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

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**JOURNAL OF THE  
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## The Significance of Pūrṇaghata and Kalpalatā

Santona Basu

*Pūrṇaghata* is a pitcher or pot filled with water up to its brim. It is an ancient symbol of plenty and prosperity still in use in India during auspicious occasions like marriages or religious festivals. This propitious symbol is mostly placed on both sides of the entrance gate for welcoming guests. The water pots, thus positioned, are supposed to bring happiness, bliss and prosperity, hence these are variously known as *maṅgalaghata*, *maṅgalakalaśa*, *bhadraghata*, *pūrṇakalaśa*, *pūrṇakumbha* (*ghata*, *kalaśa* and *kumbha* are synonyms and mean water pot). It is a common motif on the doorjamb of a Hindu temple embodying auspiciousness and divine bliss. The doorjambs of the sanctum sanctorum (*garbhagrha*) of the Hoysalesvara temple, Halebidu, and the columns of the Viṭhala temple at Hampi are decorated with low reliefs of *pūrṇaghatas*. On top of the tower of a Hindu temple mostly 'a vase of plenty', simply called *kalaśa*, can be seen signifying bliss and plentitude.

The *Pūrṇaghata* symbol, it seems, was prevalent in pre-Vedic India as there is an indication of this motif on one of the seals found at Chanhudaro site belonging to Harappan Civilization<sup>1</sup> of around 2500 BCE.<sup>2</sup> The water pot on the seal looks like a small round vase holding flowers and leaves, though from the carving it is not clear whether the flowers are meant to be those of a lotus plant. However, in the (post-Harappan) Indian art *pūrṇaghatas* and lotus plants are inseparably connected with each other, which will be discussed in this paper.

A water-filled pot symbolizes the inexhaustible water and it was not endemic to India only. In the Gallery of Early Mesopotamia in the British Museum, London, there is a Babylonian terracotta plaque from Ur (Iraq, 2000 - 1750 BCE) showing a magical spirit holding a pot from which two streams of water, one to the left and another one to the right, are flowing inexhaustibly.<sup>3</sup> It is difficult to say whether the Mesopotamians borrowed this idea from India or vice versa. But with some certainty it can be said that there was diffusion of ideas between those two cultures as "evidence of historical connection between ancient India and Babylon, is supported by some remarkable similarities between their religions."<sup>4</sup> Interchange of ideas or motifs between Harappan and Mesopotamian civilizations is also corroborated by another piece of Harappan art. A small bust of probably a priest found at Mohenjo-daro<sup>5</sup> (National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi) has a trefoil design carved on its garment. Trefoil motif "was known and used as a sacred sign early in Egypt, Crete

and Mesopotamia, representing deities and celestial bodies."<sup>6</sup> Madeleine Hallade<sup>7</sup> opines that the full vase motif is of Persian origin and was in use in India before the beginning of the Christian era. But the seal found at Chanhudaro and 'historical connection between ancient India and Babylon' suggest a much earlier origin.

Ancient terracotta plaques, like the one from Babylon, enable us to have a glimpse of the folk or religious beliefs of those people. Similarly, the water-filled pot or *pūrṇaghata* of Indian art helps us to peer into the mind of people and their beliefs that had come down from the time of Harappan civilization. The vase on a Harappan seal embodies the inexhaustible water of a river, without which human existence would not have been possible. Ancient civilizations including Harappan, we know, flourished on the banks of the rivers, the main source for providing life-sustaining water. Peoples of the ancient world were thankful to the rivers for providing them with the life-giving water and they expressed their gratitude by deifying the rivers. In Assyro-Babylonian mythology Enki or Ea is the principal divinity that fills the Tigris with water and according to Egyptian mythology Hapi is the deified river Nile.

The belief in a water pot symbolizing inexhaustible water or river, which is later known as *pūrṇaghata*, existed from the time of Harappa. But this belief was dormant during Vedic period, though a jar filled with water was considered auspicious. *Atharvaveda* (3.12.8) says that the lady of the house should bring a full jar at the housewarming. Buddhist texts also indicate the auspiciousness of this symbol. In *Mahāvamsa* (31.40) it is written that 'beautiful women with full vessels surrounded the car with relics.' Water was considered of possessing sanctifying and purifying properties because of which it acquired a sacred character. The Vedic people revered water as the sustainer of life. In the *Rgveda* a whole hymn, called *Nadīstuti* (*RV* 10.75), has been dedicated in the praise of the Vedic rivers. Sarasvatī, the most important river mentioned in the *Rgveda*, is deified and she is not only *Devītamā* - the best of the goddesses, but also *Nadītamā* - the best of the rivers.

The autochthonous belief in the symbol of never-ending flow of water surfaced when the religious beliefs of the Harappans and Aryans started influencing each other. This symbol is, it can be said, a fruit of "collective memory".<sup>8</sup> The reverence of the Aryans for water, expressed in the verses of Vedic literature and the visual presentation of a water pot with flowers, found at a Harappan site resulted in the conception of *pūrṇaghata* in art. Noticeable is the striking similarity in the shapes of the full vases with bunches of lotus flowers, leaves and buds from Sarnath railing pillar (1st century BCE) and Sanchi (1st century BCE) with the flowers stuck in the mouth of the vase depicted on the Harappan seal. River goddesses (*nadī-devatās*) carrying full-vases are depicted on a slab in Amaravati sculpture (ca. 200 CE), showing

Bodhisattva, represented as a fiery pillar, on a throne with footmarks after the bath in Nerāñjanā.<sup>9</sup> A round seal found at Bhita, belonging to the Gupta period, shows a *bhadraghata* (auspicious jar filled with water) on a pedestal. The inscription inscribed below the seal says the jar is (or represents) Sarasvatī.<sup>10</sup> In this seal again the *ghata*, a symbol of ever-flowing water, represents river Sarasvatī, who at a later period assumes the role as the goddess of learning. This is due to the identification of the river Sarasvatī with *vāc* (speech) in the Vedic literature (*vāk vai sarasvatī* - SB 2.5.4.6,3.1.4.9; *sarasvatīr āpaḥ* - MS 4.3.9).<sup>11</sup>

Whilst pushing eastwards<sup>12</sup> Aryans left Indus, Sarasvatī and other Vedic rivers en route and came across two most important rivers, which they elevated to divine status. "Ganga now replaced Saraswati as the sacred river of the Aryans - even in the *Yajurveda* there is no mention of the Indus and its tributaries."<sup>13</sup> Personification and deification of Ganga and Yamuna crystallized in the Puranic period and they are still worshipped as river-mothers. As mothers they nourish their children with their riches in the form of water from their brimming water pots. This conception is sculpturally presented in a fragment of an arched niche from eastern India belonging to 11th-13th century. In this piece of sculpture two water pots are carved beside the figures of Ganga and Yamuna to highlight their importance as sources of water, because *pūrṇaghata* as such represents a river, a source of boundless water. (This fragment is now preserved in the British Museum, London). Nevertheless, in the later ages *pūrṇaghata* came to represent prosperity and bliss as well. In ancient India prosperity was computed in cattle and crop, which in turn depended on the availability of water mainly from the rivers and this was considered a divine bliss.

A. K. Coomaraswamy says that a full vessel (*pūrṇaghata* etc.) represents *soma*.<sup>14</sup> *Rasaḥ* is the vital element that is in waters and *soma*, whose essence is *rasaḥ*, nourishes all the plants<sup>15</sup>, and lotus is the embodied essence of water (*rasaḥ*),<sup>16</sup> vows a Vedic myth. Thus the lotus also stands for the 'essence of water', which is indispensable, as I have said, for cattle and crop. Owing to this perception, *padma* or lotus is said to be one of the treasures of Kubera, the lord of wealth.

In the absence of pre-Buddhist art it might be said that the conception of divine bliss was visually translated in the Indian art by Buddhist sculptors in that they carved reliefs of *pūrṇaghata* holding lotus flowers, leaves and buds. In the sculptural iconography of Bharhut, belonging to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE, *pūrṇaghatas* with lotus flowers, leaves and buds coming out and creeping all around are carved to express prosperity. On a cross-bar medallion an inverted full vase is carved from which a winding lotus plant comes out throwing flowers, buds and leaves from its nodes at regular intervals. This

forms the outer circle while in the inner circle a full-blown lotus with stamens is sculpted. The inverted *ghata* represents inexhaustible water that is essential for lotus plants; it is an artistic expression of prosperity.

Sculpture of a water-filled vase is also found in Gandhara art. On a stone sculpture from Shotorak (Afganistan, Kushana 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE) one can see a male figure standing on a water-filled vase holding lotus buds in his right hand. Although flowers are not shown coming out of the vase a lotus is carved at the base of it.<sup>17</sup>

Lotus is seen as a symbol of prosperity since the Vedic times. In the Vedic literature lotus in connection with the goddess Śrī symbolizes fertility of soil that results in prosperity. In ancient India the concept of prosperity consisted mainly of cattle and crop. Earth and water are the two chief ingredients, whose combination produces fertility, that is indispensable for a good harvest. Fertility depended (and still depends) on the nourishing element of soil. It follows that prosperity depended in those times on the fertility of soil. Hence, in connection with the Vedic goddess Śrī (in the Hindu mythology she is known as Lakṣmī, the goddess of prosperity) lotus symbolizes fertility of soil, as it seems to be born out of the best combination of these two elements.<sup>18</sup> Fertility of soil leads to prosperity and in extended sense lotus comes to symbolize the prosperity itself. Aquatic lotus plant, a symbol of prosperity, and the brimming water vessel, a symbol of inexhaustible water, have been combined in art by carving a meandering lotus plant originating from a brimming vessel that gives a visual expression of overall affluence.

As I have already said, the earliest carvings of a *pūrṇaghata* on stone are found on some pillar medallions from Bharhut (2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE, Indian Museum, Kolkata). In some of these medallions goddess Śrī or Lakṣmī is shown standing on an open lotus coming out of a *pūrṇaghata*. These roundels are known as *Gaja-Lakṣmī* medallions and two elephants are shown pouring water on her. The elephants are also placed on full-blown lotuses issuing from the same pot. All around the medallions, lotus flowers and leaves are carved. Elephants in the roundels represent cloud or rain<sup>19</sup>, which is vital for a good crop, the outcome of which is prosperity, here symbolized by the lotus plants with flowers, buds and leaves. In the popular conception elephant and cloud had become quite inseparable so much so that the elephant shown on Bharhut medallion known as the 'Dream of Māyā' could be interpreted as a sculptural representation of cloud. Cunningham notes in his book *The Stupa of Bharhut* that Queen Māyā dreamt of an elephant entering her body whereas the Ceylonese account says "Bodhisat appeared to Māyā Devī like a cloud in the moonlight"<sup>20</sup>. Relief of *Gaja-Lakṣmī* can also be seen on the pillars of the stone enclosure at Bodhgaya (100-50 BCE). In it Lakṣmī is standing on an open lotus, which is at the base of the medallion. Two

elephants, standing on lotus pedestals on her right and left, are pouring water on her. The free space is filled with lotus buds.

The same overall abundance of the *Gaja-Lakṣmī* medallions is also expressed in the Kushana statuette of Śrī-Lakṣmī (1st century CE, National Museum, New Delhi), the goddess of fertility and prosperity, with the help of two lotus pedestals and a water-filled pot. The goddess is standing on two open lotuses issuing out of a *pūrṇaghata*. On the backside of the statuette the water pitcher is fully depicted supporting a meandering lotus plant laden with full and half-blown lotus flowers, leaves and buds.

On a roundel at Sanchi a nude female figure is portrayed as standing on an open lotus, her right hand holding the stem of a full-blown lotus. She is surrounded by lotus buds, leaves and flowers with two female attendants standing on the left and right sides of her (Sanchi, Stupa 2, east entrance, medallion on the north pillar, ca. 175 BCE). This seems to be an image of the Mother Goddess representing “feminine power of fertility and abundance”, which “can be traced far back into prehistoric times. These powers, particularly the nude goddess, the Great mother, who may be Aditi, and Śrī, who is very closely connected with Waters, stand in close relation to the Water Cosmology, and at the same time are represented in the aspect of women”.<sup>21</sup> In his book *Excavations at Harappa* Vol. II, M. S. Vats mentions a terracotta seal that shows ‘a flowering plant coming out of the genitals of a reclining female figure.’<sup>22</sup>

Two square panels showing *pūrṇaghata* with full and half open lotus flowers and buds are carved on the inner face of the north gate between the uppermost and middle architrave of the Great Stūpa at Sanchi (late 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE.) Full vases holding lotus flowers, buds and leaves are carved in low relief on the railing pillars of a stūpa (1st century BCE - 1st century CE), exhibited at the Sarnath Museum, Varanasi. On two of the railing pillars water pots are shown holding pillars instead of lotus plants. Atop the pillars again are water pots supporting the Buddhist symbol of *triratna* (the Buddha, *dharma* and *saṅgha*) and *dharmacakra*. Pillar in Buddhist Art is a metaphysical symbol of the “Axis of the Universe” and metaphorically it represents the Buddha and his preaching of the Law.<sup>23</sup> In the Pali canons of Buddhism lotus is basically a symbol of non-attachment to the sensual world and in sculpture an open lotus as the seat of the Buddha is a concrete presentation of that idea. Now, lotus is a symbol of water in literature as well as in art<sup>24</sup> and *pūrṇaghata*, we know, also represents river, in other words, water. In this particular sculpture Buddha and his preaching of the Law is supported by a *pūrṇaghata* instead of a lotus, as the brimming pot signifies water, i.e., lotus as well as bliss and abundance. The same conception finds more elaborate expression in the columns of the rock-cut *caitya* hall at Karli near Mumbai,

(late 1st century - early 2nd century CE), where the water pots are carved at the base of the columns. *Triratna* symbols placed on water pots also corroborate this conception and this symbol on lotus is a common motif in Amaravati and Bharhut sculptures.

*Makara* is one of the favourite motifs of decorative art of Indian sculptors. This mythical aquatic monster has been presented in sculpture as a composite of crocodile, elephant and fish with a long curved snout.<sup>25</sup> Crocodile and fish are aquatic animals and elephant represents rain or cloud. Perhaps to emphasize *makara*'s connection with water it is imagined as having features of these three animals. *Makaras* are mostly depicted with lotus flowers or scrolls emerging from their open mouths. The earliest iconographic form of this monster is presented in the Bharhut sculptures of 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE, which undergoes several changes in the later centuries both in Buddhist and Hindu art. On a crossbar medallion two lotuses and a bud are shown issuing out of the parted jaws of a *makara*. Some scholars are of the opinion that *makara* is also associated with fertility.<sup>26</sup> On the gate pillars of the Sanchi stūpa (1<sup>st</sup> century BCE) *makaras* with winding lotus plant emerging from their open mouths are carved in low relief. A row of *makara* heads (*makaramālā*) with lotus buds in their trunks can be seen carved in Simhachalam temple in Andhra Pradesh (built between 9<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> century CE). F. D. K. Bosch in his book *The Golden Germ* says that *pūrṇaghata* and *makara* both represent lotus rhizome, *padmamūla*. His supposition is based on sculptures showing lotus plants issuing from the mouth of a *makara* or a *pūrṇaghata*. Moreover, the roundness of a *ghata* or that of a *makara*'s head resembles a lotus rhizome.<sup>27</sup>

As space-fillers, water pots and particularly lotus-scrolls were preferred motifs of Buddhist art that first experimented 'in stone architecture and in the devotional use of sculptural iconography'.<sup>28</sup> Lotus-scroll is lotus plant depicted as a creeper, which is the visual imagery of the idea of *kalpalatā* of Indian art and it means a 'competent or able creeper', able in the sense of fulfilling the wishes of a devotee. The belief in *kalpalatā* (or *kalpavṛkṣa*-wish-fulfilling tree) was quite common in ancient India and the people believed in its heavenly origin. To give this mythical creeper a tangible form in art the sculptors chose the lotus plant, lotus being a symbol of prosperity, and depicted it as a creeper or as a climber emanating either from a water pot or from the mouth of a *makara* or an elephant or a *yakṣa*.

A. K. Coomaraswamy has shown in his book *Yakṣas* the intimate connection of the Yakṣas with water.<sup>29</sup> Kubera, the king of Yakṣas, and his attendants are genii of fertility, welfare and the treasures.<sup>30</sup> Two of Kubera's treasures are lotus (*padma*) and the mythical monster *makara*. Both *padma* and *makara*, we know, are linked with water and in popular belief elephant represents

cloud. Hence, often lotus plants, a symbol of prosperity and plentitude are shown emerging from the mouth or navel of a Yakṣa - like in the sculpture at Sanchi, stūpa 1. On an architrave of the South Gate (1st century BCE) a stem is shown coming out of the mouth of a Yakṣa and another thinner stem issuing from his navel. Open mouth of an elephant is also a source of winding lotus plants. On the coping of the railing of the Bharhut stūpa kneeling elephants are carved from whose mouths *kalpalatās* are issuing and from the sprigs various ornaments are hanging (Indian Museum, Kolkata). It seems that the sculptor, keeping in mind the popular belief, sculpted elephants to represent cloud, which is a form of water and which is essential for luxurious growth of lotus plants that represent prosperity. The same conception finds expression in the depiction of Yakṣas with lotus sprays issuing from their mouths. At Sanchi (South Gate, Architrave) and Amaravati (Government Museum, Chennai) Yakṣas are depicted as spouting lotus sprays.

Within the winding stems of the mythical creeper *kalpalatā*, birds and animals are often carved. Coomaraswamy calls this type of decorative art "water-cosmology", which is an artistic interpretation of the idea "of the origin of life in the waters",<sup>31</sup> propounded in the Vedic metaphysics, which says that life originated in the waters:

This world was water that was surging. He, Prajāpati, alone appeared on the lotus leaf. Within his mind originated a desire 'may I create this world'.<sup>32</sup>

The Vedic conception of metaphysics found expression in Buddhist art, where birds, beasts, men, plants all are interwoven with one another to depict 'one continuous stream of life.'<sup>33</sup> One of the finest examples of lotus scroll and *makara* is on the West Gate of the south face of the right pillar at Sanchi in which birds are perched on the flowers or pecking them. An Amaravati sculpture is of a lotus rhizome with flowers and leaves framing animals and rising from a full vase supported by a Yakṣa (Plate 42,1 of *Yakṣas*, Pt. II by Coomaraswamy). Śrī-Lakṣmī is also part of the "water cosmology" because of her association with louts and elephant, as can be seen in the Bharhut medallions. Further, both lotus and elephant represent water.<sup>34</sup>

*Pūrṇaghāṭa* sculptures of ancient India are of different shapes and sizes but one thing is common to all of them and that is their connection with the lotus plant. As has already been pointed out, the water pitcher is a portent of bliss and prosperity and lotus plant, a symbol of fertility that leads to prosperity, issuing from the mouth of a *pūrṇaghāṭa* or a *makara*, Yakṣa or elephant is the concrete expression of that perennial plentitude.



## Notes and References

1. See Rai Govind Chandra : *Indian Symbolism*, p. 4, Fig. 1c, Munshiram Manoharlal, Delhi 1996.
2. Chanhudaro and Mohenjo-daro sites belong to mature Harappan phase. Based on archeological evidences Rajesh Kochar in his book *The Vedic People* (p. 67, Orient Longman 2002) suggests 2500 BCE as the date of this phase.
3. Cf. A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Yakṣas*, Pt. II, pp. 18, 63, Munshiram Manoharlal, Delhi 1980 (Reprint).
4. Gopal Stavig, "Historical contacts between ancient India and Babylon" in *Journal of Indian History*, Trivandrum, 2001, p. 1.
5. See f.n. 2.
6. Roy C. Craven, *Indian Art*, p. 24, Thames & Hudson, London 1976.
7. M. Hallade, *Indien, Gandhara - Begegnung zwischen Orient und Okzident*, p. 21, Pawlak Verlag Herrsching 1975.
8. John Keay, *India, A History*, p. 23, Harper Collins India 2000 : "The possibility of some contact between Aryans and Harappans can never, of course, be totally dismissed... The gap, if there is one, between Harappan and Aryan has closed to perhaps a couple of centuries. Across such a timespan, some web of collective memory could well have spread. At Harappa and elsewhere in the Punjab, where the Aryans initially settled, there is some largely ceramic evidence of comparatively sophisticated post-Harappan cultures. They could represent a revival of Harappan skills under some kind of Aryan patronage or stimulus."
9. Coomaraswamy, *Yakṣas*, Pt. II, p. 40 and plate 26, 1.
10. J. N. Banerjea, *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, p. 197, Munshiram Manoharlal, Delhi 1985. Banerjea writes that this seal is mentioned in A. K. Coomaraswamy's book *Eastern Art*, Vol. 1, p. 50, Pl. XVIII.
11. See S. Basu, *The Lotus Symbol in Indian Literature and Art*, p. 51. Originals, Delhi 2002.
12. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 1.4.1.14 says: "He (Agni) thence went burning along this earth towards the east." Cf. also footnote 1 of the translation of *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* by J. Eggeling, SBE Vol. 12, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi 1993 (Reprint).
13. A. Eraly, *Gem in the Lotus*, p. 69, Penguin Books, New Delhi 2002.
14. A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Yakṣas*, Pt. II, p. 40 : "When *soma* is represented in art, it is a full vessel (*pūrnaghata* etc.) the commonest of all Indian symbols of plenty"; cf. F. D. K. Bosch, *The Golden Germ*, p. 112, Mouton & Co., S-Gravenhage 1960.
15. *Gītā* 7.8; 15.13.
16. *Śatapatha Br.* 7.4.1.13; See S. Basu, op.cit., p. 43.
17. M. Hallade, op. cit, p. 45, Fig. 32.

18. S. Basu, *The Lotus Symbol*, p. 52f.
19. Poets preferred to imagine rain clouds in the shape of an elephant. In *Meghadūta* (1.2) poet Kālidāsa says: "He (the *Yakṣa*) beheld on the first day of *Aṣāḍha*, a cloud, resting on the peak (of the mountain), and looking as attractive as an elephant engaged in striking with his tusks against its side." (Trans, M. R. Kale). This simile has its root in the Vedic mythology. There it is said that Indra releases water from the clouds. In later mythology cloud is imagined as Indra's mount and is called *Airāvata* (i. e. the son of Irāvāt. *Irā* means fluid and *irāvāt* is 'cloud'). It seems because of the gray colour of elephants as well as of rain clouds in later mythology Indra's mount Airāvata is thought to be an elephant. Moreover, in Hindu mythology it is always animals who are the *vāhanas* of gods and not an inanimate object like cloud.
20. A. Cunningham, *The Stupa of Bharhut*, p. 83, Munshiram Manoharlal, Delhi 1998 (Reprint): "According to Burmese account it was a "young white Elephant" and in his trunk he carried a white lily. The Ceylonese, whose account should be the same as the Burmese, as both were derived from the common source, are altogether silent about the Elephant and simply state that Bodhisat appeared to Māyā Devī "like a cloud in the moonlight" coming from North and in his hand holding a lotus."
21. Coomaraswamy, *Yakṣas*, Pt. II, p. 16.
22. Mentioned by Arabinda Ghosh in *Remains of Bharhut Stupa in the Indian Museum*, p. 38, Indian Museum Calcutta, 2000.
23. I have discussed this aspect in my article "Some Reflections on the Lotus in Religio-Artistic Development of Hinduism and Buddhism" in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Mumbai*, Vol. 79, p. 13f.
24. See S. Basu, *Lotus Symbol*, p. 18-20.
25. See footnote 22 of my article *Some Reflections on the Lotus*.
26. Roy. C. Craven, *Indian Art*, p. 65.
27. Bosch, *The Golden Germ*, p. 23f, 110f.
28. John Keay, *India*, p. 147
29. A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Yakṣas*, Pt. II, p. 13.
30. Heinrich Zimmer, *Mythen und Symbole in Indischer Kunst und Kultur*, p. 81, Rascher Verlag Zurich, 1951.
31. *Yakṣas*, Pt. II, p. 3.
32. *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* 1.23.1. This has been dealt in my book *Lotus Symbol*, p. 20 ff.
33. Debala Mitra, *Sanchi*, p. 42, Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi 2001.
34. Arabinda Ghosh, *Remains of Bharhut Stupa in the Indian Museum*, p. 42.

# Adbhuta Rasa In Śaiva Thought and Art

Narendra Bokhare

## The Rasa Theory:

In the Indian thoughts on artistic expressions - may that be visual arts, graphic arts, performing arts or verbal arts - *rasa* theory is of primary importance. *Rasa* is the aesthetic experience of an artistically engendered emotion. *Rasa* cannot be experienced at the level of mundane or the empirical. It belongs to the world of art. Life provides raw material and actual experiences are the springboard for the artist whose creation is unique and unlike anything in real life. It is this outworldly - *alaukika* - character of the aesthetic experience that Bharata Muni, author of *Nāṭya Śāstra*, has in mind when he describes various features that contribute to the experience of *rasa*.

According to Bharata Muni, *rasa* is a combination of *vibhāvas* (determinants), *anubhāvas* (consequents) and *vyabhicāri bhāvas* (transitory moods). Like emotions in real life, aesthetic emotion too needs a cause. It too expresses itself through different shades of dominant mood. Aesthetic emotion differs from the actual emotion on a point where the cause and effects of worldly emotions are personal, while the aesthetic mood suggests the universal through stylized depiction.

In order to possess this element of the universal, a work of art must be motivated by *sthāyī bhāva* or the dominant mood; the minor or transitory ones serving only to embellish it. Bharata Muni dwells at length on the eight major moods; *śṛṅgāra* (love), *hāsyā* (laughter), *karuṇā* (compassion), *raudra*, (anger), *bībhatsa* (grotesqueness), *bhayānaka* (fearsomeness), *vīra* (valour), and *adbhuta* (wonder). *Śānta* (tranquillity) was a later addition. Of these, love, anger, valour and grotesqueness (*śṛṅgāra*, *raudra*, *vīra* and *bībhatsa*) are considered to be the original *rasas* and the rest as their derivatives. Simulation of the sentiments of love causes laughter, fury leads to compassion or pity, grotesque evokes the terrible or fearful.

*Rasāsavāda* or the enjoyment of an aesthetic mood is always pleasurable regardless of the emotion portrayed. Indian aesthetics, animated by Hindu philosophy, believes that in the endless cycle of birth and death, one has every imaginable experience. These experiences that form the fibre of life are not destroyed at death but remain as latent impressions (*vāsanās*) in our sub-conscious (*samskāras*). In real life, these *vāsanās* are aroused by

actual events with the involvement of ego bringing pain; whereas in arts they are aroused by imaginary situations. Thus the act of detached contemplation of a mood is what makes the artistic experience delightful and even morally elevating. All that is required is a sensitive spectator.

### ***Adbhuta rasa:***

*Adbhuta rasa* or the marvellous sentiment includes the depiction of extra-ordinary and fantastic events and objects, as also acts of magic and fantasy. *Adbhuta* has its basis in *vismaya*, the enduring emotional state of astonishment. The determinants appropriate to this mood are sight of heavenly beings or events, attainment of desired objects, entry into a superior mansion, temple, hall, palace, and seeing illusory or magical acts. Its consequents, as defined by Bharata Muni, include eyes agape, transfixed gaze, horripilation, tears of joy, perspiration, joy, uttering words of approbation such as 'aha', making gifts and such alike (Goswami: 1986). In a further elaboration, Bharata states that the marvellous sentiment arises from words, character, deeds and personal beauty. It is of two kinds - celestial and joyous. This feeling of *vismaya*, experienced while witnessing strange and marvellous things happening, is due to the *adbhuta tattva* (element of wonder) latent in the object of art or in the happening, of an event, which is revealed by *adbhuta rasa* (experience of wonder).

*Vismaya* is the dominant emotion while experiencing the divine or *alaukika*. All metaphysical, non-empirical experiences result in the expression of *adbhuta*. At the end of *Gītā*, Sañjaya describes his experience of *viśvarūpadarśana* in the following words:

तच्च संस्मृत्य संस्मृत्य रूपमत्यद्भुतम् हरेः ।  
विस्मयो मे महान् राजन् हृष्यामि च पुनः पुनः ॥ (गीता १८.७७)

[And as often as I recall the most wondrous form of Hari, great is my astonishment, O king, and I thrill with joy again and again.]

Here, Sañjaya is referring to the cosmic vision of God as exhibited by Kṛṣṇa to Arjuna in the eleventh chapter. Significantly, he uses the word *adbhuta* as the adjective for the vision, a word that literally means 'that which has not happened before.'

When one gets familiar with the *adbhuta tattva* (Element of wonder) latent in the concept of God Śiva and the objects associated with him, one's reaction is no different from Sañjaya's. In Sañjaya's case 'not happening before' refers to the act of witnessing the vision. The cosmic form is supposed to have existed all along but a few had been allowed to witness it before. The ontological and hermeneutic interpretations of cosmic being of Śiva and his worship in various forms, imbibed into the Indian psyche since pre-historic times, take

one into the realm of *adbhuta*.

### Adbhuta in Śaiva Thought and Art:

Śiva *upāsana* has been prevalent in the Indian subcontinent since the pre-Harappan civilization. Rudra, described in *Rgveda* as a folk deity, turned into Vedic God Śiva in the time of *Atharvaveda*. Rudra was perceived as a fierce archer. Besides being guardian of the field, he was lord of animals, of cattle, horses, of dogs, lord of the homestead, lord of warriors, robbers and thieves; the architect, lord of craftsmen; the lord whose name is Existence (*Bhava*). He was seen everywhere, he looked out of everyone; he seemed to be many while he was one. Rudra, deeply rooted in the psyche of autochthonous people of India, was seen by the Vedic sages in two forms, as Rudra in *Ugra* (fierce, ferocious) form and as Śiva in *Śānta* (tranquil, serene) form.

Initially Śiva was worshipped in form of anthropomorphic image, but later he began receiving worship in *liṅga* form. Earliest reference of Siva worship in the form of *liṅga* appears in *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad*. Here He is considered as lord of all *yonis* on earth. The idea of conceiving cosmic consciousness as Śiva and it being the cause of creation as well as destruction, all personified in one, itself is nothing but *adbhuta* and *vismayajanaka*, that is, marvellous and astounding as well. The oneness, wholeness of omnipotent Śiva is described in *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad*.

त्वं स्त्री त्वं पुमानसि त्वं कुमार उत वा कुमारी ।  
 त्वं जीर्णो दण्डेन वंच्चसि त्वं जातो भवसि विश्वतोमुखः ॥  
 नीलः पतंगो हरितो लोहिताक्षस्तडिद्गर्भ ऋतवः समुद्राः ।  
 अनादिमत्त्वं विभुत्वेन वर्तसे यतो जातानि भुवनानि विश्वा ॥

(श्वेता. उप. ४ : ३-४)

It can be translated as:

You are woman. You are man.

You are the youth and the maiden too.

You, as an old man, falter along with a staff...

You are the dark blue bird.

You are the green (parrot) with red eyes.

You are (the cloud) with the lightening in its womb.

You are the seasons and the seas.

Having no beginning you are everywhere.

(You) from whom all worlds are born.

These words are addressed to the formless (*nirākāra*), omnipresent (*sarvavyāpī*), omniscient (*sarvajñānī*) and omnipotent (*sarvaśaktimān*) power. They bring together the vegetative, the animal; the human and the divine; the past, the present and the future as manifestations of the One who is beyond form, space and time.

The idea of Śiva contains the sacred and the profane, the latent and the manifest, the masculine and the feminine, the beautiful and the ugly, the benevolent and the malevolent, the preserver and the destroyer, all in one. Thus, the real, genuine *adbhuta* in the Nature around us and in the cosmos out there are present in Śiva at the same time. The principle of Śiva envisaged by the sages, or whoever conceived it cognitively, by brains that have biological limits, is an attempt to explain the vast Universe in one symbol. And that symbol is *Śiva-līṅga*.

The *līṅga*, a bivalent symbol in shape and meaning, marks the presence of the invisible, transcendental reality of Śiva and occupies the central position in Śiva's worship. The word *līṅga* means 'sign' (*cinha*) and particularly, the male sign of sex, the phallus. There is no object in the world of Śiva more sacred than the *līṅga*. The twelve most auspicious places of Śiva worship are generically known as places of *Jyotirlingas*.

A *līṅga*, whether made of stone, wood or metal is post or pillar shaped. Some of the earliest *līṅgas* are combined with anthropomorphic image of Śiva. Such *līṅgas* are known as *Mūrtilīṅgas*. Sometimes, a *līṅga* may project out one or more faces from its shaft. Or the *līṅga* may be covered in its entirety with faces or images facing in the four directions. These are *Mukhaliṅgas*. Depending on the number of faces, they are called *Ekamukhaliṅga* (One faced Līṅga), *Dvimukhaliṅga* (Two faced Līṅga), *Trimukhaliṅga* (three faced Līṅga), *Caturmukhaliṅga* (Four faced Līṅga), *Pañcamukhaliṅga* (Five faced Līṅga) and *Aṣṭamukhaliṅga* (Eight faced Līṅga). Recently, (in the year 1998) a unique stone *līṅga* belonging to early 11th century has been found at Kudal Sangam village near Solapur. This *līṅga* bears 359 Śiva images and faces carved all over it. It was found while unearthing ruins of a Harihara temple belonging to Kalyani-Chalukya period in the early 11th century (Bhide: 2000).

What is extraordinary and astounding (and thereby *adbhuta*) in the iconography of Śiva-*līṅga* is that it is shown erect, as if ready to shed seed, yet by Yogic discipline, it is capable of restraining and retaining the potent substance. Its shape made by art is a symbol of potency and its control. The power of giving life and also of withholding and transmuting the substance of life into consciousness inheres in the *līṅga* - the sign of Śiva. This is

however, only one aspect of interpretation, when Śiva is seen as the great ascetic God, the great Yogi himself and also the lord of Yogis; and teacher of Yoga as well.

The other aspect is ontological. The ontology of the cosmos together with that of human body and mind inheres in the shape of Śiva *liṅga*. In a complex system of analogical categories, the *liṅga* is understood symbolically as the embodiment of the five elements-fire, earth, water, air and space; the five sense data - sound, touch, form, taste and smell (*śabda*, *sparsā*, *rūpa*, *rasa*, and *gandha*); and the five sense faculties - hearing, feeling, seeing, tasting and smelling (*śrotra*, *tvacā*, *cakṣu*, *rasanā* and *ghrāṇa*). Analogous to the categories of the physical world, mental and transcendental categories also have their symbol in *liṅga*. They constitute of the principles of essence (*puruṣa*) and substance (*prakṛti*); universal intellect (*buddhi*), personality (*aḥāṅkāra*) and mind (*manas*) [Kramrisch, S: 1981].

Thus, the cosmic secret that had hitherto remained hidden is manifest through the genesis of the idea of Śaiva thought and objects that create profound impact on the viewer of the Śaiva arts and objects. This impact is *aloukika* - otherworldly, in a sense that it relates to non-empirical, metaphysical world view of human beings. To grasp, understand and enjoy *aloukika*, *Adbhuta rasa* is the most appropriate. This is because the reaction of a common man to *adbhuta* - to seeing or understanding the manifestation of something that has not been seen or understood before - can vary from pleasure and wonder to fear and shock.

In this sense the reaction to *adbhuta* may call forth the remaining *rasas*, as it does in case of Śaiva myths and arts. For example, although *Adbhuta* is principal *rasa* evoked while appreciating Śiva's family life, *Śṛṅgāra* and *Hāsyā* *rasas* need to be called forth; similarly *Vīra* and *Raudra* while appreciating Śiva battling with various demons (*asuras*) and Durgā as Mahiṣāsura-mardini; *Bhayānaka* and *Bībhatsa* while viewing arts and objects associated with Bhairava, Kālī and Śivagaṇas; and *Karuṇa* and *Śānta* *rasas* while approbating ascetic images of Śiva. Probably, therefore, Goswamy (1986: 213) quotes Narayan (the great grandfather of Vishwanath) who says that *adbhuta* is the only *rasa*, everything proceeds from it and merges into it.

Śaiva myths and objects related to them are vast. Temple architects, artists and craftsmen from the first century to the present era have selected the themes, figures and shapes from *adbhuta tattva*, which inheres these myths. Some of the themes such as *Ardhanārīśvara*, *Umā-Maheśvara Mūrti*, dancing Śiva in form of *Naṭarāja* are more common and popular as compared to others; besides the all pervading theme of *Śiva-liṅga*.

Śiva in the form of *Ardhanārīśvara* is yet another *adbhuta* element in

Śaiva art. According to the myth, Śiva sprung forth from the creator's forehead in *ardhanārī* form - the right half male, the left half female. Both male and female parts could not mate for progenation. The divine androgyne, perfect and fulfilled in its own wholeness, was beyond desire. May be for this reason the divine couple - Śiva and Pārvatī - is not a progenerative couple, although they are depicted as compassionate father and mother of the Universe in innumerable myths and in classical as well as folk tales. Śiva's children are not born out of coitus. Gaṇeśa is Pārvatī's very own child who came into being from her own body product; whereas Skanda (Kārtikeya) has been born only from Śiva's seed and outside a human womb.

Another form of Śiva, which leads to the enjoyment of ultimate *adbhuta rasa*, is that of Natarāja. In this image, dance of Śiva is an emblematic activity of God which brings the cosmos into existence and then destroys it. The Natarāja images of Śiva are famous all over the world. The archetypal bronze image of Natarāja is four armed figure showing the movement of the legs and feet, the spreading matted hair like a halo, the drum, the boon-granting hand, the flame of fire, the lifted foot, the demon of ignorance being crushed, the aureole of flames around the figure; and all concentrated in all-knowing quiet expression of the face. One aspect of the significance of Natarāja image is that the dance of Śiva is an act of revelation, a concentrated rendering of 'all the rhythms that are in the cosmos.' The other aspect is that it represents fivefold activities of creation, sustenance, destruction, veiling and salvation (Kramrisch:1981).

The revelation of cosmic truth through material signs and symbols of Śiva is parallel to the cosmic vision - *viśvarūpadarśana* - of God as exhibited by Kṛṣṇa to Arjuna. It is as *adbhuta* as Sanjaya described it and a reaction of a common man may be no different from that of Sanjaya's who says 'as often as I recall the most wondrous form of God, great is my astonishment and I thrill with joy again and again.'

Thus, the element of *adbhuta* present at the beginning of Rudra's world resounds through the entire myth of Rudra-Śiva as told from the time of *Rgveda* to the present day. It sustains the symbols that are concretized and shaped in the Śaiva visual arts through expandingly detailed repertory. Its setting is the cosmos and beyond it, the invisible, uncreate.

And as the universal form that left such a lasting impression on Sañjaya, the Śaiva art and objects continue to inspire and evoke the mind today with their ever unfolding *adbhuta*.

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# Rājadharma in the Matsya Purāṇa In the light of the Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra

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Ancient Indian thinkers have given a serious thought to the concept of *dharma*. For social thinkers, theologians, as well as political thinkers of ancient times exposition on the topic of *dharma* was of paramount importance. Works on *Dharmaśāstra* dilate upon the *dharma*s - duties of *varṇas* 'castes' and *āśramas* 'stages in life'; *naimittikadharmas* 'occasional duties', *sādhārṇadharmas* 'duties common to *varṇas* and *āśramas*', and *guṇadharmas* 'duties of a king who is bestowed with the special merit of coronation viz. those such as protection of his subjects.'<sup>1</sup> *Guṇadharmas* thus mean *Rājadharmas* 'duties of a king.'

In ancient India monarchy was the form of government. Stability, progress of a state and welfare of the people depended on the fulfilment of his duties and responsibilities by the monarch.<sup>2</sup> Owing to the theory of Divine Origin of a king, which regarded a king as a Divinity (*mahatī devatā hyeṣā nara rūpeṇa tiṣṭhati..Manu Smṛti (Manu S. VII-8)* whose orders and laws were to be obeyed, a king was likely to be a tyrant, using his powers oppressively and unjustly. Therefore, it was necessary to lay down a certain code of conduct i.e. *rājadharmas* laying down the king's duties and responsibilities in order to curb the king's tyranny. *Rājadharmas* being so important, works other than the works on *Dharmaśāstra* have also discussed the topic of *rājadharmas*. The *Matsya Purāṇa (Mat. P. 200-400 CE.)* though a religious work, does not confine itself to only religion, philosophy and mythology. It contains discussion on topics pertaining to *Dharmaśāstra*, geography, architecture etc. etc. It contains a separate treatise on the *rājadharmas*.

The term *rājadharma* has wide import. It comprises within itself *ācāra* 'conduct', *vyavahāra* 'law, administration of justice', *prāyaścitta* 'expiation or penances' and many more duties of a king.

This article proposes to examine the *rājadharmas* discussed in the *Mat. P.* in the light of the *Kauṭilyārthaśāstra (Kau. A.)*.

## Discipline for a King

Discipline is the key to political as well as social welfare. Both *Kau. A.* and the *Mat. P.* prescribe ethical, moral conduct for a king. The *Mat. P.*

prescribes that a king should attend upon the Brāhmaṇas who are noble minded and upright, who are well-versed in the Vedas and three goals of life viz. dharma, artha, and kāma, philosophy (*anvikṣiki*) science of economics (*vārtā*) and the science of polity (*dandaniti*; *Mat. P.* 215.49; also *Kau. A.* I 5.11; & *Manu S.* VII 38, 39).

He should not attend upon the Brāhmaṇas who have only knowledge of heterodox Śāstra (*asat śāstra*; *Mat. P.* 215.50). This is probably a reference to non-Brahmanic religions like Jainism, Buddhism, Tantras, Lokāyatas, Ājīvikas etc. Practice of *yoga* i.e. sense-control is necessary in order to control the senses (*Mat. P.* 215.49, 50).

The *Mat. P.* remarks, "One who has his senses under control can control his subjects" (*Mat. P.* 215.53). *Kau. A.* also has prescribed sense-control by a king. Kings like *Janamejaya*, *Rāvaṇa* are said to have perished, because they had no control over their senses, whereas kings *Ambarīṣa* and *Jāmadagnya* enjoyed the earth for a long time because they had control over their senses (*Kau. A.* I. 6.4-12). A king should not inflict severe punishment, nor should he use harsh words and speak ill of anyone at his back (*Mat. P.* 220.10; also *Manu Smṛti* VII.51). A monarch should be as righteous as a sage, a paragon of virtues. He should hold virtues in high esteem. *Kau. A.* refers to king's life as *rājarsivṛttam* 'life of a sage like king' (*Kau. A.* I. 7). What is implied is that the king should be virtuous and upright, and should maintain *dharma* at political and social levels to protect his subjects. Royal glory is said to emerge from the pleasure of the people. A king should create affection, contentment among the people (*Mat. P.* 215.99, 100; also *Kau. A.* I 19.34). *Kau. A.* remarks that a king devoted to the welfare of all the beings enjoys the earth (*Kau. A.* I. 5.17).

Attention should be given to the training of a prince, so that he may not abandon the path of virtue. A prince who cannot be easily trained by good instructions, should be well-guarded in a secret place, where he should have all his comforts (*Mat. P.* 220. 1-9). *Kauṭilya* has quoted his predecessors on this issue. They have suggested silent punishments and confinement in one place, making him stay in a frontier fortress etc. etc. (*Kau. A.* I. 17). But *Kauṭilya* does not agree with them. In order to ensure birth of a good son (prince) *Kauṭilya* recommends an offering of *caru*-oblation to *Indra* and *Brhaspati*, right from the conception of a child in the queen's womb.

The period in which the *Mat. P.* was composed was the period of revival of the Brahmanic religion. Hindu kings, viz. the *Śūṅgas*, the *Guptas* and the *Sātavāhanas* gave impetus and encouragement to the institute of sacrifice. It is in conformity with this religious trend that prevailed in the society. The *Mat. P.* - a religious work - has laid down that a king should perform sacrifices and offer gifts to Brāhmaṇas (*Mat. P.* 215.54). But *Kau. A.* does not lay

down that a king should perform sacrifices. On the contrary *Kau. A.* (I 19.33) has described a metaphorical sacrifice: "For a king, the sacrificial vow is activity, sacrifice is the administration of state affairs; the sacrificial fee is impartiality of behaviour and sacrificial initiation for him is coronation" (*Kau. A.* I. 19.33).

It will be noticed here that rulership is identified with a sacrifice. The busy schedule that has been prescribed by Kauṭilya for a king, implies that Kauṭilya would not like a ruler to waste his energy, time and money in time-consuming religious activities. According to Kauṭilya, the king should be ever active, because the root of material well-being is activity; absence of activity is disaster (*Kau. A.* I. 19.35, 36). As a matter of his religious duty, the king is advised to worship the evening twilight (*sandhyā*, *Kau. A.* I. 19.17). It has to be mentioned here that the *Mat. P.* has not prescribed a daily schedule for the king, nor has it stressed the importance of activity on the part of the king. This clearly indicates how rulership is viewed by *Kau. A.* and the *Mat. P.*

### Rules for the protection of a King

A sovereign is the source of well-being of his subjects. A king, therefore, should be protected by all means. The *Mat. P.* has given instructions to a king as to what precautions he should take in order to ensure his security (*Mat. P.* 215.67-74). A king has been warned not to build his residence in a quiet unknown place, not to take food without testing it, not to go to bed without checking (the bed room), not to use flowers, clothes, ornaments without properly examining them (*Mat. P.* 215 72-74, also *Mat. P.* 219. 1-10). Kauṭilya also has cautioned the king in a similar manner. He has described the appearance of poisoned food when it is put to test in various ways. He has described the signs of one who has administered poison (*Kau. A.* I. 21.6,8). *Kau. A.* has suggested the king on how he should protect himself from various persons who come in contact with him (*Kau. A.* I. 21). The *Mat. P.* states that a king should peacefully live in his fortress, always guarded by mantras, medicines, and gems. This is probably a reference to magical practices and superstitions; mantras probably refer to Atharvavedic mantras used in magical practices; medicines were meant for curing illness, wounds and injuries; wearing gems was believed to produce miraculous effect.

A royal palace is known to be a place of intrigues and conspiracies. Kauṭilya has mentioned a number of kings who were treacherously killed by their brothers, sons and queens (*Kau. A.* I. 20.14).<sup>3</sup> Therefore, presuming danger to the king's life, *Kau. A.* has advised the king to forbid the queen's contact with jugglers and female slaves from outside. (*Kau. A.* I. 20.18). People living in the king's palace were to be prohibited to move from their quarters to the quarters of another (*Kau. A.* I 20.22). Similarly, objects going

out of the palace or objects coming into the palace were to be examined (*Kau. A. I. 20.23*). Kautilya cautions the king in various ways and remarks, "Just as the king keeps a watch over others through secret agents, so he should guard himself against danger from others" (*Kau. A. I. 21.29*).

Both *Kau. A.* and the *Mat. P.* have shown great concern about the protection of the king. Politician in Kautilya has thought of this problem from different angles.

### Rules regarding Royal residence

Both the *Mat. P.* and the *Kau. A.* have given instructions regarding the king's residence. *Mat. P.* 217 and *Kau. A. II - 4* have given a plan for the king's palace, and the king's paraphernalia that should be near the king's palace. A king's palace should be in a city inside a fortress. In this context the *Mat. P.* mentions the names of six types of forts, viz. *dhanvadurga* 'a fort surrounded by desert', *matudurga* 'a fort on the earth', *naradurga* 'a place of safety formed by placing the army in a particular position,' *vrksadurga* 'a place densely surrounded by trees which make it impassable,' *jaladurga* 'a fort surrounded by water,' *giridurga* 'a hill fortress.' Of these *giridurga* is said to be the best for the king's residence (*Mat. P. 217.6,7*). *Kau. A.* also has mentioned these six types of forts but with different names (*Kau. A. II. 3*). This text has given instructions for the construction of forts and discussed in detail the layout of the fortified city wherein the king's palace should be situated. The *Mat. P.* has described the required surroundings of the king's palace as, - the king's residence in the centre of the fortress should be beautiful with abundance of grass and trees. It should be inhabited by a number of people where the tributary kings, princes and subjects are loyal and submissive. It should also have some Brāhmaṇas skilled in various rituals and many artisans in its vicinity (*Mat. P. 217.1,2*). It should be impassable to the foreigner's army. There should be no tigers, scorpions, snakes, lions, thieves around it. The place should be well-supplied with water. A king should live happily with his assistants in such a place (*Mat. P. 217.3-5*). *Kau. A.* has given plans for the construction of the royal palace with a rampart, a moat, gates and many halls, concealed passages in walls, underground room, a stair-case concealed in a wall etc. etc. (*Kau. A. I 20.1,2*). Kautilya appears to have taken into account danger to the life of the king and his family. Therefore he has suggested concealed constructions to save the life of the king. The *Mat. P.* has not shown awareness of future calamities. Its description of the royal residence is on the plain level.

Articles of daily need were to be stored in abundance in the fortress (*Mat. P. 217, 35-39*, also *Kau. A. II 4.27*). Poisons of snakes were to be kept locked up in jars (*Mat. P. 217.40*). This was meant probably for the destruction of the enemy's army in a *Kūṭayuddha* in which unfair means

were adopted for destroying enemy's army. Besides this the *Mat. P.* mentions a number of medicinal plants, fruits, salts, pungent things which were to be kept in store, (*Mat. P.* 217. 42-84) for the protection of the king from illness, injuries and wounds.

For the sake of the king's protection from fire, poison, and serpents, *Kau. A.* has suggested various measures such as letting loose peacocks, ichneumons, and spotted deer on the premises. These creatures are said to destroy serpents. A parrot, a starling or the fork-tailed shrike shrieks when there is fear of serpents or poison. A heron becomes frantic in the proximity of poison, the pheasant becomes faint, the intoxicated cuckoo dies, the eyes of *cakora* become discoloured (*Kau. A.* I, 20. 6-8). This is how the premises of the palace were to be protected.

### **Appointment of Ministers and other assistants of the king**

No ruler is competent to rule the state single-handed. Effective and efficient administration depends on efficient administrative staff. The *Mat. P.* begins the discussion on the *rājadharmas* with the discussion on the king's administrative staff, viz. the ministers, other officers, commander of the army, an envoy, a judge, a treasurer and spies. The subordinate staff was constituted by the king's physician, charioteer, persons in charge of elephants and horses, king's harem, and royal kitchen and the king's bodyguard. Before making appointments, the king was to see that the abovementioned staff was endowed with certain qualities such as birth in a noble family, bravery, tolerance, uprightness, capability to bear trouble, nonseducible, loyal, well-versed in *dharma*, etc. (*Mat. P.* 215. 2-6). There were certain specific qualities considered necessary in certain services. For instance, the commander of the army should be either a Brāhmaṇa or a Kṣatriya, conversant with the science of archery and expert in the arrangement of the arrays of the army and training elephants and horses, capable of putting up with distress (*Mat. P.* 215. 8-10). An envoy must be able to speak out as he was told, i. e. must be able to convey exact and accurate message of the king (*Mat. P.* 215. 12,13). A judge was to be well versed in *Dharmaśāstra* (*Mat. P.* 215. 24). A treasurer must be proficient, attentive, upright (*Mat. P.* 215. 30,31). Spies disguised variously must not disclose their identity. All information of the king depended on the spies who have been therefore, described as the eyes of the king. (*Mat. P.* 215.91). The minister in charge of war and peace was to be a statesman with political wisdom, conversant with the laws regarding six measures of foreign policy (*sādguṇyavidhitajñah*) (*Mat. P.* 215.16). The king's physician must be descended hereditarily i.e. from his grandfather and father, so that his conduct and proficiency in his profession could be known (*Mat. P.* 215. 32,33). Charioteer and persons in charge of elephants and horses were supposed to have knowledge of veterinary science and skill in training elephants

and horses. (*Mat. P.* 215.20,21). The king's bodyguard was to be free from drowsiness, and interested in the king's welfare (*Mat. P.* 215. 14). The person in charge of the royal kitchen was required to be clean and adept in the science of cooking and the science of healing (injuries) (*Mat. P.* 215.22,23). The superintendent of the king's harem was to be hereditary, sturdy and stout. A eunuch could be appointed in the harem for hard ruthless work (*Mat. P.* 215.41,78).

The *Mat. P.* warns the king that mistakes committed in assigning the duties would ruin the king. Therefore only after confirming the abovementioned qualities of the staff, duties should be assigned to them. (*Mat. P.* 215. 44-46).

It may be stated here that the *Mat. P.* only has stated the qualities of the king's administrative staff. It has not discussed the functions of the ministers and other subordinate staff. *Kau. A.* on the other hand not only has laid down similar qualities of the ministers and councillors, but it has laid down tests to ascertain the integrity of ministers and other officers by means of secret tests. Credibility of the highest degree was essential to protect a state. Kautilya has discussed the functions of the ministers in the different government departments, and the subordinate staff. He being far-sighted statesman well-versed in the state-craft could penetrate deep into the pros and cons of the requirements of efficient functioning of the government. Kautilya aimed at formulating a comprehensive efficient administrative system. The *Mat. P.* on the other hand is basically a religious work. It was not concerned with the details of administrative system. It has only stated basic guidelines for a king.

### **Instructions to the king regarding his consultations with the ministers and other councillors**

According to the *Mat. P.* a king should hold consultations with many but with a single individual at a time, and should not divulge his deliberations with ministers (*Mat. P.* 215.46). Final decision based on the consultations should be taken by the king (*Mat. P.* 215. 48). Kautilya's instructions regarding consultations with ministers are on the same line (*Kau. A. I.* 15.44).

### **Constituent elements of a state**

The *Mat. P.* 220.19 mentions seven constituent elements of a state viz. 1) king 2) ministers 3) country and the subjects 4) forts 5) army 6) treasury 7) an ally. Of these seven, king is the root of the empire; therefore, he should be protected. The king should not tolerate rebellion by any of his constituents (*Mat. P.* 220. 20-22). *Kautilya A.* states that the king is supreme because he appoints ministers and removes ministers; he arranges for the construction of the forts; he levies taxes and commands the army and decides upon war and friendship (*Kau. A.* VIII 1-13). Describing the excellences of the king,

the *Mat. P.* lays down that the king should not give way to laziness, he should be quick in doing everything; all the works of a procrastinate king suffer (*Mat. P.* 220-30.). Excellences of other constituents have not been described by the *Mat. P.* *Kau. A.* VI 1.3-6 also describes the king's qualities of intellect, energy and states that a king should be easily approachable. Kautilya has in view a country well-developed and well-protected from the enemy and prosperous on all the fronts. This is implied in his description of excellences of country (*Janapada*). According to Kautilya, a country should be endowed with agricultural land, mines, forests, beneficial to cattle and men with protected pastures, not depending on god (of rain, *adevamātrika*), provided with water-routes and land-routes with valuable, manifold and plenty of commodities, capable of bearing fines and taxes, with farmers devoted to work, inhabited mostly by the lower *varṇas*, 'castes,' with men loyal and honest. (*Kau. A.* VII. 1.8). Low *varṇa* was constituted by artisans, carpenters, masons, blacksmiths, goldsmiths, potters, stone-cutters, wood-cutters etc. etc. who played an important role in the ancient economy. All these excellences of a country mentioned by *Kau. A.* imply the needs of a country if its economy has to flourish. Success of polity depends on rich economy and if polity and economy go hand in hand a country prospers.

According to *Kau. A.* (VI 1-10), the excellences of a treasury are - it should have been acquired lawfully (*dharmādhiḡatā*) by the ancestors or by oneself - that would withstand a calamity even of a long duration in which there is no income. It may be pointed out here that though Kautilya has given first place to *artha* in the trinity of *dharma*, *artha* and *kāma* (*Kau. A.* I 7-6) he has not totally side-tracked and shown disrespect to *dharma*. He was held in high esteem ethical, moral values.

The army according to *Kau. A.* should be inherited from the father and the grandfather; it should be constant, obedient, with soldiers' wives and sons contented, not disappointed during marches, unhindered everywhere, able to put up with trouble, that has fought many battles, skilled in the science of all types of war and use of weapons. Army should mostly consist of Kṣatriyas (*Kau. A.* VI 1.11).

In the matter of recruitment of troops, the earlier teachers had expressed themselves in favour of a Brāhmaṇa army as being the best because of the high spirit possessed by them. This preference for a Brāhmaṇa army can be said to be due to the priestly attitude which assigned pre-eminent position to Brāhmaṇas in the *varṇa*-system. Though Kautilya has endorsed *varṇa* system he rejected this view; and showed his preference for a well trained Kṣatriya army or a strong Vaiśya and Śūdra army (*Kau. A.* IX 2.2 1-24). When large forces were required, recruitment from the Śūdra masses was quite common. The *Smṛtis* do not visualise any such possibility.<sup>4</sup> This



approach of the *Smṛtis* can be attributed to their rigid attitude towards *varṇa* system. Kauṭilya has here endorsed the fact that it is not the mental strength but the physical strength and sturdiness of the physique that are essential for the army.

*Kau. A.* has discussed at length the excellence of ministers and forts at II. 3. Enemy, according to *Kau. A.* should be devoid of any excellences (*Kau. A.* VI. 13). The subjects of such enemy will never be in his favour and he can be defeated easily.

This discussion on the constituent elements in the *Kau. A.* throws light on Kauṭilya's knowledge of various constituents of administration. His experience with the Nandas (whose rule was overthrown by Kauṭilya) and his knowledge of the treatises on polity by the earlier *ācāryas* (teachers) appears to have enabled him to think so deeply.

On this background the *Mat. P.*'s treatment of the constituent elements of a state appears to be absolutely superficial.

The *Mat. P.* has discussed the four-fold policy of winning over enemies. They are *sāma* 'conciliation,' *dāma* 'gift', *bheda* 'discord' or 'dissension' and *daṇḍa* 'force' or 'punishment' (*Mat. P.* 222.2). It has described *sāma* of two types, viz. *satyasāma* and *asatyasāma*. Virtuous persons can be won over by *satyasāma* (*Mat. P.* 222.4). The *Mat. P.* has not stated the use of *asatyasāma*, nor has it explained the terms *satyasāma* and *asatyasāma*.

