdu poets called 'Tazkiras.' Great Urdu poet Meer Taqui Meer (d. 1810) is one of the pioneers in Tazkira writing, followed by numerous other Tazkira writers. These "Tazkiras" can safely be called biographical dictionaries with impressionistic comments about poets and their poetry. During the first half of the 19th century the two noteworthy dictionaries were compiled by Qudratulla Qasim called 'Majmua-e-Naghz' and 'Tazkira-e-Shora-e-Urdu' by Kareemuddin.

Muhammed Husain Azad and his other contemporaries like Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, Maulana Hali, Maulana Shibli, Nazir Ahmed and many others devoted themselves to enriching other facets of Urdu literature in prose, as against Urdu poetry of which Ghalib, Zafar, Momin, Hali, Zauq were the towering poets. Biographies, novels, essays, research and criticism flourished in Urdu and Urdu prose took strides in the latter half of the 19th century.

Muhammed Husain Azad was one of the great literary personalities of this period (1837-1910). He wrote books on history, literary criticism, essays, philology, including poetry which is trend setter in modern Urdu poetry. But his book on history of Urdu poetry, 'Āb-e-Hayāt' became landmark and is one of the masterpieces not only of Azad, but in Urdu literature. Āb-e-Hayāt is a book on the history of Urdu poetry divided into chapters in chronological order. It is the first attempt to write history of Urdu literature (poetry) in a systematic manner with his literary insight in understanding poetry. It has been a book with many controversies regarding Azad's sources, however later it was proved that he had mostly relied on 'Majmua-e-Naghz' and 'Tazkira-e-Shora-e-Urdu.'

There have been a number of histories of Urdu, written in English. History of Urdu by Ram Baboo Saksena is the first one in the series of English histories of Urdu literature, followed by *A History of Urdu Literature* by Muhammed Sadiq (OUP). Anna Maria Schiemel and Ralph Russel's "The Pursuit of Urdu Literature" has an approach to history writing.

Select Urdu literature, both in poetry as well as in prose has been ably translated into English in India and abroad. It is however, necessary to translate some of the basic Urdu books into English for the benefit of English readers interested in this exotic language of the East. It is a welcome gesture by the OUP to publish one of the masterpieces in Urdu literature. Translation of 'Āb-e-Hayāt' of Azad into English, besides being a source book on the subject is a classic in its own right as far as its style is concerned. Āb-e-Hayāt's English translation which was a long felt necessity is now rendered into English by two scholars of repute, namely Frances Pritchett and Shamsur Rahman Faruqi. With this translation, Azad's '*magnum opus*' has now reached the Urdu lovers of English. The translation is a difficult art and needs mastery over both the languages, and this has become possible due to the fact that bilingual scholars are involved in this literary craftsmanship.

The translation of 'Āb-e-Hayāt' is not just a translation but a research document edited with scholarly insight giving copious notes. It also gives the principles of poetry and the linguistic aspects of Urdu and Braj Bhasha, with scholarly bibliography, indexes in terms of authors, literary terms as well as general references which are very useful to those referring to the book.

The translation so far as the matter is concerned gives all details about the evolution of Urdu poetry, beginning from Vali Aurangabadi. The book is known for its remarkable style. This style of Azad is naturally untranslatable and the few portraits are not as enjoyable as they are in the original Urdu, which again is understandable. However, one can get some idea of the personages illustrated by Muhammed Husain Azad. The work besides being

a translation as stated earlier has its own research value for which both the translators need to be complimented for their scholarship and insight into the subject. With this translation untranslatable has been successfully translated.

Abdus Sattar Dalvi

PRĀSĀDA-ŚIKHARA, (*Temple-Roof*), R. P. KULKARNI, with a Foreword by A. P. Jamkhedkar, pp. xxi + 163 + 130 of Sanskrit text, 50 drawings. Published by Itihas Patrika Prakashan, Thane, 2000. Rs. 150.

Temples are differentiated on the basis of their ground plans and the forms of their *śikharas* or spires. There are 15 types of temples categorized on the basis of the designs of their *śikharas* in the Śilpa texts. Different treatises on Śilpaśāstra deal with the forms prevailing in their respective regions, and mainly with the Nāgara and Drāviḍa varieties. Practising sthapatis generally follow one single type known in their region. The construction details of a large variety of temples is forgotten and not known to the present day sthapatis. So, the author, a Civil Engineer, who has researched on various aspects of ancient engineering and architecture, presents his research of the temple roof and its varieties as known from Śilpa texts, particularly, the 12th century western Indian text *Aparājitaṭṭocchā*, and to some extent 11th century *Samarāṅgaṇa-sūtradhāra* of Bhoja. For Kālīṅga or Orissan School, he follows the *Bhuvanapradīpa* and Śilpaprakāśa. In addition, he refers to many more Śilpa texts, Āgamas and Saṁhitās. There are 130 pages of citations in Sanskrit from textual sources.

