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V. M. KULKARNI

DEVANGANA DESAI

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The Conundrum of the Udayagiri Mahiṣāsuramardinī

Indira S. Aiyar

Gupta kings dominated the political scene in the north in the 4th and 5th centuries (320-467 CE). The art style that came into being during this period, continued its influence on sculptures even up to the 7th century. Answering his own query as to what is peculiarly Gupta art, J. C. Harle gives two points[1] : that the sculptures had an inward-looking stance which conveyed a high spiritual evolution, and secondly, their elegance which reflected the quality of that civilization.

Udayagiri, the famous archaeological site of the Gupta period, is 5 km. north of Sanchi in Madhya Pradesh. The caves of Udayagiri are all at ground level, with the lone exception of a Jaina cave situated half way up a hill. The religious affiliation of these caves seems eclectic, with equal spread of Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava images. Though the caves are of little importance architecturally, some special features − ornamented door lintels, and the scroll-and-leaf decorations, so uniquely Gupta, appear here for the first time. Elsewhere, there is almost no inscriptional evidence of this period directly relating to any particular king. But at these caves, there exist some inscriptions of great importance, which can be connected personally to a Gupta king.

There are three representations of the goddess Durgā Mahiṣāsuramardinī in the cave precincts. The first one is on the north wall of the courtyard in front of Cave no. 6, the second on the outer wall of Cave no. 17, and the third on the façade of Cave no. 6 to the proper left of its entrance. The first two are thought to be of the transitional period between the Kuṣāṇa and Gupta times, and the last one belongs to the early Gupta period, *circa* 401/402 CE. Of the two inscriptions on Caves 7 and 6, relating to Candragupta II, one is dated to 402 CE. Each of these representations of the goddess is an improvement in its delineation on its previous one. All are of buff sandstone.

The two inscriptions mentioned above throw up some interesting insights about the donors. The first one on Cave 7 says it is commissioned by one Śaba-Vīrasena, a hereditary minister in Candragupta II's court, who describes himself as one who is well versed in (or felicitous with) words, practical matters, human nature, and a poet of Pāṭaliputra. The inscription on the north wall of Cave 6 on the other hand, says that it was a pious gift by the king of Sanakānikas, a vassal of Candragupta. Joanna Williams remarks that these Sanakānikas are the same tribe conquered by Samudragupta. She notices

a significant difference between these two donors[2] from the two inscriptions. One belongs to the upper echelons of the elitist central political hub of the Gupta government; the other a humble devotional offering by a vassal tribe, which is still powerful enough to donate the cave. Studying other iconographical features of the two caves, such as the stance of the *dvārapālas* and the lintel ornamentations of the door, Williams observes that the carvings of Cave 7 were done by a sculptor well aware of the Mathura style of the period, whereas the carvings of Cave 6 were done by a tribal sculptor who followed the style of representation of the previous one. Further, all the sculptures on the façade of Cave 6 belong roughly to the same period; and taken together both the caves must have been executed in the first twenty-five years of Candragupta's reign. Though a stable political climate resulting in good roads and communications gave a great fillip to art, pilgrimage was a great geographical force and played an even greater part in disseminating art from Mathura to other regions. It is well worthwhile to quote Williams as she waxes eloquent over the art of this period: "It is as if the courtly poetics of *kāvya*, running throughout all Indian religions, at this point demanded a corresponding visual representation of the great literary themes and their rich embellishment or *alaṁkāra*".[3]

The first one of the three representations of Durgā, by its position is totally eroded by weather and is barely visible. But we can ascertain its features, from a look at the second icon, since it is seen to be a copy of the earlier one. Here Mahiṣa, as a buffalo, is leaping in front of the goddess. Devī is pressing him down with one of her right hands, while a *triśūla* held in another right hand is used to kill him. A left hand, whose fingers are missing, held near the muzzle of the animal, is thought to pull out and hold his tongue.[4] She is also seen holding a single lotus flower in one of her left hands, a gift from the Lord of the Ocean.[5]

The third configuration shows a unique handling of Mahiṣa. He is thrown on the ground, with the Goddess' right foot pressing his head, Devī standing in an *ālīḍha* pose. One of her left hands is holding his left hind leg. It has been commented that the animal has been whirled around, and thrown on the ground.[6] All the three sculptures of the Goddess are twelve-armed, and there is the interesting object held aloft in her upper two hands. The third icon (Plates I, II) is also much weathered, but most of it is discernible. Though some of the arms, and the weapons they hold are broken, the object held aloft is very well preserved.

From the Kuṣāṇa period onwards, Devī Mahiṣāsuramardinī is a popular theme. Kuṣāṇa art is of no mean importance in Indian iconography. Innumerable objects of Buddhist, Jaina and Hindu religions belonging to this era have been unearthed in the Mathura region. These artefacts give us a glimpse

of the glorious period of the religious iconography of the era. The plaques of the Mahiṣāsuramardinī theme recovered from this area are preserved in the Mathura museum. They are all of them not more than 20 cm high, made of red mottled sandstone, and excluding one, the rest are all very badly damaged. The stance of the Goddess and her attributes are similar in all of them. The goddess as seen in the best preserved plaque is six-armed in a *samapāda sthānaka* posture and relaxed in her attitude. She holds an object aloft in her two hands. There are two prominent aspects of this icon which engage our attention by their very absence: Devī's *vāhana*, the lion is never shown; and the tautness of the moment of overcoming the asura is not portrayed. One may comment that there is a tranquil strength in the Kuṣāṇa reliefs whereas the later icons show the vibrant dynamism in the Goddess' stance. P. K. Agrawala[7] calls it the 'ponderous feeling of Kushan plastic tradition', as compared to the 'suave elegance and artistic discipline' of the early Gupta art. There is simplicity in the depiction of the moment of victory of the Goddess over the buffalo, calmness being the main *rasa* of the event. The sculptor has kept the theme in its bare form, 'an iconography in process of formation.' But this became the basis for its development into its future sophisticated representations, in the Gupta era. Harle has commented that these may be the "first Hindu images.... that belong to a firmly established iconographic type."[8]

Returning now to the Udayagiri representation on the façade of Cave no. 6, the icon shows the Goddess for the first time placing her right foot firmly on Mahiṣa's head, while holding his hind leg by one of her left hands. Her hands hold clockwise from her proper right, a broken object, which may be a mace (*gadā*), arrow, thunderbolt (*vajra*), sword, the two hands holding an object aloft; on the left side from top, a shield, bow, and a discus.

The particular object held aloft by the Goddess' upper two hands is the subject of controversy amongst scholars. Over a period of time this has elicited comments from various eminent art historians and there is no consensus of opinion as to its identity. It is not a familiar object in Hindu iconography, and it is held aloft in a peculiar way—in two upraised hands with the back of the hands showing towards the viewer.

J. Ph. Vogel, examining the Kuṣāṇa plaque had thought that this object held aloft was a serpent, though he was not certain.[10] Diskalsar, examining another four-armed terracotta icon of the same period, thought it was the skin of the slain buffalo.[11] Alexander Cunningham[12] seems to have seen the icon at Udayagiri in a better state of preservation and he has listed most of the above weapons; but omitted the top object either because he was baffled by it as Harle comments, or, he might have listed it as the *cakra* which is not visible now. He has also missed out the *śūla*. V. S. Agrawala

identifies it as a bowl.[13] Odette Viennot, while examining the Udayagiri icon under question, feels it is definitely a long oblong drum, and therefore the Kuṣāna artists must also have tried to depict such an object.[14] R. C. Agrawala[15] opines about the Udayagiri Durgā, that what she holds in the upper hands looks most probably like an iguana (*godhā*).

J. C. Harle has a similar figurine in his private collection, belonging to the transitional interregnum between the Kuṣāna and Gupta periods. He states that the object could be a snake, a lizard or the soft portion of any animal.[16] As for the Udayagiri goddess, he identifies the object reluctantly as a lotus garland,[17] though the representation is unlike the garlands usually seen in sculptures.[18] He also has an alternative suggestion that it could be a soft basket (*karaṇḍa*), or a piece of the matting used as a container for the garland. J. N. Banerjea[19] has identified this object as an iguana, and quotes *Rūpamaṇḍana* to prove this animal's connection to the goddess Gaurī. Gritli Von Mitterwallner says that it is a garland.[20] Joanna Williams[21] calls this a wreath (which, according to her also adorns the heads of the two *dvārapālas*). Doris Meth Srinivasan also identifies this as a wreath.[22] She is reluctant to name this configuration as Mahiṣāsuramardinī, because she sees no literary support for this designation in that period. Myths need not always predate, or even be coeval with their lithic representations. Religious literature is a result of autochthonous ideas influencing oral traditions, which is very difficult to gauge; and in particular, the Goddess myth has taken a long haul to be Sanskritised.

There are two recent opinions on this object held by the Durgā representation in Orissa. Bhagabat Tripathy[23] commenting on a four-armed deity found at Gandibedha in the Balasore district, states that the Goddess is holding a *musala* (club). Pammasani Parandam and Veerabhadran Devadass[24] opine that such an object is definitely a stone, which the Goddess is throwing at her enemy. They support this view by the description of the battle in the *Devī Māhātmyam*, where the Goddess throws amongst other things, stones to kill the general of Mahiṣa. Devotees of the Goddess seem to prefer the view that the object is either a *musala* or a *cakra*.

Without further muddying the waters, this paper would prefer to lean towards the views that the object is either an iguana, or a crown of snakes. Lakṣmī is the presiding *devatā* of the *Madhyama Caritam*, of the *Devī Māhātmyam*. Śrī as one of the six forms of Gaurī is said to have an alligator as her *vāhana* . Gaurī herself has an iguana as her vehicle.[25]

This concept in its elementary form as seen from its representations of the Kuṣāna era culminates in this unique Udayagiri sculpture. The whole image might be of a composite nature, putting two or three ideas together, a fore-runner to its narrative form. Devī is shown holding not only the weapons she used

against Mahiṣa, but also those she used to vanquish other asuras. In the *Devī Māhātmyam*,[26] the devas comment that Devī gives *mokṣa* to the asuras while killing them. Moreover, Mahiṣa is hinted as being an *amśa* of Śiva in Sanskrit as well as folk traditions.[27] Thus the *godhā* held aloft may symbolize the Goddess transformed as Gaurī / Śrī, giving sāyujya to Mahiṣa, after killing him. In the *Devī Māhātmyam* 3.38[28] the word '*yāvat*' is interpreted as "Till I as Caṇḍikā (in the *turīya* form), become transformed into Mahālakṣmī".[29]

If the object is identified as snake, then again in the same text *Devī Māhātmyam*, in the *Prādhānika Rahasyam* of the *Uttarabhāga*, when the king Suratha requests the Ṛṣi Medhas to describe to him the nature and significance of Devī, the Ṛṣi describes the Goddess as wearing a garland of snakes on her head.[30] The *Yāmala Tantra* describes her as a beautiful damsel wearing a garland of snakes on her head.[31] Thus, there is some evidence to support the view that the object might be a *godhā* or snakes.[32]

Finally, it has to be said that any of the above views may be the right one. Though Truth be One, it seemingly shows different hues according to the perceptional capacity of its interpreter.

Notes and References

1. J. C. Harle, *Gupta Sculpture*, 1996, p. 8.

2. Joanna G. Williams, *The Art of Gupta India*, 1982, p. 40.

3. *Op. cit*, p. 62.

4. Gritli Von Mitterwallner, "The Kuṣāṇa Type of the Goddess Mahiṣāsuramardinī as Compared to the Gupta and Mediaeval Types", in *German Scholars on India II*, Bombay, 1976, p. 202.

5. Devī Māhātmyam, 2.29, (with Tamil commentary), Sri Ramakrishna Mutt, Chennai, 1973. All references to the verse numbers in this article are from the text of this edition.

6. Mitterwallner, *Op. cit.* p. 201.

7. "An Estimate of Gupta Terracottas" in *Hari Smriti-Studies on Art Archaeology and Indology*, Vol. I, 2006, p. 46.

8. J. C. Harle, "On a Disputed Element in the Iconography of Early Mahiṣāsuramardinī Images" in *Ars Orientalis*, Vol. VIII, 1970, p. 147.

9. Doris M. Srinivasan, *Many Heads, Arms and Eyes*, Brill, 1997, p. 285, identifies this as a bell. She misses the *vajra*, and identifies the shield as a *cakra*.

10. J. Ph. Vogel, *Catalogue of the Archaeological Museum at Mathura*, p. 97; R. C. Agrawala, "The Goddess Mahiṣāsuramardinī in Early Indian Art", *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. 21.2, p. 123, f.n. 2.

11. "Some Brahmanical Sculptures in the Mathura Museum", *Journal of the Uttar Pradesh Historical Society*, Vol. 5, 1932, p. 55 in R. C. Agrawala, *Ibid.*, p. 123,

f. n. 7.

12. *Archaeological Survey Reports*,Vol. 10, p. 50.

13. "A Catalogue of Brahmanical Images in Mathura Art", *Journal of the Uttar Pradesh Historical Society*, Vol. 12, 1949, p.158 in Odette Viennot, "The Goddess Mahishasuramardini in Kushana Art", *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. 19, no.2, 1956, p. 371, f. n. 8.

14. Odette Viennot, *Ibid.*, p. 372.

15. "The Goddess Mahiṣāsuramardinī in Early Indian Art", in *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. 21, no. 2, in Harle, *op. cit.* p. 148, f. n. 8.

16. *Op.cit.*, p. 153.

17. *Devī Māhātmyam*, 28 cd, 29 ab.

18. *Op. cit.* pp. 152-153.

19. *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, New Delhi, 1974, p. 502.

20. *Op. cit.*, p. 203.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 42.

22. *Many Heads, Arms and Eyes*, E. J. Brill, 1997, p. 289.

23. "Śākta Images in Northern Orissa" in *Proceedings of the 9ᵗʰ Session of Indian Art History Congress*, Hyderabad, 2000, p. 56.

24. "Early Sculpture on Śakti Forms", *Op. cit.*, p. 131.

25. J. N. Banerjea, *Ibid.*; T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Rūpamaṇḍana* in *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, Part II.

26. 4. 18 & 19.

27. For references in Sanskrit and folk traditions, cf. Indira Aiyar, *Durgā as Mahiṣāsuramardinī*, New Delhi, 1997, p. 282 ff.

28. गर्ज गर्ज क्षणं मूढ मधुयावत्पिबाम्यहम् ।

29. Commentary *Guptavati* of Bhāskararāya in Kandiyur Mahadeva Sastry *Srī Devīmāhātmyam* (Malayalam) Kodungallur, 1994, p. 248.