Policy of dissension was meant for the class of people who are hostile and wicked towards one another. According to the *Mat. P.* the greatest of the enemies when disunited are vanquished by a small force; therefore, it is necessary to create disunion amongst the enemies (*Mat. P.* 223. 1-16).

According to *Mat. P.* 224. 1-8, the policy of winning over another by *dāma* i.e. by giving or sending gifts is the best policy. The *Mat. P.* is of opinion that those who cannot be subdued by these three expedients mentioned above should be conquered by unfailing *daṇḍa* (*Mat. P.* 225).

A king has been warned by the *Mat. P.* to use *daṇḍa* according to the injunctions of *Dharmaśāstra*, in consultation with his ministers. A king who inflicts punishment on the innocent and lets off those who are guilty is said to lose his realm in this world and goes to hell in the next. (*Mat. P.* 225.6; also *Manu S.* VII 19,27).

In addition to these four measures of winning over enemies, the *Mat. P.* has recommended use of magic and occult practices and *upekṣā* i. e. not paying attention or neglecting the enemy (*Mat. P.* 222.2). *Upekṣā* might be in case of negligible internal enemy.

## Punishments

Chapter 227 of the *Mat. P.* has prescribed bare punishments and not detailed administration of law. There is no reference to a judge, transactions, a witness, evidence, validity or invalidity of transactions which are supposed to guide a monarch for taking final decision regarding punishment.

Most of the offences concern domestic affairs such as 1) Misappropriation of a thing placed under one's custody, 2) Not returning a thing placed in one's custody, 3) Making false allegation of placing a thing under someone's custody, 4) Theft, 5) Not returning a loan, 6) Not imparting knowledge or mechanical training to one's students after having received fee, 7) Not offering food to invited guests and to neighbours, 8) Disobedient servant, 9) Not paying a servant at right time, etc.

The *Mat. P.* has laid down fines for these offences.

Purificatory rites and ordinances have been laid down for social offences such as 1) A Brāhmaṇa, a Kṣatriya and a Vaiśya doing anything contrary to their prescribed orders, 2) and for illicit relations with women and associations with a socially fallen person.

For serious crimes, fines, branding on the forehead or other parts of the body of the criminal, cutting of the limbs with which crime was committed and banishment also have been prescribed. In keeping with the spirit of the caste system, severe punishments have been laid down for Śūdras by the *Mat. P.*

The *Mat. P.* has not dealt with major issues like dispute over hereditary property, dispute over ownership, sale without ownership etc. etc.

A king was to punish a guilty person after thinking over duly about the gravity of the offence in consultation with a Brāhmaṇa (*Mat. P.* 227. 214 & also *Manu S.* VIII. 126). A king who does not punish a person deserving punishment and punishes an innocent person is said to incur infamy (*Mat. P.* 227.213 also 210; cf. *Manu S.* VIII. 128).

In Book III, the *Kau. A.* has dealt with administration of justice wherein full code of law has been presented. It has set forth seventeen heads that are decided by law. They are : 1) marriage and allied topics, 2) partition of inheritance, 3) property and disputes concerning it, 4) failure to participate in community affairs, 5) non-payment of debt, 6) law concerning deposits, 7) law concerning slaves, 8) undertakings in partnership, 9) revocation of a sale or purchase, 10) non-conveyance of gifts made, 11) sale without ownership, 12) law concerning ownership, 13) forcible seizure of an object, 14) verbal injury, 15) physical injury, 16) gambling, 17) miscellaneous offences

such as inviting a person for meals to the exclusion of immediate neighbours, approaching a woman in the exclusive keeping of another, breaking open a sealed house, concealing a family treasure that is in one's charge, etc. (*Kau. A.* III 20).

Here the topics of marriage, partition of inheritance, property and disputes concerning it, failure to participate in community affairs concern domestic affairs. Rest of the issues concern affairs in which strangers are involved.

A judge was called a *dharmastha*. He was required to look into *vyāvahārika arthas*, i. e. cases arising out of mutual *vyavahāra* 'transaction'; validity and invalidity of transaction was to be decided by a judge. Evidence was called *deśa* (*Kau. A.* III 1.19) Evidence could be documentary evidence or witnesses. Witnesses had to be adjured by the judge in the presence of a Brāhmaṇa, a water-pitcher, and fire, to bear witness truthfully (*Kau. A.* III 11.34). The witnesses were exhorted to speak the truth. The Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra witnesses were urged to speak the truth, otherwise they would lose the merit of their good deeds and would be reduced to the position of a pauper; a Śūdra witness would not only lose his merit but the king's sins would accrue to him. (*Kau. A.* IV 34-37).

According to the *Kau. A.* the four different sources of authority on the basis of which a decision was to be given in a case, were 1) *dharma* 'Truth', 2) *vyavahāra* i. e. transaction between two parties, 3) *caritra* 'local or communal customs which are valid for the particular locality or community,' 4) śāsana 'King's order' (*Kau. A.* IV 1.39-40).

The king was to pronounce judgement after listening to both the parties involved in the offence (crime) after weighing all the evidence (*Kau. A.* III 1-19). Criminals were detected through secret agents in the guise of holy men (*Kau. A.* IV. 5). Investigations were conducted through interrogation and through torture (*Kau. A.* IV 8).

Punishments in the form of fines levied according to the seriousness of the crimes, and cutting of the limbs have been laid down. The magistrate and the king were required to be impartial and neutral while deciding the punishment (*Kau. A.* III 1-42, also IV. 10, 17-18). Punishments have been laid down for the judges for not deciding the cases impartially.

The party that lost the suit was required to pay to the state one fifth of the amount in dispute as fine which was reduced to one tenth of the amount if the claim was admitted by the defendant (*Kau. A.* III 1.20, 21). There is no reference to professional lawyers.<sup>5</sup>

On this background of a brief review of administration of law discussed in the *Kau. A.*, the topic of punishment in the *Mat. P.* appears scrappy and

scanty. Purificatory rites, ordinances and fasts laid down as punishments indicate that the *Mat. P.* has followed *Dharmaśāstra* that looks upon these austere practices as means of purging sins. *Kau. A.* has gone deep into all the details closely connected with punishments.

### Concluding Remarks

At the beginning of the *Kau. A.* Kauṭilya has stated that this single treatise on the science of politics has been prepared mostly by bringing together the teachings of as many teachers on the science of politics, as have been composed by ancient teachers for the acquisition and protection of the earth (*Kau. A. I. 1.1*).

*Kau. A.* is primarily concerned with rulership which involves matters related to administration, law and punishment of crimes, and foreign policy. It sets before a ruler the goal of conquest of the world and describes ways of attaining that goal.

*Kau. A.* has discussed the activities of the heads of departments, duties of judges, throwing light on the entire law, calamities that affect the various constituents, criminal offences of various kinds, enumeration of the six measures of foreign policy (*śadgunya*), secret practices for the destruction of enemy troops, etc.

Before the rise of the Mauryan rule, there were a number of small territorial kingdoms in north India. Because of their weak military power and hostile relations with one another, they could be easily vanquished by the foreign invaders. Kauṭilya's idea was to conquer those territorial kingdoms and bring them all under the Mauryan rule. Though it is not explicitly stated in the *Kau. A.* his desire that a king should be a *vijigīṣu* (one desirous of conquering the earth) implies that Kauṭilya probably had an ambition of building a large powerful empire.<sup>6</sup>

It has to be recalled that due to the invasions of the Persians and the Greeks, India had come into contact with foreign countries which paved way to an interchange of social and political ideas. Further, the two new religions, viz. Buddhism and Jainism, were founded just a little before the rise of the Mauryas, and offered a challenge to Brahmanic religion and social ideology. Due to these circumstances, the responsibilities of the ruler became multiplied. Great attention to and consequent enlargement of administrative machinery to face the circumstances had become the demand of the times. Alert, cautious and far-sighted politician and statesman in Kauṭilya could not fail to consider these then prevailing circumstances while laying down guide-lines for a ruler.

*Kau. A.* being a science of polity, its treatment of polity had to be exhaustive and comprehensive, This entire text deals with *rājadharmā*. Kangle remarks,

“*Kau. A.* marks the culmination of a long period of speculation on matters which form the subject matter of this *śāstra*, not its starting point.”<sup>7</sup>

It may be pointed out here that the *Mat. P.* has laid down *rājadharma* related to the basic duties and functions of a ruler. Here the first and foremost thing to be remembered is that the *Mat. P.* is a religious work. Presentation of the Brahmanic religion in a modified, simplified form and preservation of the ancient Indian tradition of the *varnāśramadharma* was the primary object of the Puranic literature. The *Mat. P.* being such a work was not primarily concerned with politics and law. Just as a common man has duties and responsibilities, a ruler also has his duties and responsibilities towards his subjects. Therefore, while laying down the duties of various *varṇas* and *āśramas* the *Mat. P.* has discussed the duties of a crowned king also. The *rājadharma* aimed at disciplining the king and preventing him from being a tyrant. The *Mat. P.* treatise on *rājadharma* is instructional in character in as much as it instructs a monarch how he should conduct himself. It has not gone into the details related to internal administration, nor has it touched the topic of foreign policy.

A number of verses from the *Manu Smṛti* appear in the *Mat. P.* Similarly, many passages from the *Kau. A.* also appear in the *Mat. P.* which clearly indicates that the Purāna is indebted to these two works.

What the *Mat. P.* has stated is only a rehash of what *Kau. A.* has said. There is no addition of new thought on politics in it.

In the light of the *Kau. A.* the treatment of *rājadharma* in the *Mat. P.* appears superficial and scanty, lacking depth of the subject.

## Notes and References

1. P. *Yājñavalkya Smṛti* I. 1 also of *Manu Smṛti* VII 2.
2. Cf. Kane, P. V. *History of Dharmasāstra* Vol. III p. 3.
3. Kangle, R. P. *Kautiliyam Arthaśāstram* Part I p. 56 foot-note on *Kau. A.* I. 20 15,16.
4. *Ibid* Part III p. 44.
5. Cf. *Ibid* Part III, p. 220.
6. Kautilya's great ambition seems to have been to see that the whole of India should be under the strong but benevolent rule of a noble, capable king. cf. Kane, P. V. Vol. I Part I, p. 223 footnote No. 10.
  - b) “There could be a possible desire on the part of Kautilya to see India united in a single empire, so that Greek invasions may be successfully beaten off. One may regard it as quite conceivable that Kautilya entertained such a desire and filled Candragupta with the ambition of freeing India from the yoke of the foreigners. However, such a desire is not revealed in the *Kau. A.* c.f. Kangle. R. P. *Kau.*

A. part III P. 273.

7. *Ibid* p. 10

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1. *Śrīmatsyamahāpurāṇam*, Nag Sharan Singh, Nag Publishers, Jawaharnagar Delhi 1983.
2. Kangle, R. P. *Kautiliyam Arthasāstram*, Parts I, II, III, University of Bombay, 1963, 1965, 1969.
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## Trees, Plants and Grasses in Ancient Indian Literature

Sindhu S. Dange

When we take into account trees, plants and grasses as mentioned in the ancient Indian literature, they obviously speak of the environment, which they made for the Indian people of ancient times. But the concept of 'environmental awareness', which we propound with loud words today, having first made the environmental chaos with the problems such as pollution, imbalance of natural forces and so on, was not understood the way we do today. The ancient Indian people not only regarded the cosmic phenomena or the things in nature as animated but they also deified them. Any disregard for these or any unkind action towards them was regarded as not following the ORDER, which the gods have laid down. It is this RTA, which is to be followed everywhere.

When the priest in the Vedic times had to cut a sacrificial tree for making a sacrificial pole, the *mantra* to the axe was, "O Axe I do not injure this one (i. e. tree)." (*Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā* 1.2.1; III.9.3.). Environment comprising the green world of trees, plants and grasses was a family for the ancient Indians, which was to be looked after with care and affection and which in turn helped them. Here is a beautiful picture from the *R̥gveda* (*RV*). "In the dwellings, there were precious tanks full of white lotuses and the lines of the Dūrvā grass with tender green shoots." (*RV* X. 142.8). This was obviously to mitigate fire.

When we turn to the *RV*, we see the deity of the forest (Vanaspati) which is in the form of huge trees.<sup>1</sup> The deity Aranyāni (Fem.), which is in reality the forest as a whole, is invoked in the *RV* (*RV* X. 146). Here she is called the mother of beasts, abounding in food without tillage (*ibid.* X. 146.6). A long hymn in the *RV* is devoted to the praise of the plants (*osadhis*), mainly with reference to their healing powers (*RV* X.97), calling them mothers and goddesses (*ibid.* X. 97.4). The *Atharvaveda* (*AV*) speaks of a herb to be used medicinally as 'a goddess born on the goddess earth' (*AV* VI. 136.1). The *AV* prays that plants having hundred shapes and forms, which the god Soma rules as a king and which is the progeny of the god Brhaspati may deliver us from sin (*ibid.* VI. 96.1). The *RV* (X. 97.15) and the *Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā* (*Vāj. Saṁ.* XII.89) say that plants whether bearing fruits or barren, whether flowering or flowerless, liberate us from 'sin' (according to the commentator Mahidhara, 'sin' here means 'disease' or 'ailment' – 'roga'). The *Vāj. Saṁ.* praises plants for their medicinal use and says that they should

make a person free from disease, for whom they are being dug up (*ibid.* XII. 76) and also a person who is digging them up (*ibid.* XII. 78).

In this connection an account from the Buddhist work *Mahāvagga* (8.1.1) is worth noting. After imparting in-depth knowledge of Āyurveda to Jivaka (who later on became a great physician), his preceptor, in order to test Jivaka's knowledge asked him to find out a tree or a plant, which did not have any use from the medicinal point of view. Jivaka roamed in the dense green surrounding, examining every tree and plant and came back to the preceptor only to tell that every tree and plant was useful for some medicine.

The *Kausītiki Brāhmaṇa* speaks of the division of the 'green' world into two categories viz. *ośadhi* i. e. plants and *vanaspati* i. e. big or small trees (II. 7). The tree struck by lightning was thought to be of special importance. The *sambhāra*<sup>2</sup> of a sacrificial stick from such a tree is regarded to be standing for the heart of the fire (Agni) who is to be established as the Gārhapatya fire (*Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* = *Tait. Br.* I. 1.3.12). Several trees have been reckoned as the sacrificial trees. According to the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* (*Śat. Br.*) a detail common about these trees 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.* I.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 from them (*ibid.* I.3.3.19,20). There are many other trees mentioned in the Vedic rituals.<sup>3</sup> To take into consideration some important ones—

Among all trees, Udumbara tree occupies a place of prime importance in the Vedic ritual. The oft-repeated ritual reasoning about it is that it stands for strength and food and the sacrificer thereby wins for himself strength (*Taittirīya Saṁhitā* = *Tait. Saṁ.* II. 5.4.3,4). It has to be pointed out that as small fruits cling right to the stem of the Udumbara tree (and not to the branches), the tree could come in line with other such trees that stand as the Mother-goddess trees, because the small fruits clinging to the stem of the tree bear resemblance with the breasts or teats. Some ancient mythologies mention such Mother-goddess trees.<sup>4</sup> Another important tree is the Aśvattha (*Ficus religiosa*) - the Peepal tree - which has retained its importance even upto this day. The sacrificial shed (*vraja*) as well as the fire - sticks as *sambhāra* are to be of the Aśvattha tree. As Prajāpati, to hide from the gods, taking the form of a horse (*aśva*) took resort in this tree for one year, the tree got the name 'aśvattha' (*Tait. Br.* II.8.12.2-fr. *aśva* + √sthā - 'to stand'). The Samī tree (*Prosopis spicigera*) is known for its cooling effect. (fr. √sam- 'to appease') says the *Tait. Br.* (I.1.3.11,12). This underlies the belief that fire is extinguished with a branch of this tree or the stick of its wood. The



belief springing from this is that fire when extinguished enters the Śamī tree. Hence in later literature the Śamī tree is taken to be containing fire. Yet another important tree is Nyagrodha (Vata) = Nyubja (*Ficus indica*), the branches of which go downwards (fr. *nyak* - downwards ' + √ruh -' to grow'). This is the banyan tree (*Ficus indica*) which has assumed importance upto the present times.

There are several plants as also several kinds of grass mentioned in the Vedic texts. To take a couple of plants as also grasses.

The plant Avakā (*Blyxa octrandia rich*) is a mossy plant generally known as *śaivāla*, which grows on water or by the side of water. It is believed to bring coolness. The principle of sympathetic magic working here is 'Like produces like'. Hence in the Agnicayana rite, in order to give calmness to Agni, Avakā plant together with a frog and a bamboo-shoot (all the three tied to a cane), is dragged over all the parts of the Great Fire-altar (*Śat. Br.* IX. 1.2.20, 30). The *Tait. Sam.* speaks of the Avakā plant as the cream of waters (*Tait. Sam.* V. 4.4.1,2). It is interesting to note that in the ritual of constructing a house, before installing pillars in the pits, Avakā plant and Śīpāla plant are to be put in the pits by the householder. It is said that by doing this Agni would never burn his house (*Āśv. G. S.* II. 8. 14). To turn to Puṣkara-Lotus or Lotus-leaf (*Nelumbium speciosum* or *Nymphaea nelumbo*). Though lotus-plant is not mentioned, its leaf has special significance in the ritual tradition. In the Agnicayana-rite, a small golden image of Agni-Puruṣa (i.e. Agni-Prajāpati) is enjoined to be placed on a golden plate, the latter again to be placed on a lotus-leaf. This can be traced to a mythical detail occurring in the *RV*. It is said that Atharvan churned out Agni on a lotus (i.e. lotus-leaf - *puṣkarāt adhi*) which stands at the head of the universe (*RV* VI. 16.13; also *Tait. Sam.* V. 1.4.4). As waters are regarded as an active female principle in the creation-scheme of the universe, lotus or lotus-leaf appears to be the first creation from waters in the world and therefore is regarded to have a place of prime importance. The lotus-leaf is said to be a womb and also a foundation (*Śat. Br.* VII.4.1.11,12). The unique position of lotus or lotus-leaf in Indian tradition can be traced through these details.

Several kinds of grass are mentioned in the Vedic ritual-texts.<sup>5</sup> The commonly mentioned ones are—*Āśvavāla* (*Saccharum spontaneum*), Barhis, Darbha (*Poa cynosuroides*), Dūrvā (*Panicum dactylon*), Muñja (*Saccharum sara*) and Śara (*Saccharum sara*).<sup>6</sup> To take only three of these. A bunch (*prastara*) obviously to blow off softly the ashes from fire, is made of *Āśvavāla* (Kāśa) grass.<sup>7</sup> This grass is said to be the hair of a horse's tail and this horse was the sacrifice, which took this form while running away from the gods. The gods chased the horse and taking hold of its tail, tore it and threw it down in

a lump (*ibid.* III 4.1.17). With the bunches of the Darbha grass, the sacrificer is to be purified. The Darbhas are said to be the lustre and vigour of waters (*Tait. Sam.* VI.1.1.7). The Dūrvā grass in the absence of the Ādāra plants stands as the substitute of the Soma plants (*Śat. Br.* IV. 5.10.5).

It is very clear that the practice of using some of the trees, plants and grasses in the Vedic ritual from bygone times compelled the ritualists to give some kind of glorificatory explanations for their use in the ritual. But the fact remains that the green and fresh trees throbbing with living element (*ibid.* I. 3.4.1) and the grasses (*śaspanī*) and sprouts (*tokmāni*) standing as a symbol of refreshment, growth and progeny (*Aitareya Brāhmaṇa = Ait. Br.* VIII. 8=37.4), made the life of the Vedic Aryans rich with greenery and prosperity.

The information about the green world in Vedic India will remain incomplete in the absence of a reference to saline soil, the use of which is prescribed in some rituals. We read in the *Ait. Br.* that men while thinking of a grazing ground for cattle enquire whether there is any saline soil (*ibid.* IV. 27=19.5). An agricultural land having in its vicinity saline soil was most beneficial to the king. Though growing of crop would not be fruitful at such sites of saline soil, the proportion of sodium as compared to other ingredients being high, there could grow profuse grass and shrubs. Hence such sites could serve as good grazing grounds for the cattle. These green grazing grounds in the saline belts speak of the economic history of ancient India and even now can be made best use of for dairy-farming.<sup>8</sup>

In the Vedic period big trees were assigned sanctity by saying that they were born from a particular limb of Prajāpati - the Creator-god - or from his bones, flesh etc.<sup>9</sup> The same trend of showing reverence to big trees continues in the Sūtra-period. The Aśvattha tree was regarded as sacred to the sun, Plakṣa tree (*Ficus infectoria*) to Yama, Nyagrodha to Varuṇa and Udumbara to Prajāpati (*Gobhila Grhyasūtra = Gobh. G. S.* IV. 7.22). The use of the Nyagrodha shoots was laid down at the performance of the Purnsavana ceremony of a pregnant woman for getting a male child (*ibid.* II 6.6). In the rite of Medhājanana, which was for impelling the intellect of a child (infant) the Palāśa tree was worshipped as it was believed to bestow sacred knowledge (*Āśv. G. S.* I. 22.19; *Bhāradvāja G. S. = Bhār. G. S.* I. 10). The staff of different trees was prescribed for the students of different *varṇas*.<sup>10</sup> There are several other trees mentioned for specific purposes.<sup>11</sup> Ram Gopal points out that though the cult of tree-worship was not patent in the Sūtra-period, some instances could be pointed out in the Grhyasūtras.<sup>12</sup>

The *Arthaśāstra* (*Artha.*) of Kauṭilya is seen having a clear concept of the green world. Under 'setu' it mentions flower-gardens, fruit-orchards, vegetable-gardens, wet crop fields and sowings of roots (*Artha.* II. 6.5). Under

'vana' it mentions enclosures for beasts, deer-parks, forests for produce and elephant forests (*ibid.* II.6.6). Pastures for cattle were to be established on land not suitable for agriculture (*ibid.* II.2.1). He mentions for the brāhmaṇas, 'brahmasomāraṇyāni' i.e. forests for Veda-study and Soma-sacrifices, with safety promised to everything immovable and movable in them (*ibid.* II.2.2). An animal-park (*mrgavana*) for the recreation of the king was to be laid out, protected by a moat, containing shrubs and bushes bearing sweet fruits, having trees without thorns (*ibid.* II.2.3) and on its border, another animal-park for all other animals welcomed as guests (*ibid.* II.2.4). Forests were to be established, one each for the forest-products (*ibid.* II.2.5). On the border of the kingdom, a forest for elephants, guarded by foresters was to be established (*ibid.* II. 2.6).

The fines by way of punishment laid down by Kauṭilya in this respect are worth noting. For cutting the shoots of trees in city parks that bear flowers or fruits or yield shade, the fine shall be six *paṇas*, for cutting small branches twelve *paṇas*, for cutting big branches twenty-four *paṇas*, for destroying trunks the lowest fine for violence (i.e. 250 *paṇas*), for uprooting the tree the middle fine for violence (i.e. 500 *paṇas*). In the case of bushes and creepers bearing flowers or fruits or yielding shade the fines shall be half. This stands also in the case of trees in holy places, penance-groves and cremation-grounds. In the case of trees at the boundaries, in sanctuaries, in royal park and trees that are prominent, the same fines will be doubled (*ibid.* III. 19.28-30). Even the *Dharmasūtras* (*Dh. S.*) having the same thought recommend that the king should punish those who wrongfully cut the trees bearing flowers and fruits (*Vasiṣṭha Dh. S.* 19. 11-12; *Viṣṇu Dh. S.* 51.63).

We are reminded here of the forests mentioned in the Buddhist literature. The commentator of the work *Majjhima Nikāya* says that forest provides food to mankind, loves human beings and offers its wealth to them and gives shelter to birds. With their foliage, the trees invite human beings as if saying 'Come all and enjoy me.'<sup>13</sup> There were cultivated forests and those that had grown naturally.<sup>14</sup> Veḷu-vana and Jeta-vana were cultivated forests, while Lumbinī-vana, Mahā-vana, Andha-vana, Añjana-vana and others were naturally grown forests. Jeta-vana with trees laden with flowers and fruits, belonging to the prince of Śrāvastī was purchased by Anāthapiṇḍaka from him by covering the ground of the Jeta-vana with gold coins. Later on he constructed a *vihāra* here, in which Gautama Buddha spent twenty rainy seasons for his '*vassāvāsa*' (rainy season residence). Another such important forest is the mango-grove (*āmrodyāna*), which was offered to the Buddha by the courtesan Ambapālī (*Mahāvagga* 6.4.8; *Mahāparinibbānasutta* - 16 *Dīghanikāya*). The Buddhist *vihāras*, built in these forests, having the calm, cool and serene atmosphere of the green world assumed great importance in the history of Buddhist religious thought. Prince Siddhārtha, who later on was known as 'Buddha' had received

the highest knowledge (*bodhi*) under an Aśvattha tree, which thereafter was named 'Bodhidruma' or 'Bodhivṛkṣa' (Bodhi-tree). It is worth noting that in Jaina religious thought, we find that all the twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras received their '*dīkṣā*' (initiation as a '*tīrthāṅkara*') under a tree. The trees mentioned are Vata, Sāla, Plakṣa, Mango, Aśoka and so on.

The plantation of trees goes hand-in-hand with the construction of a tank or a well. The *Brhatsamhitā* (a work of 5th century CE) says that the banks of a tank should be covered with shady trees (LIII. 118ff). By this the environment was kept cool and there was provision of a constant source of water for the fructification of trees. A custom prevalent in Nepal amply makes this clear. According to it, whenever a grove of mango trees was to be planted, a well was to be dug first. The saplings of mango were to be planted around that well. The well was believed to be the husband and saplings the wives, for the well sprinkled the saplings with its water. The well and saplings were ritually married on the full-moon day of the month of Vaiśākha.<sup>15</sup>

The trees were well protected not only in rural and urban areas but also in jungles. Bānabhaṭṭa, the prose writer in the first half of the 7th century, while giving the description of the Vindhya forest in the VII Uucchvāsa of his work *Harsacarita*, states that when king Harsavardhana went to that forest to search for his sister Rājyaśrī, the forest-superintendents were seizing the axes of the unauthorised wood-cutters in the forest.<sup>16</sup>

When we come to the Puranic period, we find that planting and cultivating trees is mentioned as an act of great virtue. It is said that planting a tree is in merit equal to having ten sons.<sup>17</sup> The *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa* (*Bha. P.*) says that a person who plants a tree that blossoms with flowers and fruits and gives shade in a temple or on a road, helps to release his ancestors from any sin they might have committed (*Bha. P. Madhyamakhaṇḍa* I. 10.35). The Aśvattha tree is to be planted, for a tree is said to render to a sonless person the virtue of having a son (*ibid* 37). Several trees are mentioned in the Purāṇas, which when planted are said to bestow a particular fruit viz. prosperity, wealth, wife, strength, intellect etc.<sup>18</sup> There was a regular ritual for planting trees (*Bha. P. Madhyama*. I. 10, 22-29). The *Skanda P.* mentions the marriage of Viṣṇu with the plant Tulasī, as the concluding part of the festival dedicated to the god from the 9th to the 12th day of the bright half of the Kārttika month (*Sk. P. II. 4.31. 1-20ff, 31*). The work *Dharmasindhu* dating 1790-1791 speaks of the initiation-ceremony of the Aśvattha tree, quoting from the work *Pūrtakamalākara* of Kamalākaraḥṭṭa.<sup>19</sup> It says further that a sonless man or a woman should regard a Vata, Plakṣa, Mango etc. (such trees) as a son and take care of it.<sup>20</sup>

Special groves of certain trees were nurtured and circumambulation of

these groves would result in the gain of virtue.<sup>21</sup> The trees mentioned in such groves are Sandal, Campaka, Ketakī and the creepers Yūthikā, Mādhavī, the clove-creepers and Tulasī plants.<sup>22</sup> The Aśvattha tree is seen to be of special importance.<sup>23</sup> There is mentioned the marriage of the Aśvattha tree with the Śamī tree. The idea goes back to the Vedic literature, where in the ritual of kindling fire, the lower and the upper wooden slabs (*aranīs*) have to be from the Aśvattha tree which has grown from the Śamī tree (*Āśvalāyana Śrautasūtra* II. 1.17). This is a 'grafting' of the trees made by the nature itself. It is said that the prosperity of the family lasts as long as the Aśvattha tree stands.<sup>24</sup> The Aśvattha as considered to be a giver of son is seen even in our own times. It is a common usage to call it 'Nāgabandhu' - a brother or relative of *nāga* (serpent). It is a fact of observation that the leaf of this tree with its pig-tail like uppermost part resembles the hood of a serpent, with the tongue slightly stretched out. Stones on which the figures of serpents are engraved (hence called Nāgakals) are kept at the foot of the Aśvattha tree, by persons desiring offspring and also by those whose such desire is fulfilled. This practice is seen even upto this time especially in villages. Serpents - an autochthon species - are regarded as the ancestors visiting a person and bestowing an offspring on him. Hence the Nāgakals as the votive offering and that too under the Aśvattha tree (Nāgabandhu).

The Aśvattha (Peepal) tree is set in the sphere of philosophy as based on the image of Nyagrodha (banyan) tree, with its branches downwards and root upwards (*Katha Upaniṣad* II. 3.1; *Bhagavadgītā* XV. 1). In the philosophical context it stands for the tree of transmigratory existence (*Samsāravṛkṣa*). The concept of a means joining the two worlds goes back to the *RV*, where the god Varuṇa is said to have established a column of light, with its rays downwards and support upwards (*RV* I. 24.7).

The Nyagrodha or the Vaṭa tree, though known to the Vedic world,<sup>25</sup> came to have importance with the passage of time. By the Puranic times it was very popular and came to be revered. Like its sister tree Aśvattha, to Nyagrodha also the Nāgakals were offered, placing them under the foot of that tree. It has to be noted that Nyagrodha or Vata does not figure in the tale of Satyavān-Sāvitrī as it occurs in the *Mahābhārata* (*Mbh.* Vanaparvan chapters 293-297). In the *Skanda P.*, we have a clear mention of the Vaṭa tree (VII. 166.78), which figures in the tale right from the time when Satyavān cuts the wood and hangs it on the Vaṭa tree till he is revived under the same tree. This shows that the Vaṭa tree was an addition to the tale of the *Mahābhārata*, which reflects the importance of that tree in the Puranic times.<sup>26</sup>

It is in the Purāṇas that certain trees came to be regarded as the abodes of gods. The *Padma P.* says that to save their vital breaths from the demons the gods assumed subtle forms and entered certain trees. Śiva entered the

Bilva tree, Viṣṇu the Ásvattha tree, Indra the Śirīṣa tree and the sun-god the Nīmba tree (*Padma P.* Uttarakhaṇḍa 15.1.2,3; *Skanda P.* VI. 252.50). The *Bha. P.* warns that nobody should cut any part of the Ásvattha, Vata and the Bilva tree for fear of catching deadly sin (*Bha. P.* Madhyamakhaṇḍa 1.10.59). The *Agni P.* says that the goddess Tvaritā when worshipped with the leaves<sup>27</sup> and fruits of various trees would bring various gains (*Agni P.* 309. 15-26). A graphic description, though in few words, of the Vata tree occurs in the *Rāmāyana* (*Ram.*), when Rāma together with Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa, is said to cross the river Yamunā. It is a huge Vata tree, covered with green leaves, surrounded by many trees and resorted to by the Siddhas (*Ram.* Ayodhyākāṇḍa 55.6,7). Sītā bows down to this tree and says, "I bow down to you, O great tree ! May my husband fulfil his vow" and then she circumambulates the tree (*ibid.* 24-26). This shows how blessings from the banyan tree were sought in ancient times. Such an Aksayavata (immortal i.e. undecaying Vata) is found in the surroundings or vicinity of many prominent temples, with threads tied to its branches. These threads are offered by the persons who want their wish to be fulfilled.

The Puranic references point out that in order to reach the common masses, which was the aim of the Purāṇas, the Purāṇas ascribed divine nature to the prominent trees, warned the people for not cutting or harming the trees and also pointed out the various gains by planting and growing trees.

There are reasons to believe that the ancient Indian people were aware of the sentient principle in the trees, plants and grasses. The *Mbh.* is very clear in this respect. The sage Bhṛgu tells Bharadvāja that the trees have the sense of hearing, seeing, smell, taste and touch (*Mbh.* Sāntiparvan 184. 10-17). As the trees experience happiness and grief and grow even though cut off, they have the 'jīva' i.e. sentiency and they are not inanimate, says further the sage Bhṛgu (*ibid.* 17). This consciousness of sentiency in the green world, on the part of the ancient Indian thinkers came from their own experience and it is more logical and far above the principle of 'ka', which is supposed to exist in everything, including trees and plants, as is maintained by the ancient Egyptians<sup>28</sup> or the spirit of animism as was believed in the ancient world elsewhere.<sup>29</sup>

The classical Sanskrit dramas and poems (Mahākāvya and Khaṇḍakāvya) are replete with the descriptions of the green world. In Kālidāsa's famous drama *Abhijñānaśākuntalam*, we see the heroine Śākuntalā literally as the 'child of nature', who never thought of drinking water when the trees of the penance grove were not watered, who though fond of decoration never plucked a blossom out of affection for the trees and who held a festival at the time of the first appearance of their flowers (*Abhijñānaśākuntalam* IV. 9). These may be regarded as the poetic expressions from a seasoned pen.

But when we take into account a particular scene in Kālidāsa's drama *Mālavikāgnimitram*, we have to give a deep thought to it. It occurs in act III of the drama, when the beautiful heroine Mālavikā is made to kick the Aśoka tree with her foot, for the tree is not putting forth blossom. This is to fulfil the desire or longing (*dohada*) of the Aśoka tree. The word '*dohada*' denotes primarily the longing of a pregnant woman. But in the case of trees and creepers when the season of their blossoming forth is passed over without any blossom, the action which is undertaken by the skilled ones for making them blossom, is regarded as the '*dohada*', which the tree or the plant is believed to have entertained.<sup>30</sup> The Sanskrit poets have stated the '*dohadas*' (longings) of different trees,<sup>31</sup> which when fulfilled, make the trees blossom forth. All these cannot simply be the imagination of the poetic minds. It is possible that these were the actual rituals performed in the case of the trees and creepers. This stands to reason, when we see the *Bha. P.* enjoining dancing and singing at the roots of a tree for the growth of that tree, (*Bha. P. Madhyamakhaṇḍa* 1.10.61). There are remedies laid down by the Purānas for the growth of the trees.<sup>32</sup>

The Indian people have deified the trees and plants (as we have the Neem tree as the seat of the goddess Śītalā and the plantain tree as the 'Kelibahu')<sup>33</sup> to prevent injury being caused to them, with the sole aim of having cool and green environment for themselves, though they never gave loud words to their thought about environment. That such a green, cool and serene environment can be conducive to the outcome of the highest philosophy of life is seen from the Āraṇyakas, which were composed in the forests (*araṇyas*) and which served as the basis for the Upaniṣadic philosophy.

It is a happy surprise to see the words copied from Aśoka's edict having an appeal to preserve the greenery and protect the animals and birds from injury, engraved on a plaque, which is kept in a zoo at San Diego, U.S.A. It is heartening to note that the Zakir Hussen Centre for Educational Studies, Department of Special Assistance, Jawaharlal Nehru University, has published the *History of Sciences* (New Delhi, Feb. 2002), in which several books on botany, tracing it from the olden times in the light of environment, are noted. These works with their sources can be studied from the environmental point of view.

## Notes and References

1. Macdonell, A. A., *Vedic Mythology*, Reprint Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1995 (1898), p. 154.
2. The *sambhāras* (which are to be placed at the site of the altar) are the things comprising earth and those from the wood of trees. The seven things from the earth are-sand, saline earth, earth dug by moles, earth from an ant-hill, clay from a never-drying lake, pebbles and gold. The six things related to wood are-faggots

- from the trees viz. Āsvattha, Udumbara, Parṇa, Śamī, Vikaṅkata and a tree struck by the lightning. For detailed information, see Dange, Sadashiv A., *Vedic Sacrifices - Early Nature*, Vol. I, Aryan Books International, New Delhi, 2000, pp. 21-26.
3. See Dange, Sindhu S., *Vedic Beliefs and Practices through Arthavāda*, Vol. I, Aryan Books International, New Delhi, 2005, pp. 142-159.
  4. The Mexican Mother-goddess was Mayael, believed to have four hundred breasts and hence changed by the gods into the plant Maguey, the wine from which is called 'pulque'. See Mackenzie, Donald, *Myths of Pre-Columbian America*, London, (year not given), p. 177. The Greek goddess Artemis was believed to have four hundred breasts and was the Fig - (tree) - goddess, the fig-fruits standing for the teats. *Ibid.* pp. 182-183. The ancient Egyptian goddess Hathor was the sycamore tree in one of her forms *ibid.* p. 183.
  5. For a detailed treatment of these kinds of grass, see Gonda, J., *The Ritual Functions and Significance of Grasses in the Religion of the Veda*.
  6. For details and other grasses, see Dange, Sindhu S., *op. cit.* Vol. I, pp. 166-170.
  7. Eggeling, J., (tr.) *The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, pt. II, Sacred Books of the East Series Vol. 26, Motilal Banarsidass, 1988 (1885), p. 89 note 3.
  8. For details, see Dange, Sindhu S., *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 469-472; also Dange, Sindhu S., "Ūśāḥ in the Vedic Sacrifice", *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, M. S. University of Baroda, Vol. XLVI, Nos. 3-4, Sept. Dec. 1996, Vadodara, pp. 129-134.
  9. See Dange, Sindhu S., *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 172. The concept goes back to the Puruṣasūkta (*RV.* 90), where everything comes out of the Cosmic Puruṣa.
  10. *Āśv. G. S.* I. 19.13-For a *brāhmaṇa* initiate, a Palāśa staff; for a *kṣatriya* initiate, a Udumbara staff and for a *vaiśya*, a Bilva staff.
  11. Kimsuka tree (*Ficus frondosa*) used in the Śravaṇā ceremony (*Hiranyakeśi G. S.* II. 16.30); a piece of Sidhraka wood to be offered into the fire by a person if his companions, pupils or servants run away (*ibid.* I 14.4-5); the flowers of the Madhūka tree to be tied to the bride at the time of marriage (*Śāṅkhāyana G. S.* I. 12.19).
  12. See Ram Gopal, *India of Vedic Kalpasutras*, National Publishing House, Delhi, 1959, p. 470. When the bride and the bridegroom happen to pass by a big tree, the bridegroom should address a *mantra* to the tree (*Śāṅkhāyana G. S.* I. 15.16; *Kauṣītaki G. S.* I. 9.12). One should recite a *mantra* at the sight of a strange tree (*Bhār. G. S.* II. 31-65.1).
  13. Tatia, N., (ed.) *Papanca Sudani*, Vol. I, Nalanda, 1975, p. 16.
  14. See Talim, Meena, "Forests, Ponds and Sanctuaries in Ancient India," *Indica, Journal of Heras Institute of Indian History and Culture*, Mumbai, Vol. 33, March 1996, No. 1, pp. 1-6.
  15. Bhavani Bhikshu, "Kuvā aur Āmraī", *Rashtrabharati*, Wardha, Sep. 1967, p. 402.
  16. Kane, P. V., (ed.), *Harsacarita*, Bombay (Mumbai), first ed. 1918, p. 68.



17. See Dange, Sadashiv A., *Encyclopaedia of Puranic Beliefs and Practices*, Vol. V, Navrang Pubn., New Delhi, 1990, p. 1461.
18. *Ibid.* p. 1462.
19. Upadhyaya, Kashinathshastri, *Dharmasindhu*, Rajesh Prakashan, Pune, 2nd ed. 16-7-1979 (Pune, 24-3-1979), p. 498. For Viṣṇu-Tulasī (plant) marriage-ritual, *ibid.* pp. 166-167.
20. *Ibid.*
21. *Brahmavaivarta P. Śrīkrṣṇakhanda* 92.31-39.
22. Dange, Sadashiv A., *op.cit.*, p. 1465.
23. *Ibid.* pp. 1470-1472.
24. *Ibid.* p. 1471.
25. AV IV. 37.4; also Dange, Sindhu S., *op.cit.* Vol. I, p. 14f.
26. See Dange, Sadashiv A., "Sāvitrī and the Banyan", *Puranic Myth and Culture*, Ajanta Pubn., Delhi, 1987, pp. 59-66.
27. In the vow of Haritālikā, which occurs on the third day of the bright half of the Bhādrapada month, the clay-idols of the goddess Pārvatī, her friend (*sakhī*) and the Śivaliṅga are worshipped in Maharashtra, especially by unmarried girls, with green leaves (together with other materials of worship), to get a good husband. The goddess Haritālikā stands for the Mother-earth and hence her worship with green leaves, as it is the rainy season, when the vow occurs.
28. Mackenzie, Donald, *Egyptian Myth and Legend*, London (year not given), p. 87ff; Rundle Clark, R. T., *Myth and Symbol in Ancient Egypt*, London, 1959, p. 120.
29. Frazer, J. G., *The Golden Bough*, Abridged ed. Vol. I, Macmillan and Company Ltd., London, 1957, pp. 146-149.
30. See Mallinātha's commentary of *Meghadūta* Uttaramegha v. 18, where he quotes the verse from the work *Śabdārṇava*.
31. See *ibid.* The Priyaṅgu plant blossoms forth with the touch of women; the Bakula tree by dropping at it a mouthful of wine from molasses (*sīdhugaṇḍūśaseka*); the Aśoka tree, being kicked with a foot; the Tilaka tree by looking at it; the Kurabaka tree by embracing it; the Mandāra tree by speaking to it soft words; the Campaka tree by smart and sweet smile; the Mango tree by the breath from the mouth; the Nameru tree by singing a song and the Karnikāra tree by dancing in front of it.
32. See Dange, Sadashiv A., *op.cit.*, Vol. V, p. 1462f.
33. When a child suffers from chicken-pox, measles etc. the offerings of curds and rice are given at the foot of the Neem tree, which is regarded as the seat of the goddess Śītālā - the cooling Goddess.

The "Kelibahu" is the plantain-tree clad in a green sari kept in a standing position before the goddess Durgā, in the Durgapūjā festival. The practice indicates a deeper meaning. The plantain-tree serves as a symbol of the green world, kept

before the goddess of fertility - Durgādevī - in the Navarātra festival, which beckons the new crop. The plantain-tree here is regarded as a newly wed bride- indeed a lofty and touching idea !!

## The Goddess Hinghalāja at Khajuraho

Devangana Desai

Among 23 extant temples of Khajuraho, there is an open-air rectangular sanctuary, dedicated to the Causatha Yoginī, situated to the southwest of the Śivasāgar tank. Away from the main group of temples, it is built on a rocky ridge. It has an open-air courtyard around which are 67 cells, 33 on either side of a large, principal cell. When Alexander Cunningham visited this shrine in 1864<sup>1</sup>, he could find only three images *in situ* namely, the goddess Durgā Mahiṣāsūramardīnī, inscribed "Hinghalāja" on its pedestal, .9 m (3 ft) high, which was placed in the principal cell, and the two Mātrkās, Brahmānī and Māheśvarī (inscribed), .68 m (2 ft 3 ins.) high, placed in the smaller cells which flanked this central shrine. These three images are now sheltered in the Site Museum. The images are made of sandstone, but the temple is built of coarse local granite blocks. Amazingly, other cells were empty and no other images were found from this sanctuary. Cunningham reported a small shrine sheltering an image of dancing Gaṇeśa, facing the Yoginī sanctuary. This graceful image is now displayed in the Site Museum.

This is an important sanctuary of the Sixty-four Yoginīs, whose cult was widespread in the vast region between central India and Orissa in the period *circa* 900 to 1300 and even later.<sup>2</sup> The association of the name "Hinghalāja" with Durgā brings to mind the famous *pīṭha* Hingulā where the head or crown (*brahmarandhra*) of Saṁī fell, according to the Śākta texts *Pīṭhanimaya* and *Tantracūḍāmaṇi*, while in another version recorded by D. C. Sircar<sup>3</sup>, the navel of the goddess is associated with this *pīṭha*. Her main shrine at Hinglaj (ancient Hingulā) in Baluchistan on the Makran coast (now Pakistan) was the most sacred centre of pilgrimage for the ascetics of the Nātha sect. It is said to enshrine a non-iconic form of the goddess. This goddess was locally known as Bībī Nānā.<sup>4</sup>

The goddess Hinghalāja is revered in many parts of northern and western India. She has temples at Chaul in the Colaba district of Maharashtra, and also near Bhuj in Kutch.<sup>5</sup> A medieval site on the border of Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan has been named Hingalājagaḍh, which had a Yoginī temple in the 10th century. The Hingalājagaḍh Yoginī images, sculpted in Paramāra style, are now preserved in the museums at Bhopal, Indore and Jhansi.

The goddess Hinghalāja at Khajuraho is represented in the form of an eight armed Mahiṣāsūramardīnī (Plate I). Her hair is arranged in *dhammilla*

type of headdress, which is an early feature at Khajuraho, noticed in the 10th century temples, but rare after about CE 1000.<sup>6</sup> A *kīrtimukha* is placed in the centre of the hairdo. Among the preserved hands of the deity, the lower right is in *varada*, the boon giving gesture, and the upper right holds a sword in an act of slaying the buffalo demon. The upper left hand holds a shield, the other one a bow, and another hand holds tight the hind feet of the buffalo demon. Her right foot is laid on the buffalo, while the left one is balanced on the ground. What is important to notice is the powerful manner in which she had held the buffalo upside down, holding it with its hind legs and piercing it with her *trisūla* near its genitals. Similar depiction of the goddess holding the buffalo upside down is seen in three other smaller sculptures at Khajuraho and an 11th century image from Shahdol, now in the Dhubela Museum,<sup>7</sup> but was not much prevalent in other contemporaneous sites. The composition of the Khajuraho figure, which is less elaborate than that of the Shahdol 12-armed Mahiṣāsūramardīnī having many attending figures, indicates an earlier date.

There are two seated female figures on the upper side of the Hinghalāja slab and two standing ones on the ground level. These *sakhīs* or attending *yoginīs* also wear *dhammilla* hair style. The goddess's lion mount pounces on the buffalo demon from the back.

Among other early representations of Durgā Mahiṣāsūramardīnī at Khajuraho, mention may be made of an exquisite image recently excavated by the Archaeological Survey of India from the Satdhara mound in the northern zone of Khajuraho.<sup>8</sup> Unlike the upturned Mahiṣa of the Hinghalāja of the Yoginī temple, the demon emerges from the animal body of Mahiṣa in the excavated image of the 12-armed Durgā of Satdhara mound. Both these images of Durgā-Mahiṣāsūramardīnī, though not far from each other in time, are stylistically quite different. The Satdhara figure shows some affinity to the Pratihāra sculptures of Kanauj in its facial features, hair curls near the forehead, and ornaments. Slightly later in time is another image of Durgā-Mahiṣāsūramardīnī (Plate 2) with 10 arms in a niche of *pradakṣiṇā-patha* in the Viṣṇu-Vaikunṭha (Lakṣmaṇa) temple at Khajuraho built by the Candella king Yaśovarman and consecrated in CE 954. There is a rare depiction of *kucabandha* on her breasts. She places her right foot on the buffalo demon whose head is severed, while a mutilated figure of the demon in human form appears besides the animal form. But this goddess too does not hold the buffalo demon upside down like the goddess Hinghalāja of the Sixtyfour Yoginīs temple.<sup>9</sup>

A question which arises is whether the inscribed label "Hinghalāja" on the Yoginī temple image is original, i.e. of the time of the sculpture (about CE 900), or whether it was incised later on the pedestal, perhaps by followers

of the Nātha sect, who were ardent worshippers of the Hīṅgalāja. It may be pointed out that only the images of the Yoginī shrine, Durgā and Māheśvarī, bear inscribed names on their pedestals. There are many other images of Durgā, Mātrkās and goddesses at Khajuraho, but these do not have any labels of identification.<sup>10</sup>

Scholars have differed on the paleography of the label inscription for dating the Hīṅgalāja image. Cunningham says that the characters of the two inscriptions of the Yoginī temple appear to be older than those of the dated Khajuraho inscriptions, and may date from the very foundation of the Candella rule, or from the early part of the 9th century.<sup>11</sup> Krishna Deva finds that the forms of the letters, particularly “*gha*” and “*ha*” as well as the massive and squat forms of the goddesses suggest a date between CE 850 and 900.<sup>12</sup> Vidya Dehejia points out that “in view of the brevity of the inscriptions, the paleographic evidence would be unreliable for dating the temple.” She suggests a date closer to the middle of the 10th century for the images on stylistic grounds.<sup>13</sup> L. K. Tripathi says that the letters *la* and *ja* of “Hīṅgalāja” are decidedly not earlier than the same letters seen in the Lakṣmaṇa temple’s inscription dated CE 954. On the basis of architectural features, namely the presence of the *jādyakumbha* moulding as well as the division of the wall into two zones on the outer face of the sanctuary, he dates the Yoginī temple to 11th century.<sup>14</sup>

It may be mentioned that the Gaṇeśa image, originally facing the Yoginī temple, as referred to above, is stylistically of the late 10th century. This suggests that the Yoginī temple was actively under worship at the time when the image of Gaṇeśa was installed facing it. Gaṇeśa is invoked for the successful propitiation of the Mothers.

In connection with the Nātha Yogīs who worshipped Hīṅgalāja, it is significant to mention that when Ibn Battuta visited Khajuraho in 1335, he saw a group of “Jogis” with long clotted hair, living near a large lake.<sup>15</sup> On account of practising asceticism their colour had become extremely yellow. They were known for a cure of leprosy and elephantiasis. We wonder whether these “Jogīs” seen by Ibn Battuta could be the Nātha Siddhas who practised Yoga, alchemy (Rasāyana) and healing. Though the exact date of the Nātha guru Gorakhanātha is not known, he is said to have lived some time between the 9th and 12th centuries. It is difficult to say whether the Jogīs came to Khajuraho after the main temple building phase was over in about 1150 CE or whether they arrived at the time when the temples were still being constructed. Interestingly, more than 70 ascetic figures are depicted in sculpture on the *rājasenaka* row of the Devī Jagadambā (Viṣṇu) temple and Citragupta (Sūrya) temple (c. 1000-1025). These are also seen on the two Śiva temples, the Viśvanātha (999) and the Kandariyā Mahādeva (c. 1030).<sup>16</sup> It cannot



The Goddess Durgā-Mahiṣāsūramardīnī, inscribed "Hīṅghalāja",  
found from the principal cell of the Yoginī shrine, c. 900.



Durgā-Mahiṣāsūramardīnī, in a niche of the *pradakṣiṇā-patha*,  
Lakṣmaṇa (Viṣṇu-Vaikunṭha) temple, CE 954.

be verified whether these figures portray particular saints of a religious sect or whether they represent ascetics in general - gurus and *siddhas*.

Interestingly, the text of Matsyendranātha tradition, called *Nityāhnikatīlakam*, dated to 1395, mentions 'Śrī Kharjūrānanda Nātha' in its list of teachers.<sup>17</sup> One wonders whether Śrī Kharjūrānanda Nātha was associated with the town Kharjūrāvāhaka (Khajuraho). However, the text says that the sage acquired this name because of his magical power: "by just one look he uprooted a Kharjūra tree."

The goddess 'Hingulā' was also associated with goddesses Koṭṭarī, Nānā and Carcikā.<sup>18</sup> The goddess Koṭṭarī is worshipped at Hingulā *pīṭha* according to the *Pīṭhanirṇaya*.<sup>19</sup> The goddess Hingalāja is associated with the goddess Carcikā in the *Vāmana Purāna*. Carcikā is the presiding deity of the mount Hingulā. The goddess Hingalāja is identified with the Great Goddess Durgā in the *Durgā Cālisā*, recited even today. "O *Bhavānī*, the famous goddess *Hingalāja* is no one else but you yourself." So she is worshipped as Durgā irrespective of particular sectarian affiliation.

The importance of the goddess Hingalāja in religious life can be seen from the fact that recently a shrine to Hingalāja has been consecrated by the Śaṅkarācārya of Dwarka near Jabalpur. As the Baluchistan Hingalāja *pīṭha* is inaccessible to devotees, the Swami found a similar spot and a cave-like rock where the goddess Hingalāja is invoked.

The inscribed goddess Hinghalāja<sup>20</sup> of the Yoginī temple shows the importance of Khajuraho as a sacred place. Today, the Yoginī sanctuary at Khajuraho is bereft of images. But every year during the Navarātri festival in the month of Āśvina (October), associated with the Great goddess Durgā, village women bring earthen pots with sprouted millet and place these around the central cell.

## Notes and References

1. Alexander Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey of India Report*. Vol. II, 1864-65, Reprinted by ASI, Delhi in 2000, pp. 416-418; Vol. XXI, 1883-84, Reprinted by ASI Delhi 2000, p. 57.
2. Vidya Dehejia, *Yogini, Cult and Temples*, A Tantric Tradition, New Delhi, 1986. Devangana Desai, *The Religious Imagery of Khajuraho*, Mumbai, 1996, Chapter IV, The Yogini Shrine and Cult.
3. D. C. Sircar, *The Śākta Pīṭhas*, second ed., Delhi, 1973, p. 33.
4. *Ibid*, p. 85.
5. G. W. Briggs, *Gorakhnath and the Kanphata Yogis*, first ed. 1938, Reprint, Delhi, 1989, p. 169.



6. Krishna Deva, *Temples of Khajuraho*, Vol. I, pp. 272-75. The *Dhammilla* type of headdress is seen in many sculptures of the Lakṣmaṇa (CE 954), Pārśvanātha (c. 970), and the Viśvanātha (CE 999), but only in three examples in the Kandariyā (c. 1030), while it is conspicuous by its absence in the Vāmana temple (c. 1050-75).
7. Vidya Dehejia, *Yogini, Cult and Temples*, p. 172.
8. *Indian Archaeology, 1988-89 - A Review*, plate LVII, B. The image is now in the Site Museum.
9. Devangana Desai, *The Religious Imagery of Khajuraho*, Mumbai, 1996, p. 132, photo 135.
10. The pedestal of the Brahmānī image from this shrine is damaged from below. So we do not know whether it had any inscription. Images of Sadāśiva and the Jaina Kṣetrapāla 'Varendanāma' at Khajuraho are among exceptions with inscribed names.
11. Cunningham, *op. cit.* Vol. XXI p. 57.
12. Krishna Deva, *op. cit.*, p. 26.
13. Vidya Dehejia, *op. cit.*, p. 117.
14. L. K. Tripathi, "Causaṭha Yoginī Temple, Khajuraho", *Journal of the Indian Society of Indian Art*, New Series, Vol. 6, pp. 33-42.
15. *The Rehala of Ibn Battuta*, ed. and translation Mahadi Husain, G.O.S. No.122, Baroda, 1976.
16. Devangana Desai, *The Religious Imagery of Khajuraho*, pp. 78-80, photos 80-82.
17. P. C. Bagchi in Introduction to the *Kaulajñāna-nirnaya*. The text is noticed by H. P. Shastri in his two Nepal Catalogues, I, pp. 111-112; II, pp. 70, 82.
18. V. S. Agrawala, *Ancient Indian Folk Cults*, pp. 160-61, 192.
19. Sircar, *op. cit.* p. 39.
20. The late Prof. H. C. Bhayani, eminent authority on Linguistics, Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa language, had written to me in his letter dated 24-07-1996 (when he read the chapter on Yoginī Shrine and Cult in my book *The Religious Imagery of Khajuraho*) that from the point of view of Linguistics, the word "*Hinghalāja*" could not have been earlier than the 11th century. As the original word is "*Hingalāja*", derived from the name Hingalāja *pīṭha* of Baluchistan, the change from ऋ (*ga*) to ण (*gha*) in the word "*Hinghalāja*" paleographically indicates a later development.

From this analysis by Prof. Bhayani, we can say that though the sculptured image of the goddess Durgā-Mahiṣasuramardini, inscribed "*Hinghalāja*", from the Yoginī temple of Khajuraho, can stylistically be of CE 900, the label on its pedestal could not have been earlier than 11th century.

I may mention that I found this old letter of Prof. Bhayani lying in my file when the present paper was at its proof stage in the press. I have included his suggestion in this note, as it helps us to say with some certainty that there could be a time gap between the sculpture of the goddess and its inscribed label.

## List of Illustrations

- I. Durgā-Mahiṣāsūramardīnī, inscribed "Hinghalāja", found from the principal cell of the Yoginī shrine, c. 900.
- II. Durgā-Mahiṣāsūramardīnī, in a niche of the *pradakṣiṇā-patha*, Lakṣmaṇa (Viṣṇu-Vaikuṅṭha) temple, CE 954.

## **Bhagwanlal Indraji's Contribution to Cave Temples of Western India**

**Virchand Dharamsey**

Bhagwanlal Indraji (1839-1888) is a name which evokes admiration and respect in the area of Indian archaeology. His contribution to Indian archaeology remains equal to or, in many respects, even more remarkable than that of Prinsep, Cunningham and James Burgess. It is rather unfortunate that his contribution remains undervalued till date. This paper aims to highlight it by focussing on his work on the Cave Temples of Western India.

Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji was the first Indian scholar to receive the Honorary Doctorate from a foreign university. This honour was bestowed on him in 1884 by Leiden University. Bombay University made him its Fellow. He was the first Indian to be honoured to be the Honorary Member by Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (at present known as The Asiatic Society of Mumbai). The Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain also honoured him by electing him as the Honorary Member of the Society. He was the only archaeologist of his time to travel to almost all the parts of India, visiting hundreds of ruins. Archaeology remained his passion throughout his life. He travelled in the sixties and seventies of the 19th century, when travelling was most arduous. The railways<sup>1</sup> had been just introduced; most of the interior travelling had to be undertaken by bullock carts and many a time by foot. He explored places like Sanchi, Sonari, Udayagiri, Eran, Mandu, Bhojapur, Delhi, Mathura, Bairat, Kalsi, Benaras, Sarnath, Allahabad, Gadwa, Kushinagar, Ajanta, Bodh Gaya, Bihar and Orissa caves, Puri, Konark, Ganjam Rameshwaram, Warangal, Kolhapur, Kashmir, Taxila, Yusufzai (Baluchistan) and Kathmandu Valley (Nepal). It is important to note that his resources and money were frugal, nowhere near those of Alexander Cunningham and his team.<sup>2</sup> Bhagwanlal should be considered also the first Indian archaeologist undertaking photography.<sup>3</sup> Though only a small portion of his work survived, it easily marks him as a remarkable photographer.