Dr. A. P. Jamkhedkar's Foreword provides information on actual existing temples to corroborate some of the textual material in the book. He takes up the question of temple types from the historical point of view, reminding us that in the 6th century text of Varāhamihira there is no mention of regional styles of temple architecture. He dwells on the temple called Phāmsanākāra with pyramidal tower, which was associated with Vyantaradevas or lowest division of gods of forests, and also often functioned as a *svargārohaṇa* or memorial temple. He points out how Maharashtra can be considered, along with central India, the place of origin of the Bhūmija mode of architecture, a mode that was first identified by Stella Kramrisch and on which Krishna Deva has extensively researched.

Dr. Kulkarni describes the 15 categories of temples given in texts which actually are not mutually exclusive but can be analyzed in the basic four types: 1) Nāgara-chanda, 2) Drāviḍa, 3) Valabhī, and 4) Phāmsanākāra. Within

Nāgara-chanda temple there are 64 varieties, which, the author says, can be treated as sub-classes. He describes Nāgara towers and their constituent *śṛṅgas* (mini-spires) on different projections. He gives dimensions of different parts of the superstructure such as Āmalasāra, starting with the *skandha* (shoulder) to the pinnacle. Towers of Latina or single-spire type and the Śekhārī with multiple turrets are described along with diagrams. Similarly, the author mentions different types of Drāviḍa temples with different designs of roofs as given in texts, and also the Valabhī Prāsādas having rectangular and other plans. There are 25 varieties of Phāṁsanākāra Prāsādas, which are called *napuṁsaka* (neuter). The roofs of the *maṅḍapas* or pavilions are also described along with their decorative elements. Kulkarni points out that the so-called Vesara or mixed type like Bhūmija and Varāta has not been dealt in detail in any single treatise. He gives analysis of at least 15 types of Bhūmija temples, of square, circular and octagonal plan, and the number of projections and *bhūmis* or storeys of each of these temples. The Varāta Prāsāda, of which he gives 25 varieties, is similar to that of the Bhūmija, but with the difference in the composition of its *śṛṅgas*, which do not have *jaṅghā* or wall unlike the *śṛṅgas* of the Bhūmija temple.

Kulkarni says that the books by western scholars and their Indian followers look upon Greek and Roman architecture as their ideal, and lack in the true spirit of Indian architecture. But we can say that the picture is gradually changing towards an indigenous approach to temple architecture. Stella Kramrisch's monumental work *The Hindu Temple*, published in 1946, has given a direction to research on temple arts. Recently, with the publication of the volumes on the *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture* by the American Institute of Indian Studies, and works by M. A. Dhaky, Krishna Deva, Michael Meister, Adam Hardy and others a new phase has begun in the understanding of Indian architecture, coordinating textual sources and field research. The temple is conceived and presented in the terminology of the Silpaśāstras.

At this stage of research on temple architecture, the present book by Kulkarni could be of help to researchers. For instance, we can see from Table 5 on the tower of the Sāndhara Prāsāda (p. 44), that the Kandariya Mahādeva temple of Khajuraho with its 84 *śṛṅgas* on the body of the principal tower (*mūlamanjari*), belongs to Airāvata category - a diagram of which is also given by practising sthapati Narmadashankar Sompura in the *Vāstu-Ratnākara*, compiled by him in 1939, based on various Vāstu texts.

The book presents many drawings of temple roofs and their varieties along with measurements and proportions. It would be helpful to researchers on temple architecture and to temple-builders. The author says that there will be a second part to follow the present book, covering examples of existing

temples resembling those that are described in literature. We await this proposed volume illustrating the existing monuments showing correspondence with Silpa texts. The controversial issue of the use of the true arch in ancient buildings can then be settled, if the actual example is illustrated.

Devangana Desai

TEMPLES OF THE KALACHURI PERIOD, AMRENDRA KUMAR SINGH, pp. xvi + 118, photographs 90, drawings 16, Pratibha Prakashan, Delhi, 2002. Rs. 1650.

The book under review is a result of the author's field survey of the monuments for two decades on the lesser known and remote temples of Dāhala, comprising Rewa, Panna, Shahdol, Sidhi, Damoh, Satna and Jabalpur regions of Madhya Pradesh. New data has emerged in the past decades on the temples of this region since the pioneering works of Alexander Cunningham in the 19th century and Rakhal Das Banerji's monograph in 1931. Krishna Deva, R. N. Misra, Rahman Ali, Donald Stadtner and other scholars have written on the architecture and sculpture of the Cedi-Kalachuri region of Dāhala. But there are many more temples in the remote areas of the region such as Boudha Danda, Rehi, Madfe Danda, Chunari and others that A. K. Singh has visited and presented along with their photographs and ground plans in the book. As Prof. M. A. Dhaky says in his Foreword to the book, "Dr. Singh is a zealous explorer with a knack to find out unknown and hence hitherto unreported material."