30. Verse 9 : खड्ग पात्रशिरः: खेटैरलंकृत चतुर्भुजा । कबन्धहारं शिरसा बिभ्राणाहि शिरः: प्रजम् ॥

31. Kandiyur Mahadeva Sastry, *Op. cit.* p. 546.

32. A similar icon of Śiva holding an object (possibly a wreath) above his head is examined by Devangana Desai in her paper "A Remarkable Kushana Image-Linga from Mathura Discovered by Bhagwanlal Indraji", *Marg* magazine, Vol. 58, No. 4, June 2007.

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Durgā-Mahiṣāsuramardinī, façade of Cave 6, Udayagiri, c. CE 401/402.
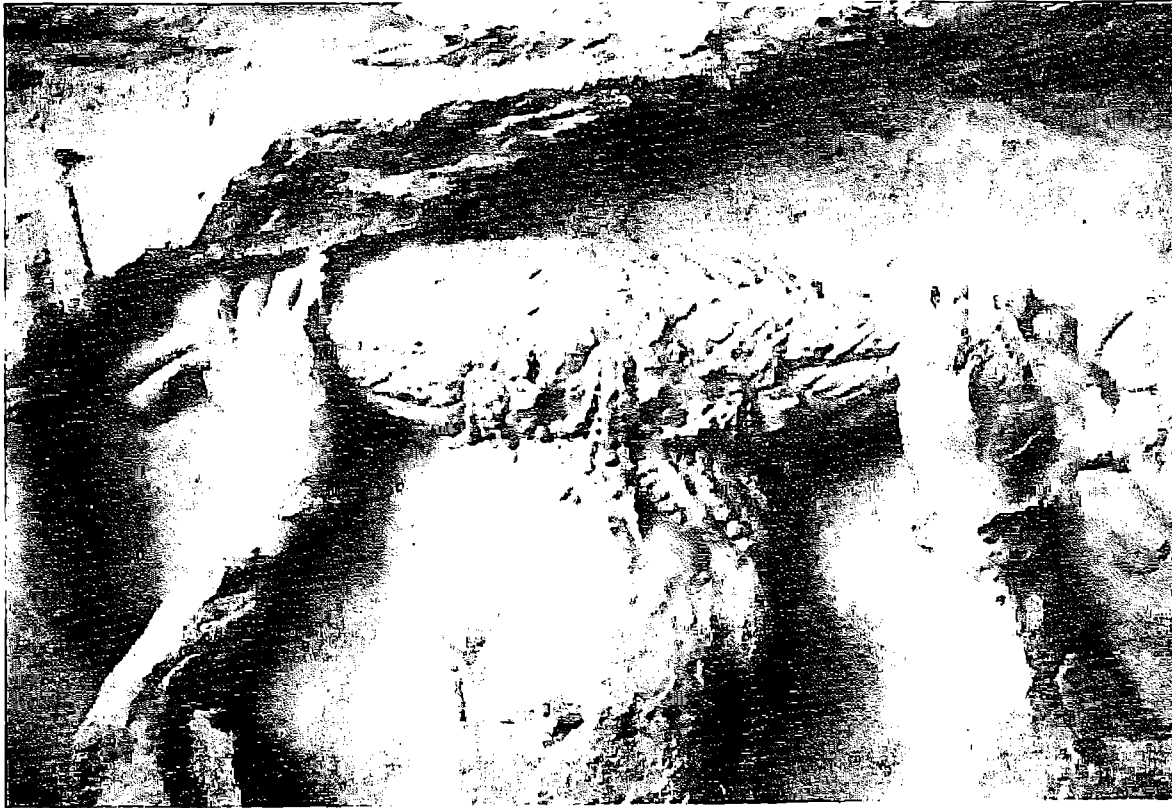
Close-up of Durgā's raised hands and the object held by her, Udayagiri.

Exploring Versions of the Mahābhārata

Observations on the Critical Edition of the epic,

the edition giving its bare

Constituted Text and its later redacted versions

Krishna S. Arjunwadkar

Critical Editions: An Overview

The project of the Critical Edition of the *Mahābhārata* (*Mbh*), the great epic of India and the largest single epic of the world, was completed, after long years of expert labour, by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute (BORI), Pune in 1966. This project, planned with great care and executed with the editorial help of renowned Sanskrit scholars from all over the world, gave inspiration to similar undertakings in India and abroad. A Critical Edition of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, another great epic of India, was brought out by the Oriental Institute in Baroda with the help of a team of scholars associated with it. Another project was floated by Professor Slaje of West Germany and his team on the voluminous work, the *Yoga-vāsiṣṭha* or *Mahā-rāmāyaṇa* or *Mokṣopāya*. What I am here concerned with is (1) the Critical Edition of the *Mbh*, (2) the edition of only the Constituted Text (Con. Text) therein printed separately (1971-76), and the editions of the hypothetical, (3) original (*Jayasaṁhitā* (*JS*), 1977) and (4) the intermediate (*Bhārata-saṁhitā* (*BS*), 1998) versions of the great epic edited by Prof. K. K. Shastree (Bambhania) and published by the Gujarat Research Society, Ahmedabad. My intention in discussing this subject is to note down points concerning the editing guidelines and occasional printing defects in the editions and versions noted above. I must confess that my study is based on a sample survey of a limited part of the editions mentioned. A line by line checking of the whole material is beyond the ability of a single person. If this test study inspires some young scholar to undertake a more ambitious plan, I would consider my labour rewarded.

The Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata

The full-extent *Mahābhārata* itself contains references to its growth, through ages, from a nucleus of about 8800 verses (reference committed to App. 1.39A in the Crit. Edn.), through the middle version of about 24,000 verses (I.1.61), to the last extensive version of about 1,00,000 verses (reference

committed to Critical Apparatus in the Crit. Edn. under 1.29.4). What the
BORI edition has done is to determine the last version of the text on the
basis of an objective criterion, viz. the key manuscripts (MSS). A critical and
comparative study of the huge MSS material collected from all over India
leading to the fixation of their broad genealogy prepared the foundation of
the basic principles of editing this text. This resulted in reducing the size
of the text to 78.675 verses (the total number in the Critical Edition) including
the *Harivaṁśa-parvan* (6073 verses) which is considered for generations
as its appendix.(Figures of verses in BORI Critical Edition are taken from
the Introduction to the Ahmedabad edition, discussed later in this article.)

Critical Edition of Mbh : Some readings :

1) Explanation of the name *Mahābhārata*

To start with, the name *Mahābhārata* is explained in the text itself as
'*mahattvād bhāravattvācca mahābhāratam ucyate*' (BORI edn. 1. 1. 209),
implying a reference to its value and extent ('heaviness'). While I can appreciate
the pun on the words '*bhārata*' and '*bhāravat*', I consider '*bhāravattvāt*' as
a misreading for '*bhāratatvāt*' founded on the similarity between the Deva-nāgarī
letters '*ta*' and '*va*'. My reasons for holding this view are : (1) the Con.
Text is not such as would support a light pun, howsoever amusing it may
be; (2) the name '*Bhārata*' occurs in the Con. Text ('*Bhārata-saṁhitā*, 1.1.61)
for a version of this text. The full statement would then be: 'As it is extensive
(*mahat*), and as it is *bhārata*, it is called *Mahā-bhārata*.'

If, however, the line cited is not taken as a pun on the name of the
epic, and is taken as a genuine explanation, then, hypothetically, the name
of this epic was originally Mahā-bhāravat. This hypothesis conflicts with all
references in the epic to its being the history of the dynasty of Bharata,
leading to the name Bhārata for a shorter version of the epic. This makes
it more reasonable to presume the original reading *bhāratatvāt* wrongly spelt
as *bhāravattvāt* in the existing manuscripts and editions including the Crit.
Edn., as shown above. As far as I know, Textual Criticism does not shun
doors to reasoning when MSS evidence is not conclusive. The most flagrant
illustration on this point (*prāha satpuruṣādhamaḥ*) is going to be discussed
soon. After all, it is the editor who has to break up words with spaces in
the edited text while ancient Sanskrit MSS on the whole show break-ups
only at the end of half verses by inserting a vertical line (*daṇḍa*), single
or double.

There is another explanation of the name *Mahābhārata* in the text itself:

bhāratānāṁ mahaj janma mahābhāratam ucyate / (I. 56.31)

(The great birth of the scions of Bharata is called Mahābhārata.) The

first half of this verse occurs even earlier in this chapter (1.56.24) as an indirect reference to the epic. The word *janma* in these lines is such as would call for attention of a critical reader. The word means birth, and there is no way but to take it in a secondary sense like 'family', and further, 'the story of the family (of *bhāratas*)'. When read in the light of another reference to the theme of the epic, viz. *'bhāratānāṁ mahad yuddhaṁ'* (VI. 16.10), it becomes clear that *janma* in the present passage is a misreading for *janyaṁ*, meaning war. This possibility is supported by the close resemblance of the Deva-nāgarī letters *ma* and *ya*. Anyone accustomed to reading Deva-nāgarī MSS is aware that these letters are confused more often than not. The option of taking the reading as *janyaṁ* leads to the meaning straight without involving *lakṣaṇā* inevitable for the other reading. The maxim *'agatyā lakṣaṇā vṛttiḥ'* (the course of indicative power of a word is taken as the last recourse,) well known in learned Sanskritic circles strengthens the claim of the suggested reading, *janyam*. Use of the word *janya* in the sense of war is found even in Kālidāsa (*Raghuvaṁśa* IV. 77).

2) What makes gods gods ?

Another instance involving wrong spellings owing to resemblance of letters is:

akāmadveṣasaṁyogāddrohāllobhācca bhārata /
(upekṣayā ca bhāvānāṁ devā devatvam āpnuvan // (V. 60.3)

The printed version of this verse assumes Ablative sg. forms of the nouns *saṁyoga, droha* and *lobha* in the first half. The whole verse would mean: gods became gods because of three qualities: (1) absence of association with lust and hatred, (2) (presence of) treachery, (3) (presence of) avarice. This is self-contradictory, besides being in conflict with the contents of the next but one verse (No. 5) which states that gods never act prompted by lust, avarice, pity and hatred, as do human beings. The least we can do to make the verse sensible is to read *d* and */* for *dd* and *//* in the first line, making the whole expression up to and excluding *ca* a long compound. We can thus connect the initial negative *a* with *droha* and *lobha*, finally leading to the constituents (*a*) *droha* and (*a*) *lobha*, which remove the discrepancy faced with the existing readings *droha* and *lobha*. This emendation is justified by the close similarity of *d* with *dd*, and of */* with *//* in the Deva-nāgarī script.

3) Accusative or Locative ?

One more instance from the Crit. Edn. worth discussing is : *'na ciraṁ tiṣṭhati śriyam'* (V.89.30). I consider *'śriyām'* (Locative sing.) to be the original reading because : (1) the vertical line in Deva-nāgarī script indicating the lengthening of vowel 'a' is at times missing in old manuscripts (and even

in contemporary documents and printed books) owing to scribal negligence; (2) the Accusative sing. form '*śriyam*' does not grammatically fit in the Constituted Text (Con. Text) which expects a Locative form of the noun '*śrī*'; (3) the Locative form '*śriyām*' is in tune with the form '*yaśasi*' in a similar construction in the very next verse:

'*ciram yaśasi tiṣṭhatī*'.

Misprints in the BORI editions
'The damned good people'!

The Con. Text in the Crit. Edn. is also available in 5 volumes printed separately without the Critical Apparatus. This latter contains occasional misprints. The instances I have noted are: (1) *nihatam nihatāribhiḥ* (Con. Text V. 97.4). The corresponding reading of the Crit. Edn. is: *nihitam nihatāribhiḥ.* (2) *purujitatkuntibhojaś ca* (Con. Text V. 169.2), obviously in place of *purujitkuntibhojaś ca* in the Crit. Edn. The absence of a large number of misprints in the larger Crit. Edn. is certainly creditable to its editorial staff. (3) Contrary to this general fact is the correction in the Con. Text edition of a misprint in the larger Crit. Edn. Vide: *prāha satpuruṣādhamaḥ* (Crit. Edn. VIII 69.17); *prāhasatpuruṣādhamaḥ* (Con. Text). This is a classical instance of how an apparently harmless space can ruin the flow of the meaning. It is absurd to imagine, following the reading in the Crit. Edn., that the category of good people includes also a section that deserves to be damned (-*adhama*). The option of taking *satpuruṣa* as a separate word in Vocatives sg. is of course there; but it is absurd, considering the Con. Text. It is part of Kṛṣṇa's speech addressed to Yudhiṣṭhira, listing past misdeeds of Karṇa. It is unthinkable that Kṛṣṇa would address Yudhiṣṭhira as *satpuruṣa*, a third party address to an unfamiliar person, especially when he has addressed him as *rājendra* in the immediately preceding line. The event under reference in this verse is that of Draupadī's humiliation in the court of the Kauravas occurring in the Sabhā-parvan, ch. 60. Verse 38 in this chapter makes a categorical reference to Karṇa's loud, exhilarated laugh (*atīva hṛṣṭaḥ.. hasan saśabdam*) in appreciation of Duḥśāsana calling her *dāsī*, i.e. a harlot.

I have heard from informed sources that this last instance (*prāha satpuruṣādhamaḥ*) was brought by well-wishers to the notice of authorities of BORI who declined to take note of it presumably for the fear of damaging the Institute's reputation. It is another matter that acceptance of genuine mistakes adds to, rather than damages, the reputation of an established institute. But, views differ. What I can modestly claim is that my criticism is not such as would violate accepted tenets of Textual Criticism, and that it is offered in a friendly spirit. The fact is that there are many more misprints in the Critical Edition than I could imagine. As listed in and prefixed to the *JS* version of the *Mbh* published from Ahmedabad, they are 86 in the 11 (out of 18)

parvans selected for the *JS*. Such a feat is not possible unless one reads the voluminous text carefully, word by word. The *JS* was published a year after the Con. Text edition of the *Mbh* was completed (*Harivaṁśa* being published in 1976) by BORI.

Some miracles are more probable than others

We can discuss another instance which relates not to misprints or readings but to the contents. The event of Draupadī being dragged into the open court of the Kauravas and disgraced by Duḥśāsana (who also tried to disrobe her) after Pāṇḍavas lost everything in the play of dice occurs in the Sabhā-parvan. (Chitrashala edn. ch. 68, Crit. Edn. ch. 61). Verses 41-46 in the first source relate how, being disgraced, Draupadī invoked Kṛṣṇa in her mind and how the latter helped her with a series of clothes within clothes, so that when one was pulled off, another appeared automatically on her person. These verses are omitted in the Crit. Edn. which, however, retains the last part of the episode, viz. the miraculous appearance of the series of clothes inside the ones pulled off. This means that only the last part of the miracle is retained, which then becomes a riddle unsolved. This looks like a subjective decision, unless it is supported by very strong MSS evidence revealing that the majority of MSS representing different traditions drop the verses under reference. It is worth noting that the Crit. Edn. retains the full scene of miracle by Kṛṣṇa revealing his Godly form and stunning the Kauravas when they ventured to arrest him during his visit to their court on a goodwill mission on behalf of the Pāṇḍavas (Vide V. 128.5). This means that, even among miracles, some are more probable and acceptable than others! The acceptable stock includes similar event in the 11th chapter of the *Bhagavad-gītā* forming part, without cuts, of the Crit. Edn.