His interest in historical materials pertaining to arts, outside the context of rock cut complexes, was amply demonstrated by the small excavation he carried out as early as about 1867-68 at Junagadh. This had yielded a few sculptures, (unfortunately now lost), which he believed to be Greco-Bactrian. He discovered the Uparkot Buddhist cave also at Junagadh around the same time. During various travels, he undertook minor excavations and discovered new inscriptions as well sculptures even before Cunningham and his team. The impressive list of sculptures discovered by him includes

the famous Mankuwar Buddha, Gadwa sculptural freeze and Mathura Kambojika in the Gandhara style, the Drum Stupa at Dhruva tilla with four principal and four secondary scenes from Buddha's life, the first Jain *Ayagapata* and the Mathura lion Pillar.<sup>4</sup> His contributions, based on his rich experiences and expertise, on Nasik, the Junnar Nanaghat (or Naneghat) Caves as well as on other places written for the Bombay Presidency Gazetteers have not yet been surpassed in their originality and importance.

Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji is of course renowned as an epigraphist though he also proved himself to be one of the most competent archaeologists, historians, and a foremost authority on art and architecture. Unfortunately, his remarkable contribution on the Western India Caves that was published in the District Gazetteers has not received the attention of scholars, which it deserves. It seems, his contribution has not been adequately acknowledged, mainly because his papers have never been collected and put in one volume. They remain scattered and have not been easily accessible to scholars.<sup>5</sup>

R. N. Cust<sup>6</sup>, while paying tribute to Dr. Rajendralala Mitra in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain*, wrote "His (Rajendralala Mitra's) History of the Antiquities of Orissa would alone raise him to a very high rank among native scholars, second only to those who, like Bhagwanlal Indraji, had acquired the method of historical criticism."<sup>7</sup>

Before Burgess and Bhagwanlal published their works on the Western India Caves, no major work of this nature and scholarship existed. James Fergusson had published *Illustrations of the Rock-cut Temples of India* in 1845. James Bird had published *Historical Researches with Descriptive Accounts of Kanheri, Karle, Ajanta, Ellora, Nasik, Junnar etc.*, in 1847. Burgess commenting on Bird says "Bombay Government entrusted him the work who first formed theories more wonderful than natural, and then tried to make both facts and inscriptions support them."<sup>8</sup>

Dr. John Wilson has published two memoirs in *Journal of Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (JBBRAS)* in 1850 and 1852 on behalf of The Cave-Temple Commission. These memoirs were the first compilation of Cave-temples in Western India. Most of the descriptions of these memoirs were writings of Lord Valentia, W. Erskine, J. Fergusson, James Bird, Col. Sykes and communications from several persons like Dr. Gibson, Law and Twemlow, while Dr. J. Stevenson had mostly worked on the inscriptions and its interpretations.

Bhagwanlal's involvement with the art and architecture of the rock-cut temples and monasteries of Western India started in 1861. He continuously worked on rockcut temples of Western India from 1862, till he left for his first long archaeological exploration in 1865-66 for Dr. Bhau Daji. He continued

his visits to caves as we know he had worked in 1870 at Kuda Caves. His second strong association with Cave Temples started again in 1878-79 when he joined the Archaeological Survey of Western India (ASWI) with Burgess and devoted his attention to Ajanta and Bagh Caves. Next year, in 1879-80, Bhagwanlal visited Karle, Kuda, Bhaja, Pitalkhora, Nasik, Junnar, Nanaghat etc; his collaboration with Burgess (ASWI) proved to be the major factor in success of the four most important publications of the Archaeological Survey of Western India.<sup>9</sup>

### **Bhagwanlal's Contribution to Buddhist Rock-Temples of Ajanta**

First collaboration of Burgess-Bhagwanlal was published as no. 9 of Archaeological Survey of Western India (ASWI) - *Notes on the Baudha Rock-Temples of Ajanta...* (1879) by Burgess. With this work *Modern Baudha Mythology* was published as an appendix, A, which was contributed by Bhagwanlal. This contribution of Bhagwanlal remains the pioneering study of iconography of Buddhist pantheon with 36 drawings. This paper was widely acknowledged by scholars like Bendall, Waddell, Foucher and Sylvain Levi.

Bhagwanlal describes architecture also in this study of iconography. "When the *Guhyas* have a separate temple of their own which, however, is seldom the case, it is called *Guhyaprasada*; In other cases they have a portion of the *vihara* set apart often in upper floor from which all others are excluded. The *bahals* and *bahis* have generally a ground plan similar to that of the Baudha Cave *viharas*, of about 6th century, a court in front, and a shrine or temple at the back – of two or three stories in height, the principal image in it; and round the side of the court are similar shrines of one or two stories, in the lower storey of which are images; and the devotees live above."<sup>10</sup>

Bhagwanlal contributed to the main text of *Ajanta notes*. As pointed out by Burgess, "the Pundit (Bhagwanlal) proved most useful in making out the details of the wall pictures, everyone of which he went over most carefully with me; and writing out the notes, I usually left to him the order in which the different parts of each picture were to be noticed." It is a pity that such an important and major contribution was acknowledged only in a foot-note.<sup>11</sup>

Bhagwanlal's next work with Burgess, *Inscriptions from the Cave-Temples of Western India (ICTWI)*, remains his best known work. Report of the *Archaeological Survey of Western India* volumes four and five (ASWI-IV and ASWI-V) were other joint works. Bhagwanlal parted company from Burgess before the publication of these volumes.

### **Bhagwanlal and *The Cave Temples of India***

*The Cave Temples of India* was under preparation by James Fergusson and James Burgess since 1873. This work was instituted at the advice of

the Secretary of State for India and was published in 1880. As the vast majority of these cave-temples were situated in Western India, Burgess was the main contributor on the part pertaining to Western India.

Though Bhagwanlal was not directly connected with *The Cave Temples of India*, his contribution in the last stage made this work more precise. Bhagwanlal has not received due credit for this work. Even his Nepal references as well as his rectification of Bodha Gaya Surya were quoted by Burgess and Fergusson without acknowledgment.<sup>12</sup>

Bhagwanlal's field work done for ASWI in December-1879-February 1880 reflects in Appendix of *Cave Temples* as Fergusson says "When the description of the Pitalkhora caves was written in the body of this work pp. 242 to 246, there seemed no data available from which their age could be ascertained with anything like precision..." Fergusson writes further that Burgess in his letter of last month (28th February 1880) informs him that new discoveries "have thrown a flood of light on the history of the most ancient forms of these caves, which was not available a few months ago, and we now see our way to ascertain their dates with a degree of precision not hitherto attainable." It is sufficient to say that Burgess' own field work done from 1873-1874 to early 1879 reflected in the main text of the *Cave Temples*. Bhagwanlal had done his field work for ASWI in 1878-79 at Ajanta and Bagh which was published by Burgess as *Notes on the Baudha Rock Temples of Ajanta*, as we have mentioned above. Again, Bhagwanlal joined Burgess to do field work at Pitalkhora, Bhaja, Karle, Kondane, Nasik, Junnar,<sup>13</sup> Nanaghat etc., in December 1879-1880 and this field work of his played a major part in these new discoveries as referred to in the Appendix of *The Cave Temples of India*, as well as in *ICTWI*, *ASWI-IV* and *V*.<sup>14</sup>

### **Bhagwanlal and Bombay Presidency Gazetteers**

Some time by the end of 1881, Bhagwanlal's vast experience and knowledge brought him into close contact with James Campbell, editor of the Bombay Gazetteers, which was one of the most ambitious projects of the time. Campbell seems to have had great faith in Bhagwanlal. This contact launched a most creative and fruitful period in Bhagwanlal's career. The first result was Bhagwanlal's excavation at Sopara in April 1882. This was the first undertaking of this nature by an Indian, and in that sense a landmark in the history of Indian archaeology. This excavation report<sup>15</sup> was published in the *Journal of The Bombay Branch of the Asiatic Society*. (The credit for this goes to the Bombay Asiatic Society to publish the first excavation report by an Indian archaeologist). Bhagwanlal was also the first to excavate the pre-historic mound near Govardhan-Nasik.<sup>16</sup> Campbell now invited Bhagwanlal to undertake field work and also asked him to become the major contributor to his various Gazetteers.

## **Bhagwanlal : Archaeologist, Historian and Art Historian**

Bhagwanlal's contribution to Gazetteers shows him as a remarkable archaeologist with the rare insight of a historian, as well as an art historian endowed with the fine sensibility of an anthropologist. Gazetteers provided Bhagwanlal the right platform to show his talent. Campbell in his preface to the *Bombay Gazetteer* XIII mentions that Bhagwanlal's contribution pertained to the portion relating to Archaeology. He points out in Volume XIV that "The translations of the inscriptions and the description and illustration of the objects of antiquarian interest are the work of Pandit Bhagwanlal Indrajī, who paid special visits to many parts of the district (Thana) and whose detailed accounts of the antiquities of Sopara and of Padan Hill, and readings of the sculptures at Eksar<sup>20</sup> in Salsette and at Atgaon near Shahpur are of unusual interest and value." Apart from such important contributions, his tentative translations of Kanheri inscriptions<sup>21</sup> as well as his extensive note on Nanaghat<sup>22</sup> with summary of Nanaghat inscriptions are very valuable. Reading the numerous inscriptions provided by Bhagwanlal in the Thana Gazetteer proved extremely helpful while constructing the history of Maharashtra till 13th century. S. N. Nagaraju has acknowledged his indebtedness particularly to Thana, Poona and Colaba gazetteers of the Bombay Presidency.<sup>23</sup>

## **Elephanta**

Apart from his other contributions to Thana Gazetteer, Bhagwanlal suggested some changes and additions as well as omissions in the Elephanta text of Burgess and it influenced Hiranand Shastri's *A Guide to Elephanta*. The following passages from the texts by Burgess (1871), Bhagwanlal (1882) and Hiranand Shastri (1934) indicate Bhagwanlal's firm grip on the architectural and iconographical details.

### **(A) Peculiar Piece of Carving**

#### **Text by Burgess**

"Above the screen, in the centre, and immediately over the head of the principal figure, is a peculiar piece of carving not unlike the section of a very wide bottle with a curved groove in the middle of it. A similar form appears in some of the other sculptures, as twice in the fifth compartment, but not in so prominent a position, here however, the figures on each side seem to be paying adoration to it, and antiquarians have puzzled themselves in vain to make out what it represents; Mr. Erskine is followed by Dr. Wilson in supposing it is the mystic trilateral syllable Aum—a sound not to be pronounced but meditated upon, as supposed to comprehend each individual of the Hindu triad, as if the essence of the religion were concentrated in it. But is very difficult to trace any resemblance between this figure and the syllable however peculiarly disguised, as it often is, in the writing. Dr. Stevenson supposes

it to represent the *linga*, but the resemblance is quite as unsatisfactory; nor can we quite agree with him that 'the rest of the gods seen petrified with horror,' and yet with Dr. Wilson that figures above are "represented with considerable art" and "in horror and amazement."<sup>24</sup>

### Text by Bhagwanlal

"Above the screen, in the centre, over the head of the chief figure, is a peculiar piece of carving; not unlike the section of a very wide bottle with a curved groove in the middle of it. A similar form appears in some of the other sculptures, but not so in so leading a position as this, where the figures on each side seem to be paying it reverence. It is supposed to be the mystic triliteral syllable *aum* or the *linga*, but neither explanation is satisfactory. It is much like a Buddhist relic-shrine or *daghoba* with a heavy tee or umbrella above. In front of the building is a curious curved hollow line to bring out the *linga* which stands in the centre of the shrine."<sup>25</sup>

### Text by Hiranand Shastri

"The top of the panel is occupied by an interesting relief. In the centre of it, and immediately above the head of Siva, is a peculiar piece of carving, somewhat resembling a stupa with a curved groove in the middle. It is held by two flying figures and is flanked by two worshippers, one on each side. Possibly this carving represents a Siva shrine with a *linga* standing in the centre."<sup>26</sup>

### (B) Matrikas

Burgess failed to identify *Matrikas*. He writes "Most, if not all, of these figures seem to have represented females; ...some of them carry children... surmounted by an ensign - a *hansa*, a peacock, a monkey or other animal. It is difficult to say whom these may represent. Erskine and Stevenson regard them as the *devanganas* - "the servants and dancing girls of the gods with *Ganesha* at their head."<sup>27</sup>

The Gazetteer though follows Burgess style in description. "Of the ten figures seven, perhaps eight, are female figures... Then behind is what seems a Garuda apparently the sign of the fourth female figure. Then comes a Peacock sign and a fifth woman; than a bull and a sixth woman;... then a defaced sign and an eighth woman. But Bhagwanlal adds note to this text and mentions "These female figures are the *Matrikas*, the divine mothers or female energies, who attend on *Karttikeya*. They are generally reckoned seven, but some times eight, some times nine, and some times sixteen. Each *Matrika* has a staff surmounted by a flag bearing the mark of her carrier, which is the same as the carrier of the corresponding deity. Thus Brahmi has the swan, Vaishnavi the Garuda, Maheshvari the bull, Kaumari the peacock, Aindri the elephant,



Varahi the buffalo, and Chamunda a dead body."<sup>28</sup>

In *Ardhanarisvara* panel, Burgess thinks "the head of a *Makara* - a heraldic-like monster emblematic of *Kama* the god of love." Bhagwanlal identifies it as *Varuna*. In the same panel, Burgess is not able to identify *Karttikeya* as he mentions "Below Brahma is a large male figure with a high cap, holding the trishula of Shiva, and doubtless intended for Nandi or Narada, or some personal attendant of Shiva."<sup>29</sup>

### (C) Shiva Mahadeva

#### Text by Burgess

"The left hand holds what may represent a pomegranate, a lotus bud or a gourd... The ears are divided and extended downwards like those of the Kanphatas... who contrives to elongate the lobe of the ear; to an extraordinary extent by means of weights. In each ear he has a jewel with pendant ornaments - perhaps the ends of the lower necklace brought through the holes in the ear lobe. The head-dress or *Mukuta* is fastened, as we learn from comparison with other figures, by the folds or bands that encompass the neck; it is very richly wrought, representing doubtless such as was worn by princes in the age in which it was executed, and high up on the right side it bears a crescent - a peculiar emblem of Shiva."<sup>30</sup>

#### Text by Bhagwanlal

"The central face of Mahadeva, holds in left hand 'a citron, an emblem of the womb' and adds that "The ears are slit and drawn down, a sign of a composed placid mind. From each ear hangs a jewelled ornament, that in the right ear in the style known as the tiger-head earring or *vyaghra kundala*... and in the left ear the alligator or *makara kundala* earring, whose broken tail may still be traced. The head-dress consists of the hair raised in the *jata* or dome-coil style, with on the top of the hair a royal tiara in three pieces, one over each ear, and the richest in the fame-face or *kirtimukha* style, most tastefully designed and most beautifully carved."<sup>31</sup>

#### Text by Hiranand Shastri

"The front left hand holds a matulunga or citron. The head is adorned with a richly wrought jatamukuta having a crescent high up on the right side. In front of the hair is a royal tiara consisting of three large jewels, one of which is placed over the forehead, and the other two, over the ears. The central jewel cut in the kirtimukha form is elegantly designed and beautifully executed. The ears of this face are decorated with an ornament called the makarakundala, as it is shaped like a makara or crocodile, here carved in a conventional manner."<sup>32</sup>

This clearly indicates the extent to which Bhagwanlal has rectified the iconographical and ornamental details of Burgess's Elephanta text.

One of the noted publications *Elephanta, The Cave of Shiva* has a bibliographical survey<sup>33</sup> where it is mentioned that Burgess' Elephanta is by far the best guide book yet written. Serious attention is directed to architectural and iconographical details, (to Sanskrit literature and Hindu concepts.) This bibliography also refers to the - Elephanta - *Thana Gazetteer* text and comments, "This account leans heavily on Burgess' material." No doubt in language the text leans heavily on Burgess but to what extent the description differs in iconographical and other details is not noticed by the bibliographer.

### Kanheri Inscriptions

In the *Thana Gazetteer* (1882), Bhagwanlal provided the substance of the inscriptions from facsimiles he took in 1881 at Kanheri caves.<sup>34</sup> As he had to submit before the deadline, these inscriptions were published with a remark "Mr. Bhagwanlal's study of the inscriptions is not yet complete so that the renderings given in the text are tentative and liable to revision."<sup>35</sup> Further the Gazetteer gives two pages of notes on inscriptions, such as "Of the fifty-four (inscriptions) twenty-eight give the names of donors, which especially in their endings differ from the names now in use; twenty-one of them give their professions i.e. mostly merchants, a few goldsmiths, some recluses, and one a minister. Except for seven women, four of whom were nuns, all the donors were men. Thirteen inscriptions record the gift of caves, eight of caves and cisterns, four of cisterns only, two of images, and two of pathways. We also find the list of places mentioned i.e. Kalyan is mentioned in nine inscriptions and one in a detached stone inscription, Sopara in two inscriptions."<sup>36</sup> This reading of Kanheri inscriptions by Bhagwanlal has provided such details for the first time.

Dr. Shobhana Gokhale who devoted nearly 15 years on *Kanheri Inscriptions* (1991) writes in her introduction: "In the thirty inscriptions which were scholarly read by stalwarts like Buehler and Burgess [!]<sup>37</sup>, I have made a few additions. Of nineteen inscriptions which were not previously read<sup>38</sup> I tried to read them but the inscriptions are in mutilated conditions... Out of nineteen I could read eighteen inscriptions. I have experienced what West had observed hundred twentyfive years ago. Most of the inscriptions were inscribed into rough and decaying rock-surface covered with natural markings which were mingled with letters, with the result that careful ink-impressions were practically illegible. In many cases the letters were so faint that it was difficult to photograph them. I spent many days along with the photographers to catch the suitable light for taking good photographs of inscriptions. In cave no. 75 (Lueders, 1003) and 101 (Lueders, 1011) I spent hours and hours standing on a ladder touching the letters, then only I could read major parts of those

inscriptions."<sup>39</sup>

This was equally true for Bhagwanlal also as he worked first in 1862 and later in 1881 at Kanheri caves. Apart from that he visited Kanheri often. His substantial reading of Lueders' 1003 remains as under, "It records the gift of a cave, a cistern, and bathing cistern by Lavanika, wife of Ayal (Achal), a merchant, son of Nandana and inhabitant of Kalyan, and of an endowment of 300 *karshapanas*. The inscription also mentions something done in the Ambalika (monastery ?) in Kalyan."<sup>40</sup> While West in his reading suggests "It probably commemorates the dedication of a cave, and a tank for drinking and bathing, by someone, a householder, merchant and inhabitant of Kalyan, and by the son of someone else."<sup>41</sup>

Publishing merely the substance of inscriptions was also the need of the time for the 19th century scholars as Fleet put it since they were, "under obligations to deal more with results than with details."

### **Nasik, Junnar and Nanaghat**

Dr. Vidya Dehejia mentions "Since the publication of *The Cave Temples of India* in 1880, subsequent scholars have generally based their schemes on Burgess' conclusions and are agreed upon a rough sequence of excavation for the early Buddhist caves in Western India."<sup>42</sup> It happened because scholars have lost track of Bhagwanlal's important contribution on most major cave groups of Western India - Junnar, Nasik and Nanaghat in the *Bombay Gazetteers*.

### **Pandu Lena Caves - Nasik**

Bhagwanlal's description of the Pandu Lena caves at Nasik (1883) covers the geography of the site, the landscape views, details of the caves including inscriptions and its paleographical study. He also gives an introduction of Buddhist images in the style of the northern Buddhists and order of the caves. Bhagwanlal also writes political history of the period discussing not only the early Satavahanas, but also the Kshatrapas. He also discusses Kharavela and his connections with Sri Satakarni. As Nasik inscriptions give an unusually large number of names of countries, mountains, rivers, cities, towns and villages, he examines all of them in detail. This work of Bhagwanlal remains the first comprehensive study, which was much ahead of the time, since we find Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar in his 1896 revised History of the Deccan, makes very little reference to Satakarni and no reference to Kharavela at all.

Bhagwanlal writes, "Nasik inscriptions hold the first place among Western India inscriptions on account of their length and fullness, the value of the information they supply, and their excellent preservation. The information they give is important not only for the history of the Nasik Caves but for the light which it throws on the paleography, philology, history, geography,

chronology, numismatics, religion, and customs of Western India at the beginning of the Christian era."<sup>43</sup>

Dr. S. N. Nagaraju giving the reference of the same says "It is rightly regarded by some [!] that Nasik provides the 'key' for such a study."<sup>44</sup> He also erroneously gives credit to R. G. Bhandarkar instead of Bhagwanlal for the study of the paleography of the inscriptions at Nasik.<sup>45</sup> This study of paleography is a part of a long chapter on Pandu Lena Caves by Bhagwanlal.

Bhagwanlal had understood the importance of Nasik Caves. As Prof. Dhavalikar says, "Of all the Buddhist Rock-cut sanctuaries of Western India, the Nasik complex is one of the smallest but at the same time one of the most important from the standpoint of the development of rock-cut architecture not only because of the datable epigraphical records in them, but also because of many new elements which are introduced for the first time."<sup>46</sup>

Bhagwanlal describes each cave fully, both its architecture and sculpture, and alterations, if any, made in early times. The sensitivity of his descriptions is not surpassed by his contemporaries or the present day commentators.

Bhagwanlal opens his description of Nasik Cave III as under,

### **Nasik Cave III**

"Just beyond the filled up cistern, is a large beautifully sculptured dwelling cave made by the mother of the great Gautamiputra. The front is borne by six large figures whose massive heads and shoulders appear too close to the ground. These are the demi-gods called Yakshas or Guhyakas, bearing the cave from heaven to earth, which as the large inscription in the back wall of the veranda states, 'is equal to the best of heavenly chariots in its great perfection.'<sup>47</sup>

Bhagwanlal also describes small details like a long creeper scroll with nine inch panels carved in leaves or animals. "Beginning from the right or west end of the scroll, in the first panel a child drags the creeper from the mouth of a crocodile; in the next panel an elephant tosses his trunk; in the third panel is one large leaf; in the fourth a tiger and tigress with her head close to the ground..."<sup>48</sup>

### **Nasik Cave XVII**

Prof. Dhavalikar mentions that cave XVII has not received the attention it merits.<sup>49</sup> We examine how much attention Bhagwanlal has given in describing this cave in brief.<sup>50</sup> "Its inscription seems to show that cave XVII was intended to be a dwelling-cave with a shrine attached. In front of the door a piece of rock, in form like an altar, has been left unworked probably to make ornamental steps."<sup>51</sup> He describes hall and cells... "In its right wall are four

cells, ...The right cell is unfinished; left cell is very small and in making it much care had to be taken lest it should break into cave XVIII; the great chapel or *chaitya* cave. A modern hole shows the thinness of the partition of rock."<sup>52</sup>

Then he describes the pillars "...On the inner face of both pilasters a man rides a fanciful animal with the beak of a bird, the body of a tiger and uplifted ears... The driver of the left elephant is a woman with a curious headdress."<sup>53</sup> Later he describes another group of pillars. "Animal capitals closely like the pillars in cave X. On the inner face of the capital of the east pilaster are animals back to back with the mouths of birds. ...On the first pillar... the right elephant driven by a man and ridden by two women. The first woman's headdress is a curious circular disc, the second's headdress has three bunches or *jhumkhas* like a Vanjari woman's. The second woman stretches her hand for the third woman to mount."<sup>54</sup>

Bhagwanlal's description of most of the caves contains minute details. Here is an example, which is from cave XXIV. "On the side wall in the left or east corner is a horse with the face of a woman, who is embraced by a man who rides the horse. Corresponding to this figure on the right end is a tiger, and a little to the right is a broken animal. At the right end of the beam is an owl, and in front of it a small mouse."<sup>55</sup>

### **Nasik Cave XVIII - Comparative Study**

Here we take one example of Nasik Cave XVIII for comparative study based on the findings of Burgess (1880), Bhagwanlal (1883) and Nagaraju (1981).

#### **Burgess writes**

"The carving over the doorway, which represents the wooden framework which filled all openings, of a similar class, at that age, is of a much ornamental character than usual, or than the others shown in this façade. Animals are introduced as in the Lomas Rishi. So also are the trisul and shield emblems, in a very ornamental form, but almost identical with the Manmodi cave at Junnar, which is probably of about the same age as this *Chaitya*."<sup>56</sup>

#### **Bhagwanlal writes**

"Under the arch, as in the cells near the Bhutling cave, in Manmoda group at Junnar, are figures of horses, elephants, bulls, and tigers in the spaces between the bars of an irregularly flowing rail. In the middle is the Buddhist pentagonal symbol over the trident enclosing a lotus flower. Between the teeth of the trident are two tigers rampant, and in the middle of the pentagonal symbol is a minute standing human figure. Below the bottom bar

of the rail is a semicircle whose front is carved in a lattice tracery of six-leaves flowers. The left door post or shakha is richly carved in an elaborate tracery of peacocks, human figures and flowers, in a pattern which occurs on the front of the arch of the queen's cave at Udayagiri in Orissa. To the left of the post a standing Yaksha holds a lotus in his right hand, and the end of his waistband in his left. Close to his hand begins the rail pattern of the stairs which lead to cave XIX. Most of the carving on the right door post is destroyed."<sup>57</sup>

### **Nagaraju writes**

"The lower part of the façade has the doorway in the centre having a decorative arch above. This arch springs from the level of the lintel and its upper part cuts the stretch of the lower most horizontal bands described above, so that the partly broken finial is in the level of the base of the large *chaitya* window. The space inside the arch above the flat lintel of the doorway has been carved in half lotus design - with diapers below and Buddhist symbols, creepers and animals further above-almost in the same fashion as that in the Manmodi *chaitya* hall 40 at Junnar. The doorway has the side jambs projecting slightly from the plain back wall. The front face of the left jamb is richly carved with tracery, peacocks, human figures and flowers. "He also adds in his foot-note "This is somewhat similar to the carvings in Ranigumpha at Udayagiri, Orissa."<sup>58</sup>

### **Cave XX - The Place of Worship**

In another rock-cut temple, Cave XX at Nasik, Bhagwanlal describes quite graphically the current religious interpretation given to the Buddhist images by the local inhabitants and the fact that they were still the object of regular worship during 19th century. "In the back wall of the shrine is a colossal Buddha, seated on a lion throne in the teaching position, his feet resting on a small altar or dais... this image of Buddha has the special interest of being still the object of the regular worship. The great image is kept a glossy black and ornamented with a band of gold leaf round the brow, a broad band of gold round the eyes and down the front of the ears, and a band of gold round his neck and his upper arms; his fingers are tipped with gold, and a gold belt is round his waist and ankles. According to the temple servant or gurav, who is a Taru, or ferryman, that is a koli by caste and lives in a village close by, the great figure is Dharmaraja or Yudhisthira, the eldest of the Pandav brothers. He holds his hand in that position advising men never to tell a lie, never to cheat, never to cause harm, and never to steal. The Bodhisattva to the right of Buddha is said to be Nakula, the fourth of the Pandav brothers... The Bodhisattva on the left is Arjuna and the small figure near it Krishna... ..The family of the man in charge of the shrine has held the office for at least three generations. He comes to the cave daily,

offers flowers, and lights the lamp. People from the villages nearby come regularly and worship... They stand in front of the image and call 'Maharaj, give me a child and I will give you a coconut and oil.' They give him sweetmeats, and basil and bel. They never give him an animal."<sup>59</sup>

Nagaraju has said that "Detailed descriptions of all the sculptures in the (Nasik III) cave including those on the door frame and pillars and the entablature and the basement are available in the *Bombay Gazetteer* (Nasik District).<sup>60</sup> This can be said of all Nasik as well as Junnar Caves which Bhagwanlal has described in the *Bombay Gazetteers*.

### **Nasik Inscriptions**

E. Senart while editing Nasik inscriptions in *E. I. VIII* (1905-06), wrote, "To Bhagwanlal Indrajī we are indebted for the reproductions on which are based Buehler's translations, printed in *ASWI*, and for the commentary written by Bhagwanlal himself and embodied in the volume devoted to Nasik in the *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. XVI. p. 544 ff. These two translations, being based on thoroughly reliable documents, are the real tests of our present knowledge on the subject..." Further he adds "that for all the proper names which are enumerated, one must refer to the short geographical index given at the end of the Nasik chapter in *B. G. XVI*."<sup>61</sup>

### **Nasik Inscription, Comparative Study**

We select one single example of inscription read by Bhagwanlal in *Nasik Gazetteer* published in 1883, as this inscription was also read by Buehler and Hoernle in the same year (1883) and based on the same facsimile of Bhagwanlal. This inscription is also discussed by R. G. Bhandarkar in 1883 though he first published it in 1874.

#### **Buehler text**

"--who has given, in the village of Nanamgola, one thousand as the price of thirty two coconut trees (destined) for (the benefit of) the Charaka congregations at Pimditavada, Govardana, Suvarnamukha, and at Ramatirtha near Sorparaga - has caused this cave and these cisterns to be made on mount Trirasmi, in (the district of) Govardhana."<sup>62</sup>

#### **Hoernle text**

"...(and) presented in the village of Nanamgola thirty-two coconut trees worth a thousand (*karshapanas*) to the congregations in Pinditakavada, Govardhana, Suvarnamukha, and Sorparaga (*who are in the habit of*) frequenting Ramatirtha, --on the mount Trirasmi in Govardhana, out of religious principles, this cave has been caused to be made as well as these cisterns."<sup>63</sup>

## Bhagwanlal text

"... who has bestowed in gift thirty-two thousand coconut trees in the village of Nanamgola to the Charaka priesthoods of Pinditakavada, Govardhana, Suvarnamukha, and Ramatirtha in Sorparaga."<sup>64</sup>

Senart in 1905 has written that "All interpreters understand by it a gift of 'a thousand (coins) representing the value of thirty-two coconut trees.'" Bhagwanlal alone has translated 'who has bestowed as a gift thirty-two thousand coconut trees.' ..."<sup>65</sup> This is sufficient to show Bhagwanlal remains one of our greatest epigraphists.

## ASI adopts Bhagwanlal's Numbering of Nasik Caves

It is also worth noting that Senart adopted the numbering of Nasik caves as numbered by Bhagwanlal in the *Nasik Gazetteer*.<sup>66</sup> Later the Archaeological Survey of India also adopted the same cave numbers as given by Bhagwanlal in the *Bombay Gazetteer* XVI.<sup>67</sup> This is a recognition by the Archaeological Survey of India of Bhagwanlal's work.

Burgess in his *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* (rev. edition- 1910) gives chronological history of Nasik inscriptions, where, he avoids mentioning Bhagwanlal's contribution to Nasik inscriptions and comments that "the inscriptions have lastly been revised by Mons. E. Senart in *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. VIII, (1905), pp. 59-96, in which, however, he has adopted a different numeration of the caves from that in common use."<sup>68</sup>

## Junnar

### Early Notices

James Fergusson narrates the early antiquarian activities at Junnar. "Junnar caves have long been known to antiquarians. In 1833 Colonel Sykes published a series of inscriptions copied from them, [Nanaghat also] but without a description of the caves themselves. [Prinsep translated the inscriptions in 1837, pp. 1042-49]. In 1847 Dr. Bird noticed them in his *Historical Researches* with some wretched lithographs, so bad as to be almost unintelligible; in 1850, Dr. Wilson described them in the 'Bombay Journal' [*JBBRAS*, 3, pp. 62-64, communicated by Dr. Gibson]<sup>69</sup> and in 1857 Dr. Stevenson republished their inscriptions, with translations, in the fifth volume of the same journal; and lastly Mr. Sinclair, wrote an account of them in the *Indian Antiquary* for February, 1874. Notwithstanding all this, we are still without drawings or photographs which would enable us to understand their peculiarities. The late Dr. Bhau Daji had a set of negatives taken, but never allowed any prints to be made from them;<sup>70</sup> and when Mr. Burgess visited the caves last autumn, he did not take a photographic apparatus with him, as he depended on obtaining,



through Government, the use of Dr. Bhau Daji's negatives."<sup>71</sup> [Author's notes in Brackets]

### **Burgess - First Junnar Memorandum**

Burgess published his first *Memorandum on the Buddhist Caves at Junnar* in November 1874, under the Archaeological Survey of Western India. He published this again in a revised form in 1877, with 12 Inscriptions, while Prof. H. Kern has published a translation of six inscriptions.<sup>72</sup>

Burgess wrote in *ASWI-III* (1878) "The Junnar Buddhist Cave Temples, which were surveyed the year before and which it was intended to have included in this, have been reserved for another volume." But three years later, Burgess in *Inscriptions from The Cave Temples of Western India* says "A number of inscriptions from the Junnar Caves were given in No. 1 of these *Memoranda*, and some of them afterwards by Dr. Kern of Leiden. The Pandit had gone to Junnar with a memorandum of all those known to exist, he took facsimile impressions of all the accessible ones and copies of others."<sup>73</sup> Bhagwanlal's contribution in *ICTWI* was brief but contained much improved descriptions of Junnar caves (with 35 inscriptions) than *Cave Temples of India*.<sup>74</sup>

### **Bhagwanlal on Junnar Caves**

In *Bombay Gazetteer* Bhagwanlal has put the number of caves to 135 with about 170 distinct openings. He says ten are *chaityas*, and 125 separate dwellings many of them with more than one inner cell. Besides these, many cisterns and rock seats have not been numbered.<sup>75</sup> All these caves are in the early Buddhist style and probably range in date from the first to the fourth century CE. Inscriptions number 35 out of which seven have some historical interest. Of the halls, cells and cisterns that have inscriptions, nineteen have one and two have two; and one of the chaityas of the Ambika group in the Manmoda hills has 'no fewer than eleven.'

The caves are spread over the four hills around Junnar. Manmodi hill caves form three subordinate groups - the Bhimashankar, Ambika and Bhutling caves. The second group of Shivner hill caves is also in three groups on the east, south and west faces of the hill. The third group is of Tulja Hills behind Shivner and the fourth group Ganesh caves in the south scarp of the Suleman hills.

Bhagwanlal describes the way to each group. As regards Tulja caves group he says, "The Tulja group of eleven caves is in a hollow in the east face of the Tulja hill about two and a half miles west of Junnar and a mile and a half west of Shivner... From Junnar the way to the Tulja caves passes under the great pointed northern scarp of Shivner, which from below looks

like the black hull and rounded stern of some huge ship.... In the curve is the third Shivner group of six caves... The caves have a pleasant outlook to the east. The great scarp of Shivner lies on the right, and about four miles further the bare slopes and wall-like cliffs of the Hatkeshvar or Suleman hills. Between the two lie the broad plain and the trees and garden lands of Junnar. The caves are near one another, in one row from left to right, facing on an average east-north-east."<sup>76</sup>

### **Painted Caves**

Bhagwanlal identifies caves of Shivaneri group 26, 28, 29, 30, 32, 36, 38, 42, 43; Ganesh group 10, 11, 13; Manmodi group cave 2 and Tulja cave 2, all painted. He describes Tulja cave 2 as a "chapel cave and differs in its round plan from all other known chapels in Western India. It has a round floor, and in the middle of the floor relic shrine or *daghoba* with, round it, a circle of twelve plain, octagonal pillars - well smoothed and polished. Traces show that the pillars were painted more richly than those of any other of the Junnar caves. ...The whole cave appears to have been painted. In the aisle roof in the lower circle of the dome roof, and on the pillars, patches of colour are still left."<sup>77</sup>

### **Pentagonal Symbol**

We now come to Tulja cave 7 which Bhagwanlal describes "...Over the doorway, resting on ribs, is a horse-shoe arch. On the front face of the arch is some ornamental work. Below the arch over the doorway is lattice work carved as in Manmodi cave 36. Above the lattice work is a small pentagonal symbol."<sup>78</sup> Nagaraju mentions that these are not extant now.<sup>79</sup>

Bhagwanlal describes Manmodi cave 36 thus, "On the doorway of each cell are horse-shoe arches supported on stone imitations of wooden arches. Between the arches is the rail pattern supporting thin stone imitations of wooden mortices whose ends appear under the rail pattern. Above the rail pattern is a semicircular *daghoba* or relic-shrine on each side of the arch... On the front face of the first arch is a pattern in leaf and flower which is also found on the arch of a cell of one of the Udayagiri caves in Orissa. The other arch front faces are plain. ...To the left, in the veranda, is a beautiful Buddhist wheel with beautiful carved Buddhist tridents in the rim and a lion between the spokes."<sup>80</sup>

### **Junnar-Manmodi Cave 38**

The most discussed cave of Manmodi group is no. 38 with a unique façade. We reproduce details not of carved arch with half-lotus pattern surrounded by seven leaf-shaped petals with Gajalakshmi standing in middle, but of the arch on the upper apex. "Above the arch on the upper apex

was a carving now broken. The remains suggest that it was the common Buddhist pentagonal symbol. To the right is a standing life-size Nagaraja with a fly-flap in his right hand, and his left hand is resting on his hip. He wears a waistcloth, a bracelet and an armet. In his ears are large ear-ornaments, on his head a tasseled turban, and round the head are five snake hoods. To the left a similar life-size figure stands like the first with a fly-flap in his right hand. His dress and ornaments are the same as those of the first. He differs from the first in having wings and as on his turban appears the head of Garuda this is apparently a figure of Garuda. The cobra king and the vulture were probably chosen to show that they have laid aside their natural hate to join in the worship of Buddha.<sup>81</sup> On one side of each of the figures is a relic-shrine with a tee and an umbrella. The people call the relic-shrines *lingas* as in shape they resemble Shaiva *lingas*; and the figures they call *bhuts* or spirits and for that reason this group is called Bhutling or the *lingas* guarded by spirits. The left face of the arch is neither dressed or separated. The right face has been separated and to the right of the right face is a Bodhi tree, which, from the shape of its leaves, appears to be a *pipal* tree. Garlands hang from it and above the tree an umbrella is shown raised on a double plinth. A flying human figure on the left comes towards the tree but it is unfinished."<sup>82</sup>

Bhagwanlal observes that Manmodi cave 3 differs in shape both from dwellings and from chapel caves. He considers this as dining or Sattria hall and caves 10, 25 and 26 as view seats. He considers Manmukuda is the old name of the hill which is still called Manmoda.

### **Sati Memorial Stones**

While describing Cave 7 of Ganesh Lena caves, Bhagwanlal writes "this cave, in plan is much like Nasik cave X." Here he notices nine Sati monuments. He writes "Carved on the left wall, between the cell doorways, are nine Sati monuments of later time, and worthy of note as typical North Deccan Sati memorials." He records the recollections of the near-contemporary practices of Sati and narrates "a horrifying story of a young widow, who had run away during the ceremony, being forced to commit sati in Nepal" has to be read along with his description, in the *Poona Gazetteer* of Sati stones in the remains at Junnar.<sup>83</sup> Bhagwanlal considers these memorials are of the time when the cave was dedicated to Ganapati.

### **Nanaghat (Naneghat)**

After Junagadh, Nanaghat was the place of prime interest for Bhagwanlal. He made his first visit to Nanaghat in 1862 and thereafter he visited it several times. Nanaghat remained one of the most challenging sites for him where he discovered a great number of numerals. He writes "The inscription contains

a list of gifts made on the occasion of the performance of several *Yagnas* and the numerals in enumerating the gifts are very important, being of a different character to those which have been hitherto found in Western India Caves. Although a great part of the inscription is obliterated, numerals are to be seen in no less than thirty different places" and further adds "Not only do we find specimens of ancient numerals from this inscription, but also the manner in which the numerals of ten thousand and upwards were written in those times."<sup>84</sup>

### Satavahanas

Bhagwanlal discovered at Naneghat the earliest portraits in India, and in his paper, *Ancient Nagari Numeration; from an inscription at Naneghat*, he writes "This (Naneghat) cave seems to have been carved by a descendant of the king Satavahana. Inside on the wall opposite the entrance there are carved figures of members of his family, very much broken and defaced, but the inscriptions over their heads still remain entire, so we are able to know whom each figure represents. On both side-walls of the cave are inscriptions in big letters - the style of which is a little older than that of the inscriptions of Ushavadata, the son-in-law of Nahapana and Gotamiputra and Vasishtiputra, found in the Buddhist caves of India. From the inscription it appears that the name of the king was Vedisiri. Amongst the figures on the wall next to that of king Satavahana are the remains of figures of a man and a woman, over the heads of whom there is written 'Of queen Nayanika and King Siri Satakarni.' This king was, I believe, the one by whom the room and inscription were made."<sup>85</sup>

As there was no inscribed name Vedisiri over the carved figures, Bhagwanlal concluded that Siri Satakarni may have been known as Vedisiri. He also stated that these inscriptions seem to throw some light on the imperfectly known dynasty of Satavahana.<sup>86</sup> It was here that in 1876 for the first time scholars heard the names of Satavahana family members Nayanika, Siri Satakarni and Vedisiri.

Then again in September 1877, Bhagwanlal presented *Coins of Andhrabhritya Kings* where he published six inscribed labels of portraits. He also pointed out that we have a very limited knowledge of this dynasty; the *Puranas* throw some light on it, but we cannot much rely upon them.<sup>87</sup>

Buehler, who edited the inscriptions in *ASW V* (1883), summarized interpretations of Bhagwanlal's early papers of 1876 and 1877. He considered Prince Satavahana as Vedisiri and said that the larger inscription was engraved during the young age of the prince Vedisiri, when his mother Naganika was ruling as queenregent. He also said that Bhagwanlal makes too much of Kumara Vedisiri.<sup>88</sup>

Summarizing Naneghat inscription in 1882 Bhagwanlal, however, has concluded that Vedisiri was the son of Siri Satakarni and Nayanika. He also said that "There is no doubt that Vedishri was the king who had this inscription engraved." These views of Bhagwanlal were accepted by V. V. Mirashi.<sup>89</sup> Bhagwanlal has added that "Probably it was he (Vedisiri) who, as king Dakshinapatha, improved the Nanaghat, cut the rest-chamber for wearied travellers, adorned the opposite wall with figures of his relations, and in this large inscription which fills the other two walls of the chamber, recorded the power and the piety of his family."<sup>90</sup>

### Relievos, Early Portraits

Bhagwanlal's writings remain probably the only first hand description on chamber and relievos written in 19th century. He describes the way to Chamber thus, "Close to the crest of the pass is a narrow gully, called Nana Ghatachi *nali* or the Nanaghat cutting. Though the cleft looks natural, it seems probable that the passage was cut, and that the rocks have weathered into what seem natural cliffs. Before entering this passage, on the right, a broken seldom-used flight of rock-cut steps, leads to a rock-cut chamber. The front of the chamber is open, but it seems once to have had a wood-work facing as there are holes in the floor, probably for wooden pillars. A rock-cut bench runs along the right and left walls, and, in a recess which fills almost the whole of the back wall, are traces of nine life-sized standing figures, and above each figure an inscription, in letters of about a century before Christ, recording its name. Beginning from near the left end of the wall, the feet alone of the first statue are left with traces of a body, which apparently wore a hanging waistband..." Then come the figures of queen Nayanika and king Satakarni. Only their feet have survived. Fourth statue is that of prince Bhaya(a) whose feet and the end of the waistcloth have survived.

Bhagwanlal says "The fifth and sixth statues stood side by side, but except the feet of the sixth nothing remains; even the inscription above is lost. Perhaps they were statues of king Vedishri, by whom the chamber is believed to have been made, and his brother Simita, or perhaps Vedishri's wife." Moreover, "A certain roughness in the wall is the only trace of the ninth statue. The inscription above records that it was a statue of prince "Satavahana. Besides the names of the statues, there is an inscription of ten long lines engraved on both sides of the chamber..."<sup>91</sup> According to Bhagwanlal it is the oldest of Western India inscriptions, next to Asoka's Girnar and Sopara edicts, as well as the oldest known Brahmanical inscription in the whole of India.

### Toll-Tax Jar

We continue description of Nanaghat by Bhagwanlal. "Outside the chamber and on a level with it, are five cisterns and, on a higher level than the chamber,

as well as on the other side of the road, are other small broken chambers. At the east end of the gorge or cutting, on the right, is a small cave and cistern. In the cave is placed a late image of Ganesh marked with red lead; on the left is a seat of dressed stone with a large oval jar in front of it. This jar is made of two stones joined together and a square lid lies by the side. In the lid is a hole or slit which might allow of something being dropped into the jar without opening the lid. There is nothing to show the age, but the cornered sculpture of the lid seems to be older than the Silaharas. It is not now used, nor is there anything to show how it was formerly used, but the people's name for it, *jakatichi ranjan*, that is the toll jar, seems to show that travellers dropped a toll or duty through the slit in the lid."<sup>92</sup> Then he describes the old road from Konkan to Shingaru plateau which came from the south by the village of Pulu Sonala, and describes another toll-jar, square instead of round.

We receive the complete picture of Naneghat from the *Thana Gazetteer* XIV, *Poona Gazetteer* XVIII (III) as well as from *Nasik Gazetteer* XVI. *Thana* and *Poona gazetteers* also described various approaches to Nanaghat and Pulu Sonala. All these texts were the work of Bhagwanlal. D.D.Kosambi has mentioned that "for field work, preliminary knowledge was gained from the old Bombay Presidency Gazetteer (Particularly vol. 18, pt. 3)."<sup>93</sup>

## Conclusion

It seems that no other contemporary of Bhagwanlal has written on Nanaghat,<sup>94</sup> as we find there are only 3 references of Nanaghat in *Cave Temples of India*. *ASWI-IV* and *V* do not carry any descriptive material on Nanaghat. Bhagwanlal was the first scholar to throw light upon Nanaghat and to show the importance of inscriptions. Vedisiri, Siri Satakarni, Nayanika, Prince Bhayala, Prince Hakusiri and Prince Satavahana became known only after they were mentioned in his 1876 and 1877 papers. In *Thana Gazetteer* (1882), Bhagwanlal rectified and discussed Satavahanas. While in *Nasik Gazetteer* (1883), he has elaborated further the history of Satavahanas as well as early Kshatrapas and Kharavela of Orissa. This is his pioneering contribution to the history of Deccan before Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar wrote his *Early History of Deccan*.

Buehler in his tribute said, "Pandit Bhagwanlal's researches have also in other respects materially advanced our knowledge of the history of the Andhras. He first recognized the value of Nanaghat inscriptions and did much for their interpretations and for that of the Pandu Lena inscriptions. He discovered two new kings of this dynasty, Madhariputa-Sakasena and Vasithiputa-Chaturpana."<sup>95</sup>

Buehler also wrote on other discoveries made by Bhagwanlal which includes

"... his discovery explains the true meaning of another ancient inscription, Kanheri No. 11 (West), (which unfortunately is badly mutilated,) and allows us to determine what the near relationship between Rudradaman and the lord of Dekhan Satakarni was, of which the Junagadh inscription speaks. Kanheri No. 11 runs, according to Pandit Bhagwanlal's facsimile, 'Of the queen of... Vasishthiputra Satakani descended from the race of Kardamaka kings (and) the daughter of the great Kshatrapa Ru... of the confidential minister Sateraka, a water cistern, the meritorious gift.'"<sup>96</sup> He adds further that "It is in great part due to Pandit Bhagwanlal's discoveries that we can recognize Rudradaman as the contemporary of one of the two Andhras mentioned..."<sup>97</sup> Further he proved with his Hathigumpha inscription that Kharavela of Kalinga was a contemporary of Satakarni.<sup>98</sup>

Surprisingly, such major contributions remained unnoticed by scholars and such a neglect is a major loss to our understanding of Bhagwanlal's scholarship. This article has attempted to address the re-statement and re-evaluation of Bhagwanlal's role to show that he was one of the outstanding pioneers in the political, cultural and art historical as well as in the archeological studies in India, combining traditional and modern scholarship as also academic and field practice. The broad range and scope of his research interests and activities embody the unity and synergy of archaeological, cultural and historical studies which was rare in the 19th century.

## Notes and References

1. In 1865 Indian Railway mileage was 3363 miles, in 1869 it was 4255 miles, in 1871 mileage was 5074 miles and in 1875 it reached to 6541 miles.
2. Alexander Cunningham was appointed on a salary of Rs. 2,000 per month; with additional travelling allowances. In addition he had two assistants, one draftsman, two measurers. Whereas during 1871-72 and 1873-74 tours Bhagwanlal was to receive rupees two hundred per month as the Pundit of Bhau Daji, from Junagadh Durbar.
3. J. D. Beglar, Assistant of Cunningham was also a photographer. He started his field work in 1871-72 season. Bhagwanlal started photography much earlier than 1870. The extract of Bhau Daji's letter to Nawab of Junagadh for a monthly grant to his "Pandit" says that Bhagwanlal was also a photographer.
4. V. Dharamsey, "Bhagwanlal Indrajit and the Beginning of Indian Archaeology", 2004, p. 90 in *Archaeology as History in Early South Asia*. Ed, Himanshu Prabha Ray and Carla M. Sinopoli.
5. Ajay Mitra Shastri mentions in his *The Satavahanas and the Western Kshatrapas*, 1998, p. 113, that "*JBBRAS*, XIII, as this volume is not accessible to us, we have depended on the summary of his views given by Buehler *ASWI*, V, p. 174." He again refers on p. 115 that *Nasik Dist. Gazetteer* p. 607 ff., cited by A. S. Altekar in *Maharashtra State Gazetteer*, History I, p. 62, "Most of the scholars said that they are not aware of the varied contributions of Bhagwanlal."

6. R. N. Cust (1821-1909) was the linguist and author of *Linguistic and Oriental Essays* in 6 volumes. He played a part promoting Linguistic Survey of India. He was Hon. Secretary of Royal Asiatic Society, London, for 20 years.
7. R. N. Cust, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (JRAS)*, London 1892, p. 148.
8. Burgess, *Journal of Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (JBBRAS)*, 1905, p. 132.
9. Upinder Singh has mentioned in *The Discovery of Ancient India, Early Archaeologists and the Beginnings of Archaeology*, 2004, p. 314, "Burgess said he often gave a share of the work translating inscriptions to scholars such as R. G. Bhandarkar and Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji."
10. Bhagwanlal, "The Baudha Mythology of Nepal, Appendix A", In *Notes on the Baudha Rock-Temples of Ajanta*, by Burgess 1879, p. 97.
11. Burgess, *Ajanta Notes*, 1879, Foot-note, Appendix A on p. 97. In addition, Bhagwanlal also prepared the facsimiles of the Ajanta inscriptions and new transcript of Inscription from Cintra.
12. Fergusson and Burgess, *The Cave Temples of India*, 1880, p. 177, p. 357 (Nepal references), p. 522 (Bodha Gaya, Surya). Also refer f. n. 71. Any how Burgess in his text has mentioned Bhagwanlal twice, first time p. 247 for Sailarwadi inscription and data and second reference p. 265 where Burgess has written "We are consequently almost wholly dependent on the inscriptions, and they are few in number, and have not been examined with the care requisite for reliable results being obtained from them. Now, however, that such scholars as Buehler, Burnell, Fleet and Bhagwanlal Indraji are available for their investigation, it seems most desirable that they should all be recopied in facsimile, so as to admit of comparison and translation. If this were done it is probably that all the difficulties that now perplex the subject would disappear." (While in 1873 *Indian Antiquary (IA)*, 2, p. 183, Burgess has named "Mr. Norris, Professor Dowson, Mr. Thomas, Mr. Bayley, Dr. Bhau Daji, and Babu Rajendralal Mitra as most diligent and successful decipherers.) Burgess was to keep Fergusson informed on the progress of work on Cave Temples from time to time may have references of Bhagwanlal (as the *Inscriptions from the Cave-Temples of Western India (ICTWI)* was to be published in 1881) but seems to be avoided by Fergusson in his preface and in appendix of *The Cave Temples of India*.
13. All these sites are discussed in *Report on the Buddhist Cave Temples and their Inscriptions, being part of the fourth, fifth and sixth seasons' operations of the Archaeological Survey of Western India, 1876-77, 1877-78, 1878-79, volume fourth*, 1883. Bhagwanlal has worked in these sites for ASWI in Dec. 1879-1880 season. This requires no further comments.
14. Fergusson and Burgess, *The Cave Temples of India*, 1880, xviii pp. 516-518. Burgess-Bhagwanlal, *ICTWI*, 1881, Burgess, *ASWI*, IV. V. See for comparative study of Burgess and Bhagwanlal text on Nasik and Junnar in this paper. For further discussion on Burgess and Bhagwanlal, see my forthcoming work *Bhagwanlal Indraji - First Indian Archaeologist and his Period*.



15. Bhagwanlal, "Antiquarian Remains at Sopara and Padana" *JBBRAS*, 15, p. ff. 273-317.
16. *Bombay Gazetteer (BG), Nasik*, Vol. XVI, 1883, pp. 539-540, Also Sankalia and Deo, *Report on the Excavations at Nasik and Jorwe.*, 1955, p. 4, "The region near Govardhan, a village about 6 miles west of Nasik, was carefully surveyed by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indrajai. He succeeded in laying bare what appears to be a pre-historic (?) urn burial within a stone circle, covered by an earthen mound, about 26 feet in height."
17. J. M. Campbell, in his preface dated August 1883 to *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency; Nasik*, vol. XVI, writes, "The learned and interesting account of the Pandu Lena Caves is contributed by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indrajai. Also in the main text of "Pandu Lena Caves" on p. 541 mentions, "Contributed by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indrajai."
18. Campbell, *Bombay Gazetteer (BG)*, Poona Vol. XVIII, (iii), 1885, "Junnar Buddhist Caves", pp. 163-224, "The Cave accounts are contributed by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajai."
19. The above account also includes Nanaghat. With additional reprint from Bhagwanlal's account of *Thana Gazetteer XIV*, 1882, pp. 286-287, 290-291.
20. B. V. Shetti, "Some Memorial Stones in Bombay," *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bombay (JASBMY)*, 1986, pp. 307-09. Text of Eksar memorial stones based on Bhagwanlal's text, *Thana Places of Interest, BG*, XIV, pp. 57-59. Author has credited *BG*, XIV in references f.n.12. This article was published in Dr. Bhagwanlal Memorial Volume, ed. Devangana Desai.
21. Campbell, *Thana Places of Interest. BG*, XIV, 1882, p. 164.
22. *Ibid*, p. 286. Nanaghat "Contributed by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indrajai."
23. S. N. Nagaraju, *Buddhist Architecture of Western India*, 1981, p. 7. Notes & References, 8.
24. Burgess, *The Rock-Temples of Elephanta*, 1871, pp. 37-38.
25. Bhagwanlal, *Thana Places of Interest, BG-XIV*, 1882, p. 74.
26. H. Shastri, *A Guide to Elephanta*, p. 24.
27. Burgess, *The Rock-Temples of Elephanta*, 1871, pp. 45-46.
28. Bhagwanlal, *Thana Places of Interest, BG-XIV*, 1882, p. 79.
29. Burgess, *The Rock-Temples of Elephanta*, 1871, p. 22.
30. *Ibid*, 1871, p. 12.
31. Bhagwanlal, *Thana Places of Interest, BG-XIV*, 1882, pp. 63-64.
32. H. Shastri, *A Guide to Elephanta*, 1978, p. 33.
33. C. Berkson, *Elephanta*, 1983, p. 41. See plates, 12 (Matrika panel), 14 (Karttikeya), 34 & 35 (Varuna on the Makara), 37 (Karttikeya... (text printed under plate 36), confirm Bhagwanlal's identifications/rectifications.

34. Burgess, *ASWI-V*, 1883, which carries Nanaghat and Kanheri inscriptions facsimiles by Bhagwanlal, Plate, LI.
35. *Thana Places of Interest*, *BG*, XIV, 1882, p. 164.
36. *Ibid*, pp. 146-48.
37. Author could not make out on what ground Dr. Gokhale mentioned the name of Burgess as the scholar who read the inscriptions. In *Report on the Elura Cave Temples and Their Inscriptions (ASWI V)*, 1883, Burgess has mentioned in his preface, "The Inscriptions from Kanheri Caves contained in this volume belong rather to the preceding one; but the first arrangements made for their translation having failed, they were delayed, and finally undertaken by Dr. G. Buehler, C.I.E., of Vienna, whose able versions will be valued by scholars." *ASWI, V*, 1883, Chapter XII, Inscriptions, p. 59ff. is contributed by Buehler.
38. Lueders, *Epigraphia Indica X.*, 1912, pp. 101-09. In his list of Brahmi inscriptions has mentioned nineteen Kanheri inscriptions as unread.
39. S. Gokhale, *Kanheri Inscriptions*, 1991, p. 2. E. W. West was the senior contemporary of Bhagwanlal, who published eye-copies of 60 inscriptions in *JBBRAS*, 6, 1862. In the same year Bhagwanlal visited Kanheri and took facsimiles for Dr. Bhau Daji which includes the inscriptions of cave 75 and 101. Lueders' No, 1003 and 1011, West no, 21 and 29.
40. Bhagwanlal, *Thana Places of Interest, BG XIV*, 1882, p. 179. Dr. Gokhale's translation of this inscription, *Kanheri Inscriptions*, 1991, p. 98. "Success ! Lavanika the wife of Upasaka sethi Achala resident of Kalyana, made a meritorious donation of a cave, cistern, and tank for bath, for the welfare of all the family members. At Kalyana, for the monks residing at Ambalikavihara, made a permanent donation of three hundred karsapanas for the distribution of old clothes (Chivarikas) in the honour of her parents and for the welfare of all living beings." Then she discusses the inscription in detail.
41. E. W. West, "Copies of Inscriptions from the Buddhist Cave-Temples of Kanheri" *JBBRAS*, 6, 1862, p. 7.
42. V. Dehejia, *Early Buddhist Rock Temples*, 1972, p. 75.
43. Bhagwanlal, "Pandur Lena, Nasik Caves", *BG XVI*, 1883, p. 541ff.
44. Nagaraju, *Buddhist Architecture of Western India*, 1981, p. 258. In his Nasik Notes and References 1, p. 306, Nagaraju refers "*BG Nasik Dist (1883)*, p. 607."
45. Nagaraju, *Buddhist Architecture of Western India*, 1981, p. 64, Notes & References, 2. "...In the same year (1883) R. G. Bhandarkar also made a limited attempt to the study of the paleography of the inscriptions at Nasik (*BG XVI*, p. 607)." See Bhagwanlal, *BG XVI*, pp. 607-10.
46. M. K. Dhavalikar, "Nasik - A Yavan Centre", *JASBMY*, 1986, p. 160.
47. Bhagwanlal, *BG XVI*, 1883, p. 545.
48. *Ibid*, pp. 548-49.