The author says that the monuments surveyed by him do not conform to a single well-defined geographical nomenclature and architectural style, and hence it became necessary to give the dynastic appellation of the Kalachuris to his study. He points out that dating most of these monuments was on stylistic and circumstantial basis, because only two monuments, namely the monastery of Chandrehe and the Yogini temple at Bheraghat, bear inscriptions. The temples have been divided in three phases of development on the basis of their ground plan, elevation and the scheme of figurative and decorative motifs. The art of this region under the Kalachuris was like that of the Candella art at Khajuraho influenced by the earlier Pratihāra art and motifs of central India and Kanauj. The author notes the unavailability of Silpa texts in the region and therefore he employs architectural terms from some of the known central and western Indian texts such as the *Samarāṅgaṇa-sūtradhāra*, *Aparājita-prcchā*, *Dīpārṇava* and *Ksīrārṇava*, the texts applicable to the temples of Khajuraho also where no architectural treatises are found.

After a brief introduction to the subject, the author gives a chapter on a historical account of the Kalacuri rulers and their building activities. In the third chapter he presents an overview of temple architecture discussing various units on its plan such as the *garbhagrha* (sanctum), *antarāla* (vestibule) and *mandapa* (hall), and the various elements of its elevation such as the *vedibandha*, *jarighā* (wall), *varaṅdikā* and *śikhara* (spire). The Latina or single spire type is widely prevalent in the region, though some temples have Phāmsanā or pyramidal superstructures. Several temples have circular plan of the *garbhagrha*.

The longest chapter in the book covers important monuments of the region describing 35 monuments (temples and monasteries) constructed from about 6th to 13th century CE. The author gives details of the ground plans and elevations of the temples and the sculptural placement in cardinal niches and other parts of the temples. He describes the Śaiva monasteries at Chandrehe (Sidhi district) and Chunari (Rewa district) with their austere architecture. Drawings and photographs support the account.

Singh begins his account with the early temples in the eastern Vindhya region such as those at Mada and Boudha Danda in Sidhi, assignable according to him to the 6th-7th centuries. The dates are however subject to further investigation. Architectural historians have so far considered Bandhogadh temples (*circa* 8th century) as the earliest in the region. But this view needs to be reexamined with Singh's discovery of Boudha Danda temples, which would take the beginnings of structural temple building activity of this region to 6th-7th century. He points out the affinity of the Boudha Danda temple No. 1 (Plate XX of our Journal) with that of the slightly later Śiva temple at Dhobini (*circa* 700-725) in Bilaspur region. The photograph of Boudha Danda temple shows earlier features compared to Dhobini temple (Krishna Deva, *Temples of India*, Plate 42).

Significantly, another early temple at Sitamadhi is situated in the jungles near Shahdol, an area inhabited by Rajgonds, whereas the Śiva temple of Khokhala, assigned by him to 8th-9th century, is in the forest of Satna region, inhabited by the Mavasis tribe. The sculptural art of these temples reveals archaic features. It is interesting to see some typical floral designs on the doorsills of the temples of Deour Kohtar (Plate 22), Rehi (Plate 31) and Majhiyar (Plate 65) in Rewa region. These have similarities with the doorsill of an early temple of Khajuraho, namely the Brahmā temple datable to 925 CE.

The book provides a Glossary and a Map of the sites covered. The photographs are of uneven quality, and much editing is required in the text, but as the material covered is new, the book is valuable.

MYSTICISM IN SHAIIVISM AND CHRISTIANITY, Ed. BETTINA BÄUMER, D. K. Printworld (P) Ltd., New Delhi, 1997, pp.xviii+365. Rs. 450.

The book under review is mostly a collection of papers presented at the Seminar on "Mysticism : Śaiva and Christian" in Rajpur, Dehra Dun, in 1990. As the Introduction rightly says (p. ix), in these days of fanaticism, and divisive religious outlook, an exchange of ideas towards a "true" understanding of the religions, going beyond the 'logical, the verbal, the social, and the institutional levels' of religious expressions is a necessity. The true meeting point of the participants is at the mystical level, Bäumer avers, 'in the cavity of the heart'. If the meaning of the word 'mysticism' is derived from the Greek root 'myeo', as she sees it, then the opinions exchanged in this book become truly relevant in the context of the wounds caused by 'religious' vandals in the psyche of many communities around us.

The first article by Prof. A. Haas ('What is Mysticism?') has been included in the present volume to give us a comprehensive view of the shades of meaning the word 'mysticism' has held and developed over a period of time, in fact from 500 BCE, and in Christian theology, as used by the mystics themselves, and later as interpreted by the commentators.

The most weighty article is contributed by Raimon Panikkar ('Mysticism of Jesus the Christ'). This is set out in three parts. The first part deals with Jesus the individual - his words and deeds; their proper context is laid down, so that we may grasp their true significance and value; and finally our interpretation of these.