These sample cases would show that the BORI editions of the *Mbh* are not error-free or unquestionable. In fact, no human venture is. An awareness of this truth keeps the frank mind always open to checking and correction.

The Ahmedabad edition of the Ur-Mahā-bhārata

As we turn from the largest version of the *Mbh* as constituted by BORI to the middle one called Bhārata, we find that an Ahmedabad scholar, Prof. K. K. Shastree (Bāmbhaṇiā, following its Devanāgarī spelling), inspired by the pioneer work of the BORI, devoted himself single-handed to the task of culling out ('carve out' as he says,) the *Bhāratasaṁhitā* or *Ādibhārata* or *The Ur-Mahābhārata* (1998) from the Crit. Edn. of the final extensive version. This is published in two large size (demi/4) volumes, typeset on computer and arranged in two columns. It meticulously gives references to the numbering of chapters and verses in the BORI Crit. Edn., which is a valuable aid to the reader who wishes to find out what the editor has retained and what

he has omitted from the Crit. Edn. The first volume contains the first six books (Ādi-to Bhīṣma- pp. 1-344), and the second, the following six: Droṇa-, Karṇa-, Śalya-, Sauptika-, Strī-, Āśvamedhika- (pp. 345-670). This means that, of the eighteen books of the *Mbh*, only 12 (i.e. 2/3) are retained in its Ur-version, while Śānti- and Anuśāsana- before, and all the rest after the Anuśāsana- are dropped, not to talk of the 19th book, the *Harivaṁśa*, which is, even traditionally, regarded as an appendix (Khila-parvan) of the epic.

Sörenson: Shastree's precursor

As Prof. Shastree informs us in his Introduction, quoting Dr. Sukthankar, an attempt in this direction was made by a Scandinavian scholar, Sören Sörenson, between 1883-1894, as Dr. V. S. Sukthankar (the scholar who initiated the BORI project) informs. Sörenson died very young and no one knows what became of his work.' (Foreword to *JS* by Dr. Mrs. Madhuri Shah.) Dr. Sukthankar further remarks: 'Sörenson's attempt at establishing the Ur-text of the *Mahābhārata* stands by itself and the experiment was never repeated.' It is a matter of satisfaction that Prof. Shastree took up the challenge and offered something in the direction of what Sörenson aspired to give. We are also informed that Sörenson first arrived at about 27,000 verses and further, as their 'concentrated essence', at 7000-8000 verses. These figures approximate the extent of what Prof. Shastree has given us as the *Bhārata-saṁhitā* (1998) and *Jaya-saṁhitā* (1977). Of these, we are discussing the first, reserving the second for discussion later in this article. Prof. Shastree expresses his gratefulness to the BORI scholars who conceived and carried out the project of the Critical Edition of the *Mahābhārata*, the work he has taken as the basis for his two redactions, by dedicating his works to them.

The tenets of editing Shastree follows :

The nuclear story

The starting point of Shastree's endeavour is the term *ākhyāna* occurring repeatedly in the epic itself as its literary class. Citing Viśvanātha's *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* (6.211), he takes the term to mean 'historical incidents' (Intro. p. X), and discusses the criteria he applies to the existing epic (Crit. Edn.) to weed out the portions not compatible with this norm. He could have made use of the more specific term *itihāsa* occurring umpteen times in the epic referring to itself. This reduction in the number of books and setting of the limits of the story does not solve the problem, as the number of verses in these books in the Crit. Edn. (53,575) does not tally with that of the Bhārata version mentioned in the *Mbh* (24,000; Crit. Edn. 1.1.61). The task of reduction in the number of verses leads the editor to define, as he discusses at length in his Introduction, the principles on which particular verses from the retained *Mbh* books are omitted. The editor considers as superfluous

whatever is not organically related to the original story. The original story, he thinks, starts with the entry (Crit. Edn. I. 117) of orphaned Pāṇḍavas into the capital, Hastināpura, and ends with their re-entry (XIV.91.41), after years, as victors in the devastating war. The basis for taking these two events as the beginning and the end of the Bhārata version is ch. 1.55 (Crit. Edn.) giving summary of the story of the Pāṇḍavas. That Pāṇḍavas did not enter the capital soon after their victory is clear from another reference not mentioned by the editor. Earlier in the same book, there is a categorical statement that, bereaved of Abhimanyu, they did not feel enthusiastic to enter the capital (XIV.61.7).

The Criteria

After thus defining the beginning and the end of the original epic, the editor takes up the task of dropping what he considers later addition. The very first casualty of his editing on these lines is the omission of two full books, Śānti- (the largest in the epic, with 10,856 verses, spread over 502 pages[1]) and Anuśāsana- as noted before, which, being totally didactic in nature, are tangential to the main plot. This consideration applies also to other numerous chunks in the retained books. The other major guiding principle for him is: whatever is miraculous or mythical, be it a narration of a myth or just a reference to a mythical figure, is later addition. For instance, all references to Yudhiṣṭhira as *dharmaputra* are changed to *dharmarāja* or *kuntīputra* as the former epithet implies mysterious birth account of the Pāṇḍavas. References to Kṛṣṇa as *bhagavān* are all changed to *Vāsudeva* or just Kṛṣṇa. Any Sanskritist would witness that *bhagavān* is an honorific term which is used even with reference to sages and others (Vide II.17.8, III.176.18). I wonder what word Shastree would invent to replace 'Soloman' in Shylock's statement 'Soloman came to judge !' in Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice*, as everyone knows that Soloman was not alive at the time of the dispute. This is as good as shunning doors to poetry in ancient works on history. Such poetic expressions are an inherent part of any living language, contemporary languages being no exceptions. Leaving Shakespeare aside, we note that Bhavabhūti designates the epic *Rāmāyaṇa* as history (*itihāsaṁ rāmāyaṇaṁ praṇināya / Uttara-rāmacarita* II.). What would remain of the epic if Shastree applies his criteria of history to it?

Strict adherence to his criteria of history leads him to emend some common

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1) This number is taken from Shastree's Introduction, p. VII. The list on this page, giving the extent of books of the *Mbh* in the Crit. Edn., shows the Āraṇyaka- (299 chapters, 415 pages) with 12,318 verses to be larger than Śānti- (353 chapters, 502 pages) with 10,856 verses, which is absurd. This list needs to be checked. His conclusions based on these figures, therefore, have to be taken cautiously.)

words to accommodate them in his plan. For instance, he replaces the word *'divya'* with *'bhavya'* wherever it occurs.

Prose turned into verse

Again, as is well known to Sanskrit scholars, parts of this epic are in prose in contrast to its general composition in verse. Prof. Shastree has inserted his own words and changed the order of original words in the very opening part of his text to change this prose into verse. The original wording in the Crit. Edn. is as follows:

janamejayaḥ pārikṣitaḥ saha bhrātṛbhiḥ kurukṣetre dīrghasatram upāste /
tasya bhrātaras trayaḥ śrutasena ugraseno bhīmasena iti //

(Crit. Edn. I.3.1)

Prof. Shastree converts them into the following two verses:
janamejayaḥ (pauraveyo rājā) pārikṣitaḥ (kila) /
kurukṣetre dīrghasatram upāste bhrātṛbhiḥ saha //
bhrātaras tasya (te tatra rājānaṃ samupāsate) /
śrutasena ugraseno bhīmasena iti trayaḥ // (*JS* I.1.1.2)

Perhaps the editor thought that it is not in the fitness of things to make the version begin with a prose passage when the extant full version begins with a verse, and also when most of the text is couched in verse. With the traditional beginning in verse cut off by editorial scissors, the only course left before the editor was to turn the prose passage before him into verse form by inserting his own words. Prof. Shastree has no doubt given a long list of emendations he has made in the text (which is certainly creditable to him); but I do not find in it the one cited above.

Elements not allowed

The editor considers even some metres, which he thinks are late, as a criterion to weed out later additions. These include Upajāti, a mixture of Indravajrā-Upendravajrā (11 letters in a quarter) or of Indravaṃśā-Vaṃśastha (12 letters in a quarter). In fact, however, these metres are as old as the Ṛgveda, with the names Triṣṭubha and Bṛhatī, and actually, verses in these metres are abundantly found in both, the Crit. Edn. and Shastree's redactions. He drops all passages making references to the 'race-names', Śakas and Yavanas, assigning them to later dates. Of these, Yavanas figure in Pāṇini's *sūtras* (IV.1.49); and are found used freely in Kālidāsa's works, for instance.

Is Bhagavad-gītā Upaniṣadic ?

Of the 18 chapters of the *Bhagavad-gītā*, he retains parts of the first three chapters followed by the concluding verses of the last chapter, a total of 101 verses out of 700 in the popular version. This redacted text appears

as an Appendix in his *JS* under the name *Śataślokī Gītā*. Frankly, he considers this nuclear version of the text to be an independent Upaniṣadic composition' (Intro. p. XI) inserted in the already existing Bhārata version. It is another matter whether the language of this text matches with that of the older Upaniṣadic literature. With all such cuts, he has succeeded in reducing the number of verses in the selected books to 23,228, following the traditional numbering in which some verses are larger than their defined unit length of 4 quarters (2 lines as the editor says). With strict adherence to their defined length, this number reaches the figure 23,893, nearing the figure 24,000 given in the text itself (I.1.61) as the extent of the epic minus episodes, named Bhārata. This is ingenious.

The subjective element

There is no doubt about an attempt on the part of the editor to set up a methodology for the venture he has taken on. However, it is not as objective as is the one on which the Crit. Edn. is founded. MSS are the ultimate basis for the Crit. Edn., and the tenets followed in the event of differences in MSS are rational. The task Prof. Shastree has undertaken is not directly related to MSS material and is not free from subjective considerations. How, for instance, is he going to arrive at the original *Rāmāyaṇa* by applying his criteria of omitting all that is mythical and miraculous? What is pertinent in such ventures is that it is not an attempt to arrive at the real *history* of events as it certainly is to arrive at the original version of the *text*. To cite a parallel, the *Bakhars* provide material for the reconstruction of the Maratha history starting broadly with Shivaji and ending with the Peshavas. No serious scholar of history draws conclusions solely on the basis of this material. Yet there can be no justification for changing the material itself on the basis of some personal criteria. Similarly, if the authors of the various versions of *Mbh* believed in miracles and myths (as some people do even today), who can dictate them to shut doors to these elements when they do their job in perfect fidelity to the information they received? Apart from such a belief, a poet may think it fit to insert some miraculous element in his creation for aesthetic effect; it would be wrong to dislodge it. Can we think of Shakespeare's Hamlet without its ghost scenes? What in all fairness can be said in favour of Prof. Shastree is that he has given us a *possible* version based on the criteria of his choice, and not the *de facto* version, of the Bhārata text. In her Foreword to this work, Dr. Madhuri Shah rightly relates this venture to what in learned circles is called Higher Criticism, distinct from Textual Criticism. That the number of verses arrived at in his version closely matches the one given in the epic as of the epic minus sub-stories (Crit. Edn. I. 1.61) is a coincidence, manageable with some effort, and it cannot vouch for the verity of his conclusions.

The Ahmedabad edition of the Jaya-saṁhitā

As stated earlier, the shortest hypothetical version of 8800 (as indicated in some versions of the *Mbh* itself, but omitted in the Crit. Edn.) verses of the *Mbh* is redacted and published under the name *Jaya-saṁhitā* by Prof. K. K. Shastree in 1977. As the redactor himself has observed in his introduction to the next larger version (*Bhārata-saṁhitā*, Intro. p. XVIII), the original and the successive versions of the text can be named as follows:

1) *Ur-Ur-Mahābhārata* or *Ur-Bhārata* (or *Jaya-saṁhitā*) of about 8800 verses;

2) *Ur-Mahābhārata* (or *Bhārata-saṁhitā*) of about 24,000 verses; and

3) *Mahābhārata* of 78,675 verses (Crit. Edn.)

The figure in the last version may be compared with the number of verses in the South Indian tradition of the epic, viz. 1,30,000 (*BS*, Intro. p. VII), against the popular figure of 1,00,000 (Chitrashala edn., I, 1.107, verse omitted from the Con. Text in the Crit. Edn.). Between the stages (2) and (3), he proposes (Intro. p. XIX) one more hypothetical version which does not include didactic books and portions like the Śānti-parvan, *Bhagavad-gītā* and more, and the *Harivaṁśa*. In other words, he conceives of four versions of the epic with the BORI version as the last one. He indicates that his outlook is supported by Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, one of the editors of the Crit. Edn., by citing (Intro. p. XVII) a long passage from the latter's article on *Mbh* published in the Annals of BORI.

Basis for the extent of the Jaya-saṁhitā

The extent of the *JS* as 8,800 verses is based on a verse found in the vulgate but dropped from the final text in the Crit. Edn. The verse runs as follows:

aṣṭau śloka-sahasrāṇi aṣṭau śloka-śatāni ca /
ahaṁ vedmi, śuko vetti, saṁjayo vetti vā na vā // (Chitrashala edn. I.1.81)

Shastree informs (Intro. p. XVIII) that this number is taken by traditional pundits to imply riddle verses (*kūṭa-ślokas*) in the epic, and observes that, contrary to this belief, there is not a single riddle verse in the Crit. Edn. Accepting Shastree's observation, the verse in question may be taken to mean that this number of verses forming the shortest version of the epic, spread over the entire body of the extensive version and hence difficult to identify, is known only to a few; Vyāsa himself, his son Śuka, and may be Saṁjaya (being Vyāsa's distant disciple).