49. Dhavalikar, *JASBMY*, 1986, p. 164.
50. Bhagwanlal, *BG XVI*, 1883, pp. 584-88.
51. *Ibid*, 585. Dhavalikar, 1986, p. 167. "A careful examination of the back wall of the vestibule and the unfinished shrine chamber suggests that they wanted to have a flight of steps."
52. Bhagwanlal, *Ibid*, p. 586. Dhavalikar, *Ibid*, p. 165 "It is likely that there would have been four corresponding cells on this side too, but they could not be excavated because there was no room; they would have destroyed the right wall of the Chaitya Cave 18 on the left."
53. Bhagwanlal, *BG, XVI*, 1883, p. 586.
54. *Ibid*, p. 588.
55. *Ibid*, p. 605.
56. Fergusson and Burgess, *The Cave Temples of India*, 1880, p. 274.
57. Bhagwanlal, *BG, XVI*, 1883, p. 591.
58. Nagaraju, *Buddhist Architecture of Western India*, 1981, p. 272, 307, f.n. 191.
59. Bhagwanlal, *BG, XVI*, 1883, p. 594.
60. Nagaraju, *Buddhist Architecture of Western India*, 1981, p. 307.
61. E. Senart, "The Inscriptions in the Caves at Nasik", *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VIII, 1905, p. 62.
62. Buehler's reading, p. 100 in Burgess, *Report on the Buddhist Cave Temples and their Inscriptions (ASWI, IV)*, 1883.
63. Hoernle, "Revised Translations of Two Kshatrapa Inscriptions", *Indian Antiquary*, XII, 1883, p. 27. Hoernle receives the same impression from Burgess used by Buehler and Bhagwanlal. While Bhandarkar replying to Hoernle in "On Hoernle's version of Nasik Inscription and the Gatha Dialect" *IA, XII*, 1883, p. 146, does not accept the reading *naligera* (coconut) and confirm his old reading 'and gave capital worth a thousand for thirty-two Nadhigeras.'
64. Bhagwanlal, "Pandu Lena Caves, Nasik", *BG, XVI*, 1883, p. 571.
65. E. Senart, *Epigraphia Indica*, VIII, 1905, p. 79.
66. *Ibid*, p. 59.
67. Nagaraju, *Buddhist Architecture of Western India*, 1981, p. 306 f.n.3. Nagaraju also mentions about Junnar, Manmodi group, *Ibid*, pp. 299-300, f.n. 15. that "The system of numbering the caves by previous workers varies. While Fergusson and Burgess (1880) do not mention numbers, Burgess (1883) gives numbers to the caves... starting from the westernmost cave of the Bhutling group he ends with the south-easternmost cave of the Bhimashankar group. Bhagwanlal Indrajai (*BG*) has adopted the reverse order. Recently the Archaeological Survey of India has allotted numbers to the caves in the same order as that of Indrajai, but the numbering of the individual caves differs."

68. Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, 1910 (Revised and Edited by James Burgess, Vol. I, p. 183. f.n.1.
69. Dr. J. Wilson in his "Memoir on the Cave-Temples", *JBBRAS*, 3, p. 62.
70. As Burgess in the *Junnar Memorandum*, 1874, and 1877, noted about Bhau Daji's Pandit copied the inscriptions before him. But he could not remember the name of Bhagwanlal at the time of writing *Memorandum*. Photographs were taken by Bhagwanlal.
71. Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, 1876, pp. 166-167.
72. Burgess, "Memorandum on the Buddhist Caves at Junnar", *IA*, 1877, pp. 33-39. Kern, "The Inscriptions of Junnar", *IA*, 1877, pp. 39-41. Burgess gives details of 12 inscriptions out of which six were translated by Kern while 2 inscriptions Burgess reproduced Prinsep's reading, one with suggested correction as under: "*Dhammika seniyasata gabham udhi cha dayadharmam*". "The hundred caves and the tank of Dharmika Seni - his act of piety and compassion. But for *udhi* we should surely read *pali*" (*IA*, 1877, p. 34). Bhagwanlal reads in *ICTWI*, 1881, p. 94, "Dhamnikaseniya satagabham podhi cha deyadhama" The meritorious gift of a seven-celled (cave) and cistern by the guild of corn-dealers.
73. Burgess and Bhagwanlal, *ICTWI*, 1881, p. 41.
74. Burgess in *Cave temples of India*, 1880, p. 248 mentions, this ancient city was probably Tagara of the Greek writers. This is one of the examples of several such conclusions of Bhagwanlal which had been included, without acknowledging Bhagwanlal. Bhagwanlal was the first to suggest Junnar as Tagara in 1877 in a detailed argument, *JBBRAS*, 13, pp. 8-9. Nagaraju, *Buddhist Architecture in Western India*, 1981, Notes and References, p. 299, 3 has credited Fergusson and Burgess, 1880, p. 249 as first identifier of Junnar as Tagara. Tagara has been identified first by Francis Wilford with Devagiri or Daultabad in 1787. Burgess has mentioned *IA*, 1877, p. 75, f.n., and *ASWI-III*, 1878, p. 55 that Tagara may be traced over a wide area, on the plateau to the south of Rozah, about four miles from Daultabad (formerly Devagiri) and not far from the cave temples of Ellora. Now Tagara is identified with Ter.
75. Bhagwanlal, *BG. Poona*, XVIII (iii) 1885, p. 163. Burgess in his introductory chapter in *Cave Temples of India* 1880, p. 168 mentions Junnar has no less than 120 caves while in his main text he mentions "Round this old city in various directions are Buddhist caves nearly equally distributed in five different localities, making altogether 157 separate excavations." While Prof. Dhavalikar in his *Satavahana Art*, 2004, p. 32 has mentioned that "Junnar was the largest in the early centuries of the Christian era if the number of rock-cut caves totalling 184 is any indication." Nagaraju mentions about 252 in all includes the minor ones too. *Buddhist Architecture*, 1981, p. 133.
76. Bhagwanlal, "Junnar Buddhist Caves" (including Nanaghat and Junnar Trips), *BG*, XVIII (iii), 1885, pp. 204-205. He mentions in his f.n. 1, "The hill takes its name from a modern figure of the goddess Tulja in Cave III." This cave is now no. 4.

77. Bhagwanlal, Junnar, *BG XVIII* (iii) 1885, p. 202. Tulja 2 is now numbered 3.
78. *Ibid*, 203. Present cave no. 12.
79. Nagaraju in his *Buddhist Architecture of Western India*, 1981, p. 299 f.n. 10 mentions "At the time of Bhagwanlal Indrajī's visit (c. 1885) as recorded in *BG XVIII* (iii) a stretch of railing pattern still existed at the base of the decorative frieze. Above this 'lattice work' there was 'a small pentagonal symbol.' These are not extant now."
80. Bhagwanlal, Junnar, *BG, XVIII* (iii), 1885, p. 181. Present cave no. 45.
81. Dhavalikar, *Satavahana Art*, 2004, p. 33, describes thus, "On the right of this arch is a Bodhi tree crowned by a *Chhatra* and garlands are shown hanging from its branches, while on the other side is an unfinished *triratna* and on either side are two human figures carved in bold relief. Of these, that on the left seems to be the anthropomorphic representation of *garuda* (suparna, the celestial bird) and on the right is a five hooded cobra. The eagle and cobra are born enemies but are co-existing here in the presence of the 'Enlightened One.' Present Cave no. 40.
82. *Ibid*, p. 183. Burgess describes this cave in *Cave Temples*, 1880, p. 259 as under, "On each side the finial is a male figure, that on the left holds a *chauri* and has wings, and some animal's head above his jaunty turban; the other holds some object in his right hand, and behind each shoulder are two snake-heads with their tongues hanging out. Right and left of these are dagobas in high relief, but roughly formed; and on the right of the arch is a tree with objects hanging on it, but it has never been quite finished, parts being only outlined."
83. Bhagwanlal, *ibid*, p. 209. Bhagwanlal had visited Nepal in 1873 and stayed for a long period.
84. Bhagwanlal, "Ancient Nagari Numerations", *JBBRAS*, 1876, vol. 12, p. 405.
85. *Ibid*, p. 404.
86. *Ibid*, p. 405.
87. Bhagwanlal, "Coins of Andhrabharitya Kings", *JBBRAS*, 13, 1877, pp. 311-312.
88. Burgess, *ASWI-V*, 1883, pp. 67-68.
89. V. V. Mirashi, *The History of the Satavahans and the Western Kshatrapas*, 1981, pp. 24-25.
90. Bhagwanlal, *BG*, XIV, 1882, pp. 289-90. For further discussion by Bhagwanlal, *BG*, XVI, 1883, pp. 611-614.
91. Bhagwanlal, *BG*, XIV, 1882, p. 288.
92. *Ibid*, p. 290. Also *BG*, XVIII (iii) 1885, p. 219, p. 223.
93. D. D. Kosambi, *On History and Society*, 1989, p. 219, Notes & References.
94. Col. Sykes visited Joonar (Junnar) as well Naneghat. He published "Inscriptions from the Boodh Caves, near Joonur" in *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, IV, pp. 287-91. There he published 13 facsimiles which included no. 4 & 5

of Nanaghat inscriptions. Later Prinsep had published 6 transliterations and translations of Joonar in *The Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 6, pp. 1042-45 and no. 4 of Nanaghat inscription in *The Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 7, pp. 565-67. John Wilson has published in his first Memoir on the Cave Temples, *JBBRAS*, 3 (ii), pp. 62-64 on Junir and Nanaghat as communicated by Dr. Gibson. Dr. Stevenson also made some remarks on Nanaghat inscriptions in *JBBRAS*, V, pp. 174-75. Prinsep and Stevenson were not able to do any justice and made things more confused.

95. Buehler, "Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji" *IA*, XVIII, 1888, p. 295.
96. Buehler, "On the Relationship between Andhras and the Western Kshatrapas", *IA*, XII, 1883, pp. 272-274.
97. *Ibid*, p. 274.
98. Bhagwanlal, "The Hathigumpa and three other Inscriptions", *Acts du Sixieme Congress International*, Leiden, 1885, p. 146. *BG*, XVI, 1883, pp. 613-14. Buehler, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II, 1894, p. 88.

### **Acknowledgements**

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## Sculptural Depiction on the Pillars of the Śiva Temple, Ambarnath

Kumud Kanitkar

The town of Ambarnath is located about 4 miles S.E. of Kalyan, in Thane district of Maharashtra. The medieval temple of Śiva at Ambarnath is considered the oldest dated *Bhūmija* temple in Maharashtra.<sup>1</sup> An inscription found above the door lintel of the north porch of the temple at Ambarnath indicates that the temple, started by the Śilāhāra ruler of North Konkan, Chittarāja, was completed in CE 1060 by his younger brother Mummuni, a feudatory of the Cālukyas of Kalyānī. It is stellate in plan. It has a sanctum sanctorum (*garbhagrha*), a vestibule (*antarāla*) and a hall (*maṇḍapa*). The small but beautifully designed and carved hall consists of a *raṅgamaṇḍapa*, the same size as the *garbhagrha*<sup>2</sup> and three *mukhamaṇḍapas* leading to porches on north, west and south sides (the temple is west facing).

There are ten free standing pillars in the temple, four in the centre of the hall supporting the main domed ceiling and two in each porch. Additionally, each porch and each lobby inside the hall has a pair of three fourths detached pillars and a pair of half pilasters. Each set of pillars or pilasters is distinctive in its own way, with different shaped mouldings, bearing figures of deities and *kīcaka* figures with a variety of features and postures. Erotica is mostly limited to the porch pillars.

The four central pillars in the hall are special enough to warrant a detailed study and description. They are richly carved, support the central dome of the hall and are excellent examples of the art of miniature sculpting and testify to the skill of the sculptors and the detailed planning of the architect.<sup>3</sup> Each pillar bears a *kīrtimukha* band which is distinctly different from that appearing on the other three pillars. This may have been a method of identifying the pillar while the sculptors were at work. Each pillar bears more than 32 panels of carving, hence such distinction must have been necessary to ascertain that the sculptors followed the precise plan drawn up for each pillar by the architect.

In order to avoid ambiguity, Figure 1 shows the different sections of the pillar and the labelling method used. The four free standing pillars are identified by their position in the hall, clockwise, as north-west (NW), north-east (NE), south-east (SE) and south-west (SW). The faces of each pillar are again

Different sections of the pillar

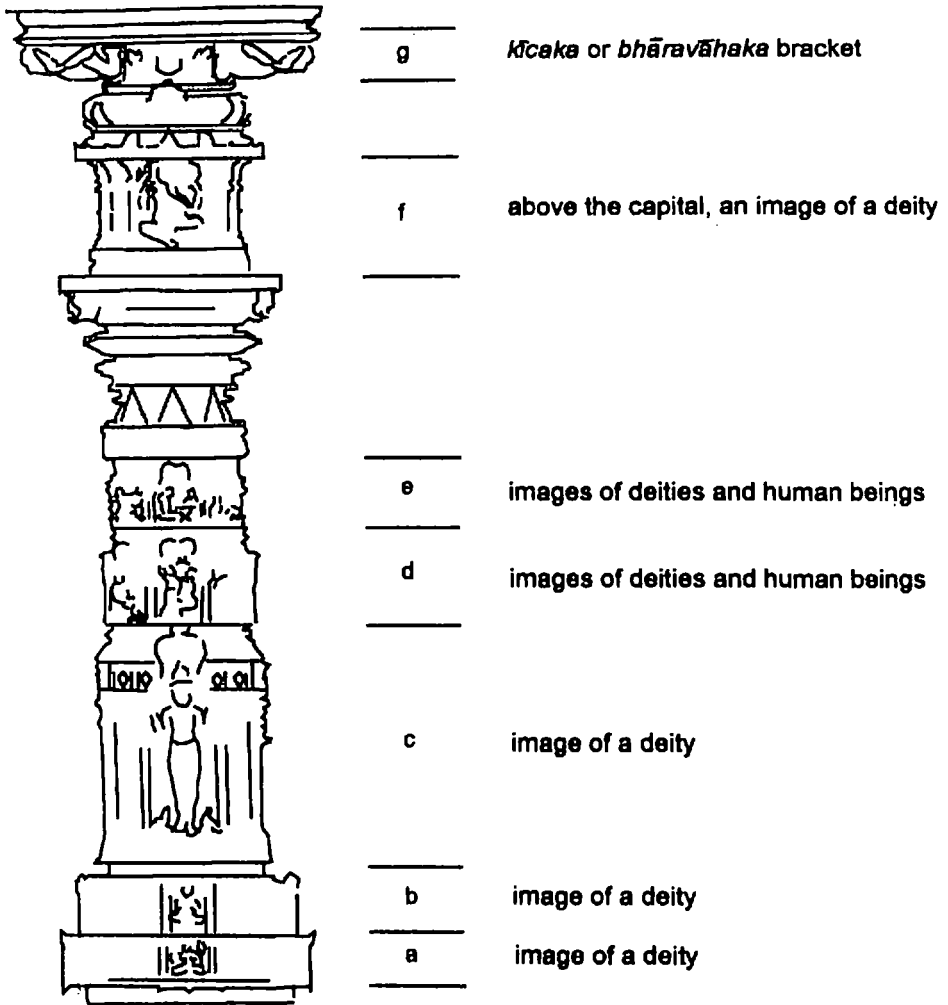


Fig. 1 : Different sections of the pillar and the labelling used



labelled in the same manner.

Vertically, each pillar face is divided into six sections bearing images, each image between miniature pilasters and *toranas*, starting with 'a' as the lowest section as shown in Figure 1. Thus a panel labelled SW-NE-d would refer to the southwest pillar's northeast face at level 'd'. ('d' and 'e' are on the octagonal part of the pillar and hence carry eight images each; levels 'a' and 'b' have lost much of the detail and hence have not been included in the following discussion.)

The sculptures on the pillars of this *nirandhāra* temple were not just decorative. They were there for more than visual recognition of identity and appreciation of workmanship. Their purpose here is to be an instrument of concentration on the deity. The pillars and carvings were meant to be a part of the '*abhigamana*' (entry), with speech, mind and body centered on the divinity.<sup>4</sup> The devotee, who chose to spend time inside the hall, was seeking communion with God. The different aspects of Śiva depicted on the four faced pillars would be at the eye level of a devotee sitting in meditation in the hall.

The *sthapati* may have designed an ingenious and gradual morphing of the formless (in the *garbhagrha*) into formed entity (on the *Jaṅghā*) through the intermediate depictions in the central area of the hall (*mandapa*).<sup>5</sup>

The central domed ceiling, combined with the area demarcated by the central pillars can be visualized as a virtual *mukhalinga* (Figure 2, outlined by dotted line).<sup>6</sup> In the artistic, philosophical and mystical ways of depicting a *mukhalinga*, the central pillar, the *mūla-stambha*, rises with the face of Sadyojāta. At Ambarnath, the west faces of the pillars (NW and SW) seem to serve this function. The two images on either side that confront a devotee entering the hall consist of a three faced Maheśa on the left (NW-W-c) and Brahmā, on the right (SW-W-c). In the *Śatarudrasaṃhitā* of *Śiva Purāṇa*, Brahmā, as Sadyojāta, is considered a form of Śiva<sup>7</sup> which can explain the sculpture of Brahmā here.<sup>8</sup> By contrast, Brahmā as a deity, is depicted on the same pillar (SW-SW-e) in a very different size and posture, with folded hands to acknowledge the superiority of Śiva (Pl. III, B).

In a *caturmukha liṅga*, according to *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*, the four aspects of Śiva depicted on four sides are, Mahādeva, the most important, in the front; Umāvaktra on the north, Nandivaktra at the back and Bhairava on the south. The table below shows that this order (*krama*) is followed clockwise, (starting with Maheśa) on the principal face of each pillar except with Caṇḍeśvara in place of Nandikeśvara.

Central domed ceiling combined with the area demarcated by the central pillars visualized as a *Mukhaliṅga*

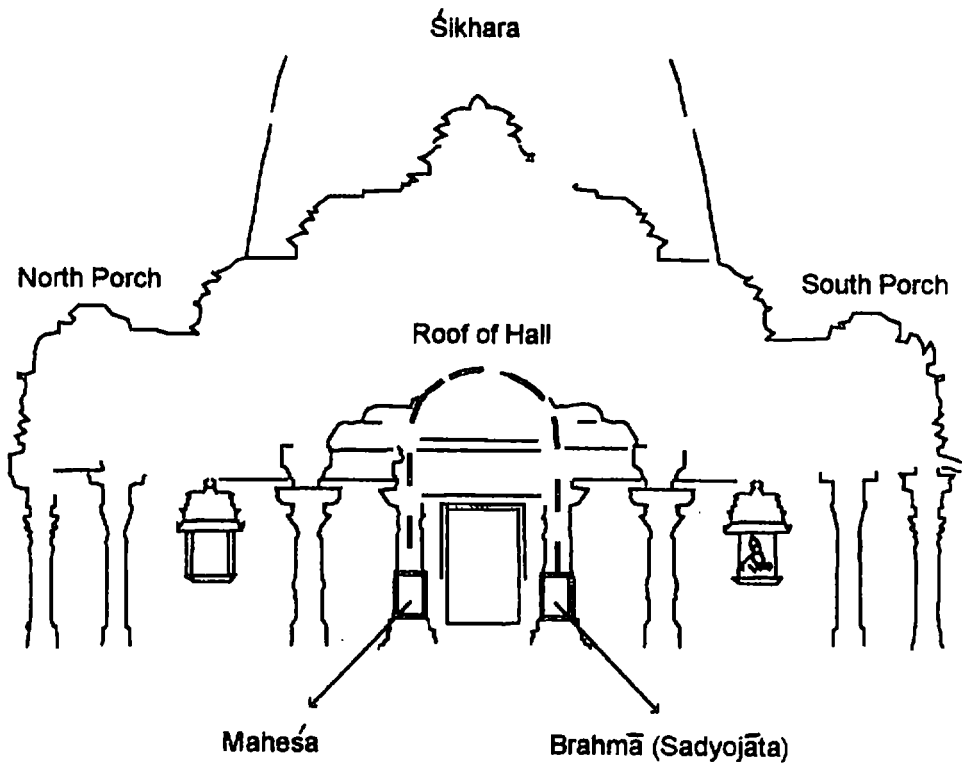


Fig. 2 : Virtual *Mukhaliṅga*

Table 1

	W face	N face	E face	S face
NW Pillar	<b>Maheśa</b>	Naṭeśa	Dakṣiṇāmūrti	Tripurāntaka
NE Pillar	Bhairava /Bhikṣāṭana	<b>Kṣemaṅkarī</b>	Andhakāntaka	Ardhanārīśvara
SE Pillar	Gajāntaka	(Vadhamūrti)	Caṇḍeśvara <sup>9</sup>	Gaṇeśa
SW Pillar	Brahmā	Mahiṣāsoramardīnī	Cāmuṇḍā	<b>Bhairava</b>

It is interesting to note in passing, that on the *ghaṇadvāra*, (“... a door which is no door, no one can enter through it but the deity inside the temple has become manifest on the wall through it...”) <sup>10</sup> the Ambarnath temple has Mahākālī on the north, Hari-Hara-Pitāmaha-Sūrya on the east and Gajāntaka on the south, which may represent *Vāmadeva*, *Tatpuruṣa* and *Aghora* aspects of the *liṅga* within.

Another interesting observation is that there is a correspondence between the figures sculpted on section ‘c’ of the four free standing pillars in the hall (a total of sixteen deities) to those on the outside walls. <sup>11</sup> Table 2 shows the correspondence. This is valuable for identification in one case: the theme on a partially broken panel on the outside (the southeast *karna* of the hall, Pl. III, A) appears undamaged inside (SE-N-c). The image is unusual though, making identification difficult. The image on the pillar shows Śiva, with a *jaṭāmukuta*, holding a person by the hair, bent backwards, a stance very similar to that of Narasiṃha holding Hiranyakaśipu (panel 16 on the *jaṅghā*, ref 1). Śiva holds a shield in the upper left hand and an upraised sword in the upper right. A female, in despair, is seated at his feet on his right; also visible is Nandin (with offerings in front of him) and another small figure. The panel pending identification, is simply listed as *Vadhamūrti* in table 2. (Kāma was killed by Śiva by a mere glance from the third eye and Kāmāntaka is never portrayed with Śiva in such an aggressive stance. However, in this case, with no other plausible identification, it could be Kāmāntaka specially since on the *jaṅghā* too, it occupies an important position, and Kāmāntaka is an important aspect of Śiva and often portrayed on the temple walls.)

Table 2

Position on pillar	Deity depicted at level 'C'	Position on outside wall with number according to ref 1	Deity depicted on wall
NW - W	Maheśamūrti (facing west)	37 east <i>bhadra</i>	Hari-Hara- Pitāmaha-Sūrya (facing east)
- N	Nateśa	68 southwest <i>karna</i> of the <i>maṇḍapa</i>	Nateśa
- E	Dakṣiṇāmūrti ( <i>samapāda</i> ), with seated deer at feet, on either side	20 north face of <i>garbhagrha</i>	<i>viṇādhara</i> Dakṣiṇāmūrti
-S	Tripurāntaka	57c south face of <i>kapilī</i>	Tripurāntaka
NE -W	Bhairava (naked)	35 east face of <i>garbhagrha</i>	Bhairava (Bhikṣātana)
-N	Durgā Kṣemaṅkarī	57b south face of <i>kapilī</i>	Seated female, partially broken
-E	Andhakāntaka	17c north face of <i>kapilī</i>	Andhakāntaka
-S	Ardhanārīśvara	23 west face of <i>garbhagrha</i>	Ardhanārīśvara
SE -W	Gajāntaka	50 south <i>bhadra</i>	Gajāntaka
-N	unidentified <i>vadhamūrti</i>	59 southeast <i>karna</i> of the <i>maṇḍapa</i>	Same <i>vadhamūrti</i> (partially broken)
-E	Caṇḍeśvara		
-S	Gaṇeśa	57 south face of <i>kapilī</i>	Gaṇeśa
SW -W	Brahmā	17b north face of <i>kapilī</i> Brahmā	Brahmā
-N	Mahiśasuramardinī	15 north east <i>karna</i> of the <i>maṇḍapa</i>	Mahiśasuramardinī
-E	Cāmuṇḍā	44 east face of <i>garbhagrha</i>	Cāmuṇḍā
-S	Bhairava	56 southwest <i>karna</i> of the <i>garbhagrha</i>	Bhairava

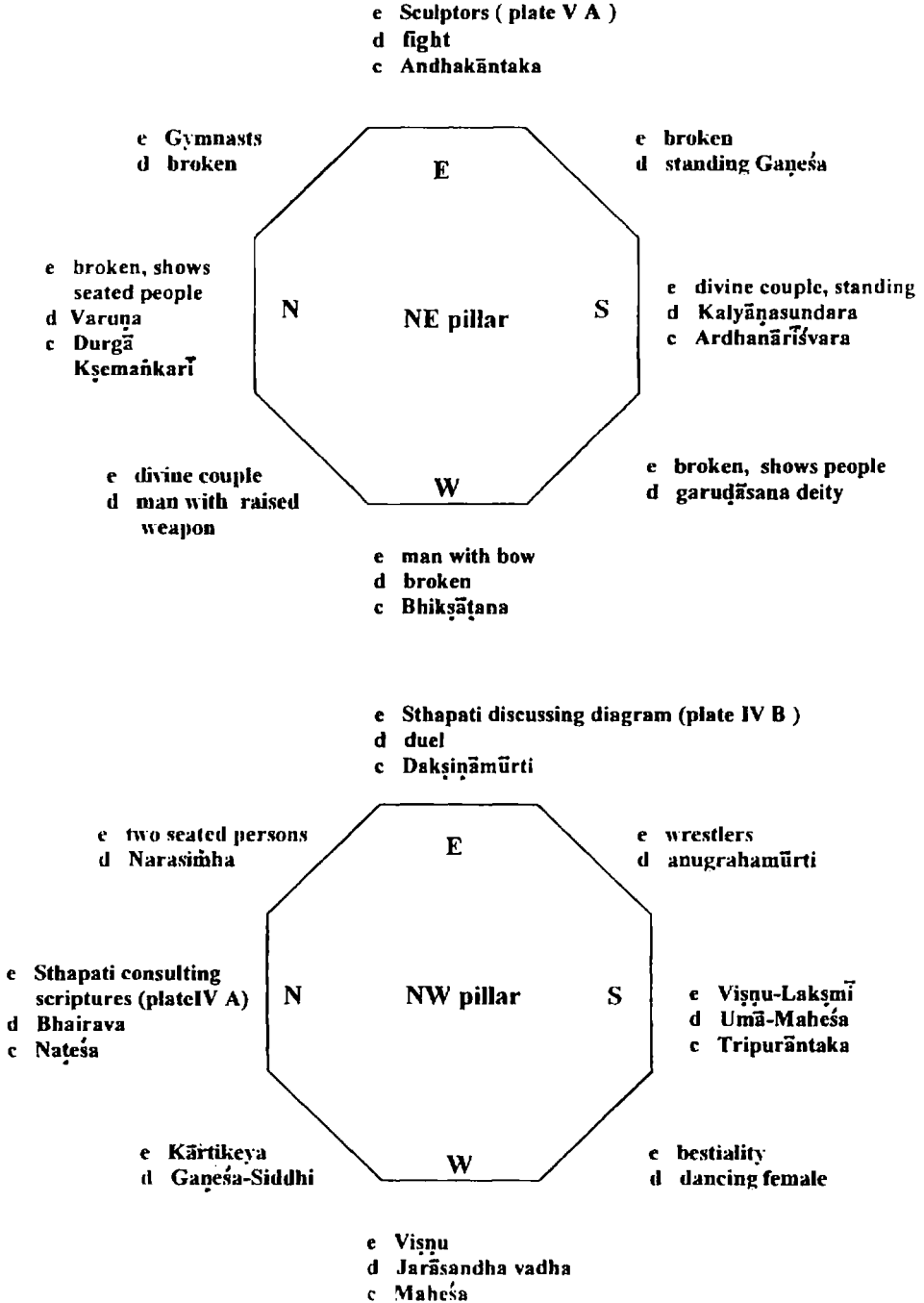


Fig. 3 : Sculptures depicted on the octagonal sections of the central free standing pillars

garbhagrha

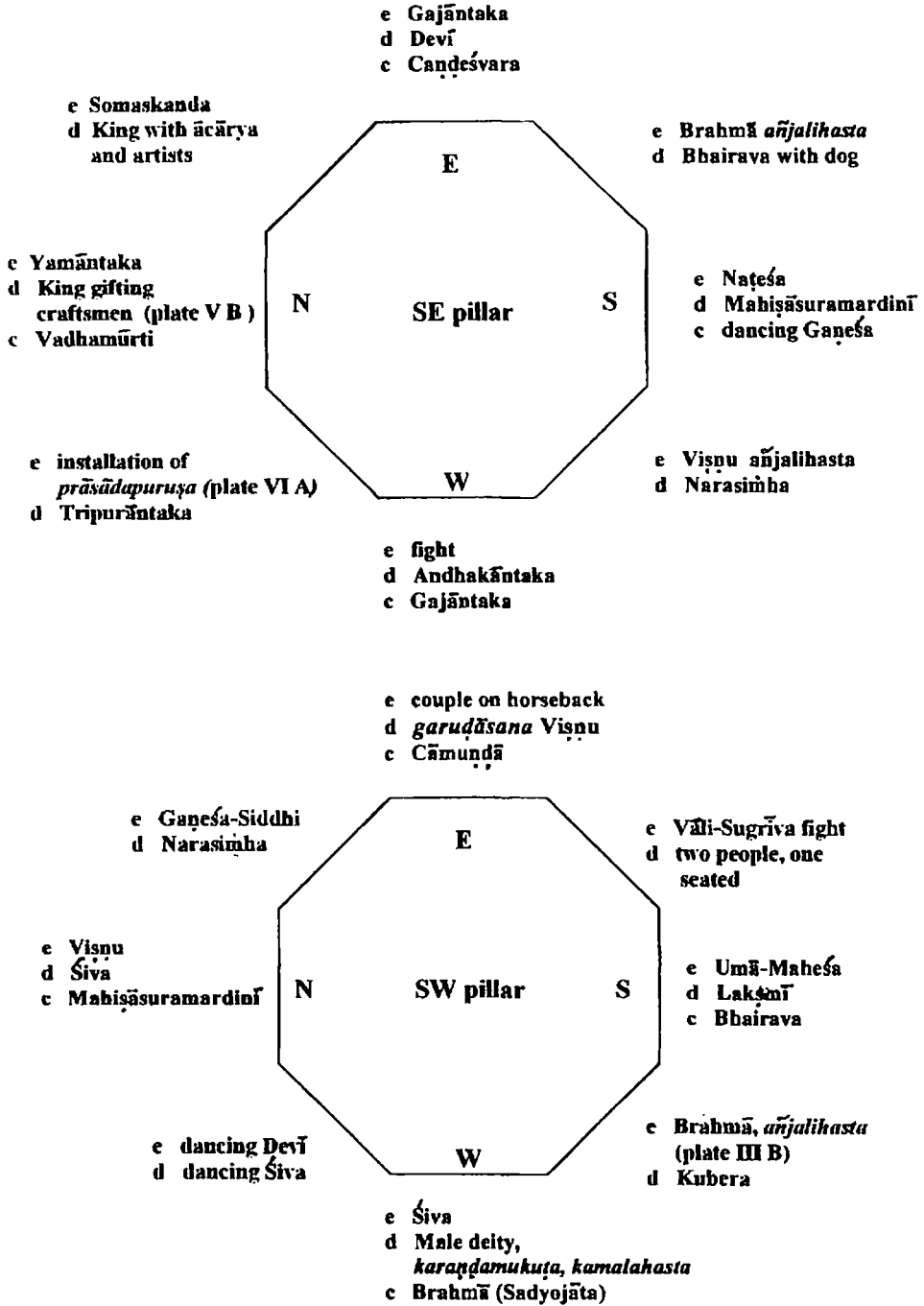


Fig. 4 : Sculptures depicted on the octagonal sections of the central free standing pillars

The penchant for distinctive depictions is also noticeable in the octagonal sections 'd' and 'e' of each pillar (Figures 3 and 4). These are, by far, the most interesting, unusual as well as artistic panels. Majority of them depict gods and goddesses and *dikpālas*. This portion has been used to depict scenes from the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *purāṇas* as also to showcase the artistic skills and conformity to old traditions (depicting bestiality in one panel, a gymnastic pair as a filler<sup>12</sup> in another). Even where the themes are common, the attention to minor details is impressive (Pl. III, B). The delicate trellis work on the seat of Kubera, the benign countenance of Brahmā combined with the designs of the mini *torāṇas* illustrate the creativity and skill of the artisans.

Depiction of deities, principal or subordinate, adheres to the prescribed format; narrative panels, on the other hand, are not so restricted and can reveal subtle sophistication and creativity. A case in point is a depiction of the fight between Bhīma and Jarāsandha; Kṛṣṇa (identifiable by the *cakra* and *gadā*) is shown in the background. In the story, Jarāsandha's body was split into halves and thrown in two directions; the body depicted in the panel does seem as though it is being thrown.

In addition, there seems to be an interesting sequence of events depicted in this section; we can only suggest a plausible reason for their presence here as follows.

The construction of a temple was the combined result of the artists' skill (creativity from within) and the patron's wish (providing the material without). The result was a finished temple. The very function (*vṛata*) of an artist was to create. For an artist, unlike for a craftsman, there was no fixed reward. Money payment was unusual (the artist as creator, was beyond earthly reward) though sometimes gold was given. Payment in kind was the norm, e.g. grant of land/cattle/share of harvest, etc. Although the success of the artist was not necessarily measured in material terms, pride in his work was important to him. This found expression in sculptural depictions which preserved the anonymity of the artists yet complimented the art. Interestingly, in the works of art of the times such as in a temple, creativity and preserving and propagating the culture of the era and locality was only incidental. The main purpose and function was the acquisition of merit on a spiritual plane and this merit belonged to the patron. Perhaps to make the public realize their obligation to the artists and craftsmen involved in temple building and to unobtrusively acknowledge their contribution, these panels were included.<sup>13</sup> Chittarāja, the patron here, is known from literary and epigraphic sources to have had a deep appreciation of art and letters.<sup>14</sup>

A series of panels portray the stages involved in temple building, "...the transmutation of matter into form, vision into concrete shape..."<sup>15</sup> One of the sequences depicted seems to be consulting the sacred books for an auspicious



A. Vadhamūrti (damaged), on the *jarīghā*  
on the south east side of the *mandapa*.



B. Brahmā in *āñjalimudrā*, in the upper register.  
Kubera in the lower register, pillar, SW-SW-e and-d.

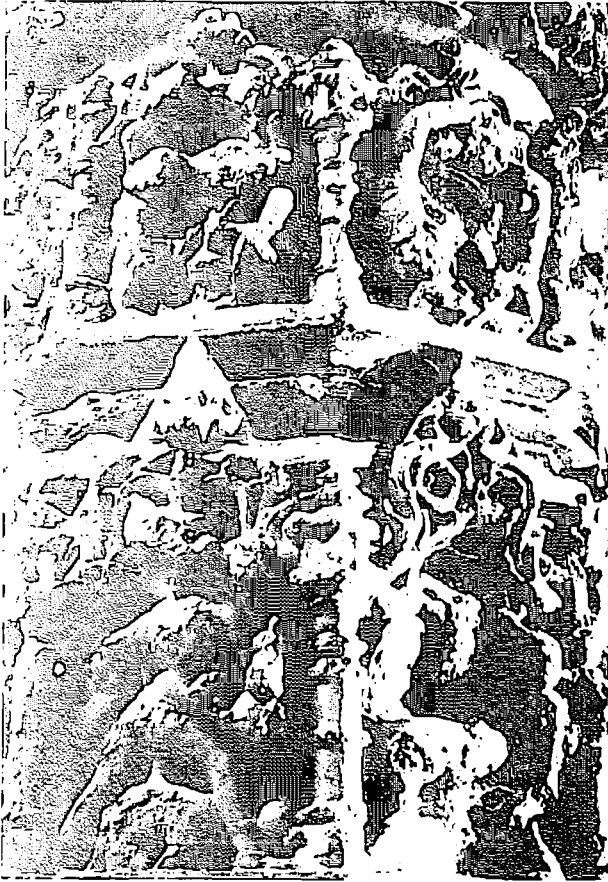




A. Sthapati consulting scriptures. upper row, pillar,  
NW-N-e.



B. Sthapati discussing a diagram, NW-E-e.



A. Sculptors at work, upper row, NE-E-e.



B. King with *ācārya*, giving gifts to artists;  
middle row of the pillar, SE-NE-d, SE-N-d.



A. Prince and a lion on a pillar bracket capital.



B. Possibly the installation of the *Prāsāda-puruṣa*, SE-SW-e.

time (NW-N-e, Pl. IV, A), seeking the *Guru's* blessings, drawing the detailed diagram, (*Vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*). This diagram would have to last at least until the construction continued. It could be chiseled into a stone slab, mounted like a stool and referred to now and then (NW-E-e, Pl. IV, B).

The second sequence includes the sculptors at work with stone and chisel (NE-E-e, Pl. V, A). In the next set, the king in discussion (SE-NE-d) followed by rewarding the craftsmen with generous gifts (SE-N-d, Pl. V, B).

In the last of these panels, a statue can be clearly seen, carried in the arms, by a man crawling, followed by a woman with offerings. It would be difficult to think of any explanation for this scene in a Śiva temple with a *svayambhu liṅga*, other than the following. After the building was consecrated, its effigy in the shape of a golden man, the '*Prāsāda-puruṣa*' was installed in the golden jar, above the *garbhagrha*, above the *śukanāsa*.<sup>16</sup> (SE-NW-e, Figure 5, Pl. VI, B). This ended the part played by the artists as creators and the patron gained the entire merit for building the temple.



Fig. 5 : Installation of the *Prāsāda-puruṣa*

Some details in the picture (Figure 5 based on Pl. VI-B) that give credence to the identification :

- The man holds the statue aloft with seeming ease, which would be difficult if the statue of that size was of stone. The *Prāsāda-puruṣa*, on the other hand would be of gold and likely to be hollow and therefore lighter than stone.
- According to the śilpaśāstra texts *Aparājitapṛcchā*, *Śilparatnākara*, *Rūpamaṇḍana* the statue is to be placed on a bed, which would require a man carrying the statue to kneel, which would explain the man's posture.
- The relative size of the statue can only be approximately estimated; it is supposed to be half *aṅgula* for every *gaja* height of the *prāsāda*, a ratio of roughly 40:1; Ambarnath temple has lost its *śikhara* so the height can only be guessed from the height of the *maṇḍapa*; a 100 foot *śikhara* would mean a 2.5 foot statue, which roughly, matches the portrayal in the panel.

A temple is not just a building. It showcases the art of the locality at the time of its construction. It hints at the political, religious, cultural circumstances prevailing then (as borne out by the themes depicted on Ambarnath temple; there is a preponderance of *Samhāramūrtis*, associated with a desire to win wars, highlighting the turbulent times during Chittarāja's reign).

The subtle message of the superiority of the presiding deity is conveyed by the *añjalihasta* (with folded hands) images of Brahmā and Viṣṇu on the pillar facing the shrine door. The strife between rival sects shows up in concocted mythological stories e. g. Śarabheśa to chastise Narasimha whereas syncretic images such as Hari-Hara-Pitāmaha-Sūrya express the opposite tendency.<sup>17</sup>

The account by Soddhala in his *Udayasundarikathā*<sup>18</sup> portrays Chittarāja (the builder of this temple) as a patron of art. He must have been instrumental in making this small temple an artistic gem, using sculpture not only as an adjunct to architecture but to display artistic excellence as well.

It may be noted in passing that an unusual bracket figure of a prince and a lion appears on the three fourths detached pillar on the northern side of the west lobby (unusual in the sense that everywhere else in this temple, this position is occupied by *kīcaka* figures, Pl. VI, A).

The presence of the different bracket figure here can have different possible explanations. Either this figure was put there originally as an identification of the dynasty (e.g. in the Tripurāntaka Temple at Balagamwe, Dharwar, the Hoysala dynasty is thus identified<sup>19</sup>) which would explain its position at the entrance. The other possibility is that the lion and prince panel belonged to an older pre-existing temple and was cut to fit and used here based on the observation by G. W. Terry in 1869.<sup>20</sup>

To conclude, the sculptures depicted on the pillars in the hall at Ambarnath are very significant and important. R. V. Leydon, in his article<sup>21</sup> has appreciated the skills of the master sculptors as Ambarnath. We must also acknowledge the designer of the hall, a master planner in his own right. The limited space provided by the small hall has been very creatively used.

## Notes and References

1. K. D. Kaniitkar, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Mumbai*, Vol. 79, 2004, p. 137.
2. Stella Kramrisch in her book, *The Hindu Temple* (p. 258) says "...within these margins of proportionate measurement the true *sthapati* shows his mastermind in such temples like the one at Ambarnath;"
3. A. V. Naik, *New Indian Antiquary*, July-Dec. 1947, p. 219.
4. Stella Kramrisch, *ibid.* p. 299.
5. Devangana Desai, *The Religious Imagery of Khajuraho*, p. 149; "...the key concept

is Sadāśiva, the manifest-unmanifest aspect of Śiva...; in the Ambarnath temple the Sadāśiva concept may have been represented in the form of the images on the four central pillars.

6. Figure reproduced from drawings made under the supervision of G. W. Terry in 1869, published in *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. III, p. 317;  
The very shape of the pillars conforms to the shape prescribed for a *mānuṣa liṅga* (for the base, square section known as the *Brahmā-bhāga*, middle section, octagonal, the *Viṣṇu-bhāga* and the topmost, circular, the *Rudra-bhāga*). TAG Rao, *Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II part 1, p. 86.
7. Jaya Chemburkar, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay*, Vols 54-55, pp. 19-26.
8. Devangana Desai, *ibid*, p. 164 "... Sadyojāta faces west according to the *Linga Purāna* (chapter 17)" which tallies with the placement here.
9. Identification of the male figure : *mālādharas* on either side of the figure indicate that this is a divine figure. The depiction matches that of Caṇḍeśvara and reaffirms the southern influence seen in this temple.
10. Stella Kramrisch, *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 102 (Feb. 1958) pp.7-13.
11. *The Indian Antiquary* Vol III, November 1874, page 319 describes the image of Kālī on the *janghā* and goes on to say "... this figure has been repeated on the base of one of the pillars in the hall."
12. Stella Kramrisch, (Ed. Barbara Stoler Miller) *Exploring India's Sacred Art*, p. 257, plate 14-5 shows similar figures.
13. After Vimlā Vasāhi temple where inscribed portraits of architects Loyaṇā and Kelā appear, self portraits of architect - sculptors began to appear on religious monuments. At Ambarnath, the sūtradhāra is portrayed in a niche on the *janghā* near the entrance, holding a tool of his trade, a measuring rod.
14. Sodḍhala, *Udayasundarikathā*, (quoted by V. V. Mirashi, *Literary and Historical Studies in Indology*), in the preamble to the story, lists the artists/authors honoured by Chittarāja.
15. Stella Kramrisch, (Ed. Barbara Stoler Miller) *Exploring India's Sacred Art*, p. 56.
16. Stella Kramrisch, *The Hindu Temple*, Vol II, p. 360. "When the building is completed and consecrated, its effigy in the shape of a golden man, the *Prāsāda-Puruṣa*, is installed in the golden jar, above the *garbhagrha*, above the *Śukanāsa*"; also see *Aparājitaṭṭacchā* 153(21-29), *Śilparatnākara, pañcama ratna*, (70-75), *Prāsādamaṇḍana* (34).
17. J. N. Banerjea, *Development of Hindu Iconography*, p. 8.
18. Sodḍhala, *ibid*. In passing, it may be mentioned that Sodḍhala, describing a temple of Sarasvatī in his story, narrates how he rested for the night in the 'mattavāraṇaka' (aisle separated from the middle portion of the hall by a row of pillars of the *maṇḍapa*) rather like the wing of a stage and as seen at Ambarnath.
19. Henry Cousens, *Chalukyan Architecture*; also *Ind. Ant.* Vol. II, p. 301; origin of

the Hoy-Sala dynasty, 'slayer of Śāla.'

20. *Indian Antiquary* Vol III, 1874, p. 318 quotes the report by G. W. Terry which says that '...this temple had been either rebuilt or partly restored from an older structure, of which the least mutilated sculptures had been incorporated into the present building.'
21. R. V. Leydon, 'The Sculpture of Ambarnath', *Marg*, Vol. I, no. 1, October 1946, pp. 58-67.

### Acknowledgements

The author wishes to thank the Archaeological Survey of India for permission to photograph inside the Ambarnath temple.

### Illustrations

1. III, A. *Vadhamūrti* (damaged) on the *janghā* on the south east side of the *maṇḍapa*.
2. III, B. Brahmā in *añjalimudrā* seated in *padmāsana* pose and Kubera; ornate pedestal with trellis work; SW-SW-d and-e.
3. IV, A. *Sthapati* consulting scriptures; NW-N-e
4. IV, B. *Sthapati* discussing the diagram NW-E-e
5. V, A. Sculptors at work NE-E-e
6. V, B. King with *ācārya*, gifting the artists; SE-NE-d, SE-N-d
7. VI, A. Installation of the *Prāsāda-puruṣa* SE-NW-e
8. VI, B. Prince and a lion on a pillar capital bracket

### Figures

1. Vertical sections of a central free standing pillar.
2. Based on a section of the temple from *Indian Antiquary* III, 1874, p. 316; central portion highlighted with dotted line to illustrate the 'virtual' *mukhalīṅga*.
3. Diagrammatic list of the sculptures depicted on the octagonal sections of the central free standing pillars.
4. Diagrammatic list of the sculptures depicted on the octagonal sections of the central free standing pillars.
5. Installation of the *Prāsāda-puruṣa*.

## Bhoja's Conception of Bhāva

V. M. Kulkarni

In my article "Bharata's Concept of Bhāva" published in this Journal<sup>1</sup> I have dealt with Bharata's commonly accepted conception of *bhāva*. Bharata is the oldest writer on dramaturgy-dramatics. Bhoja, too, in his conception of Rasa treats of his own conception of *bhāva*. It is interesting and instructive to compare and contrast the conception of *bhāva* of these two *ālamkarikas*. Now it would be only proper with a view to avoiding repetition and saving space to keep the said paper in the background and describe here, in what important respects Bhoja differs with Bharata. Bhoja is the author of the two voluminous works on *alamkāra* : one, *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharāṇa* (*SKĀ*)<sup>2</sup> and the other is *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* (*Śr. Pra.*). Incidentally, we may note here that there is an equally voluminous work of Dr. V. Raghavan, entitled "*Bhoja's Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*"<sup>3</sup> which is encyclopaedic in character, presenting mainly a masterly study of Bhoja's two works mentioned above. It would be only relevant to mention here the recently published work of Dr. R. P. Dwivedi, *Nāṭyaśāstra*<sup>4</sup> wherein he briefly touches Bhoja's Rasa theory while commenting on the seven verses which follow *Nāṭyaśāstra* (*NS*) ch. VII v. no. 119 (according to Dwivedi's edition 121) which are treated by the editor of Baroda edition as interpolations. The first of these seven verses which may be looked upon as Bhoja's definition of *sthāyin* runs as follows :

Bahūnāṁ samavetānāṁ rūpaṁ yasya bhaved bahu

Sa mantavyo rasaḥ sthāyī śeṣāḥ sañcāriṇo matāḥ

meaning "of many (rasas) which are used in the same work, the one whose form is of large (compass) should be considered the abiding (*sthāyin*) rasa, the others, the transient (*sañcārin*) rasas."

According to what is stated in this verse, a state of mind (*cittavṛtti*) that extends over the basic plot must necessarily appear as "abiding", whereas that which accompanies only an incident in the plot will appear as "transient". Thus there is no contradiction in an abider-transient (principal-subordinate) relation between them at the time when they are relished in the form of rasas. This is how some people have explained the verse.<sup>5</sup>

This verse has been quoted by Abhinavagupta (Abhinava) himself in his commentary *Locana* on *Dhvanyāloka* with the introductory words that it occurs towards the end of *Bhāvādhyāya* (*NS* Ch. VII) which is in a way direct evidence



in support of its being a genuine one forming part of the text of *Nāṭyaśāstra*. The reader is referred to the article mentioned above for a detailed discussion of this verse.

To continue the discussion of the definition of Bhāva, Bhoja in his *SKĀ*<sup>6</sup> says : Rasas arising from their respective determinants (*ālambana vibhāvas*) become the various *bhāvas*, 1. love (*ratī*) 2. laughter (*hāsa*) etc. and immediately after this statement he says in the *kārikā* that follows that the *bhāvas* which thus arise out of rasas are the eight *sthāyibhāvas* (*sthāyins*) emotions : 1. love (*ratī*) 2. laughter (*hāsa*) 3. sorrow (*śoka*) 4. anger (*krodha*) 5. (dynamic) energy (*utsāha*) 6. fear (*bhaya*) 7. disgust (*jugupsā*) and 8. wonder (*vismaya*). This list of *sthāyins* is the same as that of Bharata. There is, however, difference in the interpretation of the term *sthāyin*. The commonly accepted interpretation of this term (*sthāyin*) is that it means *vāsanā* or *saṁskāra*, that is latent impressions that we carry with us from birth to birth. In our beginningless wanderings through the universe we have been open to every possible emotion and we have had every imaginable experience. There exists no living being which is devoid of the latent impressions of these mental states (*cittavṛttis*). We have noted above Bhoja's interpretation of the term *sthāyin*. The difference between their conceptions is self-evident and needs no further explanation.

Another important difference between Bharata and Bhoja regarding the rasa theory is : Bharata says that the forty-nine *bhāvas* fall into three distinct states: 1. one set is of eight *bhāvas* that are *sthāyins* (permanent). Another set of thirty-three *bhāvas sañcārī* or *vyabhicārī* (transient) and a third set of eight *sāttvikas* (involuntary states). Bhoja, however asserts that there is no such distinction among the forty-nine *bhāvas* since they all arise or are born of one and the same *ahamkāra*<sup>7</sup> (ego). This means that the *sthāyins* can become *sañcārins* or *vyabhicārins* and vice versa; so too the so-called eight *sāttvikas* can become *sthāyins*, of course, according to the circumstances or the situations.

Bhoja's outright rejection of Bharata's well-known and reasoned threefold classification of *bhāvas* deserves consideration. Bhoja argues that since all the forty-nine *bhāvas* are born of one and the same *ahamkāra* (ego), all the *bhāvas* are equal which means *sthāyins* can become *sañcārins* (*vyabhicārins*) and vice versa.<sup>8</sup> *Sthāyin* is a lasting or permanent feeling whereas *sañcārin* (*vyabhicārin*) is a transitory feeling. A *sthāyin* forms a necessary substratum of rasa. *Sañcārins* (*vyabhicārins*) on the other hand do not form a necessary substratum of any rasa, still they act as feeders to the prevailing rasa, and strengthen it in various ways, whether openly or covertly. Now, about the eight *sāttvikabhāvas* (*sāttvikas*). Although this expression is traditional and very popular, strictly speaking, *sāttvikas* are not *bhāvas* (*cittavṛttivīśeṣāḥ*) i.e. feelings. They are the physical effects of the (internal) feelings. They are

physical manifestations (*bāhya anubhāvas*) and hence *jaḍa* or *acetana* (inert). The question of nourishing them into rasas simply does not arise as they are not mental states (*cittavṛttis*). It would have been only proper if Bhoja were to illustrate his point by examples for the easy understanding of his readers. Thus he could have taken one of the thirtythree *vyabhicārins*, say *glāni* (physical weakness) and one of the eight *sāttvikas* for instance, a tear (*aśru*) and show how they have developed into *glāni* rasa and *aśru* rasa by their supporting *bhāvas*. The fact is that it simply cannot be done !

One can easily see the rationale behind Bharata's three-fold classification from what has been said above and that Bhoja has ignored it on the ground that all the forty-nine *bhāvas* are born of one and the same *ahamkāra* and therefore they are all equal.

Dr. Dwivedi in his recent work *Nāṭyaśāstra* Vol. I (*Kāvya-lakṣaṇakhaṇḍa*) comments on the seven so-called interpolated verses in the seventh *Bhāvādhyāya* and draws our attention to the fact that the seven verses embody - contain Bhoja's rasa theory. Bhoja regards all the *bhāvas* including even the eight *sthāyibhāvas* - the permanent ones as *sañcārins* (transient), and that in a poem containing many rasas only one rasa is *pradhāna* (principal) and the rest are rasas in the state of *sthāyibhāva* (which are subordinate).<sup>9</sup>

## Notes and References

1. *JASB* Vol. 71 for 1996, pub. 1997.
2. *Kavyamala* 94 ed, Nirnayasagar Press, Bombay 1994 (edited by Kedarnath Sharma and W. L. Sastri Panshikar).
3. Bhojarāja's *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*, second volume, prakāśas 9-14, edited by G. R. Josyer, Mysore 1963.
4. Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* Vol. 1 (*Kāvya-lakṣaṇakhaṇḍa*) edited by Dr. R. P. Dwivedi with translation and notes in Hindi, pub. 1. Bharatiya Ucca Adhyayan Sansthan, Simla-171005 and 2. Aryan Books International, Daryaganj, New Delhi : 110002, pub. 2005.
5. See my article referred to above in foot-note no. 1.
6. Read; आलम्बनविभावेभ्यः स्वेभ्यः स्वेभ्यः समुन्मिषन् ।  
रसो रत्यादिरूपेण भाव इत्यभिधीयते ॥  
रतिर्हासश्च शोकश्च क्रोधोत्साहौ भयं तथा ।  
जुगुप्सा विस्मयश्चाष्टौ स्थायिभावा प्रकीर्तिताः ॥  
- *SKĀ*, Ch. V. 13-14.
7. नन्वष्टौ स्थायिनोऽष्टौ सात्त्विकास्त्रयस्त्रिंशद्व्यभिचारिण इति ब्रुवते । न तत्साधु । यतोऽमीषामन्यतमस्यैतेनैव (? स्यैते रेव) परस्परं निर्वर्त्यमानत्वात् कश्चित् कदाचित् स्थायी, कदाचित् व्यभिचारी । अतोऽवस्थावशात् सर्वेष्वमी व्यभिचारिणः, सर्वेऽपि च स्थायिनः, सात्त्विका अपि सर्व एव मनःप्रभवत्वात् । अनुपहतं हि मनस्त्वमित्युच्यते ।

8. Cf... *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* - V. S. Apte

9. Read Dr. R. P. Dwivedi's *Nāṭya-śāstra* Vol. I ( *Kāvya-lakṣaṇakhanda* ) Ch VII, pp 193-195.

## India at the Philadelphia Museum of Art

Darielle Mason

The Philadelphia Museum of Art (Plate VII) is one of the four largest museums in the United States and one of the oldest. It is also a repository of the arts of South Asia, and the formation of this collection constitutes a fascinating history, involving some of the major figures of 20th century Indology. The museum's holdings include what is arguably the most significant grouping of Indian temple sculpture in the Americas, together with the only original architectural environment from a pre-modern Hindu temple. This paper will introduce the South Asian collection and its history as well as touch on a few of the complex issues surrounding the display and communication of "Indian temple sculpture" in a U. S. museum venue.\*

The practice of building freestanding stone temples developed in the Subcontinent between about the 7th and 10th centuries, and rose to a crescendo of activity by the 11th. Thousands of Hindu, Jaina and even Buddhist temples and temple remains dating from this period cover not only India, but also parts of Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, Sri Lanka, and beyond. Certain fundamental concepts, an embedded symbolic organization, ties these buildings together. Yet they also demonstrate an immense variety of architectural and sculptural variations. The "sculptures" from these temples that have found their way into museums are often exquisite works of art in themselves, yet they are not equivalent to, and cannot be treated in the same way as a framed painting or a freestanding sculpture. Each is, in actuality, a fragment, a tiny piece of a larger and infinitely more complex whole. Not only their identities, but also much of their aesthetic force derives from their role within that whole.