In the second part of Panikkar's article, there are chosen three '*Mahāvākyas*' of the Messiah, and following Indic methodology, each of these is treated with an explanatory commentary. An understanding is best achieved, according to Panikkar, by entering into the spirit of the *vākyas*, and try to experience what the speaker felt when uttering them.

In the third part, Panikkar tries to live through Christ's Passion, explicating by this process what we may learn from this. One achieves this he says, by participating in Silence, when in the final experience the 'I' is converted into a 'thou'. Christian tradition, as well as the scripture state that one must participate in the sentiment as Christ, be one with Him, and be transformed into Him.

In his conclusion, he states that Christology will have no relevance if it does not hold out hope to those spiritual "dalits" (the down-trodden). He comments on Joshua, son of Mary, that "He was neither a political liberator, nor a world denying ascetic, and much less a member of the clergy, but just a Being (we have no other word) living the fulness of humanness which

includes the sharing of the Divine--- revealing thus what we are called upon to become" (p. 177).

The methodology, as well as some of the terminologies used in this article resonate after the Indic pattern. Thus he is successful in his avowed intentions (p. 77) of attempting a Christian discourse with a Śaiva mind.

There are two interesting contributions on little known Christian women mystics of the West. Odette Bäumer-Depeigne writes on the two Hadewijch-s of Belgium: "Hadewijch of Antwerp and Hadewijch II : Mysticism of Being in the Thirteenth Century in Belgium", and C. Murray Rogers on the Norwich mystic Julian: "Enclosed in God : The Joyful Surprise of One-ing. The Experience of Julian of Norwich." The better known mystics Eckhart ("On letting God be God : Meister Eckhart and the Lure of the Desert") and St. Ignatius Loyola ("The Active Mysticism of St. Ignatius Loyola") are discussed by Sr. Brigitte, and G. Gispert-Sauch, respectively. The Byzantine, or the Eastern Christian tradition is discussed by S. Descy in his "Unknowing and Personalism in the Theological Tradition of Christian East." He explains this tradition by discussing two of its main constituents : theological apophatism (definition by negation-'neti'), and the personal communication of God through His uncreated energies. His choice of these two is to establish parallel points between this religion, and others, particularly the Advaita - Vedānta and Śaivism.

Swami Nityananda Giri deals with Bliss as found in the dualistic Śaiva Siddhānta tradition ("Source of all Bliss : Mysticism of Śaiva Siddhānta"). The different aspects of Kashmir Śaivism are explained by H. N. Chakravarty : "Divine Recognition : *Pratyabhijñā*", and "*Śaktipāta* : Grace in Kashmir Śaivism" by Jankinath Kaul. Both have used a quotation from Kālidāsa's *Kumārasambhava* (v. 85), to illustrate their theory. Pārvatī realizes that the young ascetic is none other than Śiva himself, and she is unable to either stay or leave experiencing supreme delight. This is likened to the moment when the soul recognises its true Self, and the Supreme Consciousness neither "goes out", nor "comes in."

B. N. Pandit explains *Śāmbhavopāya* in his "The Divine Way : *Śāmbhavopāya* in Kashmir Śaivism." The Tāntric practice of Yoga for realization in Kashmir Śaivism is *Śāmbhavopāya*, he states. The last article in the book also treats Kashmir Śaivism. Bettina Bäumer takes up the interesting question of the aesthetics of mysticism in her "Aesthetics of Mysticism or Mysticism of Aesthetics?" She quotes extensively from the Śaivite texts and concludes that for the sensitive soul, or the *sahrdaya*, both are inseparable in his realisation; between the aesthete and the mystic though, realisation is different in degree only, depending on the intensity of their experience.

This book in the main tries a dialogue between the two religious streams-

Christian and Śaivite. It tries to highlight similarities in approach or the end result, but never compares the two systems, as this would entail a bias in the treatment. A perusal of this very interesting and thought-provoking collection of articles makes one realise that truly there are no time-space boundaries for the mystics—they all belong to one spiritual family which entertains no historical limitations. They are trans-historical and trans-cultural.

Indira Aiyar

OBITUARY NOTICES

Dr. Parameshwari Lal Gupta

(1914 - 2001)

Dr. Parameshwari Lal Gupta was born on 24th December, 1914 at Azamgarh town in Uttar Pradesh. In 1930 while he was in the eighth standard, he was expelled for organising a protest hartal against the arrest of Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru. Dr. Gupta joined the Indian National Congress and soon became popular and came to be known as "Azamgarh ka Jawahar" (Jawahar Lal Nehru of Azamgarh). The Britishers called him "The Red Hot Boy". When in 1947 the country became independent he retired from politics.

Dr. Gupta also crusaded for social reforms, establishing a public library and opening a primary school for girls, which has now become a Degree College in Azamgarh. As a journalist Dr. Gupta worked for fifteen years and served in the editorial department of the two nationalist Hindi dailies, *Aaz* and *Sainik*.