An editorial manoeuvre

As we compare the two Ahmedabad versions between themselves, we find that the extent of the first four *parvans* in both is identical, while that of the remaining ones differs substantially. Of the 12 books selected for the *Bhārata-saṁhitā*, Sauptika (X) is dropped in the smaller version, reducing the number of *parvans* to 11. With these cuts and dropping of most of war descriptions in war books (VI to IX), the editor arrives at the number 8,801 as the extent of the *Jaya-saṁhitā* which conforms to the traditionally handed number. Following are the numbers of verses he retains in war books against those in the Crit. Edn. given into brackets: Bhīṣma 39 (5,402), Droṇa 119 (8,142), Karṇa 117 (3,871), Śalya 58 (3,315), Strī 123 (530). Total 456 (21,260). In Shastree's scheme, the event of the slaughter of Draupadī's sons in sleep (X) by Aśvatthāman and the crucial part narrating Kuntī disclose to Pāṇḍavas the long-hidden fact that Karṇa was their eldest brother, and that it was their duty to offer him obituary rites (XI.27) form no part of history, and are hence dropped from the *JS*. Arriving at the popularly believed extent of the *JS* (8,800 verses) by dropping such integral events creating discrepancy elsewhere in the central story remains no more than an editorial manoeuvre at the cost of the integrity of narration. 'Hamlet without the prince of Denmark' should be acceptable to those who can admit of such changes.

A gap in the narration

Following tenets he has committed himself to, Prof. Shastree drops the verses in the Sabhā-parvan in the Con. Text of Draupadī's disrobing by Duḥśāsana, as discussed earlier. There can be no objection to this omission as he is abridging the Crit. Edn. which drops the verses, though the discrepancy created by this omission applies to him as to the Crit. Edn. as discussed above. In the Udyoga-parvan, however, he drops about a dozen verses, and some more lines intermittently, which the Crit. Edn. retains. They are in the Con. Text of Kṛṣṇa manifesting his Godly form when threatened by the Kauravas to arrest him (V. 128.5, 129.2). This creates a gap in the narration making the reader wonder what foiled Kauravas' attempt to arrest Kṛṣṇa. The linking lines Shastree retains state: Kṛṣṇa laughed loudly and left the scene with Sātyaki, followed by Kauravas with awe (why?) 'as gods follow Indra' (V. 129.4-5). He also omits the 24 chapters (Crit. Edn. chs. 170-193) giving the account of Śikhaṇḍin's earlier birth as a female (Ambā), and earlier even in the present birth, by Bhīṣma in reply to Duryodhana's query on the latter's declaration that he would not fight Śikhaṇḍin, an erstwhile woman (Vide V. 169.20). This omission leaves Bhīṣma's declaration unsupported. This should make it clear that it is risky to drop portions of a text as this may disturb the links in the story. When viewed on the background of such discrepancies, close matching of the traditional numbers of older versions with those published

with editorial changes (8801 in *JS* and 23,893 in *BS*) remains a matter of manoeuvre founded on subjective criteria.

Computer typesetting: a boon?

Prof. Shastree no doubt deserves compliments for listing meticulously the misprints in the Crit. Edn. in the 12 books he has dealt with. However, his versions too are not free from misprints, making one wonder if the computer age is a boon or otherwise for faultless book production. Misprints in *JS* are scrupulously listed and prefixed to each volume. But those in *BS*, a product of the computer age, are ignored. Apart from misprints, Shastree gives in his Introduction (p. VI) a reference to *Pāṇini's sūtra* 6.2.38 (*mahān vrīhyaparāhṇa.*) for the change of the word *mahat* to *mahā* under specific conditions, in support of the first element in the name *Mahābhārata*. Apart from the fact that this change is very common in Sanskrit, it is a wrong reference, stating retention of the *accent* of *mahā* before specific words. The *sūtra* he intends to cite is 6.3.46 (*ān mahataḥ...*).

Conclusion

On the whole, the MSS-based or hypothetical *Mbh* versions published during the last century in a bid to offer older forms of the epic need to be thoroughly checked, critically studied and scrupulosuly evaluated freshly by experts. The BORI edition, being based on mostly objective evidence, is less vulnerable to such a scrutiny; but errors are errors, whether of printing or of judgement. Prof. Shastree's venture to 'carve out' the oldest and the intermediate versions of the epic reveals his sustained efforts, a 'one man's show', as he himself describes it, and offers its credit humbly to the first author of it, whosoever he might be (Intro. p. XX); but being founded on mostly subjective criteria, they are open to criticism from several angles.

Books consulted

1) *Mahābhārata* (Critical Edition by BORI, Pune) (Crit. Edn.)

2) Constituted Text only from the Critical Edition (BORI, Pune) (Con. Text)

3) Pāda Index to the Critical Edition (BORI, Pune)

4) The *Bhārata-saṁhitā* (*Ur-Mahābhārata*) redacted by Prof. K. K. Shastree, Gujarat Research Society, Ahmedabad, Volumes I and II. (1998) (*BS*)

5) The *Jaya-saṁhitā* redacted by Prof. K. K. Shastree, Gujarat Research Society, Ahmedabad, Volume I and II. (1977) (*JS*)

Defining Peasant: Understanding His Relations with Donees

In Early Medieval Northern India

(From 7th to 10th Century)

G. C. Chauhan

The changing ideological scenario, new political compulsions and advances in social sciences did result in a growth of interest in village societies by the 19th century; but the constructed analytical models related primarily to farming as an occupation rather than to peasant as a social category. The peasant, however, forced his way into the academic world coincidentally with the increasing realization in socio-political circles about his potentiality to either sustain or destabilize an established social order. Perceptions of this linkage varied and so did vary the academic conceptualizations. The shifting stances in the scholarly discourses on peasants, at times even directly opposing and contradicting each other, more often than not, present a uni-dimensional image of a multidimensional reality.[1] The. term 'peasant' is one of those major, indispensable, useful, and therefore imprecise and hard to define words, like capitalism and socialism. No practical definition of the term 'peasantry' is possible. There are as many definitions of this term as there are scholars who have worked or are still working on this subject. Its content is primarily economic, but certain sociological associations or implications are very strong and some ideological attachment appears to be indissoluble. Peasantry in fact is a prejudicial word. People tend to have fixed ideas which they hold uncritically about what constitutes a peasant, and a great deal of confusion is created by seeking to establish an unnatural degree of precision for this convenient and general, but inexact, term. The problem of definition, which cannot be wholly avoided, can however be reduced to manageable proportions and almost circumvented by first considering the different but not unrelated, contents, within which the word is most frequently used.

Studies of the peasantry in different regions and in different eras have been made by historians, sociologists, economists, anthropologists and other scholars, all of whom use a wide variety of definitions and concepts. Some writers have employed the term 'peasant' to characterize entire societies; others have dealt with peasantry as a part of society within a larger whole. Daniel Thorner argues that the prevailing practice includes analysis of peasant behaviour at the level of whole social system, nations, sectors, villages, households and individual cultivators.[2] He further argues that peasants are usually seen as

forming part of a structured society, within which they fall between the aristocracy or great landholders, on the one hand, and the landless, on the other. However, this definition has been stretched at both ends. Some writers include peasants among group of cultivators with no class of landlords above them; others refer to the landless peasantry with regards to the land which they till, the legal status of peasants maybe that of the land.[3] In a broad sense, peasantry has constituted the most numerous social group in all organized states, from ancient to modern times, that have rested on traditional forms of agriculture.

At a high level of abstraction the peasantry can be dealt with in the context of a peasant system of production, or peasant economy. There have been eras when the peasant enterprise was the prevalent institution, and the peasant system was the predominant mode of production. In this context the peasantry has become strongly associated with a certain stage of economic development and here the greatest degree of confusion about the meaning of the term arises, often because of an unrecognized change in the level of abstraction. At a high level of abstraction it is very convenient to equate the period when the peasant economy was the dominant mode of production with a certain stage of economic development.[4] However, it has been argued that folk-sophisticate contrast is central to a cultural analysis of peasantry.[5] Some of the scholars are of the opinion that this is more important than the contrast between the peasant and the landlord and, therefore, they give priority to an economic and ecological analysis.[6] The peasant effectively controlled the land on which he worked—thus, absentee landlords cannot be designated as peasants. Production is primarily for household consumption, but a peasant sells his crops, the surplus, for obtaining the things he does not produce i.e. salt, kerosene, oil, utensils, clothes, medicines, etc. and for maintaining his status.[7] V. K. Srivastava argues that a village cannot be equated with peasantry because there are autonomous and independent tribal villages. All the villagers are not peasants. He further argues that there are groups of people which do not practise agriculture. The 'sociology of agriculture' cannot be interchangeably called the 'sociology of peasantry' because of a clear distinction between the farmer and the peasant. Rural sociology does encompass peasant sociology, but peasantry can be an independent specialization. In some cases, one may clearly distinguish peasants from non-peasants.[8] However, there are examples where the status of a person as "peasant" is conditioned by the ecological cycle. For some months he is a peasant, for other months he is not, if one strictly follows the definition of peasantry in terms of agricultural producers and conceptual problems further multiply when it is thought or taken for granted that the peasants are cereal growers.[9] Raymond Firth argues that a peasant lives primarily by cultivating the soil, he is not a landless labourer, but has individual right or collective claims over the land. He further argues that when we come to the orient, the criterion of agriculture is posed with problems. Depending upon the ecological

cycle, the peasants become small scale producers such as cultivators, fishermen and rural craftsmen.[10] Firth's broad based conception of the peasantry cannot be acceptable to many who limit the peasants to non-independent agricultural producers. Subhadra Channa is of the view that the term 'peasant' always poses difficulties in anthropological literature for there is a hitch between what is generally understood as peasant and its theoretical definition. Difficulties surface when the concept of peasantry which evolved in the European situation is applied to the Indian context. The Indian historical situation with its caste based social organization poses a set of different conditions for defining peasants. It has led some to altogether reject the usefulness of the concept for the Indian situation.[11] She further argues that Indian peasantry is not undifferentiated. Peasants do not belong to particular castes. Households fall into different caste strata. Since no village has all the castes, relations between different villages challenge the much acclaimed notion of "self-sufficiency".[12] V. K. Thakur argues that the term used for peasants in early Indian literature, though more often than not, lacking connotative sophistication and definitional rigour, tends to convey a somewhat similar perception of the existing reality.[13] The usages of the terms, *gahapati* and *kuṭumbin, kuṭumbikā,* depicted in early texts, if explained contextually as well as semantically, put these in a hierarchical and somewhat functional separation from such terms as *kiṇaṣa, kṛṣīvala, kṣetrika, kṛṣika, karṣaka* etc.[14] The terms like *pāmara, holauahaka, daśakammakāra* etc. add another dimension to this problem.[15] These terms also recognize the element of land-control as vital to any attempt aimed at laying bare the dynamics of the structured relations in the countryside. Thakur further argues that these terms undergo changes in their respective connotations with the passage of time, the element of land-control which remains a key hierarchy-determinant, requires a qualified inclusion of landless group in the peasant category. Ignoring this reality will amount to negating the emergence of certain key components of the structured peasant society.[16]

During the 20th century new sources for study came into being, such as, *Smṛti* literature, epigraphical sources and Indian textual material like the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya. This gradually began to alter the earlier perceptions of village communities in the historical literature. However, the terms of analysis and the subject matter of study continued to revolve around land ownership patterns and revenue systems. The historical dimension ignored by other social scientists has been included in the Marxist definition but with some limitations. The Marxist definition of peasants as semi-feudal or feudal tenant removes this category altogether from areas in the 20th century.[17] The Marxist definition does not include within itself, for example, landless agricultural labourers whose presence in the countryside they prefer to treat as a product of capitalist penetration rather than an inherent feature of peasantry itself.[18] But the landless wage labourers have been an integral part of Indian village for a long historical period. One of the Marxist scholars, Irfan Habib defines a peasant as a person

who undertakes agriculture on his own, working with his own implements and using the labour of the family.[19] Irfan's definition of the peasantry is acceptable to Marxist scholars in India. He classifies the peasants such as, the rich peasant (with extensive use of hired labour), the middle peasant (mainly using family labour) and the poor peasant (with land insufficient to absorb the whole of the family of the labourer).[20] He identifies another type of peasant, based on property relations, and recognizes the peasant proprietor, the peasant with some claim to permanent or long-term occupancy, and the seasonal share-cropper, as separate categories. But in his views the landless labourers are not peasants, they form with peasants the working agricultural population, and their history too remains for him a part of peasant history.[21] He ignores the factor of land control and thus implies that a peasant may be an owner, a tenant or, in a broader sense, even a labourer without any right of ownership or occupancy. Such a definition makes the peasant a vague category limiting him by some only to the owner-cultivator and stretching him by other to include even the landless labourers. This vagueness of scope has led to such a broadening of the concept that in certain quarters peasantry has come to be virtually equated with the rural society itself.[22] It has been suggested that the peasant category would include in addition to the tillers of the land all those who live by the various forms of labour which are associated with a community of tillers.[23]

The ancient Indian literary sources do not present king and peasant in a bilateral relation, which is defined more precisely as, firstly, to raise produce, and secondly, to pay a share of his produce to the king. By performing these obligations or duties, he can expect the king's protection, and he can enjoy the balance of his produce.[24] The terms *kṣetrapati, kṣetrasvāmi, kṣetrika* and *karṣakas* etc. are derived from Sanskrit language and have been depicted in ancient Indian literary as well as epigraphical sources time and again, meaning as peasant, farmer, share-cropper, the owner of the land and the actual tiller of the land.[25]

The ancient Indian term *kuṭumba-kṣetra* occurring in the land grants has been taken to mean the field which the cultivator owned absolutely.[26] But the evidence of Medhātithi suggests that *kuṭumbī* was a share-cropper also. The terms *kṣetrapati, kṣetrasvāmi* and *kṣetrika* occurring in relation to the *karṣaka*[27] were used in ancient Indian traditions in different capacities. However, we observe that there were a large number of peasant proprietors who tilled their own land and the task of tilling the land was done by almost all segments of Indian society. The *Kṣatriyas* and *Brāhmaṇas* along with *Vaiśyas* and *Śūdras* are found engaged in agricultural activities; the bulk goes to the *Śūdras* who worked agricultural operations.[28] Thus it can be deduced from the above analysis of various definitions that the villagers may all be called peasants by using a very wide attribute of the term. These include rich land owners,

share-croppers, tenants, landless labourers, artisans, craftsmen and others who were engaged in any kind of agricultural activities in ancient India.