The Philadelphia Museum of Art has been in the forefront of U. S. institutions displaying such "sculptures" - and their temple context - for nearly a century. In 1912 a Philadelphia woman named Adeline Pepper Gibson (1883-1919) arrived in Madurai, Tamilnadu and there attended a public auction. It was held by and at the Madanagopalaswamy Temple, a small Kṛṣṇa temple complex that abuts the large Koodal Alagar Temple in the western part of that city. At this auction, temple authorities were disposing of a number of granite architectural pieces that had been piled around the Madanagopalaswamy

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\* Adapted from the Smt. Nabadurga Banerji Endowment Lecture given at the Asiatic Society of Mumbai, 9th February 2004.

precinct. Gibson bought not one, but over sixty of these massive carved blocks: twelve monolithic compound pillars with huge protruding figures, sixteen square carved pillars of several varieties, twelve lion capitals, at least twelve lotus-drop corbels, two complex clustered pillars, and eight sections of what was once an extensive Rāmāyaṇa frieze. Before the shipment arrived at her home in Philadelphia, however, Adeline had lost her life while serving with a U. S. military hospital unit in France during WWI. In 1919, just following her death, the Gibson family donated the Madurai pieces to the Museum in her memory.<sup>1</sup>

The Philadelphia Museum of Art (originally called the Pennsylvania Museum) was founded in 1876 as an immediate result of the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition, one of the era's many massive world's fairs. Its first home was the Exhibition's Art and Industry pavilion, and it was there that the "Indian Temple Hall" was first installed (Plate VIII). It opened with great ceremony and local excitement in 1920. Clearly, however, the museum officials responsible had never seen such a structure in its original configuration. Although lovingly conceived with some advice elicited from Ananda Coomaraswamy, then at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, the installation included such incongruities as asymmetrically arranged aisles and a terminal 'altar' formed by stacking the Rāmāyaṇa blocks and crowning them with a Tibetan sculpture of the Buddhist goddess Tārā.

The present Philadelphia Museum of Art building (Plate VII), an exquisite Greek temple-like structure overlooking the city, was begun in 1928 and constructed throughout the following decade. During this time, the director of the Museum was the flamboyant architectural historian Fiske Kimball. On the second floor of the Museum, Kimball created what he called a "Walk Through Time" consisting of interlinked original architectural spaces. These include, among many others, a French Romanesque church portal and cloister, a Chinese Ming Dynasty palace hall, a Japanese ceremonial tea garden, and the Madurai *mandapa*. Each of these environments was conceived with adjacent galleries to hold related sculptures, paintings, and decorative arts. Even today, this arrangement and the sheer number of original architectural spaces make the Philadelphia Museum of Art a unique institution.

When the Asian Galleries finally opened in 1940, the public saw a very different configuration—and vision—of the Madurai *mandapa* (Plate IX). This was thanks to the work of the eminent Indologist William Norman Brown. During the 1930's, Brown acted as Curator of Indian Art at the Museum, as well as Professor of Sanskrit at the University of Pennsylvania.<sup>2</sup> He convinced Museum officials that it was impossible to correctly install the pieces without figuring out their original setting, and so, in 1934 they funded him to visit Madurai. In 1940 Brown published a book detailing the results of this research and explaining his subsequent reconstruction of the hall, which opened that

same year.<sup>3</sup>

I recently retraced Brown's steps in Madurai, and discovered that not only his scholarship, but also his decisions on the reconstruction, although not entirely correct, were quite amazing for the time and circumstances. Brown dated the pieces to around the mid-16th century (early Nāyaka period under Vijayanagara overlordship). He also believed he had identified where the majority (especially the compound figural pillars) originated - not in the Madanagopalaswamy Temple itself, but in the destroyed Lakṣmī shrine of the Koodul Alagar Temple next door. Although only in Madurai for five days, Brown also visited both the Mīnākṣī Temple and the lovely Alagar Koyil outside of the city, and saw those temples' various "figured" *mandapas*. While questions remain on the accuracy of Brown's identification of the original sites for which the pieces were carved, during his short trip he did develop a general understanding of this architecture and the elements that comprised it.

Brown had actually hoped to acquire some additional fragments in Madurai to "complete" the Museum's construction, but this proved impossible. Thus when he returned to Philadelphia, he quite thoughtfully took stock of the available pieces and had fabricated the necessary fill-pieces (cornice moldings, additional drop brackets, etc.). He placed the large figured pillars facing into the hall to form a central axis, and topped them with the original drop corbels and the lion capitals. The Rāmāyaṇa frieze pieces he placed in the upper cornice in the interstices between the columns. The square pillars, topped by reproduction capitals, he placed as symmetrical outer aisles and a front row. The reconstruction looks remarkably like the *kalyāṇamaṇḍapa* of the Alagar Koyil, with the exception that it is set up as if it opens directly to the *garbhagrha* through a (false) doorway at the end of the central axis (indeed Brown stated that his Philadelphia arrangement was intended to replicate an *ardhamāṇḍapa*).

In this publication, Brown also fairly accurately identified the Rāmāyaṇa episodes on the frieze pieces, although for some reason they were not installed in narrative order. While he glimpsed a few additional frieze pieces among the piles of rubble still lying in the Madanagopalaswamy compound, he was unaware of the full extent of the sequence. On my recent visit I found that approximately a dozen slabs from a Rāmāyaṇa frieze, matching the Museum's in dimension and detail, are now cemented into the solid exterior walls of the rebuilt hall that fronts the central (Kṛṣṇa) shrine.<sup>4</sup> I was recently able to merge photographs of the Madurai and Philadelphia slabs to reconstruct the original sequence. I found that the story is both coherent and, apparently, virtually complete. It is also significantly larger than could be accommodated as cornice sections between only the Philadelphia pillars, demonstrating that the original size of the pillared hall from which they came must have been

over twice the length of the existing space in Philadelphia.<sup>5</sup>

Brown also attempted to identify each of the large figures on the pillars, which include characters from both the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*. His identifications were thoughtful and excellent considering the state of scholarship and his adherence to the Sanskrit rather than Tamil versions of the epics. As with the frieze pieces, however, the pillar order seems to have been decided more by aesthetics than meaning.<sup>6</sup> Brown himself complained that virtually no work had been done on the iconographic programme of such halls - in other words, on figuring out the logic(s) behind the order and physical relationship of different figures and different types of figures to each other and to the architectural whole. In terms of such Vijayanagara Nāyaka period halls, even a cursory look makes it clear that the large figures are by no means placed arbitrarily, but form balanced patterns with narratives, parallels, and hierarchies implied through juxtapositions, oppositions, and relative distance from the sanctum. Indeed even the smaller images around the pillars appear to relate to the theme of the whole in a complex variety of ways. Within the past decades, excellent work has been done on giving detailed descriptions of many of these monuments by a number of scholars.<sup>7</sup> However, recent writings by Crispin Branfoot<sup>8</sup> are the first real attempt to fathom the underlying logic(s) of the iconographic programme of Nāyaka/Vijayanagara figural halls. He also delves into the use of the space (whether ritual or conceptual) to explain image placement, exploring locally relevant literary sources and taking into account both processional practice and the changing nature of kingship in an attempt to understand specific placement and programme.

To this day, Brown's installation stands as the only example of pre-modern Indian stone temple architecture in the United States, and thus the only place that a visitor can get a sense of the monumental mingling of sculpture and architecture that is the Indian temple. While it remained virtually unchanged throughout the second half of the 20th century, the South Asian collections expanded in all directions—especially in the realm of Indian temple arts—thanks to one of the seminal figures in the history of Indian art in the United States, Stella Kramrisch (1896-1993).<sup>9</sup> Together with Coomaraswamy,<sup>10</sup> Kramrisch worked throughout her long career to bring an appreciation of India's artistic heritage to the West. She also shared with Coomaraswamy an abiding belief in the overwhelmingly spiritual nature of the art of the Subcontinent and this is reflected in the pieces she collected as well as her writings.

From the early 1920's to the late 1940's, Kramrisch had taught at the University of Calcutta, during which time she wrote perhaps her greatest work, *The Hindu Temple*.<sup>11</sup> In it she began to interpret the organization and motifs of the north Indian temple, arguably the most complex type of symbolic

architecture ever created by man. Throughout her life Kramrisch was also a zealous art collector. Consequently, as she travelled for research on *The Hindu Temple*, often working on sites with the archaeological authorities, she sometimes collected loose pieces of sculptures. She documented and collected from not only major complexes such as Khajuraho and Bhubaneswar (Plate X A), but also lesser known sites such as Harshagiri, Candravati, Kiradu, and Ramgarh (Plate X B), Rajasthan.<sup>12</sup>

While collecting and exporting parts of monuments is certainly not an acceptable activity today, there were virtually no regulations on the export of antiquities until after independence. Kramrisch, like the few western collectors of this material at that time, considered her sculpture collection an homage to an art then held in very low esteem both in India and in the West. In 1950, Kramrisch was recruited by Brown to join the faculty of the University of Pennsylvania. Soon after she arrived in Philadelphia, she brought her sculpture collection from England, where it had been stored throughout WWII, and many of the pieces were acquired by the Philadelphia Museum of Art.<sup>13</sup> At Brown's urging, she herself was made Curator of Indian Art in 1954, a post she retained (eventually as Curator Emeritus) until her death in 1993.

During her nearly forty-year tenure at the Museum, Kramrisch augmented the permanent collection in many areas, but primarily in the realm of temple sculpture. In the late 1960's she arranged an unprecedented permanent exchange of objects with National Museum in New Delhi, exchanging works of European medieval art for several South Indian sculptures, including a monumental Mahāvira and a Pallava period architectural lion reputedly from Mahabalipuram. At her death in 1993, Kramrisch left to the Museum the remainder of her personal collection, including superb temple sculptures (Plates XB and XII), an exquisite Gupta period Avalokiteśvara,<sup>14</sup> a plethora of Bengali "folk" arts, and some masterpieces of Rajput painting.<sup>15</sup>

In the mid-1950's, when Kramrisch first installed Indian sculpture in the galleries opening off of one side of the Temple Hall, she decided to organize the objects by religious affiliation—one room for Hindu Art and one for Buddhist. At the time, this was a somewhat unusual choice as most art in museums were organized regionally and chronologically, as well as by medium. Although we have no record of her reasoning, she most likely felt that the totally unfamiliar cultural and religious basis for this art would overwhelm visitors. Thus she used basic religious categories as a 'point of entry'; by explaining one aspect she allowed the viewer to look past the unfamiliar to the works of art themselves. At the same time her writings show that she, herself, considered overarching religious meaning primary, taking precedence over both formal and historical categorization.

In the mid-1970's, however, she totally reinstalled the collection, and



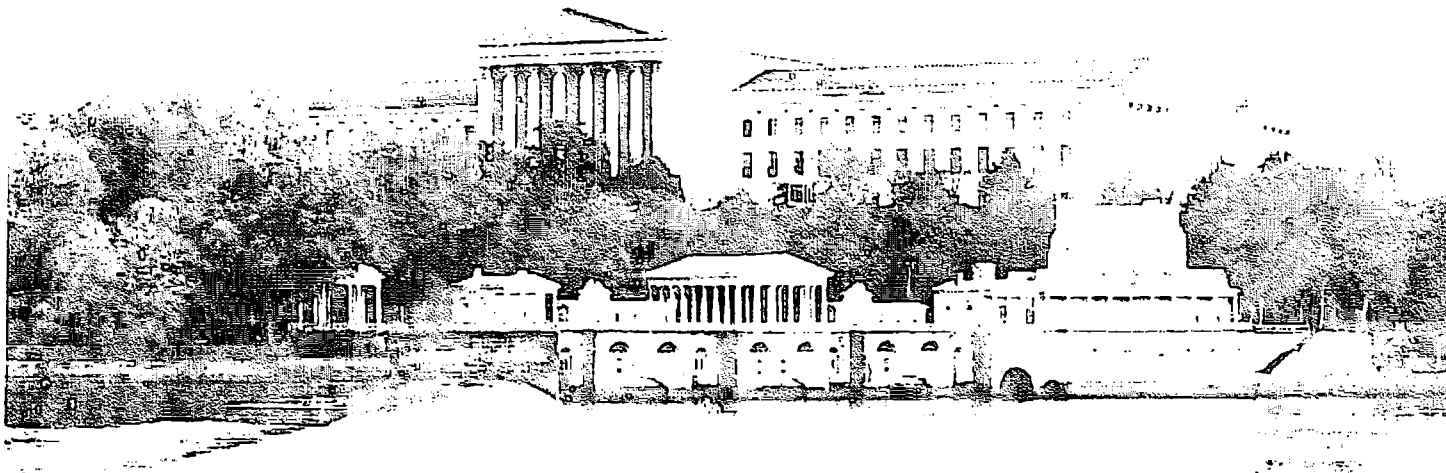
reflected their original location within the generic monument.

For example, the fabulous Hoysala dynasty image of Nandi (Plate XI) that Kramrisch had placed in profile to the entrance to the Temple Hall, I chose instead to install facing into the doorway, as Nandi does in Śiva temples across India. Neither is a wrong choice - Kramrisch's highlighted its wonderful silhouette and physically aligned it toward the "actual" temple door in the adjacent *mandapa*. My placement instead highlighted Nandi's function as the god's devotee and attendant. The bull looks into the darker sacred space and visitors approach him from the more usual front and rear perspectives.

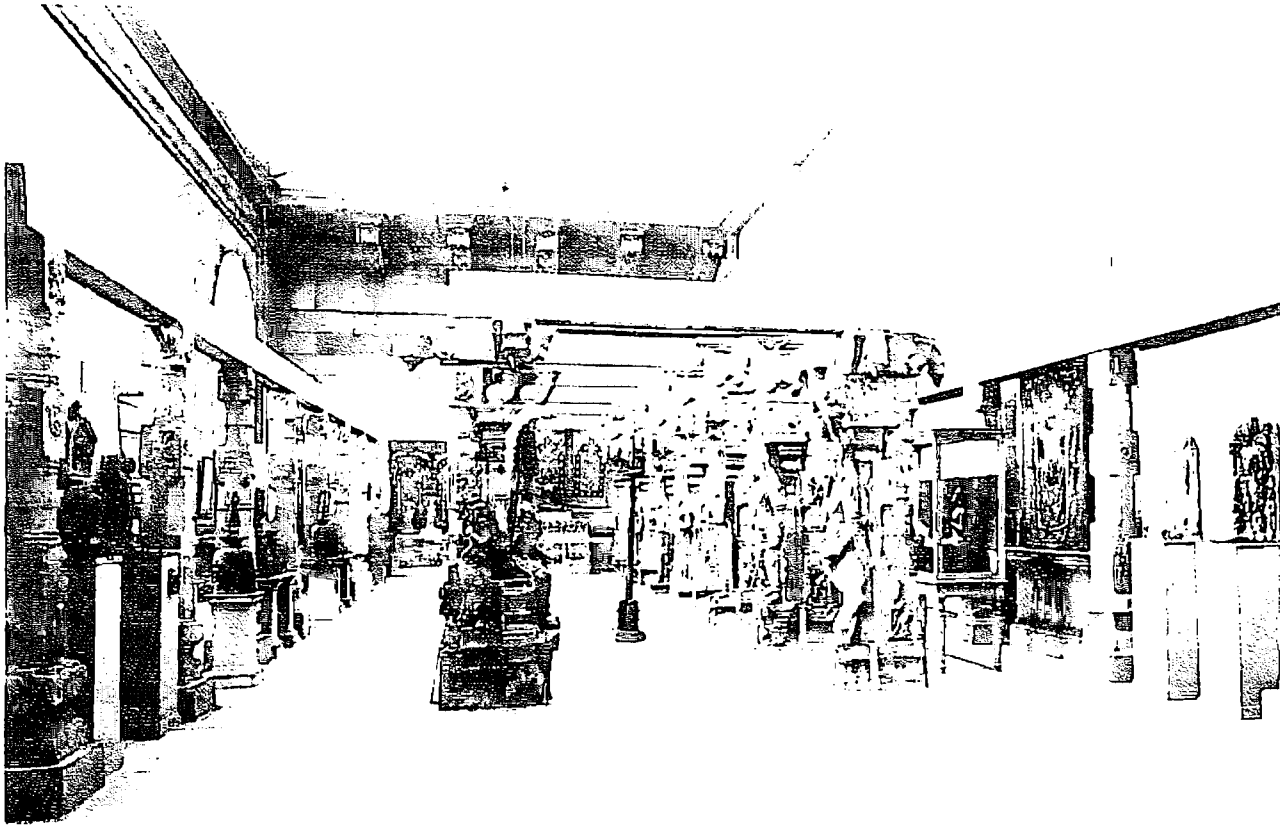
Clearly, then, before it is possible to make an informed decision on the installation of a temple "sculpture", it is necessary to understand its original role in the building as a whole. But, of course, not all temples across India are alike, and other sorts of architecture, such as tanks, also incorporated carved images. Most sculptures in Western museums, and many in Indian institutions, retain no information as to their places of origin. The curator, then, must first become a visual detective. With only the evidence of the fragment itself, the vast possibilities of region and date need to be limited in order to identify the most likely type of structure from which the piece came. Part of this process is old-fashioned formal analysis, the careful looking that allows one to distinguish and articulate subtle differences of forms and details. This includes *what* is carved (attributes, ornaments, clothing, etc.), but must focus even more on *how* the carving is accomplished, including the subtle articulations of the anatomy, details of facial features, even how the tooling of the stone, itself. It is only through such careful analysis of all such features in a fragment and comparisons with those in standing monuments, that craft groups and lineages may be defined and identified, and that the fragment can be linked to a specific region, time, and site.

An example of the aesthetic necessity of understanding the location intended by the sculptor became clear in the installation of another Kramrisch bequest, a relief depicting the *saptamātrkās* flanked by Śiva Viṇādhara and Gaṇeśa (Plate XII). Although she left no information as to where she acquired this piece, the organization and style of the figures<sup>19</sup> indicate that it came from central rather than western India and was carved around the end of the 10th century. At this time and place, the standard location for *saptamātrkās* in this size and format as a continuous relief, is as part of an *uttarāṅga* (overdoor), most often above the sanctum door, itself. Given the dimensions of this piece, it may have been only the right half of the original *uttarāṅga* of a very large doorway, the left being filled with a comparable relief bearing the *navagrahas*.

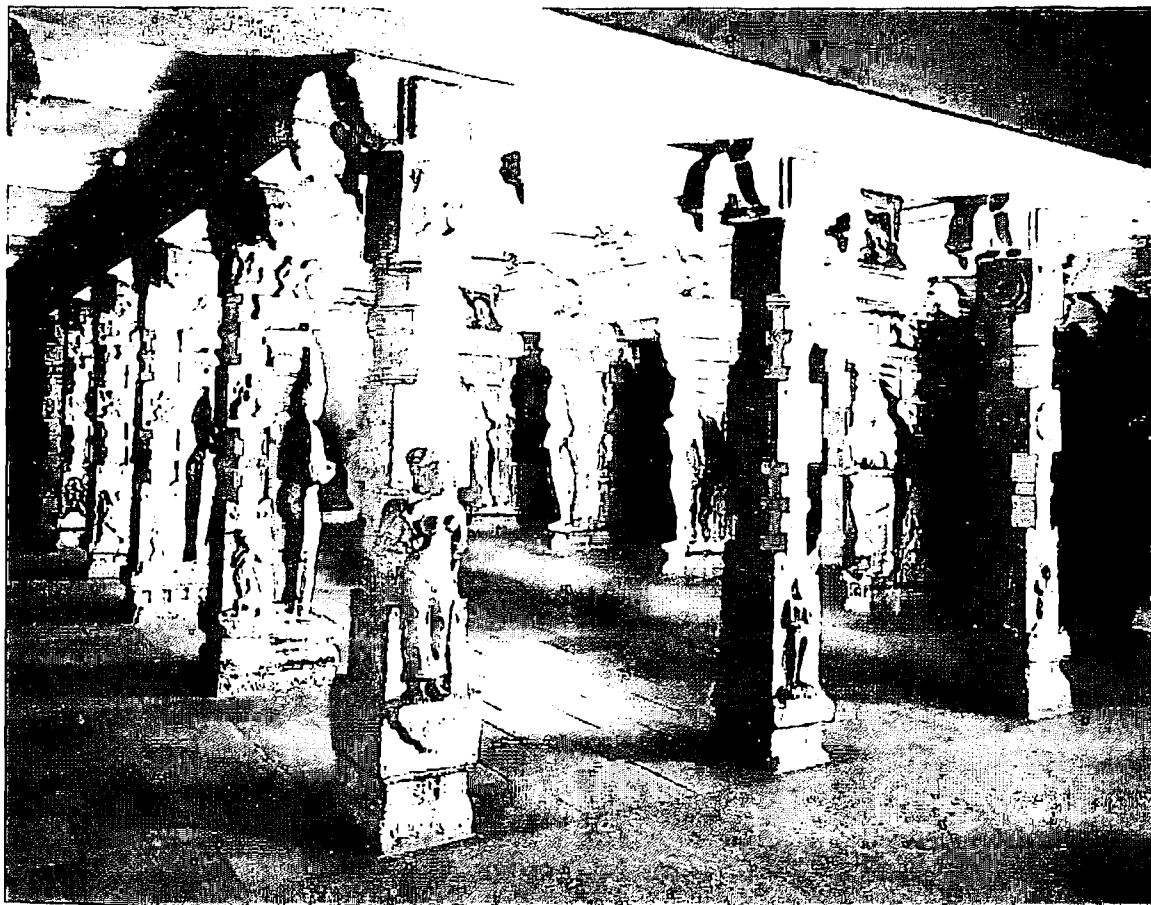
Kramrisch had first displayed this piece, which was then in her personal collection, as part of the *Manifestations of Shiva* exhibition. There she used



View of the Philadelphia Museum of Art from the banks of the Schuylkill River.



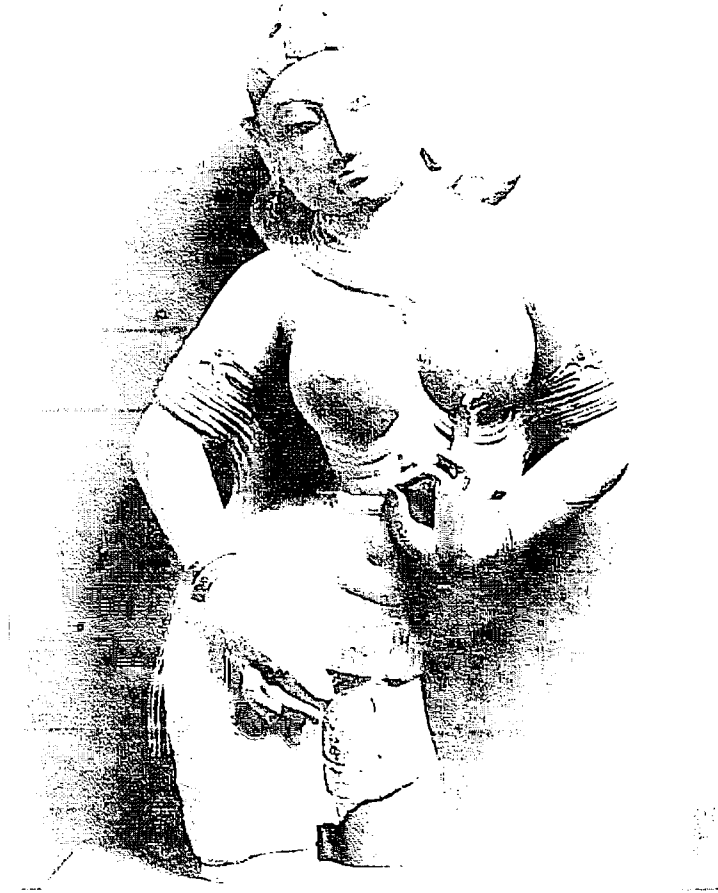
Pillared Temple hall, Madurai, Tamil Nadu, c. 1525-1550; as installed in the Memorial Hall, Philadelphia, September 1921.



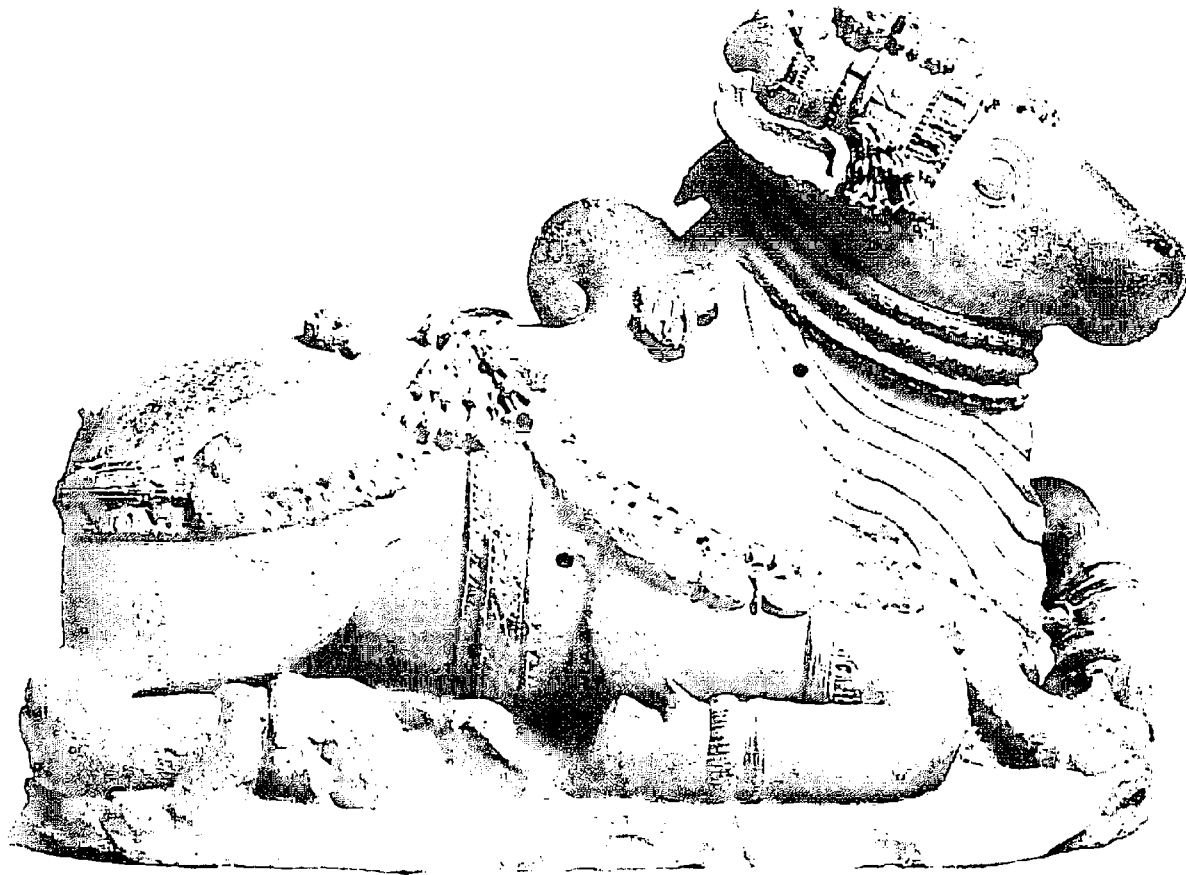
Pillared Temple hall, Madurai, Tamil Nadu, c. 1525-1550; as installed in the present Philadelphia Museum of Art.



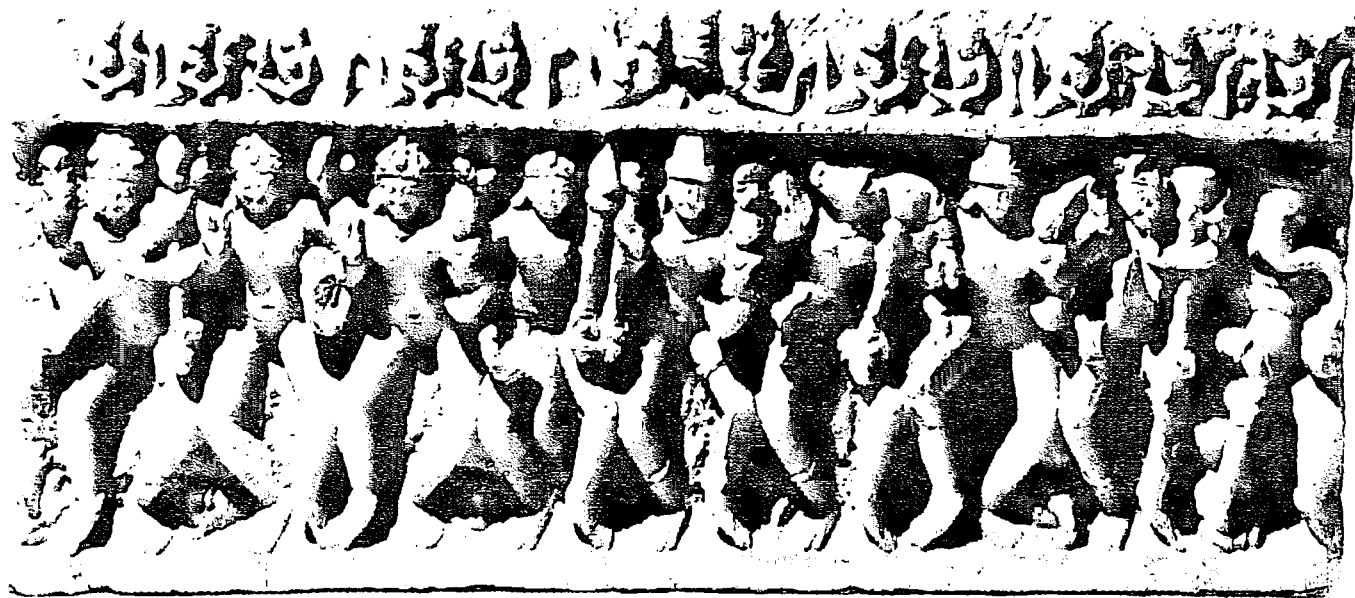
A. Durgā-Mahiṣāsūramardīnī, from Bhubaneswar, c. 750-800, Philadelphia Museum of Art.



B. Celestial Woman, Ceiling bracket, from Ramgarh, Rajasthan, c. 11th-12th century, Philadelphia Museum of Art.



Nandi, Karnataka, Hoysala dynasty, 13th century, Philadelphia Museum of Art.

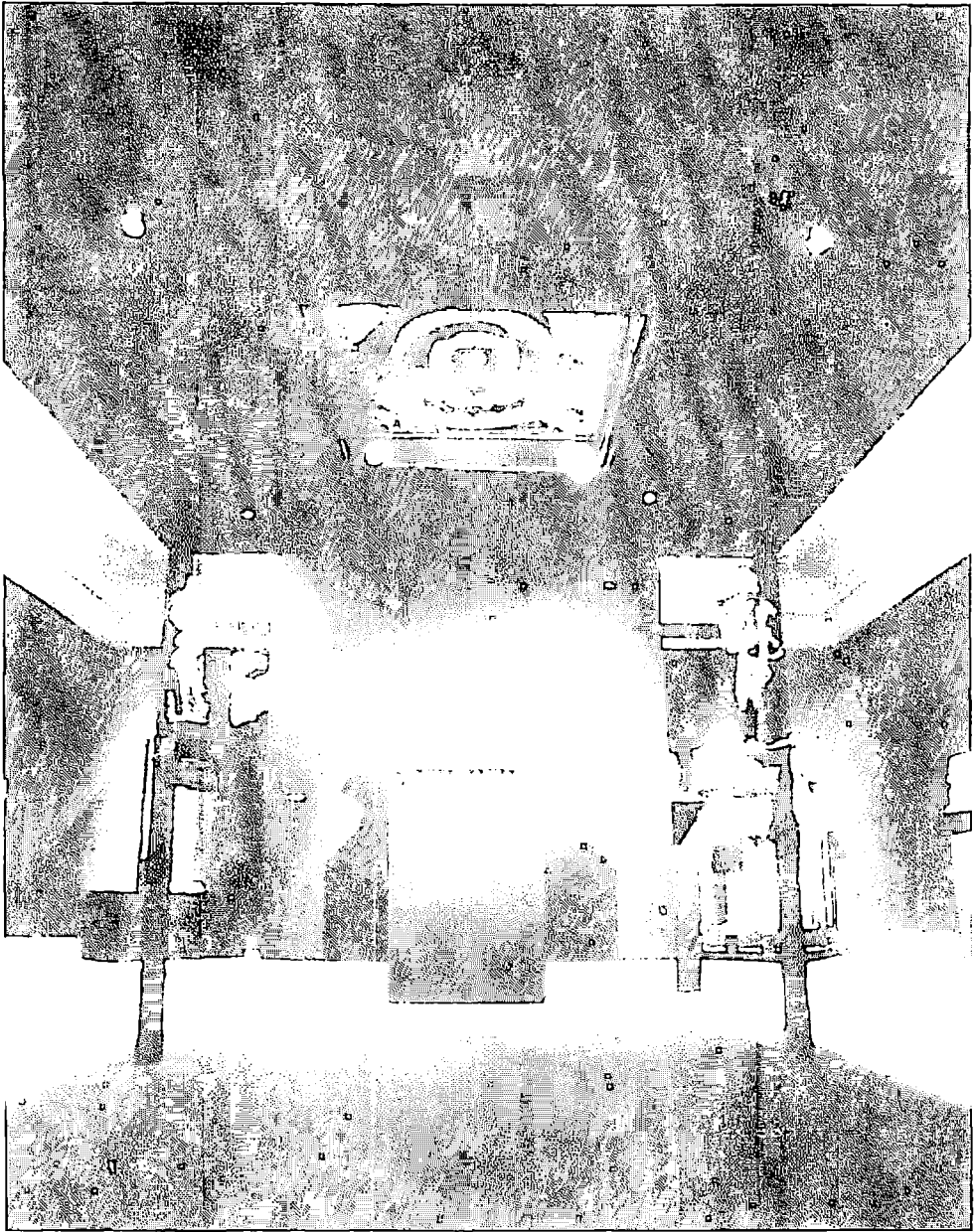


Saptamātrkāś, Overdoor Section, probably Madhya Pradesh, about early 10th century, Philadelphia Museum of Art.



Gallery of North Indian Temple Sculpture in the Philadelphia Museum of Art in 1998.





Installation shot of the *mandapa* section of *Gods, Guardians and Lovers: Temple Sculptures from North India, AD 700 -1200*, 1993.

it not as a way to understand the temple form, but as a means to explore the god's relationship with the feminine power. Thus she placed it at "museum" eye-level where the over-long legs of the dancing figures appear awkward and disproportionate to their small bodies and heads, and each seems to bend forward uncomfortably from the waist.

When I reinstalled the Philadelphia galleries, I chose instead to install the *mātrkās* not at eye level, but very high up on the wall and over one of the gallery doorways (Plate XIII). Through this placement the visitor begins to understand that these carvings are more than individual works of art, they are also parts of a complex, sophisticated composition. What happens visually to this *mātrkā* relief in its new location is truly telling. From a distance the figures still appear awkward, but as you walk closer and see the figures from a more and more oblique angle, higher and higher above you, their proportions gradually change. Thanks to the optical illusion of foreshortening, their legs appear to shrink and come into better balance with their bodies; they no longer bend awkwardly at the waist but lean outward over the approaching viewer (or devotee), encompassing him or her in their dance, and, especially from the threshold, expressing an extraordinary sense of movement and a rhythmic coordination. Indeed, from its intended viewpoint, this awkward fragment becomes a lively and exciting work of art, exactly as its gifted sculptor must have intended.

In an odd way, then, there is a likeness between a 10th or 16th century priest-architect who planned the images in a temple, and a 21st century curator who plans the installation of a gallery of temple sculpture. Both must become familiar with the textual and visual depiction of gods and other characters, and both must create a larger "story" through deliberately juxtaposing figures in standard and creative ways. Yet while the architect plans his story and then carves it, the curator must first figure out what the available "pieces" actually say in order to tell a deliberate, rather than accidental, tale. The architect must be able to provide messages for everyone, from his learned brother priests, to his courtly patron, to the most illiterate pilgrim. Like the architect, the curator also speaks to a variety of audiences, from academic colleagues, to connoisseurs with a practised view of beauty, to a grandfather born in India who wants to explain the basics of Hindu philosophy to his U. S. born grandson, to a local school child who has never heard of Hinduism and cannot find India on a map. Perhaps it is the role of a curator of South Asia's arts in an American museum to give the great works we are lucky enough to have under our care their own voices, through which they can tell any number of stories about the history, ideas, and artistry of one of the world's great civilizations.

## Notes and References

1. The Gibson family was one of the wealthiest Philadelphia families at this time. We do not know why Adeline was travelling in India, nor her intention in purchasing the temple pieces, although they would have been easily accommodated on the family's estate just outside of the city.
2. Where, in 1950, he founded the first South Asia Regional Studies Centre in the U. S. He also served as first president of the American Institute of Indian Studies.
3. W. Norman Brown, *A Pillared Hall from a Temple at Madura, India, in the Philadelphia Museum of Art*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1940; also various letters and other archival materials at the Philadelphia Museum of Art.
4. This is made of a base of spolia which includes many cornice slabs.
5. This hall probably had twenty-two pillars, most likely alternating the figures now in Philadelphia with similarly sized *vyālas*.
6. It could well be that Brown gave the general configuration and left decisions on specific placement to the museum's designer.
7. Most recently those publishing the results of the Vijayanagara Project (including Anila Verghese, Anna Dallapiccola, John Fritz, George Mitchell, and Phillip Wagoner).
8. Including "Approaching the Temple in Nāyaka-Period Madurai: the Kutal Alakar Temple" (*Artibus Asiae* 60.2.2000, pp. 197-221) and "Bhima and Purusamirukam in the Nāyaka-period sculpture of Tamilnadu". (*South Asian Studies* 18,2002, pp. 77-81).
9. Although it contains inaccuracies especially regarding dates in Kramrisch's life, the most complete biographical work remains Barbara Stoler Miller's sensitive introductory essay to *Exploring India's Sacred Art: Selected Writings of Stella Kramrisch*. (Ed. Barbara Stoler Miller, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1983, pp. 3-33).
10. I have been enormously fortunate in having been able to study both these scholars from within their own institutions (I was responsible for the South and Southeast Asian collections at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston before moving to the Philadelphia Museum of Art).
11. *The Hindu Temple*, 2 vols. Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1946.
12. Harshagiri (Sikar District); Candravati (Jhalawar District); Kiradu (Barmer District); Ramgarh (Kota District). Although in *Manifestations of Shiva* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1981, catalogue number 71, pp. 88-89) Kramrisch wrote that this last piece came from "Bharatpur region, Rajasthan", I have no doubt that she actually collected it at Ramgadh near Kota, Rajasthan, photographs of which she includes in *The Hindu Temple* (plates LXII-LXIV). It is particularly comparable to the ceiling bracket published as plate LXIV, and was most likely intended for this ceiling although never completed or installed.
13. Kramrisch published the bulk of her collection together with the museum's earlier pieces in *Indian Sculpture in the Philadelphia Museum of Art* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, c. 1960).

14. The Avalokiteśvara, published in Pratapaditya Pal, "The Kramrisch Bequest to the Philadelphia Museum of Art" (*Oriental Art* 26: 1, 1995) and in *Philadelphia Museum of Art: Handbook of the Collections* (Philadelphia, 1995, p. 49), formed the inspiration for a major exhibition on the Bodhisattva of Compassion across Asia, currently being organized by the Philadelphia Museum of Art (projected to open in 2008).
15. She published forty-six of her paintings (as "anonymous loan") in her last exhibition catalogue, *Painted Delight: Indian Paintings from Philadelphia Collections* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1986). Quite recently, the Museum has been transformed into one of the major repositories of "miniature" painting in the U. S. thanks to the bequest by Alvin O. Bellak (1928-2004) of his exquisite collection published in *Intimate Worlds: Indian Paintings from the Alvin O. Bellak Collection* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 2001). Dr. Bellak, beloved Philadelphia psychologist, businessman, Museum trustee, and connoisseur-collector passed away on July 23, 2004.
16. The job of curator has undergone a transformation during the last quarter century. In large part due to the rising prominence of special loan exhibitions and the increasing desire to engage the public, curators make ever more frequent choices about how to communicate complex ideas and stories, in other words to teach, through the arrangement and installation of works of art and via supplementary information (whether text-based, audio, visual, or tactile). A U. S. curator of Indian art has an added responsibility that their installations often serve as visitors' first-or-only-introduction to the entire art, history, and civilization of the Subcontinent. (The Philadelphia Museum of Art has approximately 1,000,000 visitors annually, 100,000 of which are school children).
17. "Display as Structure and Revelation: On Seeing the Shiva Exhibition" *Studies in Visual Communication* 7.4 (1981), pp. 84-89.
18. *Gods, Guardians and Lovers: Temple Sculpture from North India, A. D. 700-1200* (New York and Ahmedabad: The Asia Society Galleries and Mapin Publishing, 1993).
19. See Michael W. Meister, "Regional Variations in Mātrkā Conventions" *Artibus Asiae* 47, nos. 3-4 (1986), pp. 233-246 for a discussion of regional iconographic distinction.

## List of Illustrations

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- X,A *Durgā Mahiṣāsūramardīnī* (Orissa, Bhubaneswar, c. 750-800, sandstone; Philadelphia Museum of Art 1956-75-7).

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## Dharmaśāstra Studies - Retrospect and Prospects

M. D. Paradkar

Dharma is defined as one which is helpful in obtaining material prosperity as well as spiritual welfare. Śāstra is that which regulates life i.e. lays down rules to be observed and restrictions to be meticulously followed. Bhāmatikāra was right in explaining Śāstra as प्रवृत्तिर्निवृत्तिर्वा नित्येन कृतकेन वा (पुंसो) येन उपदिश्यते. From this point of view the Dharmaśāstra embraces the entire human life from birth till death; in fact it is really a way of life and not merely a conglomeration of different views of different people. Hence the writers of this Śāstra have thought of the duties of man in his private as well as his public life really leaving no room for adopting an ambivalent attitude. Ancient thinkers were aware of the fact that man being a social animal has to bring out a judicious combination of give and take for making his life truly successful. This explains how the sources of Dharma include not only Śrīti and Smṛti but also Śiṣṭānām ācārah (*Vasiṣṭha Dharma-Sūtra* 1-5) i.e. behaviour of the good. Thus the scope of this Śāstra covers the life of man in its fullness.\*

Dharmaśāstra, for the purposes of convenience, can be divided into three periods: (1) Sūtra-period (2) Smṛti-period (3) The period of Digests consisting of essays on the subject. Words of the *R̥gveda* (1-85) गृष्णामि ते सौभगत्वाय हस्तं मया पत्या जग्दष्टिर्यथासः can be said to be the root of Pāṇigrahaṇa Sanskāra which has come down to us till the present day. Sūtra-kāla really connotes Dharma-Sūtras among which the oldest is *Gautama Dharma-Sūtra* composed between 1000 to 600 BCE. *Āpastamba*, *Baudhāyana*, *Hiraṇyakeśi* and *Śaṅkhalikhita* are extant. *Viṣṇu Dharma Sūtra* and *Hārīta Dharma Sūtra* deserve mention. The language of these Dharma-Sutras is pre-Pāṇinian and they are couched in verse as well as prose. All these sūtras were written within the period from 600 BCE to 100 CE. This can also be styled as the Śrauta period. Smṛti period spreads over a period of nine centuries. MM. Dr. Kane in his monumental history has referred to 100 Smṛtikāras. *Manusmṛti*, more sinned against than sinning in modern days, was written roughly 2nd century BCE to 2nd century CE. This Smṛti was authoritative till the days of Hindu Code-Bill and from the viewpoint that it was composed between 200 BCE and 200 CE, it can be included in the first period. Nevertheless this period has its own importance. Importance of *Yājñavalkya Smṛti* lies in

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\* This is a version of the MM. Dr. P. V. Kane Memorial Lecture, delivered on 25th March 2005, at the Asiatic Society of Mumbai.

systematically thinking of this Śāstra under three heads viz. Ācāra, Vyavahāra and Prāyaścitta. Vyavahāra of Yājñavalkya includes law and throws light on the author as a jurist. It is significant to note that he emphasized that Dharma should contribute to the welfare of the people also and has to be appreciated by them. Words of the Śāstra on some occasions have to be set aside if they run counter to their benefit. Is it not significant that in this period the changeability of Dharma was already accepted. Words of *Brhaspati Smṛti* viz. केवलं शास्त्रमाश्रित्य धर्मः न कर्तव्यः are obvious in this matter. From legal point of view *Brhaspati*, *Nārada* and *Kātyāyāna* are rightly called *Triratna maṇḍala*. This period extends over a period of nine centuries. The third period of Digests commences from 700 CE and continues its chequered career right up to the modern day. It begins with Asahāya and Viśvarūpa, the commentators of *Nārada Smṛti* and *Yājñavalkya Smṛti* as well as Medhātithi, Kullūka, Aparārka Vijñāneśvara, Jīmūtavāhana, Hemādri, the author of *Caturvargacintāmani*. Twenty eight principles of Smṛti-tattva presents all Dharmasāstra in a nutshell. Rules and regulations in Dharma mentioned in the two national epics of our country need a separate treatment; the same has to be said about Kauṭilya whose *Arthasāstra* is really a compendium of Ācāras as noted by the thinker in him.

From the point of view of basic tenets of Dharma one has to mention (1) the concept of Sanskāras (2) the idea of debts (3) the concept of four goals of human life (4) the concept of Varṇas and Āśramas and the concept of a Reality or the essence. Thus there are proximate-ends and the ultimate ends. Higher life demands disciplines of body and mind and emphasizes right deed to be followed in everyday life. Each person has to perform duties according to his status in the society serving the proximate ends. These can be achieved in the first two Āśramas viz. Brahmacyāśrama and Gṛhasthāśrama. The last two Āśramas speak of his preparation for achieving the ultimate end i.e. liberation. Vānaprastha is the step leading to the development of the mind primarily thinking of the welfare of the society and the last is fourth Āśrama – Sannyāsa in which a person has to lay down the wealth of his soul at the feet of the highest and achieve Summum Bonum. This is called Mokṣa, a full development of the latent abilities of man making him one with the greatest good of the greatest number. Rightly the *Mahabhārata* spoke of the end in realising न मानुषात् श्रेष्ठतरं हि किञ्चित्. All this has been happily summed up in the essay by Dr. Mrs. G. H. Dave in the article in the U. G. C. National Seminar published by the University of Bombay in 1991.

It will be in the fitness of things to begin this survey by paying an humble homage to late MM Dr. Pandurang Vaman Kane who led a full life and became the first National professor of Indology. In his case, Law though known to be jealous mistress proved unable to prevent him from the pursuit of Indological studies. His researches in Dharmasāstra studies started in 1911 by undertaking

the edition of *Vyavahāra-Mayūkha* of Nīlakaṇṭha on the advice of Prof. S. R. Bhandarkar, one of the General editors of the Bombay Government Series which was transferred by the Government to Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute (B.O.R.I.) that started working in 1917. It was in 1926 that the critical edition of this *Vyavahāra-Mayūkha* based on three printed editions and eight manuscripts was published and this established Kane as a seasoned scholar in the matter of textual criticism. Really speaking this edition laid down the norm which has been the ideal till today. In the preface of this edition Kane made the announcement of undertaking of the *History of Dharmaśāstra* which has proved to be his Magnum opus. First volume of discussing the chronology and the relative importance of the famous and less known writers of Dharmaśāstra was published by B. O. R. I. in 1930; the second volume of this great book which covers the topics of Varṇa, Āśrama, Sanskāras, Āhnikā Ācāra etc. (1368 pages) was published in 1941 when he was 61. Six years after this Volume III dealing with Rājadharmā, Vyavahāra and Sadācāra appeared; Volume IV which ransacks all works and manuscripts was presented to the discerning world in 1958 and finally Fifth Volume Part I and II were published 1958 and 1962 respectively; Part I throws light on Vratas, Utsavas as well as the philosophical concept of Kāla, Indian Astronomy and Astrology and Part II speaks of Śānti Purāṇas, Tantra-works, Sāṃkhya, Yoga, Tarka in relation to Dharmaśāstra, Cosmology as well as Punarjanma. This brief account is necessary for giving an idea of the encyclopaedic treatment of our subject matter. The number of original works, books, manuscripts and commentaries in Sanskrit, published papers on different subjects as well as books in modern Indian languages consulted by Dr. Kane for this gigantic work is simply phenomenal. It is amazing that all this work was done by him without the paraphernalia associated with modern research work namely research assistants, stenographers, documentation officers etc. Dr. Kane was however aware that this great book is beyond the ken of the common man of Maharashtra and published his manual in Marathi in the form of धर्मशास्त्रविचार\* and rightly spoke of introducing reforms in the context of the modern world. Fidelity to facts following the dictum नामूलं लिख्यते किञ्चित् and the readiness to supplement or modify one's views in the light of fresh evidence truly becomes a research scholar. This is possible only if one is keen on showing the awareness of latest writings on the subject etc. Dr. R. N. Dandekar in his tribute to this Sanskrit 'Savant' in MM. DR. Kane Commemoration Monograph (published by the University of Bombay in 1974) has referred to his keenness on referring to two books on astronomy, one in German and other in French, which were available then only in Cambridge University Library. It is true that Dr. Kane's sweep of research interests and activities was surprisingly extensive.

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\* In this book he had replied to the objections raised by Shri G. M. Joshi, nevertheless few of the them are not convincing.



Really speaking he has hardly left any branch of Indology untouched and whatever he has touched, he has succeeded in adorning and enriching it. It is uniformly accepted that history of Indian culture and religion is bound to remain incomplete without a reverential reference to his *History of Dharmaśāstra*. For the full appraisal of the work of Dr. Kane along with the fact that he is not 'faultily faultless' one can rest content by alluding to the Tribute paid by late Dr. R. N. Dandekar (in MM. Dr. P. V. Kane Commemoration Monograph (p.5)) as well as to the paper by the present speaker in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay*, Volumes 52-53/1977-78 (New series).

Work undertaken by the late Narayanshastri Marathe in Prajña Pathshala, Wai right from the year 1925 has resulted in publishing in Sanskrit four Kāṇḍas containing 18 parts consisting of Vyavahāra-Kāṇḍa, Upaniṣat-Kāṇḍa, Rājanīti-Kāṇḍa and Sanskāra-Kāṇḍa (in Sanskrit) and is bound to provide the basis of further research in Dharmaśāstra. Surprisingly this has not received its proper encomium possibly because these were in Sanskrit. Volumes of *Vyavahāra-Kāṇḍa* as well as *Sanskāra-Kāṇḍa* are of immense value to discerning readers as well as scholars of Dharmaśāstra. *Hindudharma-Samīkṣā* (Marathi) by Lakshmanshastri Joshi, the well-known writer, was first published in 1940 critically examining the nature and purpose of Dharma in the light of ancient Dharmaśāstra and the *Mahābhārata* from very early days. The author has taken care to discuss Dharma at all the levels of magic, worship of Nature and gods (proximate ends of the Śāstra) and rightly speaks of the process adopted by ancient thinkers in proceeding from the wonderful diversity to the basic principle of unity thereby landing in the province of ultimate ends speaking of the Summum Bonum of all Indian philosophy. Due care is taken in evaluating ideas of Dharma expressed by modern thinkers like Daftari, B. G. Tilak and Dr. S. Radhakrishnan. This analysis mainly under the influence of Marxist ideas contained some derogatory remarks on the ancient institution of sacrifice (i.e. the Yajamāna and the Purohitas) as well as the Māyāvāda of Śaṅkarācārya. This raised a hue and cry and the book was dubbed as an invective of Hindu Dharma. The fact that this did contain a grain of truth was admitted by the author of book later in the words that proper justice was not done by him to the lasting quality of the values of Hindu Dharma expressed by ancient thinkers headed by Śaṅkarācārya. This is also evident from his book '*Vaidik Sanskr̥ticā Vikās*,' which was published later. Here it will be opportune to refer to the work undertaken by Dr. S. A. Dange, the Bhandarkar Professor of Sanskrit and Prakrit, Department of the University of Bombay who was editing the *Journal of Ultimate Reality* was concerned with the Indian section of the Encyclopaedia of Human idea in Ultimate Reality and Meaning. Although Dr. Dange's books on *Pastoral Symbolism From the Ṛgveda* (1971) and *Cultural Legends in the Mahābhārata* fall outside the scope of this paper, his work in Marathi '*Hindu Dharma Ani*

*Tattvadnyana*' (chapter 9) has to be referred to. In the concluding chapter the learned author has rightly placed his finger on the salient feature of this Dharma weaving knowledge warp and woof in everyday life, the ultimate end being the realisation of the blissful state of the identity of the Individual Soul and the Universal Soul.

This brings me to the three unpublished lectures on 'Dharmaśāstra as reflected in the Smṛtis' delivered by the present speaker under the auspices of the Sanskrit & Prakrit Department of Harisingh Gauda University of Sagar in Madhyapradesh. In one of these lectures it was rightly argued that untouchability by birth generally attributed to Hindu Dharma was based on reasons that were adventitious, hygienic and geographical; the only exception being the cāṇḍāla. 'Sanskāras - Their Purpose & Significance' published in the *Mysore Orientalist*, Volume IV, No. 1 (March 1971) discusses the social significance of Sanskāras coupled with a moral fervour. Another article on 'Crime & Punishments in Dharmaśāstra' published in *Tagare Felicitation Volume* (pages 95-102, 2001) throws sufficient light on the holistic attitude of ancient thinkers towards life in dispensing justice. In the article on 'The *Bhagavadgītā* and Fundamental Rights' the author has spoken of the words of the Gītā not running counter to the basic right of an individual according to our constitution and hence is worthy of note. 'The idea of Brāhmaṇya in Manusmṛti' published in *Prof. Dr. M. V. Joshi Felicitation Volume*, Rajkot (pages 306-309 Rasvatiyam 2001) is intended to bring out the true import of वर्णानां ब्राह्मणः प्रभुः in the eyes of Manu because it was the result of नियमस्य धारणं and संस्कारस्य विशेषत्व which remains a desideratum of any society that intends to make an appreciable progress. 'Prāchīn Dharmaśāstra Svarūp Evaṃ Uskī Prāsaṅgītā' (Hindi) published in the section 'Dharmshastra Darshana' (p. 156-159) published in the book entitled *Bhaviṣya kī Or* (Edited by Dinesh Gandhi for Dr. Padmachand Bitam Kanwar Gandhi Trust, Mumbai) is another article speaking of the relevance of the Śāstra in modern times.

Dr. S. G. Moghe who unfortunately breathed his last on 24th May 2004, had been an eminent-scholar in Dharmaśāstra as well as Mīmāṃsā consistently pursuing his studies from the year 1967 after getting his Ph. D. on Mīmāṃsā on the *Bhagavanta Bhāskara* of Nilakaṇṭha. True to his Guru's Guru MM. Dr. Kane, he has prepared the concise edition of the *History of Dharmaśāstra* keeping his eye mainly on the interest of the common man, and the general readers of Dharmaśāstra literature but has also taken care to serve the needs of the scholars, both Occidental as well as Oriental. He has taken care to add some special footnotes to explain abstruse points for helping the general readers. A judicious use of the Appendix of Dharma-Śāstra works and authors at the end of the *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. I and II along with his own edition of *Prof. Kane's Contribution to the Dharmaśāstra Literature* publishing 19 useful papers in the year 1997, happens to be the novel feature of

this volume. At one place Dr. Moghe's note on the *Saura Purāna* is prepared on the basis of the paper published by Prof. R. C. Hazra and referred to by the late Mahāmahopādhyāya in his Volumes V-II. The Topical Index separately added running into 12 printed pages behoves a scholar interested in being helpful to researchers. It was only proper that the function of felicitating him was held in this very hall here. *Vyāghrasmṛti* critically edited by him in the light of two manuscripts has been published by the B. O. R. I. This Smṛti deals with the śrāddha aspect; the treatment of other aspects of Ācāra namely Prayaścitta and Śuddhi is meagre. Peculiar views of the author have been emphasized and Dr. Moghe has concluded the edition with the remark that in point of popularity this Smṛti was quoted by writers on this Śāstra by authors right from 11th century CE up to the 19th century. Dr. Wadekar's attempt of reconstructing the lost *Devala Smṛti* text has been rightly acclaimed by him. Due credit to the editor for collecting about 2500 passages ascribed to Devala scattered in the vast Dharmasāstra literature but true to the spirit of a Vārtikakāra 'उक्तानुक्तदुरुक्तानां चिन्ता यत्र प्रवर्तते ।' Dr. Moghe has placed his finger on the lacuna left by Dr. Wadekar in case of one stanza from *Vidyāmādhavīya* Volume III p. 65, discussing the point of bad *tithis* on which journey should not be undertaken. He has also requested Dr. Wadekar to indicate his reactions on the two learned papers of Prof. Lallanji Gopal. It was only proper for Dr. Moghe to congratulate the editor for excellently presenting the text of *Devala Smṛti*.

Really speaking, Dr. Moghe has properly evaluated the contributions of Dr. P. K. Gode, V. N. Mandlik as well as Principal J. R. Gharpure to the domain of Dharmasāstra in his book *Some Aspects of the Studies of Dharma-Śāstra* published by Bharatiya Kala Prakashan in the year 2003 just before his demise.

The above mentioned book for Dr. Moghe is also important for the systematic presentation of almost all Dharmasāstra studies in the three decades facilitating my survey for this paper. Specific reference has to be made to some of the important books published during the last thirty years, such as (1) *Dharma-śāstra and Juridical literature* by J. D. M. Derret, pp. 1-75 published by Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, (2) *The Socio-legal Position of Women in the Smṛti of Manu and Yājñavalkya*, (3) *Oaths and Ordeals in Dharmasāstra* - a published Ph. D. Thesis of Dr. S. N. Pendse. Of course Dr. Moghe has referred to his (1) *Studies in Dharmasāstra* (a collection of 35 papers published by Ajanta Books International 1991), (2) *A Critical Edition of the Śraddhā-sāgara of Kullūka bhāṭṭa* - published by D. K. Printworld (P.) Ltd., Delhi, 1993, (3) *Studies in Applied Pūrva-mīmāṃsā* (22 papers) by Ajanta Books International, 1998, (4) No wonder that Dr. Moghe has not failed to refer to Miss. U. M. Apte's *The Sacrament of Marriage in the Hindu Society, Mīmāṃsā, the Vākyaśāstra in Ancient India* (partly published) by late (now) Dr. G. V. Devasthali

etc. does find a mention. This is preceeded by a list of interesting papers on Dharmaśāstra indicating the reading of this industrious author. Allusions to some of the published thesis such as that on Dāna and its importance by Dr. Kala Acharya as well as reference to 'Śrauta Dharmache Svarupa' (Marathi) by late C. G. Kashikar along with interview by S. A. Dange in the V. V. R. I. Journal (Vol. VII) speak volumes for the carefulness of the author in pursuing research activities.