A fellow Congress worker Rama Shankar Rawat initiated Dr. Gupta into numismatics. Prof. A. S. Altekar guided him in his numismatic studies and research. By the time he appeared for his M. A., the University professors used to refer to his research papers in their classes, where he himself sat as a student. He obtained a First Class in his Master's Degree, while working as Assistant Curator (1950-1954) at Bharat Kala Bhavan, Varanasi. He pursued his research for the Ph. D. on "The Punch Marked Coins of Ancient India" under the guidance of Dr. V. S. Agrawala. In 1953 Dr. Gupta joined the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay as Numismatist. He obtained his Ph. D. degree in 1959. In 1962 he worked in the British Museum where he prepared the draft for a catalogue of the Mughal Coins in the collection. In 1963 he was appointed Curator of the Patna Museum, where he remained till his retirement in 1972.

Dr. Gupta joined the Managing Committee of the Numismatic Society of India in 1953, serving as Editor during 1964-1973 and General Secretary from 1968 to 1973. The All India Oriental Conference elected him three times as its Sectional President - in the year 1966 Aligarh Session for Archaeology, in the 1969 Jadavpur (Calcutta) Session for History, and in the 1977 Dharwar Session for Technical and Fine Arts. The Indian History Congress made him President of its Ancient Indian History Section at the

1966 Mysore Session. In 1972 he was the Chairperson at the Numismatic Section of South Asian History Conference at Wisconsin University, USA.

The greatest contribution of Dr. Gupta was his idea to establish an Institute for study and research in Indian Numismatics, which was fulfilled in 1984 by the generous cooperation of his industrial friend, the ardent numismatist K. K. Maheshwari by opening the Institute at Nasik. Dr. Gupta donated his entire collection of books to this Institute.

Dr. Gupta has worked in many branches of Indian coinage from the earliest times to the present day. He has written 32 books and monographs and about 250 research papers. In appreciation of his work, the Numismatic Society of India has honoured him with its Chakra Vikrama Silver Medal in 1954, its Nelson Wright Medal in 1962 and its Honorary Fellowship in 1974. The Royal Numismatic Society of London made him an Honorary Fellow in 1975 and its Medallist in 1977. The same year the Asiatic Society of Calcutta awarded him the Sir Jadunath Sarkar Gold Medal in recognition of his services to Medieval Indian Numismatics. In 1986 he was made an Honorary Member of the International Numismatic Commission and in 1987 received the Huntigton Medal of the American Numismatic Society of New York. In 1993 the Asiatic Society of Bombay honoured him with Fellowship of its Society.

Dr. Gupta lectured at London University, London; Göthe University, Frankfurt; Minister University, Berlin and Minister; Munich University, Munich; University of Tubingen; Ohio University, Columbus University of Nebraska, Lincoln; Asia House, New York and most of the Indian universities.

Dr. Gupta's contribution to Hindi Literature is noteworthy. He has to his credit the discovery of a number of unknown works of Sufi poets, which were unnoticed in European libraries. He has edited them and the most outstanding among them are *Chandayan* of Maulana Daud, and *Kanhawat* of Malik Muhammad Jaisi. His book *Bhāratīya Vāstukalā* (in Hindi) brought him the Hiralal Gold Medal of the Kashi Nagari Pracharini Sabha.

In 1987 Dr. Gupta donated his substantial savings and established Gopal Dass Guladavadi Devi Memorial Trust for the advancement of Numismatic study in Malad, Mumbai.

Dr. Gupta breathed his last on 29th July, 2001 in his Mumbai residence at the age of 87 years. He is survived by his wife, three daughters and two sons. The death of Dr. Gupta is a great loss to the numismatists of the entire world.

Professor Ramchandra Narayan Dandekar

(1909 - 2001)

The sudden and sad demise of Prof. Dandekar on 11th December, 2001 is certainly a loss to Indology in general and Sanskrit in particular.

R. N. Dandekar was born at Satara, Maharashtra, on 17th March, 1909. After studying at the Willingdon College, Sangli, Dandekar joined Deccan College, Poona, for further studies under the guidance of Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, simply because he was attracted by the notes of the latter on the *Uttara-Rāma-Caritam*. He got M. A. degree of the Bombay University twice in Sanskrit and Ancient Indian Culture. Thereafter he went to Heidelberg University, Germany, and obtained Ph. D. degree on 'Der Vedische Mensch' in 1938.

Prof. Dandekar established his career as an editor and received instructions from giants like Dr. V. S. Sukthankar, Dr. Belvalkar and Dr. P. L. Vaidya, whom he respected highly. He edited two *parvans* of the *Mahābhārata*- Śalya and Anuśāsana - and also *Rasaratnapradīpikā* of Allarāja and *Subhāṣita sūkti-Ratna* and the commentary of Vādirāja on *Viṣṇusahasranāma*. His output comes to 2208 pages. He was the editor of the Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Special Volumes of A. B. O. R. I. and Proceedings of the All India Oriental conferences. Prof. Dandekar was a good bibliographer and has contributed five volumes of the Vedic Bibliography and Harappan Bibliography. He has also translated into English some portion of the *Śrauta Koṣa* in Vol. I/i and ii and Vol. II/i.ii and iii, and the range of his translation covers printed 2498 pages.