Brief Debate Regarding Peasant–Donee Relations

We observe that the peasants were the main tax payers during the Mauryan, Gupta and post-Gupta times. What resulted from the breakdown of the tribal system was not a single peasant caste, but a large number of peasant *jātis*. By the 7th century CE Yuan Chwang calls the peasants simply *Sūdras*.[29] Itsing shows that usually the Buddhist monasteries too leased out their lands to share-croppers, giving them sometimes oxen, but never anything else. The priests were free to divide the works among servants, and keep in mind that the farming is properly done, sometimes force was used by the priest to compel hired servants to work properly.[30]

We notice from a copper plate inscription of early northern India that an official had granted land out of his possession without the permission of his overlord-Vigrahapāla.[31] It shows that the grantees enjoyed not only the power of subinfeudation but also of eviction. In Rajasthan, Malwa and Gujarat, the beneficiary was given the right to cultivate his benefice or get it cultivated, to enjoy it or get it enjoyed, to do it or get it done.[32] It has been argued that in early northern India the ruler and his religious grantees could expel tenants from land, and get his land cultivated by others. It is observed that the eviction could be practised by the donees in the villages directly under his control, being men on the spot the grantees could exercise this right more effectively.[33] It seems that in early northern India, the peasant did not enjoy security of tenure. It has been stated by a law-giver that sometimes there were as many as four stages of intermediary landed interest between the king and the cultivators.[34] The Rajor Inscription of Mathanadeva of 960 CE, reveals that the tillers of land were absorbed in the feudal set up and were made to pay all the dues which the local peasants had to pay.[35] This inscription shows that the donation was made out of his personal estate,[36] the grantee was empowered to collect all types of taxes from the peasants, such as, a share of produce, imposition on the threshing floor, officers' dues, resumption of property on failure of issue, fees on deposits, alongwith other proper and improper dues.[37] It is very clear in this inscription that the feudal lords treated peasants as tools meant for their personal enjoyment. It further makes the things clearer that the donee could burden the peasant with fair and unfair taxes, which reduced them to the position of semi serfs.[38] We observe that the peasants who cultivated the land did not have any say in its transfer and that the peasants could not leave the soil in case of its transfer. This dual provision appears to be contradictory so far as the beneficiaries enjoyed the discretion of removing or detaining the tenants.[39] The Kaman stone inscription[40] of about 905-6 refers to the donations of three plough

measures of land, which was previously cultivated by the *Brāhmaṇa* (*Sahulla Jojj*) but at the same time the land was cultivated by a ploughman called *Eduvaka*.[41]

We observe that under the grantee the peasants not only suffered from loss of traditional agrarian rights but also were shown sub-infeudation and subleasing, levy of additional taxes, and forcible attachment to the land, eviction leading to in-service tenancy rights and imposition of forced labour.[42] It was the absence of any legal method or machinery by which the peasants could secure redress of their grievances against the donees.[43] Thus, it shows that most of the early northern Indian grants enjoin the peasants to fulfil their obligations towards the grantees by paying them all taxes and carrying out their orders. It has been argued that irrational facilities were not out of the reach of a common peasant but in some cases they were used by opulent cultivators. In his helplessness the common peasant could but pray the heavens for rains.[44]

The *Brāhmaṇa* grantee who belonged to a religious class and also the common individuals, who received land grants, could in some cases become like a chief- "a royal priest who enjoyed 100 villages became like a *sāmanta* (*sāmanta tulya*)." But what is more likely is that a grantee or his descendant who enjoyed a village only and held the land more directly than the chief in his greater estates, became in a sense the landlord, the original title of the cultivators or soil-occupants must have been reduced to the status of share-cropper and temporary tenant.[45] And finally the growth of the class of landlords must have contributed to the decline of the economic status of the peasants in the countryside.

It shows that the holder of large estates claimed the superior right to the overlordship. Over-taxation was a terrible plight of the peasant. It is argued that exorbitant taxes were imposed in the areas of a feudal chief with the result that the peasants had to sell their ploughs, plough shares, yokes and all other requisites of cultivation. Sometimes they went even to the extent of selling their children.[46] Thus it seems that the economic condition of the peasantry declined to a considerable extent. The poverty of the peasants had become a favourite theme among the poets and the writers of early India. We come to know from the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* that the armies often plundered the fields of the villagers[47] who were oppressed by the royal officers and donees. The *Śūdras*, peasants and the field labourers occupied the lowest status under the *Cāturvarṇya* scheme. Medhātithi defines the legal status of the *Śūdra* that he possessed absolute right to personal freedom and property and that he could not be given away or led like a slave.[48] When peasant holdings had been small, there had been little surplus grain for the market. The difficulty in marketing his grain surplus, and the reduced income from

what he did manage to sell, began to influence the economic condition of the peasant.[49] R. S. Sharma argues that the subjection of the Indian peasantry in early medieval times was a striking development connected with the socio-economic dimensions of feudalism.[50] There was extracting of surplus from the peasants for the benefit of either the king and or his secular and religious beneficiaries. This gave rise to new property relation and new mechanism of economic subordination from which there was no escape.[51]

We get new information regarding the misery of peasantry in northern India from *Brhannāradīya Purāṇa*, that during the time of famines and oppressive taxes people in misery migrated to more prosperous areas.[52] But we come to know from the *Rāmacarita* that the peasants revolted against the tyrannical ruler. It has been recorded that the literally naked soldiers fought with bows and arrows riding buffaloes indicating that they were ordinary peasants. It may be recorded as peasant uprising directed against the Pālas, who made common cause with their vassals against the *Kaivarttas*.[53] But, unfortunately, we cannot make too much from this isolated reference. Since the artisans did not have much scope for the sale of their products in towns they moved to villages where they fulfilled the needs of the peasants who paid them at harvest time in kind. The temples and monasteries formed wide economic units, some of them comprising more than a hundred villages, donated land to these religious establishements, got cultivated with the help of villagers of the donated villages. The villagers used to supply grain, cloth, and still others labour for the repair of these religious shrines.[54]

The largest segment of society in ancient India was exploited and their economic condition seems to be miserable. The popular belief about the existence of *Rāmarājya* (i.e. a state offering to the people all happiness and no misery) in ancient India is no doubt largely a myth. It has been depicted in many early Indian land charters that the tenants were advised to obey the orders of the donee and to pay the donees whatever dues they owned to them. It has been mentioned that the tenants shall render to the donee the offering of the customary taxes such as *bhāga, bhoga* and *hiraṇya*.[55] Some of the charters indicate that all the tenants did not enjoy the same status, and the donee was allowed to enjoy the right of *udraṅga* and *uparikara*[56]. *Uparikara* means a tax imposed on the peasants who have no proprietory right on the land.[57] *Udraṅga* means fixed taxes imposed on permanent tenant.[58]

The early medieval Indian records indicate the heavy burden of dues on the peasants. The burden of taxation on the peasants increased and eleven types of dues are mentioned in Gahadavala grants. If all these were changed by the state or the donees then the peasants might have been left with even a bare subsistence. In addition to the transfer of taxes in many cases the grantees were given the right to fixed and unfixed, proper and improper taxes,

and the donees were authorized to collect taxes covered by the term 'ādi', all sources of income.[59] The copper plate inscription of Harṣavardhana records the grant of a village to *Brāhmaṇas*. This plate states that the peasants or villagers are asked to pay all taxes (usual tax-*pratyāya*) along with *bhāga, bhoga, kara, hiraṇya* etc. to the donees.[60] One of the land charters records that donees are entitled to impose certain taxes on the peasants or villagers such as, *bhūta, hiraṇya, bhoga-bhāga ādanā* and a *cāṭa-bhāṭa prāveśya*, etc.[61]

The Paithan plates of King Govinda 784-874 CE record the following fares which villagers and peasants were supposed to pay to the donees, such as (a) *Sa-draṅga* together with the fixed taxes on permanent tenants, (b) *Sa-parikara*, (together with the occasional taxes or the taxes for temporary tenants), *Sa-daśa-aparādha*, (together with the power to deal with cases involving the ten offences), (c) *Sa-bhūtapāta pratyāya* (together with the income resulting from earthquakes, etc. (d) *Sa-optadyamāna viṣṭika* (together with the right to utilize unpaid labour, (e) *Sa-dhānya hiraṇya-ādeya* (together with the dues payable in kind and in cash, (f) *cāṭa-bhāṭa praveśya*, (g) without the jurisdiction of any royal officer, (h) together with *abhyantara-siddhi* (internal income and revenue, (i) in accordance with the *bhūmicchidra-nyāya*) principle of the fallow land or the first cultivation of land).[62] The land grant of Chamba which belonged to the eleventh century enjoins the tenants of the village to deliver to the donee dues like *bhoga, bhāga*, etc. and king's *cāṭas* and *bhāṭa* and directed not to enter into the donee's house, to let his vegetables be grazed on, to cut his ripe crops or crush his sugar-cane, to take cow's milk from him, to carry off his stools, benches or couches, and to seize his wood, fuel, grass etc. It is also directed that not even the slightest oppression or vexation should be caused by anyone to the donee or to his ploughmen, cowherds, maids, servant and dependents.[63] But the exemptions depicted in the record make it clear that the tenants were often subjected to considerable harassment, and it shows that there was heavy burden of taxes and obligation on the peasantry in early medieval northern India.

It has been argued that the peasants in early medieval northern India could not leave villages which were granted to the donees along with its inhabitants. It has been mentioned in the *Bṛhannāradīya Purāṇa* that the peasants were attached to the plough for carrying on cultivation,[64] the inhabitants of a village were asked to cultivate the fields, or suffer some penalty if they kept any part uncultivated and to render dues and services according to local customs, including payment of part of the produce to local officials, village artisans, etc.[65] The fields, grain, cattle and other property of a peasant who leaves the village and moves elsewhere are to be taken by the chief or king.[66]

The intensity and scope of subjection and dependence of the peasants

in the Indian context were much less than the condition of the peasantry in western feudalism.[67] V. K. Thakur argues that a decisive factor for peasants' dependence was the restriction imposed on their mobility, the peasants could not have left their respective localities, they came to be confined to their villages not by legal but economic restrictions on their mobility.[68] He further argues that despite the available instances of subjection and enserfment of peasantry, it needs to be appreciated that the free peasant did count in the production system. We have references to *bhattagāmas* (*bhaktagrāmas*) as fairly large landed estates worked by slaves and servants in ancient times,[69] but the same came to be filled by dependent peasants in early medieval India.[70] It has been argued that the *Jajmāni* system was reinforced by the charters which insisted on peasants and artisans sticking to their villages. Some grants laid down that tax-paying peasants could not be introduced into a granted village from outside, the purpose of this being that grants should not disturb the self-sufficient economy of the villages.[71]

Conclusion

No doubt, innumerable studies of peasantry have been made by historians, anthropologists, sociologists and other scholars, yet it is very difficult to group this class as one "-ism" like capitalism, socialism and feudalism, etc. because "peasantry" has been very volatile throughout the history of mankind. Thus, the word "peasant" which otherwise stands for an individual assumes micro level meaning when put together as "peasantry", as it transgresses all boundaries of all states and comes to encompass all classes of the world. Hence, I have found it very difficult to define "peasant."

The study of the socio-economic formation of early medieval northern India engages the attention of the scholars of the day. It continues to baffle them. I have tried to find a possible solution of this malady. This study also highlights the agrarian aspect of feudal system in early medieval northern India, which ultimately resulted in the transformation of *Śūdras* into the peasants. It seems that in the older settled regions *Śūdras* were provided with land rights in remote parts, the tribal areas, and the peasantry was annexed to the Brāhmanical system through land-grants. Some of the charters clearly show that the peasants, villagers, and other inhabitants of the donated villages invariably carried out the orders of the donee.

Economic history describes man's efforts to satisfy his material wants. Epigraphical sources show that donees had superior rights over peasantry. The donees were entitled to collect all kinds of taxes. They were able to collect regular and irregular taxes and fixed and unfixed payment. The donees were empowered with the right to evict the peasantry at will and to replace them with new peasants. The land-grant charters edicted the peasants to carry out the orders of the donee as long as they were alive. It is argued

that exorbitant taxes were imposed in the areas of a feudal chief with the result that often the peasants had even to sell their plough, yokes and all other requisites of cultivation, at times they were forced to sell their children. The largest segment of society in early medieval northern India was exploited and their economic condition worsened miserably. The popular belief about the existence of *Rāmarājya* (i.e. a state offering to the people all happiness and no misery) in ancient India largely remained a myth. Even the land-charters ordained that the tenants shall render to the donee the offering of the customary taxes such as *bhāga, bhoga* and *hiraṇya* etc. It assigned a subordinate status and the peasants were required to work as per the whims of the landlords. The peasants under the donees were subjected to reckless servility, while the free peasant lost his status because of the imposition of several new taxes in early medieval northern India. The study, therefore, presents a deteriorating grim scenario about the socio-economic condition of the peasants during early Medieval times. It also traces the causal complexities which forced the peasants to accept their fate passively and without a murmur.

Notes and References

1. V. K. Thakur's A. Aounshuman (ed.) *Peasants in Indian History*, Patna, 1996, p. 63, (hereafter *PIH*), Raymond Williams, *Keywords*, Glasgow, 1976, p. 194.Hetukar Jha, "Understanding Peasant and his Low-classness', in V. K. Thakur's A. Aounshuman (ed.) *Peasants in Indian History*, p. 4 Teodor Shanin, (ed.) *Peasants and Peasant Societies*, Harmonds Warth, 1971, p. 11.

2. Daniel Thorner, *Peasantry*, in David L. Sills (ed.), *International Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences*, New York, 1950, Vol. II, p. 504.

3. Daniel Thorner argues that "when we search the literature of agrarian history for discussion of peasant economies we find them scattered among such diverse categories as 'subsistence', 'feudal' or 'oriental.' By contrast, we believe there is hope of rich analytical yield if we can find a way of treating 'peasant economies', as a distinctive group." Thorner, '*Peasant Economy as a category in Economic History*, in T. Shanin (ed.), *Peasant and Peasant Societies* op. cit. p. 202. Peasantry as a group is subject and exists to be exploited by others.... at the same time, from the point of view of production, the peasant households constitute definite independent entities. Because of this duality in their position these peasantries inevitably straddle the line between free and unfree *ibid*. p. 206.

4. S. H. Franklin, *The European Peasantry*, London, 1969, pp. 1-3. Franklin argues that "the whole of Europe has now reached the stage where the peasant economy is either no longer the predominant mode of production, and in some countries has not been for decades, or it has reached the point of losing its preeminence --- many of the paradoxical features of contemporary peasant life are related to the exposure or creation of contradictions within the kingship-economic orders of the peasant enterprise arising out of its incorporation within these predominantly non-peasant system. *ibid.*

5. V. K. Srivastava, *'On the Concept of Peasant Society,'* in V. K. Thakur and A. Aounsharma, (eds.) *PIH*, Vol. I. op. cit. p. 22.

6. *Ibid.*

7. It has been argued that by the welfare of the peasant primarily aimed at subsistance, and when he aims at reinvestment and maximisation of gain and profit, he ceases to be a peasant. Now he is a farmer. Then what is landlord ? A landlord is a peasant when he himself tills the land and aims at subsistence, primarily involving domestic labour force. But when he abstains from tilling because of status reasons, or in specific cases because of religious injunctions, and has right over produce, the term 'peasant' can not be used for him. Peasant, thus, becomes a particular historical type of the people, with dynamism at both its ends. *Ibid.* pp. 22-23.

8. *Ibid.* pp. 23-24.