More interesting and instructive to his paper on the progress of the studies of Dharmaśāstra in the field of chronolgy is the reference to Dr. P. L. Gode's papers determining the dates *Prāyaścitta-candrikā* of Viśvanātha Bhaṭṭa, Vaidyanātha Dīkṣita, the author of *Smṛtimuktāphala* etc. Dr. Moghe has also thrown light on the interpretation of the Dharmaśāstra lines by the non-Dharmaśātra writers. No wonder that allusion to Dr. Gode's studies in *Indian Cultural History* Volumes I, II and III published after his demise and to the three books of Dr. J. D. M. Derret (1) *Introduction to Modern Hindu Law*, (2) *A Critique of Modern Hindu Law* and (3) *Essays in Classical and Modern Hindu law* speaks of Dr. Moghe's sweep. He had earned his LL.B qualifying him to write on Dr. Kane's views on Hindu code bill proceeding and determining his reformist view about widow-remarriage as well as abolition of the bar of Sagotra and Sapravara in case of the bride and the bridegroom. Of course Dr. Moghe starts by writing that widow's remarriage could not find a place in Dharmaśāstra literature where ancient authors were keen on maintaining the chastity and single-minded devotion to the husband. Justifying the remarriage of a window by citing the historical incident of the marriage of Dhruvadevi, the wife of Ramagupta with Chandragupta after the death of the former may be ingenious; in fact there is no need to find the sanction of ancient Dharma-śāstra. Dr. M. B. Kulkarni has adduced the evidence of *Manusmṛti* in this matter which to say the least, appears to be far-fetched. Dr. Moghe's article entitled 'Medieval Hindu Law and Modern Law - A Comparison' is very interesting from the point of view of the aspects of changes in the original Hindu Law at times destroying the spirit of Hindu Law can only be defended on the grounds that 'we are standing on the shoulders of the predecessors and our healthy tradition admits of changes based on circumstances. Enough of prolixity in this matter is likely to raise disputes. Suffice it to say that Dr. Moghe's contribution to the progress of studies in Dharamaśāstra deserves due recognition and one will have to agree that discerning students of Dharmaśāstra as well as Mīmāṃsā have reasons to strike a poignant note now (after his recent demise on 24th May 2004).

I consider it proper to close this brief account of the retrospect of Dharmaśāstra with the *Aspects of Indological Studies* by Prof. Dr. M. L. Wadekar in the Oriental Institute, Vadodara published by Bharatiya Kala Prakashan, Delhi in 2001. Here seven research papers have a direct bearing on

Dharmaśāstra. From the very first paper we come to know of *Utsavanirṇayamañjarī*, a rare and unpublished work on Dharmaśāstra by Gangadhara Pathaka, a scholar of Gujarat in the 17th century. The biographical details about this author are given in a separate paper indicating that he was a Nāgara Brahmin of Cambey, a great scholar who wrote seven works (1) *Pravāsakṛtya*, (2) *Kalyānasūtra-bhāṣya*, (3) *Yāgakālaviveka*, (4) *Parvanirṇaya*, (5) *Yajamāna-paddhati*, (6) *Sarvatomukhapaddhati*, and (7) *Haviryajñakālaviveka*. Dr. Wadekar has rightly expressed his gratitude to MM. Dr. Kane for a note on *Pravāsakṛtya* in the first volume of the *History of Dharmaśāstra*. This paper speaks of all the available details about these Dharmaśāstra-works. Evidently *Utsavanirṇayamañjarī* referred to above happens to be the eighth work of Gangadhara Pathaka exposing festivals like Śītalāsaptamī, Pārvatīvrata related to the Vaiṣṇava-cult. In this work of this author from Cambay, there is the elucidation of the Mangalāgaurīvrata observed even today by the residents of Maharashtra. In fact Dr. Wadekar has spoken of many facts from the work clearly showing acquaintance of Gangadhara Pathaka with customs and practices in Maharashtra. Really speaking, Dr. Wadekar has done an appreciable service by neatly presenting the text of 14 Adhyāyas with all critical material.

Reconstructin of lost Smṛti-texts on the basis of quotations from the digests as well as commentaries on the Dharmaśāstra has been a long-felt desideratum. The monograph *Pulastyasmṛtisaṅgraha* presented by Prof. Shrimati Krishna Kanti Gopal and Prof. Lallanji Gopal has been an instance (Published by Rishi Publication, 79 Chandrika Colony, Varanasi 221). Dr. Wadekar had an opportunity of reviewing this research publication and found out some additional verses not printed in the book; these were collected and presented in the paper referred to above rightly named as Addition to the *Pulastyasmṛtisaṅgraha*. Dr. Wadekar, true to a researcher, the author of this paper has not failed to observe that *Smṛticandrikā* (āhnikā) speaks of a long passage with the introductory remarks 'विष्णुधर्मोत्तरपुलस्त्यः' and the first two verses and last one are not found in the collection found in the Appendix I-C of *Pulastyasmṛtisaṅgraha*.

Another paper discussing 'Crime and Punishment in Ancient India' has been a subject often discussed, the only originality here lies in making special references to Yājñavalkya who has been a jurist in the real sense of the term. The author has rightly pointed out that corporal punishment, branding the culprit, discrimination based on caste as well as the supernatural elements of ordeals are now relegated to the limbo of forgotten things, but punishments in the form of ordering of fines, forfeiture of property etc. are still existent and will continue to do so. The question of the effectiveness of punishments in improving the status and rehabilitation of culprits, to say the least, remains a desideratum. Ancient thinkers of Dharmaśāstra were not deluded by the

dictum 'all men are equal.' In their opinion the judge accepting a bribe on par with a Brāhmaṇa proved to be a killer was to be taken more seriously than a person on par with a Śūdra accepting a bribe. In this matter the much maligned Manu was also not partial to the Brāhmaṇa and this has been pointed out by the present speaker in one of the papers submitted to the symposium of this Society in March 1999.

Two other papers included in this book by Dr. Wadekar are, however, more important. One on the 'Forgotten Concept of Forty-eight Sacraments.' Here the author has spoken of Śaṅkarācārya's unique reference to 48 sacraments in the commentary of 'सर्वथा न एवोभयलिङ्गात्' indicating the number in some Smṛti-text; Ānandagiri's attempt to enumerates these śanskāras supports the statement of Śaṅkarācārya. Really speaking Dr. Wadekar has brought new material to light in this matter. The second paper entitled 'The Trends of Assimilation and Integration in Ancient Indian Dharmaśāstra Tradition' indicates not only the definition, denotation and connotation but also rituals and festivals as well as in social customs and practices and speaks of serious thinking in the Śāstra. This paper, therefore, is interesting and instructive.

Finally 'Relevance of Sanskrit in 21st century (with special reference to Dharmaśāstras)' emphasizes the ability of Sanskrit language as well as the relevance of the studies of Dharmaśāstra. He has spoken of Dharmaśāstra enforcing the ecological balance of Nature, social order, stability and well being with ideal norms. It is significant to note that cases of illegal currency were noted in this śāstra through offences regarding business in weights and measures, laws regarding marriage conditions and divorce, laws regarding adoption mentioned in Dharmaśāstra have not become old; in fact, newer methods encouraging absence of morality are being invented. Is it not true that (1) the rules of personal hygiene, (2) the code of conduct and social behaviour and (2) the practice of Sāmānya Dharma have to be followed for the social well-being even today. Dr. Wadekar has edited *Devala Smṛti* composed in Northern India and probably in the Sindha country according to him. Its social importance in readmitting into the Hindu fold persons who are converted to other faiths is a burning problem of the day attended to in the activities of Masurashrama at Pandurangwadi, Goregaon, Mumbai. In fact the aspect of Readmittance, submitted by this author to the *Journal of the Oriental Studies* of Aligarh University, Vol. V. Nos. 1-2 1988 (p. 149-161) gives a chart of the expiations as per duration of stay. Really speaking this amounts to an improvement upon Dr. Kane's treatment in the *History of Dharmaśāstra*.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I have already stepped into the realm of prospects of these studies. Many Smṛtis mentioned by Dr. Kane await critical editions bringing out their novelty in the treatment of the Śāstra. Kane's work on

utilisation of manuscripts in this matter has to be undertaken. Dr. Moghe and Dr. Wadekar have already shown the way in this field. Granting that lot of work is done in this field but the scope of this Śāstra is so wide that much remains to be done on the relation of works on the Śāstra with Astronomy as well as Astrology. (Please refer to the paper on MM. Dr. Kane on 'Muhūrta Śāstra and Astrology,' *Journal of the University of Bombay* Acts No. 85 Vol. XLIX 1980). With newer developments in our society resulting in the possible solution of fresh problems remains a desideratum. Granting the difficulties in the matter arising out of circumstances, much can be done. It is true that vittam, bandhuḥ, vayah, karma and vidyā are five touchstones of man's greatness and much maligned Manu had spoken of 'each succeeding' bringing more credit to him than the preceeding. Have we not reversed the order and started giving supreme importance to money resulting into the yawning problems of the day? The Dharmasāstra dictum for sombre work is possible on judiciously combining Śraddhā (faith) and Vidhi i.e. proper work based in it. Śraddhā without Vidhi is bound to remain abstract and Vidhi without the former is already making our actions purely mechanical. Let us remind ourselves of judiciously combining the two which is bound to add the touch of imperishability to our work in Dharmasāstra and try to follow in the beacon light of the great author of the *History of Dharmasāstra* combining the qualities of a scholar and a reformist in spirit.

## Mathematics and Iconography in *Līlāvati* 263

S. Rajeswara Sarma

1.1 In the section on permutations of his *Līlāvati*<sup>1</sup>, Bhāskaraċārya poses a playful problem. In a particular iconic form, Śiva holds ten different weapons or emblems (*āyudha*) in his ten hands. Supposing these ten emblems are mutually exchanged in these ten hands, how many variations will there be? If this is difficult to visualize, Bhāskara gives another example. Hari, that is Viṣṇu, holds four different emblems in his four hands. If these are interchanged, how many variations will there be?

*pāsāṅkuśāhidamarūkakapālasūlaiḥ  
khaṭvāṅgaśaktiśaracāpayutair bhavanti /  
anyonyahastakalitaiḥ kati mūrtibhedāḥ  
śambhor harer iva gadārisarojaśarīkhaiḥ ||263||<sup>2</sup>*

“How many permutations will there be of the iconic forms (*mūrtibhedāḥ*) of god *Śambhu*, by the exchange of his ten emblems, namely, the *pāśa* (noose), the *aṅkuśa* (elephant’s hook), the *aḥi* (serpent), the *damarūka* (tabor or small hand drum), the *kapāla* (skull), the *śūla* (trident), the *khaṭvāṅga* (staff with a skull at the top), the *śakti* (spear), the *śara* (arrow) and the *cāpa* (bow) in his different hands, like those of Hari by the exchange of the *gadā* (club), the *cakra* (discus), the *saroja* (lotus) and the *śarīkha* (conch) ?”

1.2 The mathematical answer is simple. Interchanging the four emblems in the four hands means extracting the number of possible permutations of four things taken four at a time. According to verse 261 of the *Līlāvati*<sup>3</sup> the answer is  $1 \times 2 \times 3 \times 4 = 24$  forms. Likewise, in the case of *Śambhu* = Śiva, the permutations will be  $1 \times 2 \times 3 \times 4 \times 5 \times 6 \times 7 \times 8 \times 9 \times 10 = 3,628,800$ .

2.1 But then the following question arises. Is this a mere whim of the mathematician Bhāskara, or can such variations really be conceived of? Do the strict canons of iconography as laid down in the *Śilpaśāstra* and in the *Āgamas* allow such variations in the placement of emblems? On this question, Gaṇeśa Daivajña remarks as follows in his commentary *Buddhivilāsini* (1545 CE) on the *Līlāvati*:

*yathā gadādibhir āyudhair anyonyam caturṣu hasteṣu kalitair hareḥ  
keśavādayo mūrtibhedā dṛśyante tadvat pāsādidaśabhir āyudḥair  
anyonyam kalitaiḥ śambhoḥ kati bheda bhavanīty arthaḥ / yathā harer*



*mūrtibhedā loke prasiddhāstathā śambhor neti kṛtvā harer nidarśanam /*

“Just as by the mutual exchange of the club and other emblems in the four hands, there arise variations in Hari’s iconic forms, starting with Keśava, in the same manner how many forms will there be of Śambhu by the mutual exchange of the *pāśa* and other weapons: this is the purport of the verse. Hari’s example was given because the variations of Śambhu’s form are not so well known in the world as those of Hari.”

Thus from Gaṇeśa we learn that each one of the twenty-four variations arising out of the mutual exchange of the four weapons or emblems has a separate name and that these names and the corresponding iconic forms are well known. Colebrooke mentions that these names and forms are discussed in the Purāṇas.<sup>5</sup>

2.2 Indeed, certain Purāṇas enumerate the twenty-four names and mention how the four emblems are arranged in each corresponding form.<sup>6</sup> Thus the *Padmapurāṇa*<sup>7</sup> and *Agnipurāṇa*<sup>8</sup> describe these twenty-four forms and their names under the heading *Caturvīṃśati-mūrtayaḥ*. These are also described in certain late texts like Hemādri’s *Caturvargacintāmaṇi* (thirteenth century)<sup>9</sup> and In Sūtradhāra Maṇḍana’s *Rūpamaṇḍana* (sixteenth century).<sup>10</sup> However, the relevant passages in all sources, with the exception of the last mentioned one, are highly corrupt. Because of the monotonous nature of the description,<sup>11</sup> the specifications for different forms have often got mixed up and even the sequence of the twenty-four forms has not always been correctly maintained.

3.1 There is yet another source which has not been noticed in this connection so far. It deserves our attention because it is contemporaneous to Bhāskara and because its mode of enumeration of these twenty-four forms is unusual. This source is the encyclopaedic treatise by name *Mānasollāsa*<sup>12</sup> which was composed by the Western Cālukyan monarch Someśvara III. The epoch of this work is Friday, *Caitra śuddha* 1, Śaka 1051, Jovian Year (southern style) *Saumya* (corresponding to Friday, 22 March 1129).<sup>13</sup>

3.2 The first chapter (*adhyāya*) of the third book (*vīṃśati*) of the *Mānasollāsa* enumerates the twenty-four names of Viṣṇu together with the corresponding placement of the four emblems in his four hands. We reproduce the relevant passage below, after improving the spelling of certain code words according to the principles laid out in the passage itself.<sup>14</sup>

*āyudhānāṃ viparyāsāc caturṣv api ca bāhuṣu /*

*jagannāthasya vaksyante caturvīṃśati mūrtayaḥ ||688||*

*prādakṣiṇyena boddhavyā caturvīṃśati mūrtayaḥ /*

*athohastakrameṇātau yathaivākṣarasamjñayā ||689||*

*avaśiṣṭam adhobāhoś caturtham nāmvācakam /*  
*prādhānyam vyañjaneṣv eva dīrghānusvārayor bahiḥ ||690||*  
*chandasaḥ pūraṇārthāya kvacid ādyaṁ pralupyate /*  
*paśacāṁke śapaṁgānā gācaśaṁmā cagāpago ||691||*  
*gopaśaṁvi caśaṁpāma pāgacatri śacāgavā /*  
*paṁcāṁgaśrī gacaṁpāḥṛ śapacāpa paśāgadā ||692||*  
*gaśāpāsam<sup>15</sup> gaśācaṁvā caśagāpra cagāśani /*  
*capāśaṁpu pagāśādho<sup>16</sup> capāṁgonṛ gapācacyu<sup>17</sup> ||693||*  
*pācaśaṁja śagācope śocapāha śagāpakṛ /*  
*caturbāhuyutāḥ sarvāḥ mūrtayaḥ parikīrtitāḥ ||694||*  
*iti keśavādicaturvimsatimūrtibhedāḥ /*

### 3.3 Translation

688: "Now will be enumerated the twenty-four iconic forms (*mūrtayaḥ*) of Jagannātha, which arise from interchanging (*viparyāya*) the emblems (*āyudha*) in his four hands."

689: "The twenty-four forms are to be understood (i.e. the emblems in the four hands will be enumerated) in clockwise sequence (*prādakṣiṇya*), starting from the lower hand [on the right]; the enumeration will be made in syllabic code (*akṣara-saṁjñā*)."

690: "The remaining one (*avaśiṣṭa*) (i.e. the fourth emblem which is not mentioned, but which can be inferred from the other three) belongs to the [left] lower hand. And the fourth syllable denotes the name [of the corresponding iconic form] (*nāmvācaka*). [In the syllabic code which now follows], what are pertinent are the consonants. The lengthening [or shortening] of vowels and [the addition or deletion of] *anusvāra* are merely external (i.e. not pertinent; they are done for the sake of metre)."

691ab: "For the sake of the metre too, occasionally the first syllable [of the relevant designation] is omitted."...

694cd: "All the images are said to be with four arms."

"Thus the twenty-four different iconic forms, starting from Keśava."

In 691cd-694, the placement of the four emblems and the corresponding names or designations are given by code words of four syllables (*akṣara-saṁjñā*)

each. The first three are the initial syllables of the names of the emblems. The fourth syllable is the initial syllable of the name of the form. The sequence of the enumeration of the emblems starts with the right lower hand and proceeds clockwise, i.e. right lower hand, right upper hand, left upper hand and left lower hand. The names of the emblems placed in the right lower hand, in the right upper hand and in the left lower hand are indicated by the first three syllables of the code word. When the names of three emblems are mentioned, the name of the fourth emblem in the lower left hand can automatically be inferred. The fourth syllable of the code word, being the initial syllable of the name of the form, will provide the name of the form.

In all the four syllables of the code words, it is the consonants that are important. For metrical reasons, occasionally the vowels are lengthened or shortened and *anusvāras* are added or deleted.

This will become clear from the following example. The first code word is *paśa-cam-ke*. Here *pa* stands for *padma* in the lower right hand; *śa* means *śaṅkha* in the upper right hand; *cam* suggests *cakra* in the upper left hand. We can now infer that the remaining emblem, namely *gadā* is in the lower left hand. Finally the fourth syllable *ke* indicates that the form with the above-mentioned placement of emblems has the designation-Keśava.

Someśvara adds that in some cases the first syllable of the designation is omitted. This happens when the designation begins with a vowel. If this vowel is included in the code word as the fourth syllable, it will not remain as an independent entity but will merge with the vowel of the third syllable, through the grammatical process known as *sandhi*. Therefore in such cases, instead of the initial vowel, the second syllable that contains a consonant is given. Take the example of no. 16 in the table below. Here the name of the form is Aniruddha and code word is *ca-gā-śa-ni*. Here if the initial syllable of Aniruddha is included, the code word would read *ca-gā-śa-a*. But through *sandhi*, the fourth syllable will merge with the third and the result will be *ca-gā-śā*. Therefore, instead of the initial syllable *a*, the second syllable *ni* was included in the code word. This is the case with nos. 18, 20 and 22 as well.

3.4 The placement of the emblems in the twenty-four forms and the corresponding designations are shown in the following table:

	code word	lower right hand	upper right hand	upper left hand	lower left hand	Designation
1.	<i>pa-śa-caṁ-ke</i>	<i>padma</i>	<i>śaṅkha</i>	<i>cakra</i>	<i>gadā</i>	<b>Keśava</b>
2.	<i>śa-paṁ-gā-nā</i>	<i>śaṅkha</i>	<i>padma</i>	<i>gadā</i>	<i>cakra</i>	<b>Nārāyaṇa</b>
3.	<i>gā-ca-śaṁ-mā</i>	<i>gadā</i>	<i>cakra</i>	<i>śaṅkha</i>	<i>padma</i>	<b>Mādhava</b>
4.	<i>ca-gā-pa-go</i>	<i>cakra</i>	<i>gadā</i>	<i>padma</i>	<i>śaṅkha</i>	<b>Govinda</b>
5.	<i>ga-pa-śaṁ-vi</i>	<i>gadā</i>	<i>padma</i>	<i>śaṅkha</i>	<i>cakra</i>	<b>Viṣṇu</b>
6.	<i>ca-śaṁ-pā-ma</i>	<i>cakra</i>	<i>śaṅkha</i>	<i>padma</i>	<i>gadā</i>	<b>Madhusūdana</b>
7.	<i>pā-ga-ca-tri</i>	<i>padma</i>	<i>gadā</i>	<i>cakra</i>	<i>śaṅkha</i>	<b>Trivikrama</b>
8.	<i>śa-cā-ga-vā</i>	<i>śaṅkha</i>	<i>cakra</i>	<i>gadā</i>	<i>padma</i>	<b>Vāmana</b>
9.	<i>paṁ-cāṁ-ga-śrī</i>	<i>padma</i>	<i>cakra</i>	<i>gadā</i>	<i>śaṅkha</i>	<b>Śrīdhara</b>
10.	<i>ga-caṁ-pā-hṛ</i>	<i>gadā</i>	<i>cakra</i>	<i>padma</i>	<i>śaṅkha</i>	<b>Hṛṣīkeśa</b>
11.	<i>śa-pa-cā-pa</i>	<i>śaṅkha</i>	<i>padma</i>	<i>cakra</i>	<i>gadā</i>	<b>Padmanābha</b>
12.	<i>pa-śā-ga-dā</i>	<i>padma</i>	<i>śaṅkha</i>	<i>gadā</i>	<i>cakra</i>	<b>Dāmodara</b>
13.	<i>ga-śā-pā-saṁ</i>	<i>gadā</i>	<i>śaṅkha</i>	<i>padma</i>	<i>cakra</i>	<b>Samkarṣaṇa</b>
14.	<i>ga-śa-caṁ-vā</i>	<i>gadā</i>	<i>śaṅkha</i>	<i>cakra</i>	<i>padma</i>	<b>Vāsudeva</b>
15.	<i>ca-śa-gā-pa</i>	<i>cakra</i>	<i>śaṅkha</i>	<i>gadā</i>	<i>padma</i>	<b>Pradyumna</b>
16.	<i>ca-gā-śa-ni</i>	<i>cakra</i>	<i>gadā</i>	<i>śaṅkha</i>	<i>padma</i>	<b>Aniruddha</b>
17.	<i>ca-pā-śaṁ-pu</i>	<i>cakra</i>	<i>padma</i>	<i>śaṅkha</i>	<i>gadā</i>	<b>Puruṣottama</b>
18.	<i>pa-gā-śā-dho</i>	<i>padma</i>	<i>gadā</i>	<i>śaṅkha</i>	<i>cakra</i>	<b>Adhokṣaja</b>
19.	<i>ca-pāṁ-go-nṛ</i>	<i>cakra</i>	<i>padma</i>	<i>gadā</i>	<i>śaṅkha</i>	<b>Nṛsimha</b>
20.	<i>ga-pā-ca-cyu</i>	<i>gadā</i>	<i>padma</i>	<i>cakra</i>	<i>śaṅkha</i>	<b>Acyuta</b>
21.	<i>pā-ca-śaṁ-ja</i>	<i>padma</i>	<i>cakra</i>	<i>śaṅkha</i>	<i>gadā</i>	<b>Janārdana</b>
22.	<i>śa-gā-co-pe</i>	<i>śaṅkha</i>	<i>gadā</i>	<i>cakra</i>	<i>padma</i>	<b>Upendra</b>
23.	<i>śo-ca-pā-ha</i>	<i>śaṅkha</i>	<i>cakra</i>	<i>padma</i>	<i>gadā</i>	<b>Hari</b>
24.	<i>śa-gā-pa-kṛ</i>	<i>śaṅkha</i>	<i>gadā</i>	<i>padma</i>	<i>cakra</i>	<b>Kṛṣṇa</b>

Now it becomes obvious that these twenty-four names are indeed well known. Even today *Smārta* Brahmins daily recite these names in this very sequence in a rite known as *Ācamana* (sipping water as a means of internal purification).<sup>18</sup> The names and forms prescribed in the *Mānasollāsa* are exactly those which are enumerated in the *Rūpamaṇḍana* to which mention has been made above. That the twenty-four names and their sequence in these two texts are identical with the same as recited in the daily ritual<sup>19</sup> shows that the sequence given in these two texts is the correct one. It is likely that the placement of emblems is also the correct one because, this being a case of complete set of permutations, any variation in one form will automatically make it cease to be a distinct form separate from the other twenty-three. Therefore, variations found in other texts are merely due to corruption of texts in transmission, rather than to separate iconographic traditions.

4.1 Have these twenty-four forms, each with a distinct placement of the emblems, been ever represented in sculpture or painting? T. A. Gopinatha Rao discusses this issue in his invaluable *Elements of Hindu Iconography*.<sup>20</sup> According to him six of the twenty-four forms are represented in sculpture in the Chennakeśavasvāmin temple at Beḷūr in Karnataka. "They are of Keśava, Mādhava, Govinda, Madhusūdana, Hari and Śrīkrṣṇa respectively. Of these, the first image, that of Keśava is among the best specimens of the Hoyasaḷa school of sculpture, and is in an excellent state of preservation. It was set up by Śāntalādevī, the chief queen of Viṣṇuvardhana of the Hoyasaḷa dynasty, in the Kappe-Chennigarāya shrine in the Chennakeśavasvāmin temple. [...] The other five images are found sculptured on the walls of the central shrine of the Chennakeśavasvāmin in the same temple. [...] All the images are well executed, and bear evidence of trained workmanship."<sup>21</sup>

4.2. Such variations in the placement of emblems in Viṣṇu's hands are seen in sculpture elsewhere too, but nowhere in such preponderance as at Beḷūr. In her fine study of the *Iconography of Viṣṇu*, Kalpana Desai gives a large list of such images in north India and adds: "This survey of the *caturvīṃśati mūrtis* makes it clear that in the whole of northern India only selected forms of Viṣṇu have been worshipped by the people. Numerically, the Trivikrama image tops the list of Viṣṇu images right from the early times. The other prevalent forms are - Puruṣottama, Keśava, Śrīdhara, Govinda, Adhokṣaja and Acyuta."<sup>22</sup> But, like Beḷūr in south India, there is one place in the north where several forms are depicted together. To quote Kalpana Desai once again: "An interesting record of these images is still present in a temple at Valam in Gujarat, where most of the varieties of standing four-handed images of Viṣṇu are not only carved together but are also identified by the inscriptions on their pedestals. Only seventeen of these have survived, from which the iconography of Keśava, Nārāyaṇa, Saṅkaraṣaṇa, Govinda, Viṣṇu, Madhusūdana, Kṛṣṇa, Trivikrama, Hṛṣīkeśa, Padmanābha and Dāmodara tally

exactly with the description given in the *Rūpamaṇḍana*.<sup>23</sup> Unfortunately Desai does not attempt to date these sculptures.<sup>24</sup>

4.3 However, the standard mode of representation of the four emblems seems to be the one where Viṣṇu holds the *cakra* in his upper right hand and the *śaṅkha* in the upper left hand; the *padma* in the lower right hand and the *gadā* in the lower left hand. This is the twenty-first iconic form called Janārdana and it is this form which is most frequently represented in stone and bronze sculpture.

4.4 Much more popular than this is another form where only two emblems, namely the *cakra* and the *śaṅkha*,<sup>25</sup> are shown in the upper right and left hands. The two lower hands are empty of emblems but display significant *mudrās*; the right hand in *abhaya-mudrā* (gesture of protection and reassurance) and the left in *varada-mudrā* (gesture of conferring his grace). In fact this is the most popular form of representation of Viṣṇu, the benevolent lord who offers his protection and grace to his devotees. It is in this form that Venkateśvara in the famous temple on the Tirupati Hills is depicted.

5.1. Viṣṇu has one thousand names, which were enumerated as early as the *Mahābhārata*.<sup>36</sup> Of these, twenty-four names became important in the cult. Scholars trace these twenty-four names to the Pañcarātra concept of the four *Vyūhas*, namely Vāsudeva, Saṅkaraṣaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha. Jitendra Nath Banerjea opines that the concept of the four *Vyūhas* was first formulated in the second century and was increased to twenty-four in the Gupta period.<sup>27</sup> Gradually distinct iconic forms were assigned to each of the twenty-four names, the distinction being just a difference in the placement of the emblems. It is difficult to determine when this happened, but the earliest text where the *Caturvīṃśati-mūrtis* are described is the *Agnipurāṇa* of uncertain date. The available sculptures in north India depicting these variations are rather late; they are datable to seventh to tenth centuries.<sup>28</sup>

5.2. But is there any intrinsic connection between a particular form with a certain arrangement of the emblems and the corresponding designation? Why must a form holding the *śaṅkha* and the *cakra* in the upper hands and the *padma* and the *gadā* in the lower hands be designated as Keśava, and not Mādhava? Or what is the connection between the concept of Trivikrama who covered the entire cosmos with three strides (*tri-vikrama*) and the arrangement in which the *gadā* and the *cakra* are held in the upper hands and the *padma* and the *śaṅkha* in the lower hands?

Indeed, the connection between the twenty-four names and the twenty-four forms based on the permutations of the placement of the four emblems seems to be without any mythological or philosophical basis. It must be the brain-child of some mathematician rather than a theologian—a mathematician who resorted

to the permutations of the four emblems in order to provide separately identifiable iconic forms to the twenty-four names. In other words, mathematics of permutations played a role in the iconography of Viṣṇu's twenty-four forms.

In an earlier section of the *Līlāvati*<sup>29</sup> Bhāskara himself remarks that the mathematics of permutations and combinations has its application in several areas: "to compute the variations of metre in prosody,<sup>30</sup> the variations of the placement of windows and other architectural elements (*mūsāvahanabhedādī*) [In architecture], the variations of the *tālas* [in music],<sup>31</sup> the variations [of diverse kinds] in sculpture and other crafts (*śilpaka*), and the combinations of different medicinal substances in medicine, for those persons who are knowledgeable in the respective subjects."

5.3 In the case of the mathematician Bhāskara who alludes to these *Caturvīṃśatimūrtis*, the following facts are rather striking. He was born in 1114 and lived at Vijjalavida in the Sahyādris in present-day Maharashtra. It is not known when he composed the *Līlāvati*, but it must be before 1150 when he completed the *Siddhāntaśiromaṇi*. The *Mānasollāsa*, which describes the twenty-four forms and names in a syllabic code, was composed around 1129 by King Someśvara III who ruled parts of present-day Maharashtra and Karnataka from 1126 to 1138. The sculptures which represent as many as six of these twenty-four forms at the Beḷūr Channakeśava Temple also belong to this period. The main image of Keśava was commissioned by Śītālādevī, chief queen of Viṣṇuvaradhana of Hoyasaḷa dynasty who ruled ca. 1110-1152. The other five sculptures too belong to this period. Therefore the proximity of these three sources in time and space may be taken as an indication that in the first half of the twelfth century the cult of the *Caturvīṃśati-mūrtis* was prevalent in the Maharashtra-Karnataka region.

6.1 Now there remains the question of the 3,628,800 forms of Śiva arising out of the permutations of the ten emblems. Like Viṣṇu, Śiva is also invested with one thousand names in the *Mahābhārata*,<sup>32</sup> but nowhere with three million names nor with so many forms. This part is purely Bhāskara's fancy. But the ten emblems enumerated by him are not fanciful, and these must have had a basis in the *Śilpaśāstra*. In plastic sculpture Śiva is represented with two, four, eight, ten or more arms. The forms with many arms and weapons are usually *sarṁhāra-mūrtis* when the god is set to vanquish an enemy. According to an anonymous text cited by Gopinatha Rao, the ten-armed form is prescribed for the *Gajāsura-sarṁhāra-mūrti*, when Śiva vanquished a demon in the form of an elephant. For this form the text prescribes the ten emblems as follows: *akṣamālā* (rosary), *asi* (sword), *śakti* (spear), *daṇḍa* (staff) and *śūla* (trident) in the five hands on the right; *khaṭvāṅga* (staff with a skull at the top), *bhujaga* (serpent), *kapāla* (skull), *kheṭaka* (shield), and *hariṇa* (deer) in the five hands on the left.<sup>33</sup> The ten emblems in Bhāskara's

list, we may recall, are *pāśa* (noose), *anikuśa* (elephant's goad), *ahi* (serpent), *ḍamaru* (small hand drum), *kapāla*, *śūla*, *khaṭvāṅga*, *śakti*, *śara* (arrow) and *cāpa* (bow).<sup>34</sup> Only five are common in these two lists, viz. *ahi*, *kapāla*, *śūla*, *khaṭvāṅga* and *śakti*. The remaining five, viz. *pāśa*, *anikuśa*, *ḍamaru*, *śara* and *cāpa* are also wielded by Śiva, but in other iconic forms.

For the moment then Bhāskara's exact source for Śiva's ten emblems eludes us.

## Notes and References

1. On combinations and permutations in the *Līlāvātī*, see Sreeramula Rajeswara Sarma and Suresh Chandra Sarbhai, "Bhāskarācārya kī Līlāvātī men Saṁcaya-Kramacaya Ganita," *Prācyā-Prajñā*, 15 (1984), pp. 1-15.
2. Bhāskara, *Buddhivilāsini-Līlāvātīvivaraṅkhyā-tīkādvayopetā śrīmad-Bhāskarācār-yaviracitā Līlāvātī*, ed. Dattatreya Vishnu Apte, Anandasrama Press, Poona, 1937, (Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series 107), verse 263, pp. 277-278.
3. *Ibid.*, verse 261 ab, p. 275:  
*sthānāntam ekādicayāṅkaghātaḥ saṁkhyāvibhedā niyataiḥ syur ankaḥ /*  
"The product of multiplication of the arithmetical series, beginning from one and increased by one, and going up to the given number, is the number of variations with specific figures."
4. *Ibid.*, p. 278. The passage reads erroneously *pāśādir daśabhir*, which is emended here to *pāśādi-daśabhir*.
5. Henry Thomas Colebrooke, *Līlāvātī, translated by Colebrooke*, with notes by Haran Chandra Banerji, Kitāb Mahal, Allahabad 1969, p. 168, fn. 1. "The twenty-four different representations of Viṣṇu, arising from diversity in the manner of placing the weapons in his hands, are distinguished by as many discriminative titles of the god allotted to those figures in the theogonies or *Purāṇas*."
6. For a discussion on these twenty-four names and their forms (*Caturvīṁśati-mūrtis*), see Tārānātha Tarkavācaspati, *Vācaspatyam*, (Calcutta 1873-1888), reprint: Varanasi 1969, Vol. IV, pp. 2878-79, s. v. *Caturvīṁśatimūrti*; T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, (Madras 1914-16), second edition: Delhi 1968, Vol. I. part 1, pp 227-244: Chaturvīṁśati-Mūrtayah; part 2, Appendix C, pp. 62-64; Jitendra Nath Banerjea, *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, University of Calcutta, Calcutta, (first edition 1941), second edition (revised and enlarged), 1957, pp. 386-88, 407-412; Kalpana Desai, *Iconography of Viṣṇu (In Northern India, upto the Medieval Period)*, Abhinav Publications, New Delhi, 1973, pp. 7-14, figs. 1-10. T. S. Maxwell, *The Gods of Asia: Image, Text and Meaning*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1998, pp. 80-86.
7. *Padma-Mahā-Purāṇa*, (Venkateswara Steam Press, Bombay), reprint: Nag Publishers, Delhi, 1996, Vol. II, p. 96 verse: *Pātāla Khaṇḍa*, 98. 16cd-27cd. This passage is reproduced in T.A. Gopinatha Rao, *op.cit.*, I. 2, Appendix C, pp. 62-63. There are slight variations in the two versions. The passage begins as follows:



*śaṅkhacakraḡadāpadmī Keśavākhyo ḡadādharah /*  
*Nārāyaṅah padmagadācakraśaṅkhāyudhaiḡ kramāt //*  
*Mādhavaś cakraśaṅkhābhyām padmena ḡadayā bhavet /*  
*ḡadābjaśaṅkhacakrī ca Govindākhyo ḡadādharah //*

8. *Agnipurāṅa*, Poona 1957, (Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series 41), Ch. 48 (pp. 70-71).  
 The chapter begins thus:

*omrūpah Keśavaḡ padmaśaṅkhacakraḡadādharah /*  
*Nārāyaṅah śaṅkhapadmagadācakrī pradakṡiṅam ||1||*  
*tato ḡadī Mādhavo 'riśaṅkhapadmī namāmi tam /*  
*cakrakaumodakīpadmaśaṅkhī Govinda ūrjitah ||2||*

This chapter is reproduced in *Vācaspatyam*, Vol. 4, pp. 2878-9.

9. *Caturvargacintāmaṅi of Śrī Hemādri*, ed. Bharatacandra Śiromaṅi, (Calcutta, 1883-1895), reprint: Varanasi, 1985, Vol. II: *Vratākhaṅḡa*, part 1, pp. 114-115. Here the passage is said to be extracted from the *Siddhāntasārasaṅhitā*. This passage is reproduced also in *Vācaspatyam*, Vol. 4, pp. 2878-79.
10. The relevant passage is reproduced in T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *op. cit.*, I. 2, Appendix C, pp. 63-64 and discussed in 1.1, pp. 229-230. The *Rūpamaṅḡana* together with the *Devatāmūrtiprakaraṅa* were edited by V. M. Sāmkhyatīrtha and published in Calcutta Series in 1936. I have not been able to see this publication.
11. See the extracts cited in footnotes 7 and 8. Kalpana Desai, *op.cit.*, p. 151, shows in a neat table the placement of emblems for each form as prescribed in *Padmapurāṅa* (4.79), *Rūpamaṅḡana* (ch. 5), *Pārameśvara-saṅhitā*, *Kriyākhaṅḡa* (23.72-78) and *Ahīrbudhnya-saṅhitā* (26.33-46). The last two texts give only the first twelve forms. Both Banerjea (*op.cit.*) and Desai (*op.cit.*), while following the prescriptions given in the *Rūpamaṅḡana*, do not seem to recognize that the deviations found in other texts are purely due to errors in transmission. Banerjea (*op.cit.*, p. 411) reports that "B. B. Bidyabinod [*Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 2, pp. 23-33, pls. VII-VIII] made a comparative study of some of these passages from the *Caturvargacintāmaṅi*, *Agni* and *Padmapurāṅas*, pointed out the differences in a few of these descriptions and rightly observed that 'a decisive identification is not always possible in the present state of our documents.'"
12. *Mānasollāsa of King Bhūlokamalla Someśvara*, ed. G. K. Srigondekar, Oriental Institute, Baroda, 1925 Vol. I (Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. 28), 1925, reprint 1967; Vol. II (GOS 84), 1939; Vol. III (GOS 138), 1961.
13. *Ibid*, I, p. 34: 2.2.61-64.
14. *Ibid*, II, p. 60,3.688-694; see also the editor's comments in the Introduction, p. 11.
15. Text; *ḡaśāpāśam (saṅ)*
16. Text; *ḡagācā (śā) dho*

17. Text: *gapācatuḥ* (*cu*)
18. See *Vācaspatyam*, s. v. *Ācamana* (vol. 1, p. 629). Strangely enough, none of the recent authors who wrote on the twenty-four names and forms (see n.5 above) noticed this fact that the twenty-four names are still recited in the daily ritual in this very sequence.
19. Occasionally Nṛsīmha is replaced by Narasīmha or Nārasīmha.
20. T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *op.cit.*, I.1, pp. 227-244: Chaturviṃśati-Mūrtayah; see also I. 2, Appendix C, pp. 62-64 where relevant passages from the *Padmapurāṇa* and *Rūpamaṇḍana* are reproduced.
21. *Ibid.*, I.1, pp. 243-44. The six images are reproduced in Plates LXIX (Keśava), LXX (Madhusūdana, Mādhava and Govinda) and LXXI (Hari and Kṛṣṇa).
22. Kalpana Desai, *op.cit.*, pp. 10-12.
23. *Ibid.*, pp. 12-13.
24. It has not been possible for me to check whether subsequent to Desai's writing in 1973, she or anybody else has studied these images in detail. Recently, I came across the information that all the 24 forms can be seen today in Mumbai in the Sri Venkatesh Devasthanam at 80/84, Fanaswadi, (Girgaum area), which was constructed in 1910 under the personal supervision of Jagadguru Gadi Prathivadi Bhayankaram Srimad Ananthacharya Swamiji Maharaj of Kanchi. The forms are carved on the outer wall of the first Prākāra.
25. It must also be noted that of the four emblems, the *cakra* and the *śaṅkha* are more important than the *gadā* and the *padma*. Not only are these two personified in mythology, they are also worshipped independently.
26. *Mahābhārata* (Critical Edition), *Anuśāsanaparvan*, 135.14-120.
27. Jitendra Nath Banerjea, *op.cit.*, pp. 387-88; see also 388, n. 1.
28. Kalpana Desai, *op.cit.*, p. 11.
29. *Līlāvati*, verse 131 cd-132:
- chandaścityuttare chandasy upayogo 'sya tadvidām //*  
*mūṣāvahanabhedādau khaṇḍamerāu ca śilpake //*  
*vaidyake rasabhedīye tan noktaṁ viśṛter bhayāt //*
30. On the use of permutations and combinations in Sanskrit prosody, see Ludwig Alsdorf, "Die Pratyayas. Ein Beitrag zur indischen Mathematik", *Zeitschrift für Indology und Iranistik*, 9 (1933), pp. 97-157; an English translation of the same by Sreeramula Rajeswara Sarma, "The Pratyayas: Indian Contribution to Combinatorics," *Indian Journal of History of Science*, 26.1 (1991), pp. 17-61; idem, "Śūnya in Piṅgala's Chandahsūtra" in: A. K. Bag & S. R. Sarma (ed), *The Concept of Śūnya*, New Delhi 2003, pp. 126-136.
31. On the use of permutations and combinations in music, see Ākeḷla Mallikārjuna Śarmā, *Permutative Genius in Tāla (-Prastāra) in Indian Music*, Telugu University, Hyderabad, 1992; idem, *Indian Genius in Tālaprastāra*, Sri Sannidhi Sangita

Publications, Hyderabad, 2001.

32. *Mahābhārata* (Critical Edition), *Anuśāsanaparvan*, 17.30-150.  
 33. Gopinatha Rao, *op.cit.*, ll. I, pp. 114-15:

*akṣamālām asim śaktim daṇḍam śūlam ca dakṣiṇe /*  
*khatvāṅgam bhujagam caiva kapālam khetakam tathā //*  
*paraṇam (harīṇam ?) ca tathā haste vāmbhāge niveśayet /*  
*gajāsuraavadhenādhye bahubhir daśabhir yutaḥ //*

34. On these and other emblems and weapons, see Gopinatha Rao, *op. cit.*, I. 1, pp. 1-14, pls. I-IV; Jitendra Nath Banerjea, *op. cit.*, pp. 299-306.

## Chanderi Stone Inscription of Jaitravarma

Arvind K. Singh

During exploration work for the data collection under a U. G. C. major research project, we have visited the Archaeological Museum in Gujari Mahal, Gwalior and noticed a fragmentary inscription from Chanderi in three pieces lying in the reserve collection of the museum which has not yet been published, but noticed by D. R. Bhandarkar and others.<sup>1</sup> The text of the inscription under discussion is prepared from the original stone and photograph.

The record is fragmentary and now broken in three parts. It consists of thirty-two lines and left part of the stone measures 96 cm. broad and 65 cm. high, while the right parts are broken in two pieces and some portions are missing now. Of the thirty-two lines preserved here, none is complete as the right portion of the stone has been broken away in two parts, the lines 27-30 have been damaged, and the writing of several places has almost become unreadable so that only a tentative reading of some portion is given. Of the 32 lines of writing, two lines are carved on the lower border of the stone. The average size of the letter is about 1.7 cm. while the size of the letters in line nineteen is comparatively bigger. The language employed is Sanskrit, verse. The inscription is written in Nāgarī characters which are, palaeographically regular for the period of the 13th century. Most of the *akṣaras* are well formed. As regards palaeography, it is interesting to note that letters like *ca*, *ja*, *dha*, and *bha* are yet to develop their counterpart in modern Nāgarī. The only difference between *v* and *dh* is that the latter has a slanting stroke on upper left portion. The sign for medial *ā* in *samhāre* (line 1) is of curved top stroke variety, is different from vertical line signs for the same *mātrā* occurring elsewhere in the inscription. The sign for medial *e* is of two types, one a slanting *śiromātrā* ending in an upward curve as in *Purāreḥ* and *Harapateḥ* (line 1), and the other a fully developed *prsthāmātrā* as in *ke* of *rājyābhiseke* (line 4). Medial *o* is likewise indicated either by a *śiromātrā* as in *Nilakanṭho* (line 5) or by a *prsthāmātrā* as in *Duḥśāsano* (line 6). Medial *ai* is also indicated either by a *śiromātrā* as in *dahanaiḥ* (line 4) or by a *prsthāmātrā* as in *yaśvai* (line 6). The distinction between the shape of *sv* and *kh*; *ll* and *ṇṇ* is not obvious.

As a considerable portion of the record is lost, it is not possible to give a full description of its contents and purpose. It is a part of *praśasti*, the purpose of which may be to record the construction or repair of a grand temple. It begins with the *Om* symbol followed by a salutation to Śiva, and

invoking deities. The family to which Jaitravarman belonged is traced from Lakṣmaṇa, the younger brother of Rāma. Further, the genealogy of the Pratihāras commencing from Nīlakaṇṭha to Jaitravarma is found in the recovered portion of the inscription. It records a long genealogy of Pratihāra kings ruling over Chanderi (Candrapuri of the inscription) in those days. It mentions Pratihāra Nīlakaṇṭha who was followed in succession by Harirāja, Bhīmadeva, Raṇapāla, Vatsarāja, Svarnṇapāla, Kīrttipāla, Abhayapāla, Govindarāja, Rājarāja, Virarāja and Jaitravarman. Achievements of these rulers are described in general terms, sometimes comparing with the deity and epic heroes, without mentioning specific success. However, Kīrttipāla is described as having constructed three objects, Kīrttidurga, temple of Kīrttinārāyaṇa, and Kīrttisāgara which he designated after his own name. The first of these is evidently the fort of Chanderi, the second was probably a temple of Viṣṇu built somewhere on or near the fort and the third is a tank on the south-west of the fort, now in a ruined condition but still retaining the old name Kīrttisāgara.<sup>2</sup> Inscription concludes with the name of the writer *Pam (Pamdīta) Śahaḍena* and the name of the engraver *Sūtra (Sūtradhāra) Halaukena*.

Harirāja is also known from other inscriptions. A fragmentary stone inscription from Kadwaha<sup>3</sup> records Harirāja as paramount ruler who belonged to the family of Pratihāras, otherwise known as the Gurjara, in which was born a mighty ruler named Durbhaṭa and that Harirāja was the son of a king (whose name is lost). We know from Bharat Kala Bhavan copper plate inscription<sup>4</sup> that the Pratihāra king Harirāja was ruling in V. S. 1040. He bears the title of *nrpacakravarti* and *mahārājādhirāja* which indicates his position as an independent ruler. Inscription of V. S. 1040 registers Harirāja's grant of two *halas* (measure) of land on the occasion of a solar eclipse while he was staying at Siyadoni (modern Siron Khurd, Lalitpur, Jhansi). Thubauṇ inscription of Harirāja, V. S. 1055<sup>5</sup> tells that the famous king Harirājadeva born in the Pratihāra *kula*, is found to have beheld kings equally Śrī Harṣa and Dhaṅga as his subordinate (*karada*). A Chanderi inscription of V. S. 1100<sup>6</sup> mentions Raṇapāladeva and records a *praśasti* of the Śiva ascetic Prabodhaśiva. Pacharai inscription of V. S. 1122<sup>7</sup> records the names of Pratihāra rulers Harijāja, Bhīma and Raṇapāla. The name of Pratihāra ruler Bhīma; and Raṇapāla, Vatsarāja, Svarnṇapāla, Kīrttirāja and his brother Uttama are mentioned in Kadwaha inscriptions.<sup>8</sup> Rulers of this dynasty are also known from a fragmentary stone inscription from Chanderi<sup>9</sup> which consists the *praśasti* of Harirāja, Bhīmadeva, Raṇapāla, Vatsarāja and Abhayapāla. According to the genealogy of the inscription under discussion, Harirāja was the second member of the line, his predecessor being Nīlakaṇṭha. However, fragmentary Kadwaha inscription<sup>10</sup> mentions Durbhaṭa as another king of this family. He may have been a predecessor of Nīlakaṇṭha.

The inscription under discussion is important as it records a long genealogy

of the rulers of a Pratihāra dynasty and throws light on the history of the dynasty who were ruling in the region of Jhansi, Chanderi, Thubaun, Pacharai, Kadwaha and adjoining area during 10th-13th century. It was probably during the reign of the Pratihāra kings that Chanderi suffered the first Muhammadan invasion led by Ghias-ud-din-Balaban on behalf of Nasir-ud-din Mahmud, king of Delhi, in 1251. This invasion does not appear to have been effective, as Chanderi continued to be in the possession of the Hindu rulers until it was reduced in 1304, by Ain-ul-Mulk, general of Ala-ud-din Khilji.<sup>11</sup>

**TEXT**  
**(Plate-I a-c)**

1. Om<sup>12</sup> // namaḥ Śivāya // viśvaṃsrjatyā catiśamhārē dasēdharmurtasya  
Kaupidr namasyaita / varamśyantaram vasuhuvagirirajih  
bhrtavātadhūragalpāmjalirjayati pādagataḥ Purārēḥ // Harapatēḥ // dhīyam  
yasya vapurvīrūpanayanam bhūśālavatpannagairāvāsaḥ pitrkānanēpriyam...  
Camḍisutaḥ Śaṃmukhaḥ / ukṣāvāha namamvaram gajadrīrbhūtāḥ sadāsēvakā  
ityamcitrakutumvakōdija-

2. yatām dēvaḥ Kuṭumvēśvaraḥ // api ca // dyūtalilōdikēraimyaṃ  
jitekurjaradharmmeṇi / śūdhairbham-kṣasmimtaṃ Śambhoḥ  
pāntumagnāngamāsitaṃ // ihatapanatanūjātira-vānīrakuñjemrdukiśalam  
yaśastyā kalpitākena Kṛṣṇa / iti sapulaka kāmpan gopivvaṃdevu guṇesphurita  
subham ..... pōlampātu Rādhamukhaṃśaḥ //  
vividhakaranāmgahārairnṛtyantaṃ vīksya Śamkaramrabhasāt /  
vikaṭapadapātarasyam

3. nṛtyana Vighneśvaraḥ pātu // śrī Yogeśvarasyaite //  
cakṣurddakṣinamadyutasya jagatāṃddetu ... nuḥ śamkepi pratyakṣapramitiḥ  
śuterapigatircyāpasuśītadyuteḥ / yaḥ pūjyaḥ prathamamsureṣu  
satatāṃdvaivīkarōtpuṅgamemāṭtenāharitīksapeti sūnyam soyaṃ  
jayatsaryamā // vaṃśeja .... bhūvayarabhaśaman-Rāmāvatārōha Harisūtrāmyaiḥ  
kimaṇīṣṭairapi nṛpairmmanvādibhīrvvarṇitaiḥ // bhrā-

4. tātasyasa-Lakṣmaṇaḥ samabhavadrāmasyaryaḥ sarvādāprāṇācādyā  
carādviṭiyajana sramceraḥ kimanyagunaḥ // tasyapratāpadahanaiḥ  
parivapyamāne pratyarthirājasudrśam hṛdayesphuṇantaḥ /  
hārānipeturavansavitiḥāra vairīyātaḥ prasiddhimihayaḥ Pratihāra ... .. mnām //  
Harapateramī // rājyābhiseke Raghunaṃdanasya sauhitirāśitpratihāra bhūmau  
// tataḥ prabhṛtye-

5. śa mahīśvarāṇāmśdyātaḥ pṛthivyām Pratihāra vaṃśaḥ //

varṣeasmitsamayakramāt- samajani śrī Nilakanṭhō nṛpaḥ sarvvajño  
 dviṣatāmpurapramathano bhūtyāsamālingitaḥ / dūre  
 nirjjitacittajanyavikṛtirnityaṁ vudhaiḥ samśritaściraṁ nogratamurtradakṣa  
 vimukhōnaiva dviji ... trayah // śrī Yogeśvarasyaitau // tasyu śrī Harirāja ityatha  
 Mahāsenah Kūmārojaevataśaktyāyo

6. nijadyānadurjjayataram śatrumlasattārakām yaśvai / kānajitaḥ  
 paraṁsumanasāṁ devena nareṣuya / yēnātmānāma pāśyapattana bhuvāṁ  
 viprāḥ karaṁgrāhitaḥ // tataḥ sutastasya vabhūvabhūpaḥ śrī Bhīmadevojita  
 Bhimasēnah / Duḥśāsano bhūnnabhuvīha kaścīd-Duryodhanah ko ...  
 mayasyakhaṁśve // tasyāpi putro Raṇapāla āsinnṛporaṇepālayatā śaranyān  
 / yenāha nāmā-

7. pikvataṁ kṛtāryaṁkastenanārtvīvīhitaḥ kṛtārthaḥ // tata sasyatanūjanmā  
 Vatsarājo bhavanṛpaḥ / vatstanavidhāryaṁ rājñoyaḥ sāradhārāṁdudohagrām  
 // sūnustasya vabhūya vaṁśa sukṛtaiḥ śrī Svarṇapālo nṛpobharvāyena  
 punarṇṇave ca vasudhājātāt / nā hāriṇīyom vīkṣyā sadaneva .... kīrttiragamatkaṁ  
 vānapāthodadhikāṁ lokāṁ tajamānavāvaratanuḥ kāṁ vādiśaṁ nāśrayata //  
 tasnādaśeṣa

8. bhuvanodaraḡitakīrtiḥ śrī Kīrttipāla nṛpatirnnṛpativamāpa / yenārthinotra vihitā  
 dadatorthavantaḥ pratyarthino yudhivijitya tadarthinaśca // yenākārigirau  
 mahonnatimati śrī Kīrttidurggoraveḥ pratpagra / nihasannidhau kulaguroḥ  
 pādāniva ... pravittuṁ // prāsādaśva Hareḥ punaḥ sabhagavān śrī Kīrttinārāyanah  
 kūrmmaṣṇāvaka Kīrttisāgara

9. itisve nai ca nāmnātrayaṁ // tanūjanmātasyā bhavad-Abhayapālah kṣitipatiḥ  
 patiryah samrājāna jayamajayajamgetvavalaṁ / yathārakṣah sainyaṁ  
 dhanurasisahāyo Raghupatiḥ purastāttatkālāda vidita kṛtāntavyatikaraṁ // api  
 ca // drghantaḥ saṁgarārausarani dhīravatāstesu ... tatravīrāstetā vallasuvantaḥ  
 suravarasudṛṣah puṇyabhāje athēvvaṁ / madhyē yuddhaṁ tatōye tadaniviri

10. hatāstepiśeṣāḥ samāpuḥ śeṣājuśeṣavīrāḥ surapurituraga vrahmacaryaṁ  
 caranti // tadarṁ gajoyojamayamtanamgamśritaḥ śrigusvaṁ svamudamnatnvan  
 / rājeva Govindai varērāja Govindarājothava bhūvarājā // uddhṛtvayena  
 vasudhāṁ vasuddhādhipena vakṣovidārya kṛtadarnnaya .... dāreḥ /  
 kṛtvāthavikramavatā Valirājavarṁdhaṁ Govindatāprajatiitā puruṣottamena //  
 Harapateramī // pa-

11. tkhaṅga bhūdharaśirasyudiva yasoyaṁ kopipratāpataraṇistapatā ca  
 yenāsammilitā / parivadhūvadanāgtujāni pronmilitānivadharaṁ kumudākaraṇi  
 // api ca // dhurāmpūrvvairūdhāṁ vadatina paramkastanapare  
 vahuśvalpāśamkivitarati sadāsatrapaiva / prabhuḥ sattapunvairavanatiparodheḥ  
 .... rujatevapuḥ sarvvādhāraṁnṛṇasivaparārdhe kalayati // parīribhum  
 viradhakamṭva yuvafika ...

12. kvacit sarvvālimṅanalālasā ca vicarenmuktvātvanantasthitiḥ / sarvvāmamyudhime ... lām vasumatimbhrānvāsamdaikākinī nirmmaryādātayānisargga capalā prāpagdhirimtvācīta // śrī Yome (ge) śvarupyate // yasminadātari Govimde raṇe vitarāṇe sadā / punardehī ..... dvāṇīna pratyarthininārthini // anāthanāthe dvijakalpavṛkṣe yasminnrpe

13. lōkaḥ / jīvatabhūdeṣa samastakhatam kīrttiṣeṣa vidadhetavedhāḥ // tataḥ prajaniṃsve kṛtaisvīhahriḥ pratyarthināmduḥ kṛtasamdayaiśva / rājñām sūrājeti yathārthanāmā śrī Rājarājotravatta ca rājā // Harapateramī // nityam puṇyajanābhi varddhanapasi durggeśvaraikā śrī vikhyātoyama datvatasribhuvane kāntālakā bhāśvakah / nolavṛmde

14. tam vidyāvārerbhūpitaścitrayanna Kuvēratāmupagataḥ śrī Rājarājopyaśo // api ca // valadvāhadyūhēśvaraśduramukhotkhate dharaṇāvudīrṇṇenavyāptam bhavaturajayānāma bhuvanam / vimuktamsatvena prativala mahīpālabhūdayam samākrāntam yacca pracamatamasāvitramasi .....// simhāsanam sūkṛta .... malaṃcakā ....