Prof. Dandekar was a versatile writer and his select writing was published in five sumptuous volumes. His other works include 'Recent Trends in Indology and Some Aspects of the History of Hinduism.' His Marathi writing is also equally voluminous.

Prof. Dandekar was closely associated with Oriental Institutes, both national and international. He frequently visited foreign countries for participating in the seminars and conferences. He may be called a 'Cultural Ambassador of India.'

Prof. Dandekar was honoured by different institutes and universities by conferring of 'Hon. D. Litt.' Degree on him at least 6 times. He was given the titles 'Gaveṣaṇa Ratna, Mahāmahopādhyāya, Padmabhūṣaṇa and Vācaspati'.

The Ph. D. Degree was conferred on him by the Heidelberg University for the second time in the year 1988. He was also given Civic Honours by the Municipalities - Bombay in 1968 and Poona in 1969. His scholarship was rewarded by different puraskāras of Rs. one lakh each at least five times. He was honoured with Kane Gold Medal by the Asiatic Society of Bombay.

One really wonders how Dandekar managed his own scholarly work and administrative work with perfect ease and without getting his academic work hampered in any way. In his passing away, Indology has lost a great Vedic scholar, faithful translator, bibliographer, able administrator, cultural ambassador of India, and an enchanting orator in Sanskrit, English and German.

S. G. Moghe

Shri Krishna Deva

(1914 - 2001)

Shri Krishna Deva, who retired as Director of Archaeological Survey of India in 1973 was India's distinguished archaeologist, architectural historian and Indologist. Born on 24th August 1914, Krishna Deva secured first class in Ancient Indian History and Culture of Banaras Hindu University in 1937. He began his career in 1938 as an assistant to such legendary figures as N. G. Majumdar, with whom he worked in Sind, and Sir Aurel Stein, with whom he worked in west Rajasthan and Baluchistan in 1940-42. Later he participated in excavations at Ahichhatra with Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit and with Sir Mortimer Wheeler at Taxila, Harappa, and Arikamedu and prepared reports on pottery of these sites. He conducted independent excavations at Nagar, Agroha, Kashipur, Kumrahar (Pataliputra) and Vaishali from 1940 to 1950. He was Superintendent of various archaeological circles for nearly 16 years, when he handled conservation of monuments and antiquities. He held charge of the Temple Survey Project for north India (Bhopal) for a decade and conducted a systematic architectural survey of temples all over north India, which has resulted in a large number of important publications on the subject.

After his retirement from ASI, Krishna Deva was appointed Archaeological Advisor to the Government of Nepal between 1973-75 and Director, Birla Academy of Art and Culture, Calcutta, between 1975-77. He was Research

Consultant, American Institute of Indian Studies, Varanasi, between 1977-87, when he wrote a majority of the chapters of Volume II of the *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture*. For more than 12 years, Shri Krishna Deva edited the *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, one of the oldest art magazines started by Abanindra Nath Tagore and Stella Kramrisch.

Among the many Presidential and Keynote Addresses he was called upon to deliver, mention may be made of those at the All India Oriental Congress (Art and Technical Section), Srinagar (1961); National Seminar on the Art of the Paramaras, Bhopal (1978); International Colloquium on Numismatics and Archaeology, Nasik, (1987); International Seminar on the Art of Khajuraho at Khajuraho (1987); and so on. He delivered the Coomaraswamy Memorial Lecture at the Prince of Wales Museum, Mumbai, 1984, Moti Chandra Memorial Lecture at Bhopal (1988), and H. D. Sankalia Memorial Lecture at Bareilly (1996). The Asiatic Society of Bombay conferred Honorary Fellowship on this eminent scholar in 1998.

Shri Krishna Deva was an internationally recognized authority on the art and architecture of north India, and his two volumes *Temples of Khajuraho*, published by ASI (1990), are authoritative works extensively referred to by researchers. In fact, his article in *Ancient India*, No. 15, 1959, is a breakthrough for Khajuraho studies. Here he has discussed in detail architectural features of Khajuraho temples and for the first time given a sound chronology of the monuments. Among his other important books are : *Excavations at Vaisali* (1956), *Guide to Khajuraho* (1967), *Temples of North India* (1969), *Images of Nepal* (1984), *Khajuraho* (1987), and *Catalogue of Stone Sculptures in the Allahabad Museum* (1997). He has to his credit more than a hundred research articles, of which mention must be made of those on the Bhūmija temples, Rāmāyaṇa panels at Nachna, Jaina monuments and sculpture of north India, Stone Temple No. 2 at Nalanda, and Śaivite images and iconography in Nepal. With his knowledge of Sanskrit, epigraphy and a precise study of monuments, he had a comprehensive grasp over Indian temple art.