9. *Ibid.* p. 24.

10. Raymond Firth, *Malayan Fishermen Economy*, London, 1946, Quoted in *PIH*, Voi. I. by V. K. Srivastava, op. cit. p. 25.

11. Subhadra Channa, *"Indian Peasantry Some Analytical Issues"*, in V. K. Thakur, (ed.) op.cit. p. 51.

12. *Ibid.* p. 52.

13. V. K. Thakur, *"The Peasant In Early India' : Problem of identification and Differentiation*, in A. Aounshoman (eds) *PIH*, Vol. I. op.cit. p. 131.

14. *Ibid.*

15. *Ibid.*

16. Uma Chakravarti is of the view that the meaning of the term *gahapati* was shifted from a general term implying householder to a term with a more specific meaning, the most wide ranging and inclusive explanation of this term, going beyond its earlier connotation as householder, is provided by the statement that except a king, or one who is in the service of the king, and *Brāhmaṇa*, he who remains is a *gahapati* --- A notable feature of the term of *gahapati* is that it is enumerated as one of the seven treasurers of the king, as the symbol of sovereignty. The *gahapati* was clearly regarded as being intrinsic to kingship. Why the *gahapati* was regarded as a crucial element in the king's sovereignty is evident from a symbolic narrative where the king requires the *gahapati* to provide him with wealth for the kingdom. The *gahapati* is described here as "one who pays taxes and thus increases the king's wealth." Uma Chakravarti, 'Was the *gahapati* A Peasant Producer', in *PIH op. cit.* pp. 160-162. Ranabir Chakravarti, argues that two terms to designate the early Indian peasant, viz. *gahapati* (*grahapati*) and *kuṭumbin* or *kuṭumbika*. The two terms, *graha* and *kuṭumba* more or less meaning the same thing i.e. a House, the *grahapati* and the *kuṭumbika* can literally be translated as lord of the household and one having a household respectively. Such terms are often associated with land and agricultural activities, indicating thereby that the two terms essentially denoted peasant in the context of his family unit. The *grahapati* and the *kuṭumbika* seem to have been distinguished from tiller of the

soil, variously called *kiṇaṣa, kṛṣīvala* and more frequently, *karaṣaka,* Ranabir Chakravarti, *Kuṭumbikas* of Early India in *PIH, op.cit.* p. 181.

17. Subhadra Channa, *op.cit.* p. 53.

18. *Ibid.*

19. Irfan Habib, *"The Peasant in Indian History* (General President's Address), Proceedings of the Indian History Congress 43rd session, Kurukshetra, 1982, p.4. Irfan Habib, *'The Peasant in Indian History'* in B. P. Sahu, (ed.) Land System and Ruler Society in Early India, pp. 205-206, Hereafter (LSRSEI) V. K. Thakur, in *PIH* Vol. I. *op.cit.* p. 128.

20. Daniel Thorner, *International Encyclopaedia, op. cit.* 503-11. V. K. Thakur, *PIH op.cit.* p. 128.

21. Raymond Firth, *Malayan Fishermen, Their Peasant Economy,* cited in V. K. Thakur and A. Aounshoma (eds) *PIH op.cit.* p. 128.

22. C. Von, Dietze, *Peasantry in Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences,* (ed.) E. R. A. Seligman, Toronto, 1950, Rep. Vol. XI, p. 48. In many regions some independent peasant households survived through the centuries. The freedom of action of the peasant was early limited by territorial associations of a cooperative character. Subsequently peasants fell under the rule of a landlord or other type of overlord. It is not yet very clear whether to what extent the earlier restrictions originated in the land commune.

23. *Ibid.*

24. *Manu Smṛti,* Jwala Prasad, Bombay, 1963. *The Law of Manu,* SBE, Vol. 25, Rep. Delhi, 1975, XXV, Viṣṇu Smṛti, Sriram Sharma, Berali, 1994, VII, *Gautama Dharmaśūtra,* (ed.) A. S. Stanzler, London, 1876, 11, *Baudhāyana Smṛti,* Sriram Sharma, Berali, 1994, XIX, *Bṛhaspati Smṛti,* Tr. J. Jolly, SBE, Vol XXXII. Rep. Delhi, 1977, G. C. Chauhan, *Economic History of Early Medieval Northern India* Delhi, 2003, pp. 44-49.

25. *Sanskrit-Hindi-English Dictionary* by Surya Kanta, New Delhi, 1975, pp. 168-69. Sir M. M. Williams, *A. Sanskrit-English Dictionary,* Oxford, 1960, pp. 332-33.

26. V. V. Mirashi, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum,* Ootacamund, 1955-63. (hereafter, *CII*) Vol. IV, pt. 1 p. CLXXI.

27. *Yājñavalkya Smṛti,* with Vīramitrodaya of *Mitākṣarā* (ed.) Narayana Sastri, Varanasi, 1930, II, 158, the *vivādaratnākara* refers to the *kṣetrasvāmi* and the sub-tenants or temporary occupants.

28. Irfan Habib, (ed) *Essays in Indian History, Towards a Marxist Perception,* Delhi, 1995, pp. 110-11. Stuart Piggott, *Pre-Historic India,* 1950, pp. 176-77. Irfan Habib, *op.cit.* pp. 114-15 and D. D. Kosambi, *An Introduction to the Study of Indian History,* Bombay, ˙956, pp. 70-71. D. R. Chanana, *Slavery in Ancient India,* Delhi, 1960, p. 20.

29. T. Watters, *On Yuan Chwɛng's Travels in India,* Vol. I, London, 1904, pp. 168-69. It has been cited by Irfan Habib, that a young son of peasant like the village

headman and official he has access to village women as they render forced labour, work in his field as also in his house, on taking away cotton and other fibrous material from him, bring him yarn in return. He says that this is a rare picture of exploitation of peasant by a peasant in ancient Indian countryside, *"The Peasant in Indian History"*, In B. P. Sahu, (ed) *LSRSEI, op.cit.* p. 222.

30. I-tsing, *A Record of Buddhist Religion as practised in India and Malaya*, Oxford, 1896. (Tr.) Takakusu, pp. 61-62.

31. R. S. Sharma, *Indian Feudalism*, Delhi, 2nd (ed) 1980, (hereafter *IF*) p. 96. Sharma argues that probably as a secular beneficiary he could not do this without the sanction of the king. But the religious donees, particularly the managers of big monasteries such as Nalanda, got their land cultivated by the others, and their rent was collected through their agents. p. 96.

32. *Ibid.* p. 97. Sharma states that the same formula was employed earlier by the Maitraka rulers of Valabhi, p. 63.

33. R. S. Sharma, *I F op.cit.* p. 97. G. C. Chauhan *Economic History, op.cit.* p. 49.

34. *Vyavahāramayūkha of Bhaṭṭa Nīlakaṇṭha* (ed) P. V. Kane, Bombay, 1926, p. 86.

35. *Epigraphia Indica*, Delhi, (hereafter EI), III, 36, 1.4 pp. 263-64.

36. *Ibid.* III, 1.12 p. 264.

37. *Ibid.* II, p. 11-12.

38. R. S. Sharma, *I F op.cit.* pp. 97-98.

39. *Ibid.* p. 98.

40. *EI*, XXIV, pp. 329-33, 11, pp. 19-21.

41. R. S. Sharma, *I F op.cit.* p. 101.

42. *Ibid.*

43. *Ibid.*

44. Lallanji Gopal, *The Economic Life in Northern India*, Delhi, 1989, 2nd Rev. ed. pp. 292-96. S. M. Devi, *Economic Condition of Ancient India*, Delhi, 1987, p. 12. G. P. Majumdar & S.C. Banerji, (des) *Kṛṣiparaśara*, Calcutta, 1960, pp. 119-20,cited also by L. Gopal in the *Economic Life --- op.cit.* pp. 304-05.

45. B. N. S. Yadava, *'Immobility and Subjection of Indian Peasantry"*, in B. P. Sahu, *LSRSEI, op.cit.* 91-92.

45. *Ibid.* p. 92.

46. *Bodhisatta Avadanakalpalatā of Kṣemendra*, (ed.) M. Kaul, Calcuttta, 1888, Tr. 1958, XXIV, 94-96.

47. *Rājataraṅginī of Kalhaṇa* (Tr.) by Raghunath Singh, 3 Vols. Varanasi, 1976, VIII, 168-70.

48. G. Jha, (ed), *Manusmṛti with Manubhāṣya of Medhātithi*, Calcutta, 1922-1929, p. 231.

"Yadi sudrovidhāmaṇdhna khatnuin juvid brāhmaṇadhānpakṣitona

jatudusipti na hi trya daṇadhānkriya yujgti krutghja ddasut."

49. N. J. G. Paund, *An Economic History of Medieval Europe*, New York, 1974, p. 444.

50. R. S. Sharma, *IF* pp. 217-18.

He argues that the position of the peasant was the imposition of forced labour. In Mauryan period slaves and hired labourers were subjected to such labour. But from the 2nd century, the practice seems to have been extended to the class of subjects --- In Bengal and Bihar peasants were subjected to all oppression (*sarvapīḍā*) from which exemption was granted in the villages given to religious donees by the Pālas.

51. *Ibid.* pp. 118-119.

52. P. H. Sastri (ed.) *The Bṛhannāradīya Purāṇa*, Calcutta, 1891, XXXVIII.

53. *Rāmacarita of Sandhyākaranandī*, (ed) R. C. Majumdar, R. G. Basak, Rajshahi, 1939, II, 39-42. E1, XXIX, 5, Sharma discussed that we have hardly anything else to illustrate this form of reaction on the part of the peasants. The usual form of reaction therefore may have been migrations. But these could not be of much avail in the face of the self-sufficient, almost closed, economic system with which the peasants were tied down in early medieval times. Economic condition and political organization being basically the same everywhere, migration did not liberate the peasants from the oppression of the princes and beneficiaries. *IF* p. 220.

54. R. S. Sharma, *IF.* p. 121-22.

55. J. F. Fleet, *CII, Vol. III*, pp. 118, 122, 127, 137.

56. *Ibid.* pp. 105, 109, 120, 128,132, 138,170, 185, 189, 218, 257, 290.

57. *Ibid* pp. 128, 132, 138, 170, 290.

58. *Ibid.* pp. 238, 246.

59. D. S. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, Calcutta, 1942, Vol. I. pp. 408-09.

60. EI, Vol. IV, p. 414. Consult Harṣa Inscription of Bansakara.

61. *Ibid.* XXXIV, p. 176.

62. *Ibid* III, p. 109.

63. Vogel, *Antiquities of Chamba State*, Calcutta, 1911, Part I, pp. 167-69. G. C. Chauhan, *Economic History*, p. 57. Mahesh Sharma, *"State Formation and Cultural Complex in Western Himalaya : Chamba Genealogy and Epigraphs-700-1650 CE."* in *IESHR*, Delhi, 2004.

64. *Bṛhannāradīya Purāṇa*, Vol. XXXVIII, XXXXIII.

65. B.N.S. Yadava, 'Immobility and Subjection of Indian Peasantry' in B.P. Sahu (ed) *LSRSEL, op.cit.* p. 333.

66. *Ibid.*

67. *Ibid.* p. 336.

68. V. K. Thakur, *PIH*, p. 141.

69. *Ibid.* p. 142.

70. *Ibid.*

71. R. S. Sharma, *IF*, pp. 121-22. G. C. Chauhan, *Origin and Growth of Feudalism in Early India*, (*From the Mauryas to 650 A.D.*), Delhi, 2004, pp. 137-39. Sima Yadav, *The Myth of Indian Feudalism*, Delhi, 2005, pp. 71-72.

Daśaślokī of Nimbārka

Jaya Chemburkar

Nimbārka, one of the five Vaiṣṇavācāryas, has written a stotra enunciating his concept of devotion. The stotra contains only ten ślokas (verses) and hence it is called *Daśaślokī* (*Daś*). *Daś* has been commented upon by Harivyāsadeva.

In this paper, it is proposed to discuss Nimbārka's concept of devotion in the light of the *Daśaślokī*.

As a Vaiṣṇava, Nimbārka laid down devotion as a means of liberation (*Daś* 6,8). His concept of devotion similar to the one described by Rāmānuja and Madhva, lays down *'Smaraṇa', 'Pūjā', 'Saraṇāgati'* and *'Prapatti'* as the modes of worship (*Daś* 9 and commentary (com) on it).

The only striking feature of the devotion described by him is the introduction of the worship of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa (*Daś* 5 and the com). He understands the word *bhakti* in the same sense as Madhva understands it connoting special love for *īśvara* (*Daś* 9). Harivyāsadeva remarks that Kṛṣṇa-bhakti can be expressed in five ways, and names them as *śānta, dāsya, sakhya, vātsalya, aujjvalya,* or *mādhurya* (*Daś* 10 & com).

Nimbārka has described two categories (stages) of devotion; the highest (*uttamā*) devotion which is of the nature of special love (*prema-viśeṣalakṣaṇā*) and the other, secondary devotion or one which is instrumental (*sādhanarūpikā*) to the highest devotion (*Daś* 9). Harivyāsadeva remarks that *premalakṣaṇā*-bhakti is the highest or the best as it is of the *sādhya* category, and *sādhanabhakti* which is of a lower category is nine-fold. This nine-fold devotion is considered inferior because it is only a means leading to the highest type of devotion characterised by love (*premalakṣaṇā*). The commentator appears to suggest that Nimbārka is drawing upon the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* (*BP*) concept of nine-fold devotion. It may be explained here that the nine-fold devotion described in the *BP* is a secondary one leading to *Nirguṇa-bhakti*, whereas in Nimbārka's doctrine also this is secondary, but leads to the highest category of *bhakti premalakṣaṇā* which is *saguṇa-bhakti* towards Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa.

Nimbārka describes his ideas about devotion almost in the same manner in which Rāmānuja does, particularly with reference to his doctrines of *saraṇāgati* or *prapatti*. Nimbārka depends on the grace of Kṛṣṇa (*Daś* 2,9,10), which

he believes generates devotion (*Daś* 9,10 & com). But the grace of Kṛṣṇa appears to be conditional, it is not shown to any person. Kṛṣṇa's grace depends upon complete surrender (*prapatti*) on the part of the votary (*Daś* 9,10 & com). A votary may surrender himself to the Lord with a feeling of helplessness or with confidence that Kṛṣṇa will protect him.