15. tadādi / aśthāpidikpatibhiraṣtabhirappaśamkam pratyarthi bhūmipatibhinamṣṭanaḥ kadāpi // api ca // yajjaisrayāna bhavareṇu mayāndhakāre ghoredivaivarajani bhramayādadhānem / samkocayaṇama parampara rājalokaḥ korvāyaśo kavikareḥ kamalākaraśca // vataḥ ..... pirayai

16. vyātra sarvvānumato mahaujaḥ sutonurūpaḥ kṣitipatvetasya / avāpa laksmīrṃ kulajām mānājñām śrī Virarājō vasudhāmimām ca // vīreṣu rājasu nijam prathamam virāye yaunāgatāta vidhrtamnamrpā cakāra / rājñō manōratha kathāvitathavyekādyibhavyā bhavatkāśūyapī .... tu śrī da .... tu ....

17. jānamanasaḥ kṣobhāya yasyā bhavan / sarvvorvīpati sarvvavīravijyaenīramdhratā siddhaye yenātmāpijitaḥ sakena kṛtīnā vācākayā kathyate // api ca // mūrchāvasāne gajakumtavyūvyāpa pātadrṣṭiḥ sahasā sarōṣam / surāmṅanā vakṣasiyavaramṅe .... vadidayā dāgayāmiyasurapa ....

18. dapaśpadidam jagaudyaḥ / viśrāntanṛtyamiva catvarabhūmibhāgamukhate paṃkajamivodaka sanniveśurṃ // sūtvānujastasya guṇairagādhaḥ pauśveramātyairanunīya gānaḥ / śrī Jaitravarmmā manujādhipatyannasvī cakāredamuvāca vīraḥ // yādrgtādrṅgavarthiniḥ yadyebhūri // śrī Yogeśvarasyaiṇai // dada ....

19. daksasaḥ / yāvadvamdhuvadhūjanasya sahasāmchidyadvīśādyādyāṣitāmanvātraiva na yājyāmi vidadhe tāvannarājye sthītima // Harapateramī / api ca / hemaṃstrīṇaḥ śrguta viprajanāśva sarvaprajā .... kopidayāṇa vipranurṃdurasayā....

20. lōcanaithō vārṣpamnē vairilalanā suniyojayāmi // dātāvīranṛpaḥ sādhasu



vahurbhiḥ pratyarthibhirdduggīderekībhbhayala satkrpāṇa sacivaḥ  
pāpairaṇeryairhataḥ / teṣāṃ  
tīksnakrpānakṛttakavinoccaṇḍāṃśakūṭocchalatkoṣaiḥ śōṇisūvi ... varayana ....  
hakrama tulya śrī Jadesyapiraḥ sada ....

21. pisannidhaustaḥ / pratīṣṭhataḥ kaṃṭhabhaṭājjanānām kadācīde tenayayauḥ  
prasastīm // dṛṣvāguroḥ sumanasām sunaya prayogān caksuḥ  
sahaśramathaveta sisanniveśpa / bhūtvēha Camdrapuritam pratirājatulyaḥ śrī  
Devarājavi pikastatva... dhyāsyāśai sutyam....

22. rtuśvakopi subhado dviṣatām ca kaścitsarvvasyayaḥ saiha Cācīkadevae  
ca // apyastī pūjyo vivudha pradhāno yogeśvarō nirjitarānnacāriḥ /  
satāṃsamājepadaśapūranā nṛtyatyaso yasya sadāpraśastīḥ // agnojaya  
nijavanarīmgiro ... katravahemadanā ....

23. aṃśadanam cakāra // vijñāpitaiḥ pauraṇairamītirvicāradolāyacittam eva  
/ śrī Jaitravarmma nijavamśarājyē kurvvan vahih samvṛtīmatyapevi // tatobhiseke  
vidhivadvidhijñairyānām kryanteḥ sumāṅgalāni / tānyevayā śamstyāgrā  
mahitvāvirojanāha.... sṛṇa.... tibhyayedrivaitreyā.....

24. nduṣīta jayajñāvāsyattajayām tatō gurūpadeśenūyiyā sācchedilpamunā /  
sūnaugajinamākṛtya tasyonāti valāmvalī / Harapateramī // uccapratāpa prasaraḥ  
tradvanū viśvambharāyaśeḥ // cāsyadatavṛitto jaganujaitraṭha.... tadasi....  
muditr....dapadaha.... vūdi.....

25. api ca // yaḥ śrīmānnijavamśamauktikamaṇiḥ dyūryamtapratāpāraṇiḥ  
vadūrya pratipādanaiya saraṇiḥ sarvvarthivittāmaṇiḥ /  
sadasphuritāmrdhasyaratarāṇirda sṛjasyaṇa śamaravidakanudāra.....  
padanija.....

26. gatisvaraṇerajagram kovedakadyata viramtyam vahuvaralapa..... /  
tavṛmdūdesatiradrai Śrīdhare / guradaraparaivakīnamamatasva padasti.....

27..... varacitpracītevatrarihaṣam sūnyajaveyatra.....

28.....ratnermvarṃsai.....ka.....tajathisa.....// sa

29.....ṇunardamtivi.....

30.....// manasejasu.....rapate.....nṛraṣīṭapa.....janmanah.....jaśa // umvanuye  
.... rbhirigavā ca mahībhujāvīravivekai.....

31. lāśa śailoṣam ye prāsāde ramatām samāṅgīrijayādevaḥ Kuṭumveśvaraḥ  
// śukaravām cācatrālāmkrīti tullava sarvājah sukānte goṣṭhayāyājaśvana  
grvānahagutvajayāta prasastisvaha.... nsamarāgunavṛttāsarmaṇe  
saktvānūnāyakāramyo / muktāmvalīvavilugusadradeyaha.... prasastiriyam //  
cāyo.....subhamastu.....

32. nnavadara Vallālasya Kukāsaḥ / likhitā paṁ / Śahādēna // utkīrṇṇa sūtra / Halaukena //

## TEXT

१. ॐ<sup>12</sup> नमः शिवाय ॥ विश्वंसृजत्य चतिसंहारे दसेधर्मुर्तस्य कौपिद्वनमस्यइत । वरंश्यन्तरं वसुह्रुवगिरिरजिः भृतवातधूरनल्पांजलिर्जयति पादगतः पुरारेः ॥ हरपतेः ॥ धीयं यस्य वपुर्व्विरूपनयनं भूषालवत्पन्नौरावासः पितृकाननेप्रियं.... चंडीसुतः षण्मुखः । उक्षावाह नमम्वरं गजदृतिर्भूताः सदासेवका इत्यं चित्र कुटुम्बकोदिज-
२. यतां दैवः कुटुंबेश्वरः ॥ अपि च ॥ घृतलीलोदिकैरैम्यां जितेकुर्जरधर्मेणि । षूधैर्भक्षस्मिंतं शंभोः पांतुमग्रांङ्गमासितं ॥ इहतपनतनूजातीरवानीरकुञ्जेमुदुकिशलं यशस्त्या कल्पिताकेन कृष्ण । इतिसपुलक कंभं गोपिर्व्वंदेवु गुणेस्फुरित सुभं... पोलंपातु राधामुखंषः ॥ विविधकरणंगाहारैर्नृत्यन्तं वीक्ष्य शंकरं रभसात् । विकटपदपातरस्यं
३. नृत्यन विघ्नेश्वरः पातु ॥ श्री योगेश्वरस्यैते ॥ चक्षुर्दक्षिणमद्युतस्य जगताद्देतु.....नुः शंकेपी प्रत्यक्षप्रमितिः शुतेरपिगतिर्च्यापसुशीतद्युतेः । यः पूज्यः प्रथमंसुरेषु सततं द्वैव्विकरोत्पुङ्गमेमात्तेनाहरितिक्षपेति सूत्र्यं सोयं जयत्षर्यमा ॥ वंशेज.... भूवयरभशमन्नामावतारोह हरिसूत्राम्यैः किमनिषितैरपि नृपैर्मन्वादिभिर्व्विष्णितैः ॥ भ्रा-
४. तातस्यसलक्ष्मणः समभवद्रामस्यर्यः सर्व्वदाप्राणाचाद्य चराद्वितीयजन भ्रंशेरः किमन्यगुनः ॥ तस्यप्रतापदहनैः परिवप्यमाने प्रत्यर्थिराजसुदृशां हृदयेस्फुटन्तः । हारानिपेतुरवन्सवितिहार वैरीयातः प्रसिद्धिमिहयः प्रतिहार-----म्नां ॥ हरपतेरमी ॥ राज्याभिषेके रघुनन्दनस्य सौहित्रिराशीत्प्रतिहार भूमौ । ततः प्रभृत्ये-
५. ष महीश्वराणांश्छातः पृथिव्यां प्रतिहारवंशः ॥ वंशेऽस्मित्समयक्रमात्समजनि श्री नीलकंठो नृपः सर्व्वज्ञोद्विषतांपुप्रमथनो भूत्यासमालिङ्गितः । दूरे निज्जितचित्तजन्यविकृतिर्त्रित्यं वुधैः संश्रितश्चिंनोग्रतमुर्दक्ष विमुखोन्नैव द्विजि.....त्रयः ॥ श्री योगेश्वरस्यैतौ ॥ तस्यु श्री हरिराज इत्यथ महासेनः कूमारोजएवतशक्त्यायो
६. निजघानदुर्ज्जयतरं शत्रुंलसत्तारकां यश्वै । कानजितः परं सुमनसां देवेन नरेषुय येनात्मानम पाश्यपत्तन भुवां विप्राः करंयाहिताः ॥ ततः सुतस्तस्य वभूवभूपः श्रीभीमदेवोजित भीमसेनः । दुःशासनो भून्नभुवीह कश्चिदुयोधनः को---मयस्य खंश्वे ॥ तस्यापि पुत्रो रणपाल आसीन्नृपो रणेपालयता शरण्यान् । येनाह नामा
७. पिव्वतं कृतार्यकस्तेननात्वींविहितः कृतार्थः ॥ तत सस्यतनूजन्मा वत्सराजो भवनृपः । वत्स्तन विधार्यं राज्ञोयः सारधारांदुदोहग्रां ॥ सूनुस्तस्य वभूय वंश सुकृतैः श्रीस्वर्णपालोनृपो भवार्थेन पुनर्णवे च वसुधाजातात् । ना हारिणीयो वीक्ष्या सद्नेव कीर्तिरगमत्कं वानपाथोदधिकं लोकं तजमानवावरतनुः कां वादिशं नाश्रयत ॥ तस्नादशेष
८. भुवनोदरगीतकीर्तिः श्रीकीर्तिपाल नृपतिर्नृपतित्वमाप । येनार्थिनोत्र विहिता ददतोर्थवन्तः प्रत्यर्थिनो युधिविजित्य तदर्थिनश्च ॥ येनाकारिगिरौ महोन्नति मति श्रीकीर्तिदुर्गोर्वेः प्रत्यग्र । निहसन्निधौ कुलगुरोः पादानिव----प्रवित्तुं ॥ प्रासादश्वहरेः पुनः समगवान् श्रीकीर्तिनारायणः

कूर्मणावक कीर्त्तिसागर

९. इतिस्वे नै च नाम्नात्रयं ॥ तनूजन्मातस्या भवदभयपालः क्षितिपतिः पतिर्यः सम्राजान जयमजयजंगेत्ववलं । यथारक्षः सैन्यंधनुरसि सहायो रघुपतिः पुरस्तात्तत्कालाद विदित कृतान्त व्यतिकरं ॥ अपि च ॥ दृघन्तः संगरारौसरनि धीरवतास्तेसु..... तत्रवीरास्तेता वल्लुषुवन्तः सुरवर सुदृशः पुण्यभाजे अथेव्वं । मध्ये युद्धं ततोये तदनिविरि
१०. हतास्तेपि शेषाः समापुः शेषाजौशेषवीराः सुरपुरितुरग ब्रह्मचर्यं चरन्ति ॥ तदं गजो योजमयमन्तंगंश्रितः श्रिगुस्वं स्वमुदंनतन्वन् । राजेव गोविंदइ वरेराज गोविंदराजोथव भूवराजा ॥ उदधृत्वयेन वसुधां वसुधाधिपेन वक्षोविदार्य कृतदर्नय.....दारेः। कृत्वाथ विक्रमवता वलि राजवंधं गोविंदता प्रजटिता पुरुषोत्तमेन ॥ हरपतेरमी ॥ प
११. त्खङ्ग भूधरशिरस्युदिवा यसोयं कोपिप्रताप तरणिस्तपता च येनासम्मीलिता । परिवधू वदना तुजानि प्रोन्मीलिता निवधरं कुमुदाकराणि ॥ अपि च ॥ धुरंपूर्वैरूढां वदतिन परंकस्तनपरे बहुश्वल्पाशंकीवितरति सदासत्रपइव । प्रभुः सत्तपुन्रैरवनति परोधेः..... रुजते वपुः सर्वाधारंनृणसिवपरार्धेकलयति । परीरिभुं विरधकंत्व युवतीक.....
१२. क्वचित् सर्वालिंगनलालसा च विचरेन्मुक्तात्वनन्तस्थितिः । सर्वात्म्युधिमे लां वसुमतीं भ्रान्वासंदैकाकिनी निर्मर्यादतयानिशर्गा चपला प्रापग्धिरिरेव्वाचित ॥ श्रीयोमे(गे)श्वरूप्यते ॥ यस्मिन् दातरि गोविंदेणे वितरणे सदा । पुनर्देही..... द्वाणीन प्रत्यर्थिनार्थिनि ॥ अनाथनाथेद्विज कल्पवृक्षेयस्मिन्नुपे
१३. लोकः । जीवत्तभूद्वेष समस्तखतं कीर्त्तिशेष विदधेतवेधाः ॥ ततः प्रजनिंस्वे कृतैस्वी हहिः प्रत्यर्थिनांदुः कृतसंदयैश्व । राज्ञां सूराजेति यथार्थनामा श्रीराजराजोत्रवत्त च राजा ॥ हरपतेरमी ॥ नित्यं पुण्यजनाभिवर्द्धनपसि दुर्गेश्वरैका श्री..... विख्यातोयम दत्वतस्मिभुवने कान्तालका भाश्वकः नोल्चंदे
१४. तं विद्यावारेभूपितश्चित्रयत्र कुवेरतामुपगतः श्रीराजराजोप्यशो ॥ अपि च ॥ वलद्वाहद्यूहेश्वरशदुरमुखोत्खते धरणावुदीर्णोन्व्याप्तं भवतुरजयानाम भुवनं ॥ विमुक्तं सत्वेन प्रतिवल महीपाल भूदयं समाक्रान्तं यच्च प्रचमतमसावित्रमसि.... ॥ सिंहासनं सूकृत..... मलंचका....
१५. तदादि । अस्तापिदिकपतिभिर्ष्टभिरप्पशंकं प्रत्यर्थिभूमिपतिभिनष्टनः कदापि ॥ अपि च ॥ यज्जैम्रयान भवरेणुमयान्धकारेधोरेदिवैरजनिभ्रमयादधानं । संकोचयणम परंपराजलोकः कोर्वायशो कविकरेः कमलाकरश्च ॥ वतः..... पिरयै.....
१६. व्यात्र सर्वानुमतो महौजाः सुतोन्नरूपः क्षितिपत्वेतस्य । अवाप लक्ष्मीकुलजां मानाज्ञां श्रीवीरराजो वसुधामिमां च ॥ वीरिषु राजसु निजं प्रथमं विराये यौनागतात विधृतंनमृपा चकार । राज्ञो मनोरथ कथावितथव्येकाद्यिभव्या भवत्कशूयपी....तुश्रीद....तु....
१७. जानमनसः क्षोभाय यस्या भवन् । सर्वोर्वीपति सर्ववीरविजयेनीरंध्रता सिद्धये येनात्मापिजितः सकेन कृतिनावाचाकया कथ्यते ॥ अपि च ॥ मूर्धावसाने गजकुंतवुव्याप पातदृष्टिः सहसा सरोषं । सुरांगना वक्षसियवरंगे..... वदिदयादागयामियसुरप.....

१८. दपश्पदिदं जगौद्यः । विश्रान्त नृत्यमिव चत्वरभूमिभागमुखते पंकजमिवोदक सन्निवेशुं  
॥ सूत्वानुजस्तस्य गुणैरगाधः पौश्वेरमात्स्यैरनुनीयगानः । श्रीजैत्रवर्मा मनुजाधिपत्यन्नस्वी  
चकारेदमुवाच वीरः ॥ यादृतादृगवर्धिनिः ..... यद्येभूरि ॥ श्री योगेश्वरस्यैणै ॥ दद
१९. दक्षसः । यावद्वंधुवधूजनस्य सहसाम्दिद्यद्विषाद्याषिता मन्वात्रैवनयाजयामि विदधेतावन्नराज्ये  
स्थितिम ॥ हरपतेरमी । अपिच । हेमस्त्रिणः शृगुत विप्रजनाश्व सर्वप्रजा.... कोपिदयाण  
विप्रनुंदुरस्या...
२०. लोचनैथोवार्षम्ने वैरिललना सुनियोजयामि ॥ दातावीर नृपः साधसु बहुभिः प्रत्यर्थिभिर्दुग्गीदेरकी  
भयल सत्कृपाण सचिवः पापैरणैर्यैर्हतः । तेषां तीक्ष्णकृपाणकृतकविनोच्चण्डांशकूटोच्छलत्कोषैः  
शोणिसूवी....वरयन.....हक्रमतुल्य श्री जदेस्यपिरः सद....
२१. पिसन्निधौस्तः । प्रतिष्ठतः कंठभटाज्जनानां कदाचिदेतेनययौः प्रसस्तीं ॥ दृष्वागुरोः सुमनसां  
सुनय प्रयोगान् चक्षुः सहश्रमथवेत सिसन्निवेशप । भूत्वेह चंद्रपुरितं प्रतिराजतुल्यः श्रीदेवराजवि  
पिकस्तत्व..... ध्यास्यशौ सुत्यं.....
२२. ऋश्वकोपि सुभदोद्विषतां च कश्चित्सर्व्वस्ययः सइह चाचिकदेवए च ॥ अप्यस्ति पूज्यो  
विवुध प्रधानो योगेश्वरो निज्जितरात्रचारिः । सतां समाजे पदशपूरन्या नृत्यत्यसो यस्य  
सदा प्रशस्तिः ॥ अग्नोजयनिजवनमिगिरो..... कत्रवहेमदना
२३. अंसदनं चकार ॥ विज्ञापितैः पौरजनैरमीतिर्विचार दोलायत चित्तं एव । श्रीजैत्रवर्म्म  
निजवंशराज्ये कुर्वन् वहिः संवृतिमत्यपेवि ॥ ततोभिषेके विधिवद्विधिज्ञैर्यानां कृयन्तेह  
सुमंगलानि । तान्येवया शंस्त्याग्रा महीत्वावीरोजनाह.....सृण.....तिभ्ययेद्विवैत्रेया.....
२४. न्दुषीत जयज्ञावास्यत्तजयां ततो गुरुपदेशेनूयिया साच्छेदित्यमुना । सूनौगजिनमाकृत्य तस्योणाति  
वलंवली ॥ हरपतेरमी ॥ उच्चप्रताप प्रसरः त्रद्वनू विश्वंभरा यशोः ॥ चास्य दतवृत्तो  
जगनुजैत्रठ.....तदसि.....मुदितृ.....दपदह.....वूदि
२५. अपि च ॥ यः श्रीमान्निजवंश मौक्तिकमणिः दूर्यतप्रतापारणिः वदूर्य प्रतिपादनैय सरणिः  
सर्व्वार्थिवितामणिः । सदा स्फुरितांधस्यरतरणिर्द.....सृजस्यण शमरवीदकनुदार....पदणिज....
२६. गतीस्वरणेजग्रं कोवेदकद्यत विरंत्यां बहुवरत्नप.....तवृंदूदेसतिरद्रइ श्रीधरे । गुरदर पौवकी  
नममतस्व पदस्ति.....
२७. वरचित्प्रचीतेवत्ररिहषं सून्यजवे यत्र.....
२८. ....रत्नेत्वंसै.....क.....तजथिस.....॥ स.....
२९. .... गुनर्दमिन्तिवि.....
३०. ....॥ मनसेजसु.....रपते.....नूरषितप.....जन्मनः.....जष ॥ उंवनुये.....  
धिरीगवाच महीभुजाविरविवेकै.....
३१. लाश शैलोषं ये प्रासादे रमतां समंगिरिजयादेवः कुटुम्बेश्वरः ॥ शुकरवां चाचत्रालंकृति  
तुल्लव सर्वाजः सुकान्ते गोष्ठयायाजश्वन गृवानहगुत्व जयात प्रसस्ति  
स्वह.....न्समरागुणवृत्तासर्मण्णे सकवानूनाय कारम्यो । मुक्तावलीवविलुगुसद्रदेयह प्रसस्तिरियं

॥ चायो..... सुभमस्तु

३२. त्रवदखल्लालस्य कुकासः । लिखिता पं । शहडेन ॥ उत्कीर्णं सूत्र । हलौकेन ॥

### Notes and References

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2. M. B. Garde, *A Guide to Chanderi*, Gwalior, 1928, pp. 7-8.
3. V. V. Mirashi and Ajay Mitra Shastri, "A Fragmentary Stone Inscription from Kadwaha", *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 117-124.
4. D. C. Sircar, "Bharat Kala Bhavan Plate of Hariraja, V. S. 1040", *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXX, pp. 309-313.
5. Balchandra Jain, "Thubaun Inscription of Harirajadeva, V. S. 1055", *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XL, pp. 105-108.
6. A. K. Singh, "Chanderi Inscription of the time of Ranapaladeva, V. S. 1100", to be published in the forthcoming volume of the *Bharati*.
7. Like present inscription, Pacharai inscription of V. S. 1122 (Usha Jain, "Pacharai aur Gudara ke mahatvapurna Jain Lekh", *Siddhantacharya Pandita Kailasa Chandra Sastri Abhinandan Grantha*, Rewa, 1980, pp. 348-351) compares Hariraja with Hari (Vishnu) and Bhima with Pandava Bhima.
8. *Annual Administration Report of the Archaeological Department, (GAR)*, 1996, No. 30-31; *GRA*, No. 628, 630; Willis, p. 112.
9. A. K. Singh, "A Fragmentary Stone Inscription From Chanderi", to be published in the forthcoming volume of the *Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India*.
10. V. V. Mirashi and Ajay Mitra Shastri, "A Fragmentary Stone Inscription From Kadwaha", *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 117-124.
11. M. B. Garde, *A Guide to Chanderi*, Gwalior, 1928, pp. 7-8.
12. Expressed by a symbol.

## **Dīpalakṣmīs in the Temple Art of Kanyakumari and Southern Travancore**

**Anila Verghese**

In Kanyakumari, the southern-most district of Tamil Nadu, and in neighbouring areas of southern Travancore, now part of Kerala, there are a number of temples and other structures in which rows of pillars, on which are carved in very high relief ladies holding lamps, or *dīpalakṣmīs*, form a distinct feature in the architectural style. In these rows, although no two *dīpalakṣmīs* are identical, all hold the lamps at practically the same height and, thus, the row of lamps when lit would form a symmetrical line of flickering lights. The temples in which this phenomenon occurs are the Ādi Keśava temple at Tiruvattar, the Sthanumalaya temple at Suchindram, the Nīlakaṅṭhasvāmi temple and the palace complex at Padmanabhapuram and the Padmanābhasvāmi temple at Tiruvananthapuram. In modern times all these, except the last which is in Kerala, are in southern Tamil Nadu. However, at an earlier period, the region in which these monuments are found formed one cultural zone.

Most of these temples where this feature is present are in the mixed Drāvida and Kerala styles of architecture. For, the possession of this region of southern Kanyakumari and southern Kerala was hotly disputed in the 16<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> centuries by the Madurai Nāyakas and the rulers of Venad, the future Travancore, in Kerala. In Kerala during these centuries there were three important sets of kings: the Zamorins of Calicut in the north, the Rājās of Cochin in the centre and the Rājās of Venad in the south. In the 16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> centuries the Venad chiefs paid tribute to the Nāyakas of Madurai, who controlled the adjacent territories of the Tamil country. Among the most important of the Venad ruling families was the branch that was based at Kalkulam, in the vicinity of Kanyakumari. Invasions from Madurai meant that parts of Venad were occasionally under the Nāyaka kingdom. In turn, incursions of the Venad chiefs temporarily extended Kerala influence into the Tamil zone.

With the accession to the Kalkulam throne of Martanda Varma, who ruled from 1729 to 1758, the Venad kingdom, from this time onwards known as Travancore, emerged as the dominant power in the region. Kalkulam was renamed Padmanabhapuram after the family deity of the ruling family, namely the Vaiṣṇava divinity Ananta Padmanābha, and a new capital was laid out to the north at Tiruvananthapuram, where the seat of government shifted in

1750. Through a series of successful campaigns, Martanda Varma gained control of the lands from Kanyakumari to the borders of the Cochin kingdom. Under this king and his successor, Rama Varma (1758-1798), the Dutch were expelled from the region and the power of the local chiefs was broken.

The Ādi Keśava temple at Tiruvattar is in Kalkulam *taluka* of Kanyakumari district. This temple is one of the 108 *divyasthānams*, or holy Vaiṣṇava spots, mentioned in the songs of the Tamil *ālvārs* or Vaiṣṇava saints of the 6<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> centuries. Set in sylvan surroundings, the temple is surrounded on three sides by the Tambrapani river and two of its tributaries. In its *mūrti* and internal structural arrangements this temple bears resemblance to the famous Padmanābhasvāmi temple of Tiruvananthapuram. It is believed that the latter is modelled after the temple at Tiruvattar, which is the older of the two. The *mūla-mūrti* of Ādi Keśava is one of Viṣṇu reclining on the great serpent Ananta.

The Sthanumalaya temple at Suchindram is 13 kilometres west of Kanyakumari. The interior of this temple is dominated by two focal shrines, one accommodating Sthanumalaya *līṅga*, representing the triad of Śiva, Brahmā and Viṣṇu, and the other housing an image of Viṣṇu. These small, unadorned structures date back to the 13<sup>th</sup> century; however, the remainder of the monument is assigned to the 17<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> centuries when the region was hotly contested by the Madurai Nāyakas and the Travancore rulers.<sup>1</sup>

Padmanabhapuram is 35 kilometres north-west of Kanyakumari. The palace at Padmanabhapuram was largely remodelled by Martanda Varma and much of the present structure dates from his era.<sup>2</sup> The Nīlakaṅthasvāmi temple is the principal Śiva temple at this place. The architectural style of this temple is predominantly Drāviḍa; various additions were made to it by Martanda Varma.

The Padmanābhasvāmi temple at Tiruvananthapuram is the principal religious monument of the city. Although records of this shrine go back to the 10<sup>th</sup> century, it was totally rebuilt at the orders of Martanda Varma. The deity worshipped here, Viṣṇu reclining on Ananta, gives its name to the capital: Tiruvananthapuram means sacred Ananta's city. The cult of this form of Viṣṇu was central to the Travancore kings.<sup>3</sup> The temple complex is predominantly in the Kerala style of architecture, though some Drāviḍa or Tamil features are noticeable: for example, the east gateway is a Drāviḍa style *gopura*.

This phenomenon of including sculpted rows of women bearing lamps is evidently a sub-regional variation special to this part of the southern-most tip of India. They are found in the following places:

- Lining the colonnades of the *Śrī balipura*, in two rows facing inwards
- On pillars of the colonnade around the enclosure wall, facing the *prākāra*

- On the four central pillars of a 16 column *maṇḍapa*, facing the central dais
- On the outer row of pillars of the *Nīralī maṇḍapa*, facing outwards to the tank
- Flanking entrances

### Lining the colonnades of the *Śrī balipura*, in two rows facing inwards

This is found in both the Ādi Keśava temple at Tiruvattar and the Padmanābhasvāmi temple at Tiruvananthapuram. At Suchindram it is found in a somewhat modified manner. The *Śrī balipura* is a feature of temple architecture peculiar to a few temples of this region. It is an open colonnade of two rows of pillars, with a wide corridor in the middle, within the enclosure of the temple extending on all four sides of the temple courtyard. The main structures of the temple stand within the space framed by the *Śrī balipura*. Evidently these colonnades were used for temple processions and also probably for the feeding of devotees or brahmins with the blessed food offerings on festive occasions.

In the Ādi Keśava temple, on all four sides of the *Śrī balipura* there are a total of 224 pillars, each bearing a sculpted image of a female lamp-bearer. No two images are alike. The colonnades are impressive in their size. The colonnades to the north and south measure about 100 metres in length, while those to the east and west are about 80 metres long (Plate XV, A).

A similar arrangement, though on an even more massive scale, is found in the Padmanābhasvāmi temple at Tiruvananthapuram. Here on all four sides of the enormous courtyard of the temple are the lengthy colonnades of the *Śrī balipura*. Each column in it is of a double pillar variety: the main shaft of the column is cut into three square blocks, decorated with reliefs, separated by octagonal/sixteen-sided blocks. In front of the main shaft there is an attached colonette on which is carved a lady holding a lamp; each *dīpalakṣmī* is about a metre in height. The *dīpalakṣmīs* of the two rows of columns face inwards into the wide corridor in the middle of the colonnade. The pillars of the colonnade have double capitals. In each of the four corners of the square formed by the colonnades, between the colonnade and the enclosure wall, is a 16 pillar pavilion with a raised dais in the centre.

In the temple at Suchindram, the *Śrī balipura* is not arranged in a detached manner around the temple courtyard as in the previous two cases. Here, it is built against the enclosure wall and the earlier colonnade which abuts this wall. At Suchindram, too, the two rows of pillar sculptures of women holding lamps face each other.



### **On pillars of the colonnade around the enclosure wall, facing the *prākāra***

The Nilakaṅṭhasvāmi temple at Padmanabhapuram has this variation. It is not found in any of the other temples that we visited in this region. In the Nilakaṅṭhasvāmi temple complex, a colonnade of just one row of pillars flanks the enclosure wall on all four sides. On each pillar of this colonnade is a *dīpalakṣmī* standing on a projecting pedestal, facing into the courtyard (Plate XV, B). Obviously here the processional deities would have been taken around the *prākāra* and on festive occasions the lamps held by the *dīpalakṣmīs* would have been lit in honour of the *utsava-mūrtis* and also to provide light during night-time festive processions.

### **On the four central pillars of 16 column *mandapa*, facing the central dais**

Both the Padmanābhasvāmi temple and the Suchindram temple have examples of this variety. In the former, the *dīpalakṣmīs* are found on the four central columns of each of the four 16 pillar pavilions in the corners of the courtyard, between the *Śrī balipura* and the enclosure wall. Evidently, the lamps held by the sculpted ladies would have been lit on festive occasions when ceremonies were conducted on the raised dais of these pavilions. A similar arrangement is found in the Navagraha *mandapa* at the Suchindram temple complex; here, in addition to the female figures holding lamps, there are also a couple of carvings on pillars of male devotees holding lamps!

### **On the outer row of pillars of the *Nīralī mandapa*, facing outwards to the tank**

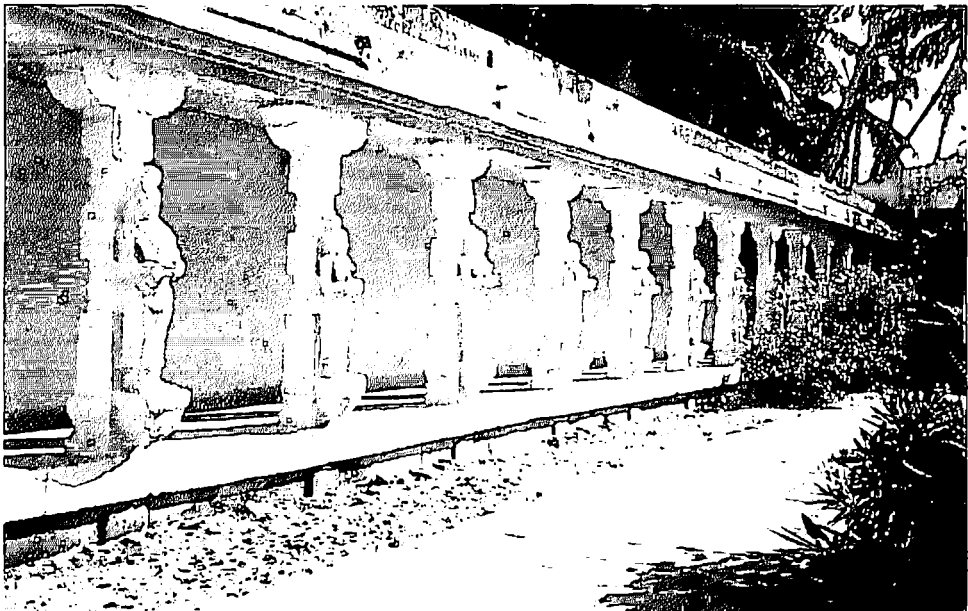
The *Nīralī mandapa* is the columned pavilion, crowned by a *vimāna*-like superstructure, located in the centre of the temple tank. The tank of the Nilakaṅṭhasvāmi temple is just in front of the main east *gopura* of the temple. That at Suchindram is outside the temple complex, to one side. The *Nīralī mandapas* at Suchindram and at the Nilakaṅṭhasvāmi temple both have the lamp-ladies on their outer row of columns (Plate XVI, A). These *mandapas* were used on certain festive occasions when the *utsava-mūrtis* would be taken in a raft around the tank and to the *mandapa* in the centre for various rituals. When such ceremonies were performed at dusk or at night and the lamps held by the *dīpalakṣmīs* were lit, these, together with the reflections of the lamps in the water, must have created a visual treat for the devotees thronging the sides of the tank.

### **Flanking entrances**

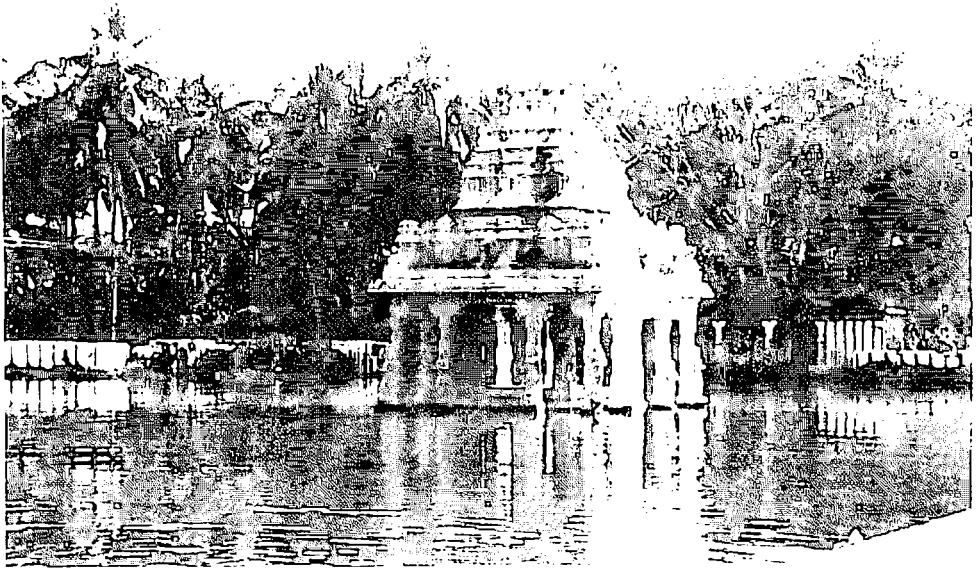
This is evident in a couple of places at the Padmanabhapuram royal palace. First, the entrance to the main palace complex is flanked by a raised platform on either side, with two pillars on each of them. On each of the four pillars, facing forwards, are sculptures of *dīpalakṣmīs*. Evidently, they



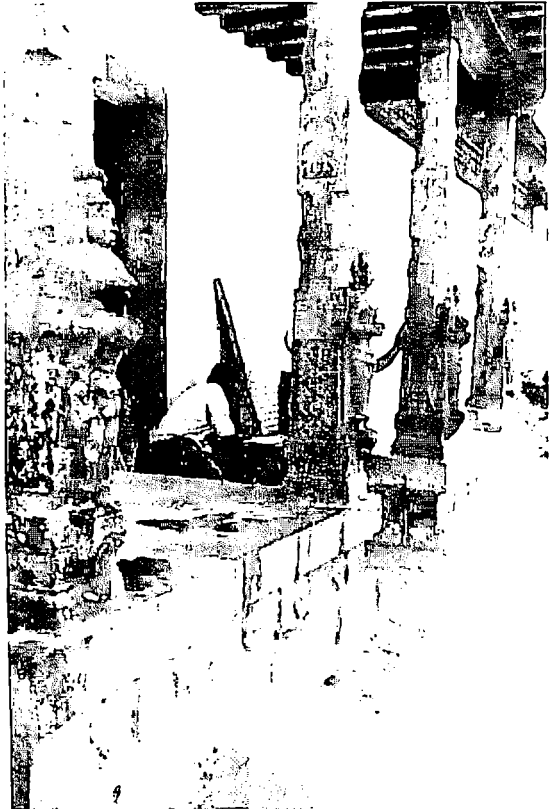
A. Śrī balipura colonnade from the Ādi Keśava temple at Tiruvattar.



B. Colonnade along the interior of the enclosure wall,  
Nīlakaṅṭhasvāmi temple, Padmanabhapuram.



A. *Nirali mandapa* of the Nilakanthasvami temple, Padmanabhapuram.



B. Entrance to the palace complex at Padmanabhapuram.

served as symbols of auspiciousness and welcome (Plate XVI, B). Next, within the palace complex is a hall called the *Navarātri maṇḍapa*, with a slightly sunken central floor space in the middle, used for dance performances. Lining this is a colonnade, with sculpted pillars, including some with *dīpalakṣmīs*. To the rear of this *maṇḍapa* is a small shrine. The approach to this shrine is lined by two rows of two pillars each. On each of these four columns we find *dīpalakṣmīs*, all facing frontally towards the *Navarātri maṇḍapa*.

### Conclusion

Of course, *dīpalakṣmīs* in high relief on temple pillars are not restricted to this region. For example, in the Chintala Venkaṭaramaṇa temple at Tadpatri in Andhra Pradesh, of the 16<sup>th</sup> century Vijayanagara style of architecture, the front *maṇḍapa* of the main shrine has a sunken area in the centre, lined by pillars on each of which is a sculpture of a beautiful woman holding some object; this group includes a couple of *dīpalakṣmīs*. Similarly, in southern Tamil Nadu, in the Narumbunātha temple at Tiruppudaimarudur and the Ādinātha temple at Alvar Tirunagari there are some examples of *dīpalakṣmīs*. In the former, such sculptures are found flanking the entrance to the Naṭarāja sub-shrine and there are also four such carvings in the colonnade to the west of this shrine. In the latter temple, a colonnade of pillars with figure sculptures, including some *dīpalakṣmīs*, are found in an *utsava maṇḍapa* that faces the main *vimāna*. But, the *dīpalakṣmīs* here are found along with other figure sculptures and do not form a distinct group by themselves. In contrast to the above, what is noteworthy in all the examples cited from the Kanyakumari district and Tiruvananthapuram is that in these the *dīpalakṣmīs* clearly form a group together. They are arranged in rows, with lamps held at more or less the same height.

The question may be asked as to when and by whom this sculptural innovation of including rows of *dīpalakṣmīs* in the temples of this region was introduced. It is our hypothesis that this feature may date to the period of Martanda Varma, the great king of Travancore, who wrested control of this entire region from the Madurai Nāyakas. It is known that he remodelled the entire Padmanabhapuram palace. Indeed, the *Navarātri maṇḍapa* in it was built by him in CE 1744. He is also believed to have shifted his capital to Tiruvananthapuram and so great was his devotion to the principal deity of his new capital, namely Ananta Padmanābha, that he totally rebuilt this principal temple in his new capital. It is, therefore, more than likely that the colonnades with the *dīpalakṣmīs* in the Padmanabhapuram palace complex and in the *Śrī balipura* at the Padmanābhasvāmi temple date to his reign. Martanda Varma is also known to have been devoted to the Ādi Keśava temple at Tiruvattar. The Nilakanṭhasvāmi temple traditions also claim his active involvement in the affairs of this temple and a portrait sculpture here is identified

locally as that of Martanda Varma as is the case of a royal portraiture found at Suchindram.

Whether or not all the colonnades with sculptures of ladies holding lamps are from the reign-period of Martanda Varma, it is quite possible that this architectural/sculptural innovation, which is a feature of the art of this region, dates to the period when the Venad rulers asserted their independence from the Madurai Nāyakas and conquered a large kingdom extending from Kanyakumari to the borders of Cochin. Lavish temple building and temple expansion activities, as well as innovations in architecture and sculpture, have been among the activities for gaining legitimation and popularity that kings of southern India have traditionally resorted to, especially under Vijayanagara and its successor states. This particular regional feature in temple and palace architecture could have been part of such processes at work when Travancore emerged as a regional power at the expense of its earlier overlord, the Madurai Nāyakas, and other local rivals.

### Notes and References

1. George Michell, *Blue Guide: Southern India*, London: A & C Black, 1997, p. 493.
2. *Ibid*, pp. 494-496.
3. *Ibid*, pp. 500-502.

### List of Illustrations

- XV, A *Śrī balipura* colonnade from the Ādi Keśava temple at Tiruvattar.
- XV, B Colonnade along the interior of the enclosure wall, Nilakaṇṭhasvāmi temple, Padmanabhapuram.
- XVI, A *Nīralī maṇḍapa* of the Nilakaṇṭhasvāmi temple, Padmanabhapuram.
- XVI, B Entrance to the palace complex at Padmanabhapuram.

## REVIEWS

**THE NĀṬYAŚĀSTRA OF BHARATA:** Vol. I, KĀVYALAKṢANAKHANDA, Ed. with tr. REWA PRASAD DWIVEDI, Indian Institute of Advanced Studies, Simla and Aryan Books International, New Delhi, 2005, pp. 64+905. Rs. 2400.

MM. Dr. Rewa Prasad Dwivedi takes delight in working on massive works like Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*, (NŚ), a monumental work of encyclopaedic character. It treats of diverse topics like architecture, musicology, metrics, grammar, languages, Prakrit dialects, acting (*Abhinaya*), dance (*Nṛtya*), drama (*Nāṭya*), erotics (*Kāmasūtra*), poetics and aesthetics, etc. When one considers the diversity of topics one is amazed at the breadth of Bharata's learning.

There are two principal editions of NŚ, one, Kashi edition and the other Baroda (Vadodara) edition, which is accompanied with the only available Sanskrit commentary of the great Māheśvara Abhinavagupta (Abhinava) called *Abhinavabhāratī*. Dr. Dwivedi is not happy with either edition. He, therefore, decided to bring out a new edition in two volumes, one dealing with *Kāvyalakṣaṇakhaṇḍa* and the other with *Śaṅgītaśāstra*. The first volume is the present work, *The Nāṭyaśāstra of Bharata, Kāvyalakṣaṇakhaṇḍa*.

Dr. Dwivedi stands unrivalled with his vast knowledge of *Alaṅkāraśāstra* and Bharata's NŚ and the numerous works based on the NŚ tradition. He is also equipped with mastery over related *śāstras* like *Vyākaraṇa* (grammar), *Chandasśāstra* (metrics), *Nyāya* (logic), *Mīmāṃsā* (rules of interpretation), Vedānta, Purāṇas, etc. Above all, there is a rare combination in Dr. Dwivedi of the knowledge received through the traditional method and the knowledge acquired by the western method of research and comparative and historical study. Being eminently qualified, he naturally enough, decided to edit the present work by himself. His introduction is masterly, his translation of the text is simply lucid and his notes, though brief, are truly scholarly. They afford real help in understanding the difficult text here and there. They reveal his many-sided scholarship and critical insight. His brief references or discussions clarify doubtful points. In short, these notes reveal his gift of making appear simple, the most difficult thing.

Some other noteworthy features of this edition are: after careful study,

(i) He has given separately the interpolated verses. (ii) Wherever necessary

he has effected corrections in the basic text. (iii) Whenever he comes across the fact that Abhinava has not given examples to illustrate the specific points in the text he adds them from other texts like *Daśarūpaka* of Dhanañjaya and Dhanika's *Avaloka*-commentary on it. (iv) He retains wherever necessary significant passages from *Abhinavabhāratī* in his own *Nandinītippanī*. (v) He corrects wherever necessary the text of *Abhinavabhāratī* while including it in his notes (*tippanī*).

Now a word or two about the readings, errors of printing and notes. Admittedly the text of the commentary *Abhinavabhāratī* (A.Bh.) is in many places corrupt. The editors of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* with Abhinava's commentary (revised edition, published in G. O. Series, Vadodara) after a careful and comparative study of the Vadodara edition with Hemacandra's *Kāvyañuśāsana* and *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* of Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra have attempted to restore them as far as possible for these two works, especially *Kāvyañuśāsana*, have borrowed (adopted and adapted) several passages *literally* from A.Bh. These corrections have been ignored in the latest edition (*Kāvyalakṣaṇakhanda*) saying simply that their genuineness is questionable or doubtful (Hindi Introduction, p. 22). This is rather unfair.

The Hindi commentary *Nandinī* adopts a large number of passages from A. Bh. Some of them are given in translation (in Hindi) whereas some others are given in their original form. It would have been better if all the adopted passages were uniformly given in translation for the benefit of readers / students.

As regards printing, it is very attractive and pleasing to the eye. One, however, comes across, of course occasionally, errors of printing. They are, however, pretty easy and can be corrected by a reader while reading. In a voluminous work like the present one, we should not make much fuss of them. In the Introduction, however, we have a quotation from P. V. Kane's *History of Sanskrit Poetics*. We should correctly read it as "I hold that the reasons so far assigned for Daṇḍin's priority are far more weighty (though not thoroughly decisive) than those assigned for Bhāmaha's priority" - *History of Sanskrit Poetics*, 1951, p. 109.

These things, however, do not detract from the high merit and unique excellence of this splendid edition.

This handsome volume - handsome from every point of view - is a new feather in Dr. Dwivedi's cap. Heartiest congratulations to Dr. Dwivedi for this gift to the scholarly world. Our thanks are due to the publishers, to !.I.A.S. Shimla for this splendid publication.

V. M. Kulkarni

**GLEANINGS FROM VEDIC TO PURANIC AGE** - Collected papers of Dr. SADASHIV A. DANGE, Edited by SINDHU S. DANGE, Published by Aryan Books International, New Delhi, 2002, pp. i-x+342, Rs. 750.

Late Dr. S. A. Dange requires no introduction to the world of Sanskrit academia. His oeuvre which includes 27 books and more than 260 research articles not only shows how prolific a writer he was but also highlights his range of knowledge of the Sanskrit language. Literally exploring every facet of Indological studies, '*Gleanings from Vedic to Puranic Age*' is a compilation of research articles of Dr. S. A. Dange published (with the exception of three papers) in various journals over a period of time. Edited by Dr. (Mrs.) Sindhu S. Dange, the book is a tribute to the scholar for his commitment and love of Sanskrit language which he nourished through his writings till the very end of his life.

The book is divided into two sections. The first section contains twenty three articles by Dange written between 1957 to 1999 and the latter half of the book carries a short sketch of Dange's life and a detailed bibliography of his writings. This volume is an ensemble of various topics ranging from beliefs and ritual practices across the Vedic and the Puranic age. A few of the papers deliberate on Sanskrit poetics and grammar which include the problematic nature of spoken language. Some essays examine the patterns in mythology and folklore exploring the scope of semiotics. Along with these a couple of papers encourage an ethnographical study of the epics.

Chapter (1) *Axis Mundi and Vedic Yūpa* explains how the concept of 'world pole' evolved through various civilizations. Dange elaborates the concept of three worlds or *lokas* and the significance of the *yūpa* as the sacrificial pole that connects and transcends three *lokas*. In Chapter (6), *Vāstoṣpati, Rudra and Cyavana* Dange traces the evolution of the god Vāstoṣpati and his linkage to Rudra and sage Cyavana. Sāyaṇa informs that Vāstoṣpati was recognized as an independent deity of dwellings in RV. However in later texts Vāstoṣpati is associated with Rudra and Agni and they are addressed as Vāstoṣpati. Dange further suggests that sage Cyavana could have probably represented lord *vāstu* and could be taken as an alter ego of Vāstoṣpati.

*Stūpa-Vedic and Buddhist* (Ch. 12) takes into account probable influences of Vedic culture on Buddhist thought. Citing the term *stūpa* (Pali *thūpa*) Dange suggests that the concept of Buddhist *stūpa* might have evolved from *śmaśāna* structure from Vedic texts (p. 161).

Two chapters are dedicated to the study of head motif. In the essay *Therianthropomorphism and the Multiple-Head Motif in Ancient India and Middle East* (Ch. 8) Dange rightly suggests that it is hard to ascertain whether the similarity in artistic representation of the motif can be ascribed to either



independent origin or borrowings across various cultures. Although therianthrope imagery can be found in Middle Eastern, Egyptian and Indian mythologies, the processes and methodology of arriving at the image may be different. *The King with Two faces* (Ch. 14) a Jaina tale of King Jaya or Domuha is discussed. Similarity of King Jaya's head which splits into two faces (Domuha) after wearing the magical crown and Roman god Janus's split head facing front and back bears no correspondence besides the apparent formal similarity.

Chapters 9, 10 and 11 address some of the 'riddles' posed in the epic *Mahābhārata*. Debating upon the issue of birth and marriage in the article *Birth and Marriage of Pāṇḍavas - A Riddle ?* Dange posits that on the one hand the birth of the Pāṇḍavas can be attributed to Niyoga, a legitimate Vedic practice for procuring a male child outside the matrimonial bond, the polyandrous marriage of the Pāṇḍavas with Draupadī was not acceptable according to the Vedic practices (p. 128). Citing some historical situations and references Dange proposes that political allegiances could have resulted in such an alliance. In the chapter *The "Bodies" of Pāṇḍu and Mādri and Funeral rites*, Dange explains the burial rite of reconstructing the 'body' by arranging the bones in a ceremonial urn or jar. Thus the term 'Śarīre' used in the context of Pāṇḍu and Mādri's funeral rite has to be understood within this context of body / jar metaphor.

Chapter (4) on *Dreams (svapna) in the Vedic concept* is an attempt to dwell on the idea of the subconscious mind conceived as a deity both living and non-living (p. 57). There are two essays on Sanskrit poetics - *Visions of the R̥gvedic R̥ṣi-kavis* (Ch.2) that tries to differentiate between Kavi and R̥ṣi-kavi—a distinct category which was lost in the post Vedic period. *Sanskrit Poetics and Semiotics* (Ch.3) comments on the role of imagination in Śaṅkuka's interpretation of *rasa-sūtra*.

*R̥gveda and the Buffalo-sacrifice ?* (Ch. 7), Dange critiques Asko Parpola's opinion that the depiction of buffalo sacrifice presented in the myth of Mahiṣāsura-mardinī is initiated in the Vedic tradition under the influence of Vrātya rituals. Dange asserts that in the Vedic ritual texts the sacrifice of buffalo was never indicated. Buffalo sacrifice is practised by non-Vedic people and its suggestion in the Mahiṣāsura-mardinī myth should be taken only as a later interpolation in the Brahmanical texts.

The essay on *Act of Retribution in R̥gveda and Atharvaveda* tries to track early concept of *karman* and *phala* in the Vedas that were eventually established in the later Hindu religious doctrines. Further deliberating on the topic of *karman*, in the Chapter (16) *Moral Value and Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā*, Dange reviews the Indian philosophical thought, to conclude that the idea of *niskāma karma* is a contribution of the Mīmāṃsā school. While *Woman's share and*

*Mīmāṃsā rule at "Dyayoh Pranayanti"* analyses the Mīmāṃsā rule applied by Vijnāneśvara in deciding wife's share or *strīdhana* in husband's property especially if she is issueless.

Surveying the etymological sources of words *Purāna* and *Śāstra* (Ch. 13) Dange points out the gradual shift of general meaning of 'old' (*purā*) to a ancient lore (*purāna*>*purā-kathā* or myths) to recent meaning which connotes a type of literature (*Purāna*-s or traditional tales). Term *Śāstra* is often used in context to *Purāna* (*purānaśāstra*) to suggest *purānas* encompass various strains of ancient systems of knowledge within.

The last few chapters of the book address some crucial issues in Sanskrit grammar. Chs. 17, 18 and 19 titled "*Root Germinants*" in the Sanskrit Language (*√GHAS: √AD*), *Prakritization and the Germinant of Roots of 'Vision' and Root Germination and Reduplicated Roots in Sanskrit*" look at the problems of etymological roots and the final development of the word within the historical context. Chapters *Dampatī and Patnī* and *Kanyā and Kānīna* address some of the nuances of Sanskrit language and its peculiarities in *sandhi* formation in certain words. A similar methodology has been explored in the chapter *Vowel-shortening and the Sanskrit Sandhi*. Continuing the examination of spoken Sanskrit, the last essay *Some Peculiarities of Eastern Dialect according to Pāṇini* tries to look at the distinction between the two dialects Udīcyas and Prācyas as mentioned by Pāṇini.

To sum up, *Gleanings from Vedic to Puranic Age* is a veritable window to Dange's wisdom of Sanskrit language and the real scope of the subject as he recognized it. Many of the essays presented in this book have been developed into detailed studies in Dange's later works. A comprehensive bibliography supplied in the second part of the book works as a very useful reference guide to students and the dedicated scholars who would like to refer to his works and pursue the avenues that Dange charted through his scholarship.

Vidya Kamat

**VEDIC RECORDS ON EARLY ARYANS**, L. N. RENU, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Mumbai, 2004, pp.247, Rs.225.

There is an ongoing scholastic battle between the two schools of thought regarding "the Aryan Question". For those of us, confused by the vigour and sincerity of the arguments put forth by the participants, the book under review provides an interlude of relief shifting as it does the base of the argument

from the Indus Valley script (as found on the seals), to Sanskrit sources. The author quotes from some *Samhitās*, *Brāhmanas*, *Upaniṣads*, the epic *Mahābhārata*, the *Bhāgavata Purāna* and two Parsi religious texts to support his view that the Aryans were originally from north India, and migrated to Europe via western Asia. He sets out in detail the hierarchical society of the Aryans, their religious beliefs and prejudices, their scientific mind, etc.

It is novel to read about terminologies such as 'alumni', 'tutorial', etc. while discussing the teachers and their Vedic schools. The author avers that the Vedas evolved to their extant form through six definite stages, starting from the simple 'aum'. It seems even in its present form we have lost many *mantras*, because over a period, 'influential' teachers kept revising the matter, changing it to suit the needs of their times.

There have been many interpretations of the Vedic myths. The author adds a new dimension with his perception, as for example, he states that there were many missionaries spreading the Aryan religion. These were the Vrātyas and the Avratas. The most influential was Uṣas (p. 43). Indra wanted to break her popularity without causing her physical harm. He broke her chariot, and Uṣas fled to eastern Europe (p. 48), and settled down in Uṣābhāgasthāna, now known as Uzbekistan. In fact, those who opposed experimentation by a group of progressive and scientific minded Aryans were cast out of the cult and were prevented from calling themselves Aryans. These were the Asuras, Dāsas, Dasyus, Paṇis and Ahis. They were not different races, but formed the smaller cults within the big Aryan circle, with exclusivity demarcating them. According to the author, those who left India and migrated were free of the shackles of the powerful group, but those that stayed on had to live in a humiliating position.

The author attributes the abnormal longevity of Indra, Vāyu, Sūrya, etc., to the practice of tracing the *deva's* soul through its transmigrations, and calling the new body by the same name (p. 167). Since a particular post was filled by a *deva* (through all his transmigrations), he was called 'amarta'. Those whose transmigrations were not so traced became 'martas'. As time passed the 'amartas' were given a holy status. Further, the term *daeva* as an evil being was perceived by those amongst the Aryans who did not subscribe to the transmigration theory. *Pitrs* were those *devas* who had retired from service, but were called to help out in times of wars, for medical aid, etc.

The author states that skulls were used for drinking purposes during the lifetime of the first generation of human beings. Kapālas were used to serve refreshments to the Aryan scientists after they successfully completed an experiment. This memory is perpetuated by mendicants using it as a begging bowl, it is said (p. 34). One need only to remind oneself of the antiquity of association of *kapāla* with Śiva, Śaivism and Tantric practices, as well

as the nuances of its symbolism to compare it with the above viewpoint.

On a perusal of the book the reader may not agree with all the conclusions arrived at by the author, but may respect him for the time and effort spent on his research for this opus.

*Indira S. Aiyar*

***EPISTEMOLOGY, LOGIC AND GRAMMAR IN INDIAN PHILOSOPHICAL ANALYSIS***, BIMAL KRISHAN MATILAL, edited by JONARDON GANERI, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2005, pp. xvii + 150, Rs. 450.

Hindu traditions hold the view that all philosophical systems had their roots in the Vedas. Subjects as diverse as hymns on deities to magic are treated in the body of the compendiums. But there are also the beginning of enquiries as to the one being which underlies the diverse empirical phenomena of our universe.

The *darśanas* arose during the period of the Imperial Mauryas. But the further development of philosophy may be said to start much later, with Nāgārjuna deconstructing metaphysical and epistemological theories of both the Hindu (Nyāya, Vaiśeṣika, and Sāṃkhya) and early Buddhist schools. His dialectics showed the inextricable 'circularity' of metaphysics and epistemological theory. Thus each metaphysical component presupposed another, involving self-contradictions resulting in the destruction of philosophical concepts from within ! What remained would only be the cognizance of the true meaning of Gautama's ineffable silence on the fact that finally *nirvāṇa* and *saṃsāra* are the same.

The creative work in philosophy continued in the following centuries and the Buddhist Dharmakīrti's logical and epistemological concepts were challenged by the Nyāya school, which eventually led to the Navya-Nyāya school under Gaṅgeśa Upādhyāya (circa 1200 CE). This school developed a highly technical language used in formulating and solving problems of logic and epistemology. In the main it is in consonance with Vaiśeṣika except for the addition of *abhāva* as the seventh category to Kaṇāda's list, and introducing a host of abstract entities into its ontology.