Shri Krishna Deva guided and inspired younger scholars and to his last breath took keen interest in temple art. There is hardly any time I have missed meeting him on my visits to Delhi in recent years. Even until his 85th year, he sat in the ASI, Janpath, preparing documentation work on various ancient sites. Last time when I saw him in March 2001 he was bed-ridden, but his interest in art was unabated and he talked about the Vākātaka sculptures at Ramtek and the newly excavated Bijamaṇḍala temple at Khajuraho.

Shri Krishna Deva passed away on 7th October 2001 in New Delhi. He has left behind a great legacy for younger generation in his vast and definitive writings on Indian art, architecture, and archaeology. He will truly be missed.

Devangana Desai

Prof. Ajay Mitra Shastri

(1934 - 2002)

Dr. Ajay Mitra Shastri, distinguished historian, had mastered various branches of Indology, including epigraphy, numismatics, cultural history as well as archaeology. He was a recipient of the prestigious Campbell Gold Medal (1992-95) of the Asiatic Society of Bombay. It is with a shock that we received the news of his sudden death on 11th January 2002.

Ajay Mitra Shastri was born on 5th March 1934 at Guna in Madhya Pradesh. His father sent him to Gurukul, which provided him good grounding in Sanskrit. A brilliant scholar, Dr. Shastri secured a First Class in M. A in Ancient Indian History and Culture from Banaras Hindu University in 1957. He obtained a Ph. D. Degree of Nagpur University in 1962 and a prestigious D. Litt. from the same University in 1986.

A dedicated teacher and scholar Dr. Shastri taught in the Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, University of Nagpur from 1957 until he retired as the Head of the Department in 1994. Besides his scholarly pursuits, he actively participated in various excavations conducted in Paunar, Takalghat, Khapa, Pauni, Mahurjhari and Bhokardan, Mandhal and various other sites. His contribution in this domain is invaluable and he was responsible for preparing the excavation reports. His contributions in the field of epigraphy and numismatics are well known.

Prof. Shastri was the author of more than 20 books, and has written over 350 research papers and reviews, many of which have been published in journals of international repute. His book, *India as seen in the Brhatsamhitā of Varāhamihira* (1969), is considered to be an authority on the subject and often referred to by scholars. Dr. Shastri was Editor of several prestigious journals, including the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, the *Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India*, and the *Numismatic Digest*.

Prof. Shastri came in close contact with eminent scholars such as Profs. A. S. Altekar, V. S. Agrawala, V. V. Mirashi, R. C. Majumdar, R. B. Pandey, V. S. Pathak, K. D. Bajpai, A. K. Narain and others. He was associated with many academic and professional organizations and worked as Member of numerous visiting committees of the University Grants Commission. He was a member of the Advisory Committee on Epigraphy and Numismatics of the Archaeological Survey of India, Convener of the Inscriptions of India Programme of the Indian Council of Historical Research, New Delhi, and Chairman of

the Advisory Board (Ancient Period), Indian National Science Academy, New Delhi. He was Vice-Chairman of the Epigraphical Society and Chairman of the Indian Coin Society.

The prestigious awards and honours that Dr. Shastri received include the All India Ravindra Literary Award from Madhya Pradesh Shasana Sahitya Parishad (1971); the Akbar Silver Medal of the Numismatic Society of India (1984); and the Altekhar Medal, Numismatic Society of India (1992). He was appointed UGC National Lecturer in History (1985), UGC National Fellow (1987-89), and later also UGC Emeritus Fellow:

Prof. Shastri was the Sectional President of the Indian History Congress (1978), the Andhra Pradesh History Congress (1980), All-India Oriental Conference (1994); and the General President of the Numismatic Society of India (1981), Epigraphical Society of India (1987), the Indian History and Culture Society (1991), Third International Colloquium on 'Coinage Trade & Economy', Nasik, (1991), and the South Indian Numismatic Society (1997).

Warm and generous Prof. Shastri had a wide group of students, followers and friends around him. His admirers brought out two Felicitation volumes to honour him containing articles by eminent scholars. He was a regular contributor to our Journal and almost till his last communicated with us. In his article on the ancient town of Erich and its coinage in the present issue of our Journal, he suggests that it would be rewarding to excavate the site extensively. We hope that the ASI will fulfill his wishes. We will miss him and his erudite scholarship.