Nimbārka describes five categories as constituting his entire concept of devotion. He enjoins upon a votary the knowledge of the five things : (1) a devotee is required to know following particulars regarding the Supreme Being he wants to worship (*Daś* 10): He should know Kṛṣṇa as possessing a body consisting of *Sat, Cit, Ānanda* and dwelling in a cow-settlement, *Vraja*, known as the celestial city (*Vyomapura*). He is the cause of all, merciful and gracious to his devotees. (2) A votary should also realise his own true nature. He should know that in comparison to the Lord he is minute like the size of an atom, but possessing knowledge and joy. He is different from the two bodies viz. the gross and the subtle body. He has to understand that he is a servant of Kṛṣṇa (*Daś* 10). It will be observed here how this type of constant thinking on the part of a votary would result in his realisation of his own true nature and his relationship to the Lord. Here Nimbārka has blended his philosophy with his concept of devotion. (3) A votary should know that God's grace arises from self-surrender (*Daś* 10 & com) and giving up all actions except those in the service of God (*Daś* 10 & com). (4) Feeling of *śānti* (serenity), *dāsya* (servitude), *sakhya* (friendliness), *vātsalya* (affection) and *aujjvalya* (love) are the means to devotion (*Daś* 10 & com). (5) A votary should understand the things that create obstruction to the attainment of God (*Das* 10). These are as follows: (1) mistaking the body to be the soul, (2) depending on a person other than God and one's preceptor, (3) indifference to the commands laid down in the sacred books, (4) worshipping Gods other than Kṛṣṇa, (5) not doing one's duties, ingratitude, wasting one's life in worthless pursuits, vilification of good men etc.

An appraisal of these five categories will indicate how Nimbārka's concept of Bhakti is characterised by knowledge to an extent similar to the *Bhagavad-Gītā* and the *BP*, the two main propagators and promoters of the doctrine of devotion.

The above discussion of Nimbārka's view-point will indicate how the philosophical ideology regarding the relationship of *Brahman, Jīva*, and *Jagat* can shape the views about devotion. Nimbārka propounded the philosophy of *bhedābheda* or *dvaitādvaita* (duality and non - duality). Here *Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa* relationship has been employed to illustrate the view of duality and non-duality. Upto a certain stage the two are different but at a later stage they become identical. It may be pointed out here that the doctrine of grace of the Lord which has been referred to by the *BP* finds place in Nimbārka's view. The

BP has referred to Rādhā only in a suggestive manner. Nowhere in the *BP* the name of Rādhā has been mentioned explicitly. The *BP* has described a *rāsa*-dance of the *gopīs* and Lord Kṛṣṇa. While dancing with the *gopīs*, Kṛṣṇa, leaving the others, suddenly disappeared with one *gopī* whom he favoured more (*BP* X. 29.48; X. 30. 26, 27). Others wonder at the favour shown to the *gopī* and decide that she must have propitiated Kṛṣṇa in her previous birth. (*anayā SS rādhito nūnam bhagavān haririśvaraḥ* (*BP* (X) 30. 28a). From the root *rādh* to propitiate, the word Rādhā seems to have been derived. It can be concluded that excluding the doctrine of grace and the nine-fold devotion, the Nimbārka-school of devotion appears to have originated without any special debt of gratitude to the *BP.*

Notes and References

1. cf. *snehānubandho yastasmin bahumānapurassaraḥ bhaktirityucyate Brahmasūtrabhāṣya* of Madhva, III 3.54.

2. cf. also Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems*; p. 65

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Ibid.*

5. (a) The cult of Rādhā is late; it is absent in the *Mbh., Rāmāyaṇa,* and the *Harivaṁśa.* Winternitz: *History of Indian Literature,* p. 568.

   (b) Also cf. Hazra, R. C., *Studies in the Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs,* p. 116.

   (c) Farquhar, J. N., *Outline of the Religious Literature of India,* pp. 233, 237 & 238.

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The Demon Vṛtra Through Ages

Sindhu S. Dange

The *Ṛgveda* (*=RV*) mentions several malevolent forces such as *asuras* (commonly translated as demons), *rakṣases, yātudhānas, piśācas, arātis, kimīdins* and several other evil spirits. Out of all these Vṛtra is the prominent and an oft-mentioned *asura*, for whose slaying the Ṛgvedic god Indra is said to have been born (*RV* VIII. 78. 5; VIII.10.55). Hence the epithet *vṛtrahan* ('the slayer of Vṛtra') is exclusively of the god Indra, whose constant conflict and fight with Vṛtra and the eventual slaying of Vṛtra is frequently referred to as *vṛtrahatya*. It has to be pointed out that the word '*vṛtra*' is many times used to denote plural number and that too always in neuter gender.[1] To give one example - "Indra slew with the bones of Dadhyañc, ninety-nine *Vṛtras*, just as he shatters the ninety-nine forts of Vṛtra" (*ibid.* VII.19.5). But in this article we take into account the word '*vṛtra*' as of the masculine gender denoting singular number.

Vṛtra, the *asura*, is always seen connected with the cosmic sphere, while *rakṣases, yātudhānas, piśācas*, etc. are from the terrestrial level, troubling the human beings. Hence a difference has to be made between the two. The *asuras* are the enemies of gods and not of mankind. Indeed men seem, as a rule, excluded from their sphere of action. This is the principal point in which they differ from the remaining classes of forces; such as *rakṣases, yakṣas, nāgas* etc. who sustain hostile or friendly relations with men.[2] Along with Vṛtra can be considered the *asuras* Śuṣṇa and Svarbhānu, who are not seen causing any menace to the humans, but who try to disturb the Cosmic Order, in which effort they do not succeed. However as compared to these, Vṛtra is seen importantly unique and thus stands as an archetypal *asura*, representing such *asuras*.

It was Yāska, the composer of *Nirukta* (*=Nir*), who made the first effort to know the meaning of the word *vṛtra* and the nature of Vṛtra. When he states the meaning of the Vedic word *vṛtra* (*Nir* II.17), he mentions two schools of interpretation.

1. Nairukta--Etymological school, to which Yāska himself belongs. He derives the word '*vṛtra*' from the root √ *vṛ*- 'to cover, envelop.' Vṛtra is the one, who has enveloped all the waters in him, as the *RV* points out at many places. It is Indra who vanquishes and smashes Vṛtra and releases the streams of water.

2. Aitihāsika--School of the Aitihāsikas-- the legendists--- who maintain *itihāsas* ('the traditional accounts'- from the word '*itihāsa*' meaning 'This was so'). The propounders of this school narrate the *itihāsa* that Vṛtra was an *asura*, the son of Tvaṣṭṛ. To give one example of such *itihāsas*- In the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* (=*Tait Sam* II.5.1.1ff) and the *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa* (= *Jaim Br* II. 156), we have the account about Viśvarūpa, the elder son of Tvaṣṭṛ, whose three heads were cut off by Indra, with the result, three different birds came out of these three heads. The Aitihāsikas preserved such *itihāsas*, which at times, appeared fanciful.

But Yāska does not stop at these two schools. He gives a third and that too an important opinion. He says that in the *mantras* and in the accounts from the Brāhmaṇa-texts, Vṛtra is spoken of as a serpent (*Nir* II.17--*ahivat tu khalu mantravarṇā brāhmaṇavādāśca*). This points out that the nature of being a serpent is superimposed upon Vṛtra. Here a mythical element is superimposed upon an independent entity. Thus Yāska, as early as the seventh century BCE, shows the knowledge of the process of 'myth' being formed and proves to be the first theorist to lay his hands on the process of myth-making and that too most probably on a comparative basis. The statement of Yāska noted above echoes the belief commonly found in folklore and mythology that certain creatures such as frog, crocodile etc. are the controllers of the waters on the earth.[3] The Maṇḍūka-sūkta - the hymn of frogs - (*RV* VII. 103) is regarded as a rain-charm, underlying belief being that the frogs have control of all waters, which they release and so we have rains ![4] In the case of Vṛtra, such a controller or enveloper of waters was believed to be a serpent. To regard Vṛtra as a serpent may appear to be a metaphor as the 'serpenthood' is superimposed upon Vṛtra. However, it has to be remembered that the world-wide mythical belief as seen above is at the basis of it.

Dandekar directs our attention to the monograph by E. Benveniste and L. Renou, in which they have discussed the linguistically cognate words *vṛtra* in the *RV* and *vṛthra* in the *Avesta*. According to them, these two words have to be derived from the root √ *var*- 'to resist.' Dandekar agreeing with these scholars opines that the original sense of the word *vṛtra* is therefore merely 'resistance' - an abstract idea indeed ! The historical hero—the national war-god—Indra, overcame a number of human foes who had 'resisted' the onward march of the Vedic Indians. These human foes, thus, naturally came to be looked upon as the Vṛtras. At the later stage of the Ṛgvedic mythology, the historical human Vṛtras were collectively transformed into the one 'demon' who prominently opposed Indra, the great god. When naturalistic elements came to be superimposed upon Indra's original personality as a result of which Indra came to be regarded as the rain-god, there was a corresponding naturalistic transformation of Vṛtra's personality so that he came to be looked upon as the cloud-demon.[5]

There is no difficulty in accepting Dandekar's stand-point regarding the historical nature of Indra. The author of this article has elsewhere maintained that the famous hymn (*RV* II. 12) is clearly a panegyric of the human hero Indra who was turned into a god-head. Even in the times of the *RV*, a class of *sūtas* used to preserve the accounts of the hero's exploits as well as several other accounts of important events, which were recited or sung by them at times in a particular sacrifice. And so was this famous hymn praising Indra recited at the Soma-sacrifice, may be quite often ![6] When rains became a dire necessity for the settled pastoral life of the Vedic Aryans, Indra, the embodiment of valour, was regarded as a rain-god. He also became the god of fertility,[7] with Indrāṇī — his consort — standing for the great earth.[8] With Indra as the rain-god, his principal adversary naturally and logically became a cloud demon. The *RV* vouchsafes for this. Vṛtra has thunder at his disposal (*ibid.* I.80.12) as well as lightning, mist and hail (*ibid.* I.32.13). From the hidden abode (*niṇya*) of Vṛtra, the waters released by Indra escape overflowing the demon (*ibid* I. 32.10). Many Ṛgvedic passages teeming with such descriptions confirm the 'cloud'-nature of Vṛtra.[9]

It has to be noted that the oft-repeated rain-myth in the *RV* is the counter-part of the combat-myth, as if they are the two sides of the same coin. And this phenomenon helps us to place Vṛtra, the adversary of Indra, on a larger canvas of other mythologies. In the Egyptian mythology, Horus, the sun-hawk, fights Set, the serpent. Horus, while the wordy battle raises high, plants his semen in Set, which comes out of the latter's ears, and this causes the river Nile to flood ![10] In the *Avesta*, Tishtrya is said to bring rain, while Apaosha tries to keep the rain away. The Tir *yashta* gives a graphic description of the fight between the two. The bright and the glorious Tishtrya moves in the shape of a white, beautiful horse, with golden ears and a golden caparison. Apaosha rushes to fight him 'in the shape of a dark horse, black with black ears, black with black tail, stamped with brands of terror.' A terrible fight ensues between the two in the cosmic ocean Vouru-Kasha, which is caused to bounce, and there is formed rain in the shape of clouds, through the vapours, caused by Tishtrya's movements (Tir *yashta* 20-30). The Chinese common belief is that the dragons fight and then it rains. In Nepal it is believed that on the Nāgapañcamī day (which falls in the rainy season in the month of July or August) it rains the heaviest, for on that day the fight between Garuḍa and the serpents rages high.[11] Indra-Vṛtra fight is to be viewed through this perspective.

The yet important point to be noted in this connection is that just as we have an archetypal hero in all mythologies, with only his face changed in them,[12] we have the archetypal demon, controlling and not releasing the life-sap of the whole world. And it is the hero who fights him and releases this treasure for the mankind. Vṛtra in the *RV* stands for such a demon,

who is ultimately to be vanquished to maintain the Order (*ṛta*). This order works on three levels viz. cosmic, sacrificial and moral. The rain-myth in the *RV* centering round Indra and Vṛtra pertains to the cosmic level, where the Order disturbed by Vṛtra is brought back by Indra.

In the ritual texts we mark the same trait of Vṛtra. In the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (= *Śat Br*) occurs the mythical account that when Indra cut off the three heads of Tvaṣṭṛ's elder son Viśvarūpa, Tvaṣṭṛ becoming furious, offered into fire whatever pure Soma was left there, for Indra though uninvited had already cosumed practically all the pure Soma. The Soma offered by Tvaṣṭṛ, as it was to reach fire, developed into a human form and it was Vṛtra. Vṛtra became possessed of Agni and Soma, all sciences, all glory, all nourishment and all prosperity. When Indra pleaded to Agni and Soma, they went over to Indra, followed by sciences etc. Indra then cut Vṛtra in two parts, making that part which was of the Soma content turned into moon (*Śat Br* I. 6.3.1-17; also repeated *ibid* V. 5.4.2-12 and is already recorded in the *Tait Sam* II. 4. 12. 1). Here we find Vṛtra possessing Soma and Agni — Moist and Heat — the two important principles in the universe[13] and Indra subsequently gaining them. These are indispensable for the Order on the cosmic level. But these are important on the sacrificial level. The *Śat Br* mentions that Vṛtra agreed to be the food of Indra (*Śat Br* I. 6.3.17). Thus the 'eater-eaten' relationship exists between Indra=sun and Soma (Vṛtra) = moon.[14] The eating and again the letting out of the moon by the sun is a monthly drama in the cosmos, which is enacted at the Soma ritual. In the Agniṣṭoma sacrifice, the Śukra cup of pure Soma stood for the sun and Indra, and the Manthin cup for the moon and Vṛtra. The latter was eaten and released by the former involving the principle of complementation in rivalry and seeming enmity with a step further --- Indra=sun=Śukra (cup), the eater and Vṛtra=moon=Manthin (cup), the eaten (*ibid*. I.2.1 3ff; I.6.3.17; III.9.4.2; *Jaim Br* I. 82). Dange has discussed this in details and has pointed out that the two — the 'eater' and the 'eaten' — are complementary to each other, suggesting the ultimate wholeness of the two.[15] Indra-Vṛtra fight is thus a regular and indispensable feature of the Order (*ṛta*). It is conceptualized on the cosmic level but is brought even to the terrestrial level in the sacrifice.