Indian epistemologies are said to be causal theories. *Pramāṇas* are defined as the true cause of cognition. And, true cognition not only corresponds to its object, but is also produced the right way. The theorist here defends his position, and attacks the opponent's view by resorting to ordinary linguistic

usage; adjudge both ordinary and extraordinary experience; and use his own cognitive experience. Cognition leads to conative activity.

*Śabda* as a *Pramāṇa* (knowledge gained by words alone) is unique to Indian epistemology which enables the theorist to delineate the scope of our moral knowledge. Logic is a theory of inference and is a part of the theory of knowledge. The Indian logician therefore, is interested in inference as a method of knowledge.

Perception holds the primacy of place with regard to the empirical world. This includes *śabda* which depends on hearing. Epistemology as a theory of *Pramāṇa* is dependent to an extent on metaphysics as theory of *prameya*; this is because *pramāṇas* and the cognizance they produce are entities that can be known-*prameyas*.

The book under review is divided into five chapters headed as follows: 1. Perception and Language, 2. Individuals, Universals, and Perception, 3. Early Grammarians on Philosophical Semantics, 4. Empty Subject Term in Logic, and 5. Negation and the Mādhyamika Dialectic. Though they seem to treat disparate topics, the basic philosophic problems appear and reappear only clothed in different forms. Thus there is an inter-relation between these topics.

Indian philosophers were treated with uncritical reverence, or, they were subject to dispassionate analysis, ignoring their vibrant involvement with the world they tried to relate. Matilal has deglamourised the philosophers as mystics and religious thinkers and presented them as epistemologists, logicians, and grammarians. This book juxtaposes the two systems of philosophy: Nyāya with its 'realism and common sense', and Buddhism with its 'revisionary conceptual standpoint'. While one school states reality is beyond discursive thinking, the other states that reality is knowable, and hence can be conceptualised, and expressed in words. The two streams are approached not with their respective religious background, but as two excellent systems with theories well grounded in logic and with pellucid perceptions on the crux of philosophical questions. Matilal presents philosophical arguments, eschewing totally the usual soteriological issues. Indeed, he does not even keep the chronological component in view while discussing the different schools, because for him philosophical theory takes precedence over other considerations.

During the nationalist movement, many leaders, the author avers, felt oppressed by the dominance of Western superiority in many fields. They took cover, he says, under an aura of Indian spirituality which contributed in no small measure to the mistaken identity of philosophy with mysticism and religion. Matilal has been brilliantly successful in demystifying philosophy,

and releasing it from its spurious shackles.

Research reveals that Indian philosophy is more concerned with logic and epistemology, and with the analysis and classification of knowledge, than with what the author terms 'transcendent states of euphoria'. Though the author argues against any personal bias towards mysticism, he acknowledges that reality may remain beyond 'our cognitive acts, linguistic functions or conceptual constructions', as per the Advaitin, or the follower of the Mādhyamika school.

This book aims at the modern student of philosophy who may not have a grasp of philosophic (Sanskrit) terminologies, a mastery of which may entail years of dedicated study. Matilal has contributed enormously to contemporary philosophical thinking, and has made accessible to the scholar the abstruse literature which had remained almost esoteric.

*Indira S. Aiyar*

***THE LOTUS SYMBOL IN INDIAN LITERATURE AND ART***, SANTONA BASU, Originals, Delhi, 2002, pp. 104 + figs. 10 + plates 17. Rs. 200.

The book under review makes an in-depth study of the lotus motif in the Vedic and Buddhist literature, and its representation in architecture. The book is divided into five chapters, the weightiest being the second, where all aspects of the concept are examined.

After a brief introduction in the first chapter, where she lists the texts she uses as source, the author begins her analysis of this religious literature. Quoting and interpreting certain Vedic passages Basu traces the evolution of the concept of Agni's appearance on the *puṣkara* and his subsequent connection with it (pp. 18-19), which evolves into the motif of the world-wheel (pp. 34-35), which later gives rise to the concept of the lotus as the creative womb. This last ideation became strengthened in the Purāṇas. Basu brings to the fore the inter-relation between water, lotus leaf and heaven (p.31), and highlights the difference between *puṣkara* and *punḍarīka*. While dealing with myths relating to the lotus, the roots of these words are examined (pp. 42-43).

Examining the deities associated with the flower, she observes that lotus symbolizes water, on which the sage Vasīṣṭha was received by the gods. We know from the *Rg Veda* that Vasīṣṭha gets his epithet 'lotus - born' because he, as Agni, is born of the lotus, the earthly counterpart of Ūrvaśī.

We learn of the interesting concept of the king wearing lotus garland while performing the *rājasūya* sacrifice (p.44). The divine flower symbolizes water; and since a third part of Varuṇa's strength fell into the water, and he being the universal monarch, the king obtains the god's divine lustre by wearing the lotus garland.

Connecting the creative myth of the *Atharva Veda* with the Purāṇic myth of Viṣṇu reclining on the coils of Śeṣa, Basu brings out the similitude between the *Yakṣa* (Varuṇa) of the Vedas, and the Purāṇic Viṣṇu *Śeṣaśāyin*, as well as between the cosmic waters and Śeṣa. She uses the Deogarh sculpture of circa 6th century of Viṣṇu *Anantaśāyin* to support her statement. The flower's association with Hindu goddesses is examined with iconographic illustrations. This association of the flower with deities has to be indigenous as the flora is entirely Indian, Zimmer has observed, though he does mention the Mesopotamian goddess Ishtar-Astrate's similar depiction. Similarly, we notice the Buddhist goddess Prajñā Pāramitā standing on a lotus, and having the flower near her left side. Buddhist iconography sometimes adapted pre-Buddhist patterns, infusing it with new meaning. As a symbol of non-attachment, the lotus seat of the Buddha signified *nirvāṇa*.

Though the lotus flower and leaf were mentioned but a few times in the Vedic literature, it was a popular concept in the Buddhist canons. In the Hindu texts, metaphysical undertones (or immortality) were given to the flower, whereas in the Buddhist literature, when it mentioned an immortal being born on the lotus, the flower did not signify anything beyond its natural state. This the author feels is due to the fact that the Śākyamuni kept silent on metaphysical matters, and the texts naturally refrained from any such expressions.

A short chapter discusses the lotus as a symbol of non-attachment, and in the fourth chapter Basu goes over the different stages of the evolution of the concept regarding the flower. In eight short points, she recapitulates the flower's symbolism and the resultant myths. In the last chapter she enumerates the genus into its Botanical classifications, and attempts to identify its mentions in the Sanskrit classical literature with the above.

This book attempts at a comprehensive treatment of the motif of the lotus in literature and iconography, and may help interested scholars with the systematized information it provides.

Indira S. Aiyar

***BUDDHIST CENTRES OF ORISSA***, Lalitagiri, Ratnagiri and Udayagiri, BIMAL BANDYOPADHYAY, Sundeeep Prakashan, New Delhi, 2004, pp. xii + 100, 1 Map + pls. 59. Rs. 1500.

Since 1958, excavations in Orissa have brought to light many Buddhist complexes of monasteries and *stūpas*. The systematic excavations by Debala Mitra at Ratnagiri, and the subsequent excavations at Lalitagiri and Udayagiri, brought to light evidence which made an enormous impact on the recasting of Buddhist art history of Orissa. Artefacts of Vajrayāna Buddhism in their varied representations have also come to light. The 'Golden Triangle' of Buddhism in Orissa consists of the sites of Lalitagiri, Ratnagiri and Udayagiri. Chronologically also, the centres developed in the same order. Since they complement each other in their development, the author feels they should not be studied in isolation. The best expression of art is said to be from Udayagiri.

A few scattered remnants of a pillar capital and railing posts around Bhubaneswar, dated to the latter half of the 1st century CE suggest the prevalence of the religion at that period. Inscriptional evidence (from Nagarjunakonda) supports the view that Hīnayāna Buddhism was popular here around 250 CE. Under Kanishka, Mahāyāna Buddhism attained popularity, and replaced the earlier cult. Though the Guptas did not support Buddhism, it continued to survive. Under the Bhauma-Karas' generous patronage, the Golden Triangle gained importance and grew into centres of Buddhist art and learning, reaching its apogee between the 8th and 10th centuries. Royal patronage had a revolutionary and inspiring impact on Indian art, and religious architecture occupies an important place not only in the religious system, but in the socio-cultural history of the area.

Due to the popularity of Mahāyāna Buddhism (which the author calls non-orthodox, p.8), the first anthropomorphic representations of the Buddha appeared around the 1st century CE, simultaneously in the Gandhara and Mathura schools. Though there were religious texts describing gods and goddesses, the strict code of worship of divinities was laid down only in the *Guhyasamāja*, an early treatise of the Vajrayāna cult. This cult displaced the austere Hīnayāna, because it assured salvation to even a person leading a normal life. It was purported to have been revealed by the Buddha himself to the faithful, in the form of *saṅgītis*.

The *Śūnya* concept central to Vajrayāna refers to the infinite energy. This is conceived in different forms according to the mental capacity and need of different classes of people. Thus there was a proliferation of deities and their *śaktis*. Tantric literature of both the Hindu and Buddhist religions contains the invocatory verses and detailed modes of worship of gods and their *śaktis*. Some Hindu deities got absorbed into Vajrayāna, and there was



an efflorescence, specially in their lithic representations. From the 10th century onwards, it is learnt that Kālacakrayāna, a further offshoot of Vajrayāna was prevalent in Orissa. Both had common ground of philosophy, and the concept of *Śūnya*. Kālacakrayāna laid emphasis on yogic activity, to develop the body to be an ideal spiritual vehicle, as well as on the union of the male and female energy.

When the political power shifted from the Bhauma-Karas to the Somavamśis towards the middle of the 10th century, decline set in, in Lalitagiri and Udayagiri. Ratnagiri was firm in its high status and did not suffer a setback. But from the 12th century, when the Hindu Ganga rule set in, maintenance of the buildings suffered with the slow decline of Buddhism. After a short spell of Pathan rule, the Golden Triangle came under the Mughals. And the deliberate mutilation suffered by the antiquities tells a tale of iconoclasm.

At Lalitagiri, the standing figures of the Bodhisattvas (circa 6th to 7th century), show the influence of Gupta art in their charming sublimity of spiritual beauty (plates 1 & 2). The *stūpa* here is an earliest example from Orissa, and there are four monasteries unearthed here, though the author feels there may be many buried underneath. These monasteries show continuous occupation from 2nd century to 11th-12th centuries. Some relic caskets were discovered, which according to the author, may well have contained the Master's relics. The apsidal temple bears close resemblance to its Andhra counterparts, and therefore is inferred to a date of 2nd to 3rd century. In the *caitya* zone an inscription of the Kushana Brāhmī script has been found. According to some art historians, the development of the Brāhmī script, the elaboration of the apsidal *caitya*, and the progress in the sculptors' art, all go together. Terracotta seal with Gupta Brāhmī inscription (4th-5th century), hand-made as well as wheel-made pottery (3rd-1st century BCE) were a few of the interesting pieces found here.

At Ratnagiri, Vajrayāna and Kālacakrayāna found firm foothold. The *stūpas* here show an array of Vajrayāna deities carved in chlorite or khondolite. 'The glory of Ratnagiri lies in the monasteries', the author says (p.47). The plans of these monasteries are similar – a pillared verandah on the four sides of a paved courtyard, cells opening on to the verandah, a central shrine, and an elaborate entrance complex. Though the author admires the magnificent artistic skill of the period, he concedes that with a few exceptions, the sculptures show a heavy earthiness and lack of grace when compared to the other two centres. One can trace the influences from the Buddhist centres of Bengal, Bangladesh, and Bihar in the later images and from the 10th century, there is a marked influence from the indigenous style. There are a number of small bronze pieces found here, made by the *cire perdue* method. The author feels there must have been a metal casting centre at Ratnagiri itself.

Coming to Udayagiri, there are : a grand monastery, a *stūpa* and a walled residential cum shrine area. In the middle of the drum portion of the *stūpa* in the four cardinal directions, there are four rare and beautiful Buddhist images. Three of these are undoubtedly images of the Buddha. The fourth one in the north niche was under some doubts, but after comparing its similarities with the other three, and taking into account the artisans' improvisations of canonical requirements, the author concludes that this is also an image of the Buddha. The sculptures from this area are remarkable, the author notes, for their elegance of form and chaste beauty. The author had personally supervised the excavations here, and has provided a separate map of the site.

The author has described (with accompanying plates), images on a hilltop in Udayagiri, which remained unpublicized most probably due to their inaccessibility. There are five images. They stand in all their beauty of posture and ornamentation and are examples of superb modelling and graceful charm.

The author takes us on an illustrated travelogue over the Golden Triangle. With facile insight into the art history of the area, he narrates the tradition as it came under various rulers, highlighting the subtle changes it underwent under different regional and indigenous influences. The accompanying illustrative plates are a great help in appreciating the text.

*Indira S. Aiyar*

***BUDDHIST REMAINS FROM HARYANA***, DEVENDRA HANDA, Sundeep Prakashan, New Delhi, 2004, pp. xv + 89, plates 51. Rs. 1500.

The author's interest in the topic of the book under review had been kindled as early as 1964-65. Since then he had devoted years of field work and research leading to this monograph. The work is meticulously researched, from which one can gauge the literary and archaeological studies he must have undertaken. In this study he has tried to prove that Buddhism was extant in the present geographical area of the state of Haryana and its contiguous regions, even after it lost its hold on the mainland.

When invasions from the west took place, Haryana being the threshold, its art and culture influenced and was in turn influenced by those areas. It had the good fortune to be between the two great art styles, the Gandhara and the Mathura schools, and the present study underlines the importance of the artifacts discovered from this area.

The state according to the author was well known in literature of the early period as a distinct geographical-cultural unit. The Aryan cultural advances, the Mahabharata war, the efforts to stem Muslim invasions, and the final disastrous results of the Panipat wars were all from this area.

The *Mahāvastu*, *Dīgha-Nikāya*, and *Dīpavaṃsa* all mention the Buddha's visits to this area. The famous Kuru kingdom, and many other well known cities of the period are mentioned in the Buddhist literature. It is said that the Buddha had to deliver his wisest sermons here to convert the people as they were well known for their moral and physical stature. But the author concedes that these mentions are not corroborated by archaeological evidence. In spite of the Teacher's visits, Buddhism did not take root in Haryana till the early Maurya period. From the records of the Chinese travellers Fa-hien and Yuan Chwang the remains of a few stupas have been traced if not at the exact location, but a few kilometers off. A few Aśokan *dharma-stambhas* have also been spotted in different locations. But these have been sadly used by the later Muslim invaders for their purpose, and the original inscriptions have been overscribed by their own narration. Aśoka's patronage of Buddhism did much to spread the religion among the masses. Though the Śūngas were said to be against Buddhism, there was a lot of creative activity during their rule. It was during this period the author says, that folk beliefs got assimilated into Buddhism. Yakṣas and Yakṣīs till then were ambivalent as fallen deities, but were now considered humane. We are treated to a description of the beautiful icons of the Yakṣī from Mehrauli and the Yakṣa from Palwal (pp. 16-17).

After the conversion of Menander, (which is disputed by some scholars, p. 27), many Greeks gave donations to Buddhist establishments, and a new style of Buddhist art evolved during this period in Haryana and Punjab. Describing an aniconic symbol of the Buddha in the form of a wheel from the Jhajjar Museum, the author refutes the concept that the three pronged symbol supporting the wheel as *triratna* (that is : the Buddha, the *Dhamma* and the *Saṅgha*), since this would be in effect duplicating the representation of the Buddha.

The author covers exhaustively the Buddha and Bodhisattva images of the Kushana era, describing in minute detail each representation. A terracotta *Aśvamukhī* plaque of 1st century deserves special mention. The author cites similar representations in many Buddhist sites of roughly the same period, as well as its literary mention in the '*Aśvamukhī Jātaka*' to strengthen his theory that this is indeed a Buddhist plaque.

Coming to the Gupta period, even though Fa-hien does not describe any particular Buddhist site, the author concludes from the artifacts recovered from various sites, that the religion continued to be popular among the common people. There are two carved beads representing the two Chinese travellers

Fa-hien and Yuan Chwang, belonging to the Harsha period which are noteworthy. Amongst the artifacts of the early medieval period, one's attention is caught by the grace and serene expression of the icons of Avalokiteśvara Padmapāṇi and *Bhūmiśparśa* Buddha. Though there are not many artifacts belonging to this period, they are not altogether absent.

The author concludes his study with what he set out to prove, that though Buddhism did not take firm roots in this area, it flourished during the reign of Aśoka, and continued to weather vicissitudes of popularity through various rulers, upto the early medieval period. Haryana thus was a 'melting pot' of influences of both the great schools of Gandhara and Mathura, revealed in the Buddhist remains, particularly of the Kushana period.

The descriptions of the minute details, be it a pillar panel or a free standing icon, enhance the aesthetic pleasure of the reader, even if he had little knowledge of art history. Further, when the author compares an icon with other similar examples, studying the ornamentation or the style of execution, he shows by his familiarity with the subject, the deep knowledge he has of the Buddhist art, not only of Haryana, but also of other states. This meticulously researched work is well supported by beautiful plates.

*Indira S. Aiyar*

***VIEWS OF DIFFERENCE : DIFFERENT VIEWS OF ART***, edited by CATHERINE KING, Yale University Press, New Haven & London, in association with The Open University, 1999. 272 pages. Price not stated.

The work under review is the fifth book in the series *Art and its Histories*, which form texts for an Open University course. Unlike most books, which are divided into chapters, this book is divided into two parts, each consisting of a number of related case studies by different authors.

Part 1 focuses on 'Art and Artists in the Pre-Colonial and Extra-Colonial Cultures.' This section deals with the ways in which European colonizers interpreted the works of art of the people they colonized and how such interpretations have been questioned and critiqued. This is presented through case studies of how Indian art has been perceived by James Fergusson in the heyday of the Raj in the mid-nineteenth century, by Ananda Kentish Coomaraswamy in the early twentieth century as the struggle for Indian independence developed, and by Partha Mitter in the present day. James Fergusson represented Indian art as decaying after an early period of prowess.

According to him, Indian art even at its greatest never equalled the arts of ancient Greece and Rome. Fergusson's views were coloured by his preconception of Indian art as decaying, by his belief in the influence of European culture on it, and by his distaste for extensive ornamentation. In contrast to Fergusson, Coomaraswamy did not agree that the colonized were artistically inferior. Coomaraswamy enjoyed lavish ornamentation, and disparaged interpretations of Indian art that gave what he considered undue attention to the influence of the ancient Greek civilization on it. He argues that it was the intervention of the European colonists that caused decline in the arts of colonized peoples; it was British imperialism that had wrecked the institutions that trained artists and provided the audiences and patrons that had made Indian and Sri Lankan art creative. Partha Mitter critiques the views of the European art historians like Fergusson and his contemporaries. Mitter relates their views to the nineteenth-century European theories of 'race', according to which, the ancient art of India was the product of a 'pure', superior, Aryan 'race', who had intermarried with 'inferior' people already inhabiting India, with disastrous hybrid effects.

The first part concludes with a study of the approaches of western scholars to Chinese art, as an example of the art of countries that did not come under direct European colonial control. European art historians considered Chinese art as relatively static and backwardlooking. From the various case studies that are presented in this part, it is evident that the European colonizers tended to see their own artistic traditions as continually progressing, while the art of non-western peoples was thought to be either decadent, or static or primitive.

Part 2 - 'Art and Artists in Colonial and Post-Colonial Cultures' - presents case studies which demonstrate that the representations of past art has a counterpart in the ways in which contemporary art produced by the colonized or their descendents tends to be viewed. Colonizers and their successors have found it difficult to accept that an artist from a former colony could appropriate contemporary European art forms and handle them independently. Two case studies in this section ask how views of cultural difference affected the conditions in which colonized subjects could make art, and look at the extent to which their art might question imperial rule. The first case study examines the architecture and sculpture of Antonio Francisco Lisboa, nicknamed Aleijadinho, in late eighteenth century Brazil. His works reflect both European design traditions of his times as well as, in a subtle way, his political revolt against European masters. The next case study is of Rabindranath Tagore in early twentieth century India. While some of his contemporaries sought to make a modern national art deriving from local Rajput and Mughal styles, Tagore asserted the right of artists in India to adopt methods and motifs from any other culture, just as the Europeans were doing. Tagore wanted

Indian independence, but he eschewed exclusive concern with nationalism in art as in politics. He travelled throughout the world, lecturing on the need to move towards internationalist values. This section ends with a case study of how artists belonging to a former colony, namely Nigeria, were able to set out generating their own debates about modernity once they had achieved political independence. Modern artists in Nigeria do not regard their art as given to them by another culture but as developed by them through invention and appropriation.

The book begins and ends with studies by the artists Gavin Jantjes and Rasheed Araeen, who outline their critical approaches to views of cultural difference. It is Rasheed Araeen's experience that the heirs of colonized peoples making modern art in the metropolis of the colonizers could be treated as less capable of independent invention than their 'white contemporaries.' According to Araeen, 'non-white artists' were placed in a ghetto of cultural hybridity, and were not accepted as artists with the kind of freedom from cultural ties accorded to European artists. Araeen hopes for 'a global society in which the individual is an autonomous subject.' Gavin Jantjes shared a somewhat similar experience to that of Rasheed Araeen. He was disappointed on being expected in Europe to paint like an African rather than being asked how he wished to represent himself and his views on art. However, Jantjes argued that cultural hybridity could be used to advantage. For he maintained that cultural intermixing is a feature of all societies and that diversity and syncretism are essential to human creativity.

The book is well written and beautifully illustrated. While focusing on the way in which views of cultural difference, developed by European colonizers, have coloured, and still colour, the evaluation of the arts made by colonized peoples and their descendants, it strongly argues that the art of both the colonized and the colonizers can be studied art-historically.

This monograph follows the case study method. While this enables an in-depth survey of the contribution of certain art historians and art of some colonized countries, it does not provide a total picture. Perhaps, either in the introductory or concluding sections a wider overview could have been provided. In spite of this limitation and although it has been designed as study material for students of the Open University, *Views of Difference: Different Views of Art* would be of interest to both art lovers and the general reader.

Anila Verghese

***IDEAS AND SOCIETY: INDIA BETWEEN THE SIXTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES***, EUGENIA VANINA, Oxford University Press, Second Edition, New Delhi, 2004. 254 pages, Rs. 525.

*Ideas and Society* is a new edition of the work by the Russian historian Eugenia Vanina. The book attempts at a two-fold task: First it discusses the history of ideas in medieval India from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, by pinpointing some of the main problems on which the social thought of medieval India meditated. Second, it makes an effort towards a comparative analysis of trends in the history of ideas in pre-modern India and some other countries, especially those of Western Europe.

From the variety of topics discussed by medieval Indian authors, Eugenia Vanina has selected the following: ideas of state and statehood, religious and cultural relations of Hindus and Muslims, the evolution of the social processes and religious reform movements, and the way the Indian mind reacted to the collapse of the Mughal empire and the colonial invasion. For this edition, Vanina has brought a wide range of themes together in an introduction, which takes into account new sources as well as recent debates in historiography. After the Introduction, the book is divided into five chapters.

In Chapter I, entitled "The State, the Ruler and the Ruled", the author analyses the 'Hindu' and 'Muslim' concepts of the state and royal duties. She notes that, despite differences of religious practices and cultural backgrounds, many similarities existed between these two and also between them and much of contemporary European political traditions. According to the traditional viewpoint, the king was, first and foremost, the head and protector of a privileged community of his co-believers, while all others could hope only for tolerance. The author then goes on to a detailed study of the development of Akbar's theory of state, which is closely associated with Abu-I Fazl Allami, Akbar's *vazir* and friend and one of the foremost thinkers of sixteenth-century India, that departed from the traditional concept of the state. The political theory of Akbar was based on two new features: First the superiority of worldly power over spiritual power, namely, priority of the king's decisions, which would aim at universal peace and well-being, over the regulations of the holy law. Second, the ruler was seen as the leader and protector not only of the privileged community of co-believers, but of all his subjects, irrespective of caste or creed. The idea of a strong centralized state was pivotal to this model. However, this model of state did not last long after the death of Akbar.

The next chapter, "Meeting of the Oceans", deals with the processes of Hindu-Muslim cultural and religious interaction during the period under review. This interaction worked at two levels that influenced one another:

In the lower strata of the social hierarchy there were liberal religious reformers of *bhakti* and Sufism, who held that all people were equal in God's eyes and who considered the sincerity of one's love for God a priority over dogmas and rituals. Among educated intellectuals, such as Abu-I Fazl and Dara Shukoh, the *sufi* and *bhakti* ideas met with rationalistic approach, free-thinking and research, which made possible scholarly comparisons between different religions. This was a period in Indian history of both religious bigotry and communal discord, as well as of communal amity and cultural interaction. The author also offers a brief glimpse into the attitudes of contemporary Christian missionaries and humanists towards other religions.

In Chapter III, "The Age of Kali and the Kingdom of Rama", the author chalks out some of the important aspects of *bhakti* and Sufism and attempts to analyze the attitudes of the *bhaktas* and *sufis* in the realm of ideas and their impact on society. Vanina rightly points out that *bhakti* was not a movement, but a complex of movements, schools of ideas and trends. Similarly, Sufism embraced a variety of ideas, with the name *sufi* given to men of different social, ethical and even doctrinal ideas.

Chapter IV is called "In Quest of a Way Out"; in it, the author examines the eighteenth century scenario in India, marked by the disintegration of the Mughal empire, the emergence of independent states on its ruins, which engaged in bloody wars among themselves, the invasions of Nadir Shah and the Afghan rulers and the rise of the European military power. Examined here are not the events of the eighteenth century, but what the Indians thought of this fateful epoch.

In the last chapter, entitled "Instead of a Conclusion", the author sums up what has been highlighted in earlier sections, as well as points to areas for further and on-going discussion. She emphasizes the fact that the Indian thought of the medieval period was as contradictory, variegated and diversified as India itself. She also points to the continuity between medieval, colonial and modern India. As she aptly states, the "legacy of medieval thought lives on in the contemporary India. It still forms, albeit unconsciously, a part of the thought processes of people, their moral and aesthetic values.... The medieval cultural legacy plays an indispensable role in the process of modern India."

This monograph is a valuable contribution to the corpus of research on medieval Indian history and it will be of interest to historians of this period. Its clear and lucid style makes it also easily accessible to the interested lay reader.



**PRĀCYAŚIKṢĀSUHĀSINĪ**, Seventy-Fifth Anniversary Celebration Volume of The Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, ed. SAMARESH BANDOPADHYAY, University of Calcutta, Calcutta, 1999, pp. 608, Rs. 400, US\$30.

The Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture of the University of Calcutta, founded by Sir Asutosh Mookerjee has brought out this volume in commemorating its 75th anniversary. The volume has two parts, Part I is entitled 'Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture' and it has eleven well-defined and exceedingly interesting sections. Part II is titled 'Research papers on Ancient Indian History and Culture' and contains eighteen very illuminating articles from reputed Indian and foreign scholars.

Part I deals with history of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Journal of Ancient Indian History, seminars, lectures, jubilee celebrations, biographical sketches of teachers and important students and list of M. A. and Ph. D. students.

Part II deals with eighteen research papers on sculptures, terracottas, inscriptions, Buddhism, Kirātas, Indo-Roman contact, coin forgeries, and incarnations of Viṣṇu. The contributors of these articles are eminent Indian and foreign scholars.

The inaugural ceremony was organized at the Asutosh Museum Centenary Auditorium of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, on May 6 and 7, 1995. On this occasion speeches were delivered by the then Governor of West Bengal and Chancellor, University of Calcutta, Sri. K. V. Raghunatha Reddy (Inaugurator), the Vice-Chancellor, University of Calcutta, Prof. Dr. R. N. Basu (Patron & President); the Chief Guest Sri. Prasantkumar Sur (a past student and a Former Minister of West Bengal), the Special Guest Prof. Dr. Y. Vassilkov (a distinguished Russian Orientalist).

It is indeed remarkable to note that with over one and a half lakh of rupees the Inaugural Ceremony was organized and also 500 copies of the present volume of more than 600 pages were published.

Even a cursory glance at the contents of this publication will speak volumes for the great amount of original thought and hard labour put up to make the volume worthy of the occasion. This important publication has been planned to bring forth the endeavours and attainments of the Department in a work of devotion, highlighting it with recent researches on some interesting topics by some learned scholars.

The book contains photographs of many scholars. The index of the volume is quite exhaustive. The printing on good quality paper is adequate. Above

all, the moderate pricing of the publication is much appreciated.

This volume is edited with great dedication and meticulous care by an eminent scholar Prof. Dr. Samaresh Bandopadhyay. We must appreciate the arduous task of editing this volume of great worth and make it a publication of considerable attraction. I am sure that this volume of great value will be widely appreciated by all and the volume will serve as a model for similar type of works.

*B. V. Shetti*

**VEDIC BELIEFS AND PRACTICES THROUGH ARTHAVĀDA** (Two volumes), SINDHU S. DANGE, Aryan Books International, New Delhi, 2005, pp. xv-l+593, Rs. 1500.

It was a pleasure going through the two volumes mentioned above, not only because the issue is of my own interest, but also because the learned scholar has dealt with the theme in a lucid, systematic and versatile manner.

*Arthavādas* comprise of narrative, prose portions of the Veda. They, as such, are accommodated in the *Brāhmaṇa* part of the Veda. The case of the *arthavādas* becomes interesting from the point of view of an interpreter because *arthavādas* place a challenge before him. This is so because *arthavādas* are not to be taken at their face-value. In other words, what the *arthavādas* express primarily is not important, is not to be accepted as their meaning but the significance lies in their secondary meaning. The aim of *arthavādas* (though they have been classified variously by Śabarāsvāmin and also by the later writers on *mīmāṃsā*) is basically two-fold. It is either to praise the enjoined entity or to decry the prohibited one. The learned author, in her introductory comments, has dealt with all these details regarding the interpretation of *arthavādas* mainly by the *mīmāṃsakas*. She has mentioned the most important principle of interpretation put forth by *mīmāṃsakas*, namely, *ekavākyatā*. *Ekavākyatā* stands for coherence which can never be sacrificed in interpretation of a text. All these points make the study of the *arthavādas* and the Veda interesting. But there is another angle from which one can look at the phenomena of *arthavādas* or narrative sentences of the Veda. As narrations they talk about different things related to different aspects of human life in some way or the other. These reflect different beliefs and customs of the then society. Thus *arthavādas* can be studied as the records of the same. Such a study will enable us to peep into the Vedic society. Scholars from early times have been focusing at the profane or secular elements in the tradition of these

*arthavāda*-sentences. They are the early seeds of fables and stories on one hand and give us lot of information about beliefs and practices of the Vedic society, on the other.

Our author has taken up the study of the *arthavādas* from this particular point of view. According to her, it is very important because, " ...we have to say that this secular tradition of the hoary past has come down to us, only by its being incorporated in the ritualistic tradition in the form of *arthavādas*, in the absence of which, these records of beliefs and practices would have remained in the form of floating mass of literature, having only the mouth-to-mouth circulation...." (pp. xivi-vii of the Introduction). In my opinion, this is a great effort to evaluate the real significance of *arthavādas* today, outside the frame of the Vedic ritual culture and certainly it is a worth-while attempt to look at our cultural heritage which is ancient and to see the links of our generation to the hoary past !

The first Vol., after the Preface; Abbreviations and an informative Introduction is classified into the following chapters:

1. Etymologies, 2. Sun, Moon and Constellation, 3. Quarters, 4. Time and its Units, 5. Water, 6. Trees, Plants and Varieties of Grass, 7. Animals and Birds, 8. Complimentary Numbers.

The second volume deals with the following topics:

9. Sense-Organs and Body-Parts, 10. Varṇa-System, 11. Family-Life, 12. Sacrificer's Code and his Immortality, 13. *Arthavādas* on Varied Topics (Miscellanea), 14. *Arthavāda* - A Pointer to Ritual Development.

These discussions are followed by Illustrations of some sacrificial details, Bibliography and an Index which are inevitable components of a good research work. The topics mentioned here show the comprehensive nature of the work. It is not possible to evaluate the work entirely in this small review. I only wish to heartily congratulate and thank Dr. S. S. Dange for obliging the intelligentsia by this valuable contribution to Indology. Students and scholars of Indology, Veda, Cultural History, Anthropology, Sociology and also General readers interested in knowing our Heritage will find materials of their interests here.

*Ujjwala Jha*

***JAINA THEORY OF MULTIPLE FACETS OF REALITY AND TRUTH (ANEKĀNTAVĀDA)***, ed. NAGIN J. SHAH, Motilal Banarsidass Publishers & B. L. Institute of Indology, Delhi, 2000, pp. xvi + 148. Rs. 200.

The book under review is a compilation of the erudite papers submitted at the seminar on Jaina Logic and Epistemology organized by BLII in 1990 under the stewardship of the late Dr. B. K. Matilal, Emeritus Professor at Oxford, UK, and is edited by Dr. Nagin J. Shah with his thought-provoking and scholarly introduction containing the chief features of the subject concerned. It is worth noting that the value of the present volume is enhanced by the introduction which is written with such rare insight that it helps to get rid of certain misconceptions about the Jaina doctrine. Dr. Nagin Shah has discussed with clarity, thoroughness and depth the Jaina point of view and has explained ontological, epistemological and logical implications of the doctrine.

The very title of the book is fascinating and it indicates its content which covers different aspects of Jaina Logic. As is rightly pointed out in the introduction, Anekāntavāda is the central philosophy of Jainism. There are in all eleven articles by eminent scholars such as B. K. Matilal and many others in one comprehensive volume. The two articles, one by Prof. K. C. Bhattacharya and other by Prof. A. Uno, though not written for the seminar are included in the book owing to their great importance. Thus the editor has done a good job by providing an overall introduction to Jaina Logic and Epistemology.

It is perhaps rightly claimed that Anekāntavāda constitutes the most original and brilliant contribution of Jaina system. Each article has a specific subject matter. As is pointed out, the authors of the articles have elucidated and evaluated theory, bringing out significant results implied in it. It may give a new direction to our thinking. The fascinating article 'Both yes and no' by B. K. Matilal is important and interesting in several ways. His literal rendering of the term Anekāntavāda as 'non one-sidedness' is remarkable. He elucidates the relationship of the doctrine with the Buddhist view of Vibhajyavāda. The rationale behind the Jaina position is also explained. K. C. Bhattacharya in his articles, 'The Jaina theory of Anekānta' provides new understanding of the theory of Anekānta by analysis of realism and relating the theory with Hegelian and Nyāya system. A study of Syādvāda by A. Uno is an article with special reference to Jaina texts. He evaluates the position Syādvāda occupies in Jaina logic. He claims that seven formula of Syādvāda are of later invention. In the article 'Relativity and Absolutism', V. M. Kulkarni critically evaluates Anekāntavāda and points out clearly the unique character of Jaina Philosophy that emerges from its analysis. 'The seven-plank epistemological frame - A search for its rationale' is an article by V. Venkatachalam, in which the author's approach is empirical and he draws correlation between seven members of saptabhaṅgī and seven types of experience. Pradeep Gokhale in his article

'The logical structure of Syādvāda' suggests the fourth model of existential quantifier and claims it to be the most adequate which represents new approach to the problem. One wonders whether it is justifiable or not. The article 'The Complimentarity principle and Syādvāda' by D. S. Kothari is superb. He discusses the Jaina theory in the light of modern science in an unbiased and objective way and also restates seven modes in terms of quantum mechanics which is quite illuminating. 'Nyāya Criticism of Anekāntavāda' by L. V. Joshi is the description of the arguments advanced against Anekāntavāda. The article 'A few modern interpretations of non-absolutism' by Dayanand Bhargava expresses the opinions of modern scholars on the theory of Anekānta. His doubt about theory having its roots in non-violence may be challenged. Bhagchandra Jain in 'Rudiments of Anekāntavāda in early Pali literature' attempts to demonstrate elements of theory in the Pali Buddhism. Finally, in the article entitled 'Relevance of Anekānta' in modern times' Ramjee Singh rightly observes the importance of the theory in the modern world for peaceful coexistence of different cultures and ideologies. To sum up, in an integrated and comprehensive framework, the distinct presentations with excellent introduction enrich one's understanding of the Jaina doctrine as a whole. With its scholastic content the book is informative although some of the papers may be disputed. Despite its limitations, it provides an interesting reading. Certainly it is a substantial addition to the wealth of Jaina literature so far as it highlights the basic philosophy of Jainism. Further, Index has been provided in the end. It would have been helpful if Bibliography were also added in the end. The edited version of the book on the whole is rich in content. It certainly will be useful to the general readers as well as scholars. The quality of the paper and printing is very good. The present volume may also be used as a reference book for further research.

*Kokila H. Shah*

***MIND, LANGUAGE AND WORLD: VOL. I OF PHILOSOPHY, CULTURE AND RELIGION; THE COLLECTED ESSAYS OF BIMAL KRISHNA MATILAL,*** ed. JONARDON GANERI, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2002, pp. 458 + xxxiv. Rs. 650.

The book under review is the first of the two collections, published posthumously, of B. K. Matilal's essays on Philosophy, Culture and Religion. Many essays included in these two collections were formerly published in journals, anthologies or felicitation volumes. Some articles not published before have also been included in these collections. The articles have been edited

and systematically arranged by Prof. Jonardon Ganeri. The first collection includes Matilal's articles in the field of ontology, epistemology and philosophy of language. The second collection includes articles in the field of morality, religion and culture. The present review pertains to the first collection.

The collection contains thirty essays compiled and arranged into sections by the editor of the volumes. These are the sections on skepticism and mysticism, Nyāya realism, Indian Buddhism, Sanskrit semantics and the perspectives and problems concerning philosophy in India. The collection exhibits the philosophical personality of the late Prof. Matilal as a comparative Philosopher with all its uniqueness. We see here how instead of just pointing out similarities and dissimilarities between Indian and Western perspectives, he makes the relevant philosophical issues alive and fresh in the light of ideas and insights coming from Indian and Western philosophers on the respective issues. In this review-note it is not possible to review the essays contained in the book in their serial order. I can note, however, some of his contributions in some of the essays which I found striking and interesting.

Is the so-called 'Indian philosophy' philosophy in the sense in which the word is used in the West? He discusses this question in some articles included in part V of the book. (Though the editor has placed this part as the last part of the book, the theme and the content of this part in fact has fundamental significance for understanding Matilal's general perspective on Indian philosophy.) His response to this question, broadly speaking, is twofold. On the one hand he tries to remove the misunderstanding about the Indian tradition of *darśanas* that it is primarily *Mokṣa*-oriented and hence religious and soteriological and only secondarily philosophical. Here he refers to the concept of *ānvīkṣikī* as used by Kauṭilya, Vātsyāyana and Udyotakara and argues that Indians had a clear conception of philosophy as a discipline concerned with rational inquiry. On the other hand he raises objections against the narrow conception of philosophy upheld by some scholars of Western philosophy themselves. Here he asks, "Could we define 'philosophy' even in its modern Western sense, a definition that will be unanimously accepted by all philosophers in the West?" He exhibits a parallel attitude towards Orientalism in his important article "On dogmas of Orientalism." According to him the view that the East is irrational and emotional whereas the West is rational and logical is a myth; there is no world of difference between eastern and western cultures. Hence his attempt throughout his writings has been to point out the points of contact between Indian and Western cultures in general and the two philosophical traditions in particular; so that both will be illuminated in the light of each other. As a comparative philosopher he presents various philosophical approaches from Indian tradition in contemporary idiom and opens a dialogue or multilogue with ancient, modern and contemporary philosophers from Western tradition. Hence, while writing about Indian skeptics such as Jayarāśi and

Nāgārjuna, he remembers Sextus Empiricus and while writing about Śrīharṣa's objections against the possibility of *Pramā* (Knowledge), he aptly remembers Gettier's Problem. His juxtaposition of Indian mysticism with the writings of William James, W. T. Stace and Deikman leads to the conclusion that the alleged ineffability of mystical experience in its received sense is unacceptable. Here his views are greatly informed by Nyāya. While discussing Nyāya realism in the context of naïve realism and causal theory he points out that the so-called naïve realism (which according to him is not naïve after all) which is attributed to Nyāya is not like that of Armstrong but it is closely comparable to that of Strawson. In another important article, ("Bhartrhari:Quine's Indeterminacy thesis") he shows how the thesis of indeterminacy of translation which Quine defended in his *Word and Object* and other works can be found in a different form in Bhartrhari's theory of language where it is based on the hypotheses other than those of Quine. Quine argues in terms of the impossibility of radical translation attempted in native language which is supposed to be a closed system, whereas Bhartrhari's thesis of indeterminacy of translation can be developed in terms of non-availability of proper translation between any two natural languages, which are not supposed to be closed systems.

Unlike many scholars of Indian Philosophy he is not much interested in Advaita Vedanta or in mystical parts of Indian philosophy. Logico-Linguistic and epistemological aspects of Nyāya and Buddhism gain an upper hand in his interests in Indian Philosophy. Again, between the two schools, he is more inclined towards Nyāya than towards Buddhism. But there are some issues on which he treats the Nyāya and Buddhist position as equally strong. For instance, on the issue of Ātman and Anātman he concludes that the theory of soul (Nyāya) as well as non-soul (Buddhism) could be supported by the same total evidence, because our theories are always underdetermined by the totality of evidences.

As a philosopher of language he has a bipolar vision of Indian philosophy in which one pole is what he calls linguaphobia represented by Dinnāga and the other pole is represented by Bhartrhari what (he does not give any name, but) I would call pan-linguism. Matilal claims that the latter view was accepted with a great deal of modification by the Naiyāyikas. His inclination too is towards the Nyāya view which accepts linguistically structured character of the world. He finds in the Nyāya theory of judgmental knowledge (to be precise, The Gaṅgeśa's theory), the support for Donald Davidson's criticism of 'the third dogma of empiricism', viz. the dualism of conceptual scheme and content of a cognition.

The volume also contains articles in which Matilal appreciates modern Indian thinkers like Aurobindo, Radhakrishnan and Bankimchandra Chatterjee. These articles articulate the author's approaches to ideas like perfect knowledge,

universal religion, Hinduism and Nationalism.

However, one of the peculiarities of Matilal's style that one notices in these articles is that generally he does not concentrate on any one idea or doctrine for a long time, he flies from one idea to another like a bee. While reading the collection one is likely to get a feeling that one is on an excursion of a philosophical sanctuary. When one watches different regions of this sanctuary one observes a variety of wonderful ideas and conceptual understandings - like plants and animals of indigenous and foreign varieties. One enjoys the journey. During the journey or even at the end, one may not have the feeling that one has reached any destination, but one does feel that one has got better and fresher understanding of Indian philosophical ideas and one has also got a glimpse into various openings which are available to a student of philosophy to go further and deeper.

*Pradeep P. Gokhale*

***THE INDIAN TEMPLE TRACERIES***, M. A. DHAKY, xix + 490 pages, 55 line drawings, 348 b/w photographs. American Institute of Indian Studies, and D. K. Printworld, New Delhi, 2005. Rs. 3600, US \$ 144.

Prof M. A. Dhaky's prolific contribution to Indian temple architecture is well known through the Encyclopedia volumes published by the American Institute of Indian Studies, and through his several monographs and articles on the subject in English and Gujarati. An architectural historian, he has played an important role in identifying the terminology of various components of the temple from the plinth to the spire-finial, evolving a technical vocabulary of architectural forms based on Vāstu texts. Dhaky's masterly work on ceilings (*vitānas*) of the temples of Gujarat provides the structural and typological classification of ceilings, giving terminology for each minute decorative detail.

In this weighty volume under review, Prof. Dhaky examines the varieties of designs in temple traceries and undertakes typological classification, based on textual study as well as actual examples. The *jāla*, temple tracery, which functions to introduce air and light in the interior, is never autonomous as a figural sculpture. Its aesthetic interest is sensed only in relation to the building's overall design. It figures in the three major systems of architecture, namely Indian, Islamic and Gothic. The core of Dhaky's study is Indian temple traceries, but with the vast knowledge at his command, he encompasses the traceries at the global level, to include Islamic screens, and even further to traceries in the medieval European Gothic buildings. He says in his Preface that the



Islamic screens and Gothic traceries are included "for comparing, but largely contrasting, their underlying intents, forms, and details, just as their overall appearance, aesthetic preoccupations, and visual impact with those of the temple tracteries." He also includes a few notable examples from Sri Lanka and Southeast Asia, as "they take our understanding beyond and supplement what we may find in the mother country". Dhaky clarifies that he does not attempt to deal with the constructional principles of configurations.

In his Foreword, Prof. Frederick M. Asher states: "One particular strength of this volume, as with much of Dhaky's other work, is the weaving of textual and visual traditions. And while it might appear to many that the verbal texts serve as a basis for the visual forms, in fact the two function together to shape tracteries through time and across the Indian subcontinent." Janice Leoshko in the Prefatory Note says: "The focus of this volume certainly demonstrates how the act of making comparisons is one way to acknowledge the diversity and yet shared impulses of human creativity throughout the world."

As early lattices were fashioned in wood, the characteristic wooden feel is retained in the stone ones also, as evident in the ancient architecture of the Buddhist and Ājīvika rock-cut caves. The author points out that the early *jālas* reveal their domestic and secular origins, even though they appear in religious buildings. The *jālas* in medieval monuments were only partially functional (in respect of light and air) and largely tended to be ornamental.

*Jālas* are found in the monuments of the North as well as the South, and are mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*, *Rāmāyana*, canonical Jaina literature, and in the works of the famous poet Kālidāsa but, as Prof. Dhaky points out, they are not found in early texts dealing with Vāstu in northern India. It is in the technical Vāstu literature from southern India of the 10th century that prescriptions on the various types of *jāla* are available. The southern text *Mayamata* gives specific location on a building where a *jāla* can be inserted. The *Mānasāra* is the only text which gives the dimensions of the *jāla*.

The common and parallel forms of northern and southern traditions can be noticed in the *jāla* designs. Dhaky observes: "These parallels indicate, in a precise manner, as indeed in most other fields, the ultimate oneness of basic cultural concepts and the inherently identical perceptions which govern the form and substance within two major geographic and cultural divisions of India."

The book consists of 6 chapters, plates and drawings, comments on plates, Glossary and Bibliography. The Glossary consists of terms not only from ancient and medieval Indian literature, but also from Islamic (Arabic/Persian) and Christian (Romanesque/Gothic) sources. But one hopes that the terms

such as *gulikā* and *sakhaṇḍaka*, used frequently in descriptions of plates, were also included in the Glossary, though these are described in the text.

The author gives extracts from Sanskrit texts, classified according to their creed affiliation and arranged chronologically within each group. These texts are from the groups of the Śaivāgamas, Śaiva Kriyā-granthas, Vaiṣṇava Vaikhānasāgama, Jaina Saṁhitā, and Vāstuśāstras, some of which are unpublished. From 13 Sanskrit texts, Dhaky notes 16 *jāla* types, and presents a well-prepared chart (pp. 36-37). We can see that the type of *jāla* called *nandyāvarta* (*svastika* with arms extended), is listed and described in all the 13 texts, whereas *valli* or *latā* (creeper), commonly seen in *jāla* designs, is mentioned only in three texts, while *stambha* (bar, upright) is mentioned only in one.

In the chapter on the textual and actual types, Prof. Dhaky derives eight general groupings of *jālas*. These are 1) Auspicious Symbol types, including propitious motifs such as *svastika*, *nandyāvarta* mentioned in texts, but also others found in actual *jāla* designs such as *śaṅkha* (conch), *cakra* (disk), and so on; 2) Geometric; 3) Architectural; 4) Vegetal; 5) Figurative; 6) Composite; 7) *Sakhaṇḍaka*, with box-like compartments, not met with in south Indian texts, but seen in 7th-8th century temples in Karnataka. Dhaky differentiates its rendering in temples and mosques of Western India; 8) Unclassified types.

Curiously, *jāla* as an architectural device is virtually absent in Tamil Nadu till 12th century. It is the 7th-8th century Cālulkyā temples at Mahakuta, Badami, Aihole, Pattadakal, and other sites in Karnataka that *jāla* is employed in its aesthetic and functional aspects. Hence photograph plates in the volume begin with the *jālas* in Karnataka temples. It is also interesting to learn that the *cakra-vyūha* design with 8 fish in radiating formation, depicted in early temple traceries of Karnataka, was not noted by south Indian texts of the 10th century, as it was then out of vogue.

The geometric types are more common in screens of Islamic monuments, whereas in pre-Islamic Buddhist, Jaina and Brahmanical edifices, there is a free use of vegetal and figurative alongside symbolical and geometrical motifs. Dhaky observes: "The juxtaposition of different types of motifs—geometrical, figural, fancifully formalized vegetal—set in the emboxed grids create charming symphonies of motifs, a sort of formalized but attractive collage that is not encountered in the non-western Indian Islamic or Gothic class either." He says that the *Sakhaṇḍaka* (box-type) class of *jālas* were "conceived in Karnataka, perfected in western Indian buildings, adopted in Indo-Islamic architecture, and were taken there to great heights of visual splendour." He mentions and illustrates notable examples of Indo-Islamic screens of the Sultanate and Mughal times.

While the Islamic screens can be brought, at least partially, within the purview of the textual types, the Gothic traceries cannot be seen in the context of Sanskrit texts. The Vāstu texts were written before the advent of the British in India. The author gives types of tracery forms of the Gothic mainly in England, France and Germany. He says: "What the Indian and Islamic screens did not achieve and show, is the extraordinary flexibility and plasticity of the Gothic traceries... the medieval Gothic examples doubtless are among the astounding examples of functional-cum-decorative art created by human hands."

The photograph plates are arranged according to types or themes of *jāla* designs, rather than according to chronology. In his comments on plates Dhaky gives detailed descriptions of *jālas* according to their typology and nomenclature in texts. This erudite book is another valuable contribution by Prof. Dhaky like his earlier works on temple architecture and western Indian ceilings, drawing our attention to the aesthetic importance of traceries, which were almost neglected by architectural and art historians. The American Institute of Indian Studies and D. K. Printworld have done a fine job in bringing out this sumptuous book. It will not be out of place to mention the role played by the American Institute of Indian Studies with its vast photo-archives and library in promoting the cause of research of this magnitude.

*Devangana Desai*

***THE GREAT PENANCE AT MĀMALLAPURAM, DECIPHERING A VISUAL TEXT***, MICHAEL D. RABE, Institute of Asian Studies, Chennai, 2001, pp. 98+91, Rs. 500.

Māmallapuram, the most exquisite indigenous sculptural accomplishment of Tamil Nadu is a perennial source of archaeological interest and academic research. The Great Penance carving at Māmallapuram, the largest narrative sculpture, often compared with the Last Judgement of Michelangelo, has remained a deliberate conundrum with respect to its subject matter and purpose, date and authorship for art historians. Numerous alignments and juxtapositionings between one hundred and fifty larger than life-sized human and animal figures have inspired many a designation and characterization such as "Arjuna's penance", "Descent of the Ganges" as also a plurality of interpretations.

Dr. Michael D. Rabe in his present work attempts a significant break-through in a holistic comprehension of this intricate mystery. He unravels this artistic enigma through the use of the Oriental metaphor of the *maṇḍalas* that enable him to reintegrate the disparate planes of the Great Penance. The book is

composed of three main chapters followed by Appendices and an extensive bibliography. The black and white photographic plates that follow are a veritable treat.

Chapter I attributes the Great Penance to a specific royal patron namely Narasimhavarman I or Narasimha Māmalla on both stylistic and textual grounds drawing richly on the meritorious previous work on the periodisation of Pallava rock-cut architecture. Chapter II reviews previous interpretations of the Great Penance presented as an historical progression of increasing comprehension. This mid-section of the book constitutes the unfolding lotus periphery of a *yantra*. *Yantras* or instruments are graphical aids for contemplation and reintegration of ostensibly disparate planes or entities of the macro and microcosm.

The literature review constitutes an essential framework within which the monument's truly-faceted core of meaning is unravelled in Chapter III. Four tools of research, which the author likens to the temple *gopurams* that offer access or at least fleeting glimpses through to multiple structures situated within the collective precincts of the temple *prākāra*, are employed namely iconography or denotation of figural attributes (*mudrās*, *āyudhyas*, etc), hermeneutics or exegesis which entails a close reading of the texts the sculptor could have expected his courtly audience to be familiar with (in this case the *Mahābhārata*), Sanskrit poetics (*alamkāra śāstra*) and *Praśasti* or the literary genre of royal panegyric.

It is worthy of note that this is the first study that constitutes a concerted effort to decipher the visual equivalents of such literary *alamkāras* (ornaments) as *upamā* (simile), *śleṣa* (pun), *yamaka* (palindrome) and even riddles called *prahelikā*. The Great Penance has been shown to be a deliberate and ultimately quite-comprehensible visual *prahelikā*.

The absence of scholarly consensus on the true purport of the Great Penance seems to be indicative of the failure to recognize its richly layered intertextuality. By bringing to bear four equally germane sources of documentation, namely epic texts, the *alamkāra śāstra* definitions of poetic figures, dynastic *praśasti* inscriptions along with iconography, Dr. Rabe deciphers this superbly rendered visual text. He journeys back and forth into epigraphy, history, poetics and literature progressively moving towards an empirical translation of the hypothesis into conclusions of critical authenticity and validity. His methodology, both novel and meticulous, establishes the intertextuality of the monument and herein lies his abiding contribution to Māmallapuram Studies. Dr. Rabe's work reveals his thorough understanding of his subject, the sharpness of his critical tools and the sheer brilliance of his multi-pronged

approach. The book uses simple language and style that make the most complex concepts accessible to an interested reader.

*Vidya Vencatesan*

**THE DHARMAŚĀSTRA**, An Introductory Analysis, BRAJAKIŠHORE SWAIN, Aksaya Prakashan, 208 M. G. House, 2 Community Centre, Wazirpur Industrial Area, Delhi 110052, 2004, pp. 556. Rs. 690

Dharmaśāstra is a sacrosanct word in Indian tradition. It denotes systematic arrangement of rules that were formed and laid down for the smooth working of a society. The word *Dharma*, however, is now associated with religion and thus we have a Hindu religion, Muslim religion or Christian and other major religions of the world. The word religion derived from the Latin *religio* and *re ligare* means to bind again (with God). Thus, religion stands for the relationship of human being with God. But it should be clearly understood that Dharmaśāstra in Indian context means historical information regarding Hindu customs, rules of social and individual behaviour and various social rules and traditions.

History of Dharmaśāstra literature is the *magnum opus* of MM. Dr. P. V. Kane who worked over it for more than thirty years and brought out six volumes running over 6000 pages. These volumes are encyclopaedic and are the last word in Hindu Dharmaśāstra. A scholar of ancient Indian culture cannot do without these volumes. But these are not easily available.

The volume under review is a collection of articles touching all major aspects of Dharmaśāstra. These articles have been collected from the writings of eminent scholars both past and present and have been presented in a handy form. The title of the book speaks of its contents and the credit of its compilation goes to the editor. There are 31 articles contributed by 29 authors. Two articles are contributed by the editor himself, besides an introductory analysis of Dharmaśāstra. Some of these articles are by contemporary writers but a few, of them are from scholars who are no more. To mention a few, they are; Max Müller, M. Hiriyanna, Aurobindo, S. Radhakrishnan, G. S. Ghurye, P. V. Kane, A. S. Altekar, A. L. Basham, D. F. Mulla. All these great scholars had written elaborately on various aspects of Dharmaśāstra and it is to the credit of the editor to have chosen the excerpts and arranged them meaningfully in a handy volume of 560 pages. Thus there is a chapter on *Smārta Sūtras* by Max Müller, on Manu by C. K. Raja, on Religion and Spirituality by Aurobindo, on Stages of Life by S. Radhakrishnan, on Women and Religion by A. S.

Altekar, on Sources of Hindu Law by D. F. Mulla and Administration of Justice by A. L. Basham.

The writings of these savants are so clear and lucid that the need for explanatory notes is not felt. Each article indicates sources and specific references. Even then, certain critical notes by the editors would have enhanced the value of this compendium. Biographical notes on contributors would have gone a long way in enlightening young readers. The get up of the volume is simple and printing is good. The book is handy for all those who would be interested in Dharmaśāstra.

*N. B. Patil*

## **Acknowledgement of Books Received**

*Catalogue of Pañcarātra Samhitā*, ed. Sadhu Parampurushdas, Sadhu Shruti Prakashdas, published by Swaminarayan Aksharpith, Ahmdavad, 2002.

*Bibliography of Palaeography and Manuscriptology*, Compiled and Edited by Sweta Prajapati, Bharatiya Kala Prakashan, Delhi, 2004. Price Rs. 650.

*The Rāma Saga*, Dr. Ramanath Tripathi, translated from Hindi by Prof. Prabhat Kumar Pandeya, Akshaya Prakashan, Delhi, 2005.

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**TRANSLITERATION OF THE  
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अ	.....	a	औ	.....	au	ठ	.....	ṭha	भ	.....	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	ड	.....	ḍa	थ	.....	tha	व	.....	va
ऋ	.....	ṛ	च	.....	ca	द	.....	da	श	.....	śa
ॠ	.....	ṝ	छ	.....	cha	ध	.....	dha	ष	.....	ṣa
लृ	.....	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	×	(Jihvāmūlīya)	.....			h
		(Anunāsika)		.....	m	)	(Upadhmanīya)	.....			h
		(Visarga)		.....	ḥ	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	ث	.....	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	.....	z	ح	.....	h	.....	au, aw
د	.....	d	ع	.....	ʿ	ي	.....	y	silent t	..... h
ذ	.....	dh	غ	.....	gh	ء	.....	ʾ		
ر	.....	r	ف	.....	f	ا	.....	a		

PERSIAN

پ	.....	p	چ	.....	ch	ژ	.....	zh	ک	.....	g
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