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 | Ms. Shailaja G. Barve
Indian
41, Budhwar Peth,
Jogeshwari Lane,
Pune, 411 002 |
| 4. | Publisher's Name
Nationality
Address | Ms. 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, Ms. 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

**TRANSLITERATION OF THE
SANSKRIT AND ALLIED ALPHABETS**

अ	.....	a	औ	.....	au	ठ	.....	ṭha	ष	.....	bha
आ	.....	ā	क	.....	ka	ड	.....	ḍa	म	.....	ma
इ	.....	i	ख	.....	kha	ढ	.....	ḍha	य	.....	ya
ई	.....	ī	ग	.....	ga	ण	.....	ṇa	र	.....	ra
उ	.....	u	घ	.....	gha	त	.....	ta	ल	.....	la
ऊ	.....	ū	ङ	.....	ṅa	थ	.....	tha	व	.....	va
ऋ	.....	ṛ	च	.....	ca	द	.....	da	श	.....	śa
ॠ	.....	ṝ	छ	.....	cha	ध	.....	dha	ष	.....	ṣa
ऌ	.....	ḷ	ज	.....	ja	न	.....	na	स	.....	sa
ए	.....	e	झ	.....	jha	प	.....	pa	ह	.....	ha
ऐ	.....	ai	ञ	.....	ña	फ	.....	pha	ळ	.....	ḷa
ओ	.....	o	ट	.....	ṭa	ब	.....	ba			
		(Anusvāra)			ṁ	×		(Jihvāmūliya)			h̄
		(Anunāsika)			m	⌋		(Upadhīmāniya)			h̄
		(Visarga)			h			s (Avagraha)			,

**TRANSLITERATION OF ARABIC AND
ALLIED ALPHABETS**

ARABIC											
ا	.....	a	ز	.....	z	ق	.....	q	...	i or e
ب	.....	b	س	.....	s	ك	.....	k	...	u or o
ت	.....	t	ش	.....	sh	ل	.....	l	...	ā
ث	.....	th	ص	.....	ṣ	م	.....	m	...	i, e
ج	.....	j	ض	.....	ḍ	ن	.....	n	...	ū, ō
ح	.....	h	ط	.....	ṭ	و	.....	w	...	ai, ay
خ	.....	kh	ظ	.....	ẓ	ح	.....	h	...	au, aw
د	.....	d	ع	.....	‘	ي	.....	y	silent t	.... h
ذ	.....	dh	غ	.....	gh	ء	.....	‘		
ر	.....	r	ف	.....	f	ا	.....	a		
PERSIAN											
پ	p	چ	ch	ژ	zh	ک	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. Footnotes, 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	LII-LIII	1977-78	Rs. 200.00
XXVII	1 & 2 & Supp.	1951-52	Rs. 200.00	LIV-LV	1979-80	Rs. 200.00
XXVIII	1 & 2	1953	Rs. 200.00	LVI-LIX	1981-84	Rs. 200.00
XXIX	1 & 2	1954	Rs. 200.00	LX-LXI	1985-86	Rs. 200.00
XXX	1 & 2	1955	Rs. 200.00	LXII-LXIII	1987-88	Rs. 300.00
XXXI-XXXII		1956-57	Rs. 200.00	LXIV-LXVI	1989-91	Rs. 350.00
XXXIII		1958	Rs. 200.00	LXVII-LXVIII	1992-93	Rs. 350.00
XXXIV-XXXV		1959-60	Rs. 200.00	LXIX	1994	Rs. 200.00
XXXVI-XXXVII	& Supp.	1961-62	Rs. 200.00	LXX	1995	Rs. 350.00
XXXVIII		1963	Rs. 200.00	LXXI	1996	Rs. 350.00
XXXIX-XL		1964-65	Rs. 200.00	LXXII	1997	Rs. 350.00
XLI-XLII		1966-67	Rs. 200.00	LXXIII	1998	Rs. 350.00
XLIII-XLIV		1968-69	Rs. 200.00	LXXIV	1999	Rs. 350.00
XLV-XLVI		1970-71	Rs. 200.00	LXXV	2000	Rs. 350.00
XLVII-XLVIII		1972-73	Rs. 200.00	LXXVI	2001	Rs. 400.00
XLIX-LI		1974-75-76	Rs. 280.00			

Foreign price US \$ 30 inclusive of postage for each volume of the Journal.

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. *Buddhaghōṣa* by Dr. B. C. Law,
Rs. 60.00
2. *Some Jain Canonical Sūtras* 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
Kavindrācārya Sarasvatī*
Ed. by Prof. R. B. Athavale, Rs. 200.00
5. *James Darmesteter Remembered*
Editors Prof. G. Lazard and Dr. D. R. SarDesai,
Rs. 300.00
6. *On the Meaning of the Mahābhārata*
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/ \$ 70*

N. B. - This price list cancels all previous lists.

Demand Draft or Cheque should be payable to **The Asiatic Society of Bombay**

Printed by Ms. Shailaja G. Barve, at Shree Vedvidya Mudranalaya Pvt. Ltd., 41, Budhwar Peth, Jogeshwari Lane, Pune 411 002, and published by Ms. Vimal N. Shah, Honorary Secretary, for The Asiatic Society of Bombay, Town Hall, Mumbai 400 023.