The principle of complementation in this fight gets the colour of reconciliation, when we take a note of the Vṛtra-myth in the *Mahābhārata* (*Mbh*). Here Vṛtra is born from Danāyu (and not Dānu as the *RV* mentions)[16], the wife of Kaśyapa (*Mbh* Ādi 65.33). However, following the ritual-texts that Tvaṣṭṛ was the creator of Vṛtra, the *Mbh* at one place mentions Vṛtra as born from the Abhicāra-fire (i.e. the fire created or enkindled for malevolent purpose) of Tvaṣṭṛ (*ibid*. Udyoga 9.48) and speaks of the peace-agreement with Indra on the words of the great seers (*ibid*. 10.27-31). The significant Ṛgvedic trait of Vṛtra of controlling the life-sap of the world is seen in the *Mbh* also,

where at one place, it is said that Vṛtra took possession one by one of the five great elements (earth, water, lustre, wind and ether), which were the substrata of these *viz.* smell (*gandha*), taste (*rasa*), form (*rūpa*), touch (*sparśa*) and sound (*śabda*) and each time Indra smashed him with the thunderbolt. When Vṛtra entered Indra, Indra killed him with the 'unseen' thunderbolt (*Ibid.* Aśvamedhika 11.7-19). The note of reconciliation between Indra and Vṛtra does occur in the *Mbh.* But this reconciliation is in a unique way. It is said that Vṛtra goes to the world of Highest Bliss after hearing the advice of Sanatkumāra (*ibid.* Śānti 280. 57-59). Elsewhere it is said that when Indra attacked Vṛtra with the thunderbolt, Vṛtra died but went to Viṣṇuloka (*ibid.* Vana 101.14-15; Udyoga 10.39; Śānti 282.9; for Viṣṇuloka 283.59-60).

This detail about the reconciliation between the two adversaries — god and demon (*asura*) — is significant. It speaks of the complete surrender of the demon to the god, so much so that after death the demon is to get the next birth in the Viṣṇuloka, which is allotted to the righteous people. This is on the lines of the later Puranic literature, in which is marked the principle of 'Virodha-bhakti' ('devotion through opposition'). It is this principle, on the lines of which the demon gets redeemed and is ultimately united with the divinity. A simple stroke of the god's hand showers the favour and the ultimate annihilation gives the same reward as for normal devotees.[17] Thus the child-murderess Pūtanā gets salvation (*Bhāgavata Purāṇa* - X. 6. 34-35). Hiraṇyākṣa gets rolled to the divinity (*ibid.* III. 19.28-29). Hiraṇyakaśipu follows the same path (*ibid.* 7.8.56). Śiśupāla and like follow suit (*ibid.* X. 74.45-46). Kaṁsa always thinking about Kṛṣṇa as his enemy ultimately is merged in Kṛṣṇa (*ibid.* X. 44.39).[18]

By the time of the Purāṇas, many more mythological details were gathered round the name of Vṛtra. The *Brahma P.* (173.30-32) calls Vṛtra and his elder brother Viśvarūpa '*vṛjinodbhava*' - 'born of *vṛjina*' --- (i) *vṛjina*- 'hair' or (ii) 'sin', may be referring to the sin of *Brahmahatyā* (killing a *brāhmaṇa*), which stuck to Indra for killing the treacherous Viśvarūpa, the son of Tvaṣṭṛ and *asura*'s sister, who though a *brāhmaṇa* priest of the gods, secretly contrived to let the oblations go to the *asuras* (*Tait Sam* II. 5. 1. 1.). *Mārkaṇḍeya P.* (5. 1ff) and the *Skanda* (= *Sk.*) *P.* (V. 2.35.5ff) mention the birth of Vṛtra from the hair of Tvaṣṭṛ Prajāpati, which the latter offered in the fire to give rise to Vṛtra. The *Sk. P.* keeping to its Śaivite colour says that Indra worshipped the *liṅga* and having thus propitiated Śiva, by the prowess of *liṅga*, killed Vṛtra with the foam of water (*ibid.* 29). The *Padma P.* (Bhūmikhaṇḍa 23.1ff) also states Vṛtra's birth from the fire when Marīci's son Kaśyapa threw his hair in it. But sticking to the Puranic image of Indra as sending nymphs to seduce the sages, (as many accounts point out), the *Padma P.* here adds that Indra sent the nymph Rambhā to allure Vṛtra to drink wine so excessively

thal, with his strength reduced and balance gone, Vṛtra was killed by Indra. Interestingly the *Sk. P.* (I.1.16.53; also I. 1.17.93-101) and the *Bhāgavata P.* (VI.9.11ff) mention that Vṛtra was a *gandharva* in his former birth (*Sk. P.* - *gandharva* Citraratha; *Bhāg. P.* - *gandharva* Citraketu) and due to the curse of Pārvatī was born as the demon.[19] It is very clear that the original mythological concept of Vṛtra as a demon holding all waters on the earth was presented by the *Mbh* and the Purāṇas (not all Purāṇas mentioning Vṛtra) with added layers and in the words of Peter Munz with "embroidery."[20] Peter Munz applies the historical method to get the meaning of any myth.

In spite of the Śaivite colour of the *Sk. P.* in narrating the myth of Vṛtra, the reference to Indra's propitiating Śiva by worshipping the *liṅga*, getting prowess and by that smashing Vṛtra, the son of Tvaṣṭṛ Prajāpati, is worthy of taking note. It goes back to the strife between Rudra (the proto-type of Śiva) and Prajāpati, the latter subdued by the former. As Prajāpati, being enamoured of his own daughter ran after her, Rudra on the words of the gods, to punish Prajāpati pierced him with a dart (*Śat Br* I.7.4.1-3). The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* makes this a star-myth. It says that Prajāpati transformed himself into a roe-buck (*ṛśya*) and approached his own daughter, who had assumed the form of a doe (*rohita*). Bhūtavat (i.e. Rudra) was fashioned by the gods to punish Prajāpati. Prajāpati, pierced by Bhūtavat's arrow bounded up to the sky and became the constellation Mṛga, his daughter the asterism Rohiṇī and the arrow became the constellation called 'the three-knotted arrow' i.e. the girdle of Orion (*Ait Br* III. 33=13.9).[21] The note of enmity of Rudra (=Śiva) with Prajāpati is thus very old and the *Sk P* takes its help to weave one more layer to the myth of Vṛtra.

In the beginning we have referred to Śuṣṇa and Svarbhānu as the *asuras*, who disturb the Cosmic Order. Śuṣṇa is regarded as a demon of drought (fr. the root √ *śuṣ* - 'to dry').[22] There is a mention of his strong forts (*RV* I.51.11) and also of his moving fort (*ibid.* VIII. 1.28). Indra releases the waters when he shatters these forts (*ibid.* I.51.11; VIII.40.10). In the *Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā*, we find Śuṣṇa in possession of nectar. In order to have that, Indra becomes a lump of honey and lays in the path of Śuṣṇa, who sees it and devours it. Indra enters Śuṣṇa and comes out of his mouth with the nectar (XXXVII.14). Here nectar stands for the rain-waters hoarded by Śuṣṇa, the original Ṛgvedic concept, as seen above, remaining unchanged.

Another such *asura* is Svarbhānu, who hides the sun but whose effort is foiled by the seer Atri. Atri is said to have found the sun with the '*turīya*' *mantra* and to have placed him in the sky (*RV* V. 40.6,8; also *Atharvaveda=AV* XIII. 24.12,36). This myth also figures in the *Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa=Pañc Br* (IV.5.1,2; IV.6.12,13; XIV.11.12,14). Here not Indra but the seer Atri (*RV* and *AV; Pañc Br* XIV. 11.12,14) or the gods (at the remaining two places

in the *Pañc Br*), repel the darkness to make the sun shine again. Here Svarbhānu falls in line with Vṛtra, who disturbs the Cosmic Order (*ṛta*) by capturing the very source of light. This pseudo-myth of the *RV* travelled further to the *Mbh.* and the Purāṇas and got developed in the full-fledged myth of the demon Rāhu (-Ketu) swallowing the sun and the moon. In other mythologies the world over, instead of a demon at times a fierce beast chases the sun or the moon.[23] Regarding the Ṛgvedic myth of Svarbhānu, it was Tilak who states that an eclipse of the sun was then first observed by the seer Atri.[24] The author of this article has dealt with this myth in details elsewhere.[25]

All these three demons -- Vṛtra, Śuṣṇa and Svarbhānu--are to be placed in the same category. These are the demons, who withhold the life-sap of the world, disturb the Cosmic Order (*ṛta*) but for a while, only to get vanquished ultimately ! However, Śuṣṇa and Svarbhānu may not hold importance when compared to Vṛtra, whose mention cannot be forgotten whenever Indra is spoken of as a great warrior.

Notes and References

1. Macdonell has taken a note of the term '*vṛtrāni*' (neuter Nominative Plural), pointing out that it refers to terrestrial foes. It applies to both — human enemies as also to celestial demons. The term must have been based on an earlier meaning such as 'obstruction' -- then 'obstructor.' See Macdonell, A. A., *Vedic Mythology*, Reprint, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1995 (Strassberg, 1898), p. 159.

2. Hastings, J., *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. 4, p. 392a.

3. Lang, Andrew, *Myth, Ritual and Religion*, London, 1913, pp. 42-44,where in three different stories, a frog controls all waters; also Mackenzie, Donald, *Myths of Pre-Columbian America*, no year given, p. 241, where fish, frog etc. are regarded as the terrestrial forms of the Mexican god of rain, Tlaloc.

4. The Maṇḍūka-sūkta (*RV* VII. 103) is regarded a rain-charm. See Bloomfield, M., "The Frog-hymn", *The Journal of the American Oriental Society* (*JAOS*), Vol. XVII, p. 173f; also Norman Brown, "Some Notes on the Rain-charms", *New Indian Antiquary*, Vol. II-2, May 1921.

5. Dandekar, R. N., "Vṛtrahā Indra", *Vedic Mythological Tracts*, Ajanta Pubns, 1979, Delhi, pp. 173-176.

6. Dange, Sindhu S., "*Ṛgveda* II. 12 and the Sūta-tradition," *Śrījagannāthajyotiḥ, Shri Jagannatha Journal of Indology*, Puri, Vol. 10 (Silver Jubilee Vol.), 2005, pp. 49-53.

7. Hopkins, E. W., "Indra as the God of Fertility," *JAOS*, vol. XXXVI, New Haven, U.S.A.

8. Dange, Sadashiv A., *Vedic Concept of "Field" and the Divine Fructification*, University of Bombay Pubn., Bombay (Mumbai), 1971, pp. 16-17, 71.

9. Macdonell, A. A., *op.cit.*, pp. 58-60, 158.

10. Rundle Clark, R. T., *Myth and Symbol in Ancient Egypt*, Thames and Hudson,

London, 1959, p. 205.

11. For more explanation and details, see Dange, Sadashiv A., *Pastoral Symbolism from the Rgveda* (Bhau Vishnu Ashtekar Vedic Research Series, Vol. No. 111), University of Poona Pubn., Poona (Pune), 1970, p. 15.

12. Campbell, Joseph, *The Hero with a Thousand Faces*, Bollingen Series XVII, Princeston University Press, Princeston, New Jersy, 3rd print, 1973 (1949).

13. *Śat. Br.* I. 6.3.23.... *dvayam vā idam na tṛtīyamasti / ārdram caiva śuṣkam ca, yacchuṣkam tadāgneyam yadārdram tat saumyam /*

14. See Dange, Sadashiv A., *Images from Vedic Hymns and Rituals*, Aryan Books International, New Delhi, 2000, p. 126f.

15. *Ibid.*, pp. 127-128.

16. Macdonell, A. A., *op. cit.*, p. 158.

17. See Dange, Sindhu S., *The Bhāgavata Purāṇa—Mytho-social Study*, Ajanta Pubns, Delhi, 1984, p. 196.

18. For detailed discussion, *Ibid.* pp. 195-197.

19. For more details, see Dange, Sadashiv A., *Encyclopaedia of Puranic Beliefs and Practices*, Vol. II, Navrang Pubns., New Delhi, 1987, pp. 421-422.

20. Munz, Peter, *When the Golden Bough Breaks*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London and Boston, 1973, p. 40.

21. This myth has a double character - that of the incest of Prajāpati with his daughter and of the *prāśitra* (the small portion of Prajāpati's flesh stuck to Rudra's arrow), which was eaten by Bṛhaspati. In the sacrifice, it is a small portion (like a Peepal berry or a barley grain) of the sacrificial cake, which is eaten by the Brahmin priest. For the detailed treatment of this myth, see Dange, Sindhu S., "Prāśitra in Myth and Ritual", *Prabhākara-Nārāyaṇa-Śrīh* (*Dr. Prabhakara Narayana Kawthekar Fel. Vol.*) Studies in Indology and Musicology, Pratibha Prakashan, Delhi, 1993, pp. 81-86.

22. See Macdonell, A. A., *op.cit.* p. 160.

23. Davane, G. V., "The Rāhu-Ketu myth", *Perspectives in the Vedic and the Classical Sanskrit Heritage*, D. K. Print World (P.) Ltd., New Delhi, 1995, pp. 135-138.

24. Tilak, B. G., *Orion*, pub. by Tilak Brothers, Poona, 1893, p. 159.

25. For more information, see Dange, Sindhu S., *Vedic Beliefs and Practices through Arthavāda*, Vol. II, Aryan Books International, New Delhi, 2005, pp. 406-408.

Historical Background of Ambarnath Śiva Temple

Kumud Kanitkar

There are many temples in Maharashtra but amongst them, the Ambarnath Śiva temple is the oldest dated structural temple with a *Bhūmija śikhara*. It is decorated with sculptures that are dynamic and beautiful. Except for the moment frozen in time by the inscription[1] on the North lintel of the hall, the history of the temple between CE 1060 and 1850 is shrouded in the mist of time. The temple was 'rediscovered' in 1850[2]. The extension of the railway to Kalyan[3] in 1854 and the realization that ancient monuments needed to be studied and preserved[4] led to an expedition to the Ambarnath Temple in 1868-69 by G. W. Terry, the then dean of the School of Art in Bombay. The focus was on architecture and after nearly a year's work and at a considerable expense, detailed drawings were prepared.[5] Repairs, restoration and preservation were carried out from time to time as seen from references in the reports of the ASI western circle.

The temple's inscription mentions the Śilāhāra kings Chittarāja and Mummuṇi. Their reigns span roughly the period CE 1024-1060 during which the temple must have been conceived and built.[6] The present article is an attempt to survey the environment (cultural, social, and religious) as it existed in north Konkan during this period, CE 1024-60. Studies on a micro level help to establish the advent and growth of social norms, religious tolerance and disctinctive styles and their different strains in art. An insight into this period is sought through different sources such as local medieval literature, art forms, inscriptions and sculptured panels on temples built by Śilāhāras in the region.

The construction of the Ambarnath temple by Śilāhāras of north Konkan belongs to a period which followed the almost simultaneous decline of three powers, Pratihāras, Pālas and Raṣṭrakūṭas.[7] Local rulers stepped in trying to fill this void making cultural life more region-oriented. Courts vied with one another attracting the best talent.

Affluence and prosperity were essential precursors to art activity; it usually flourished near urban centres or important trading centres engaged in internal as well as overseas trade. Royal patronage was essential in nurturing it. Judging by art activity, north Konkan must have been moderately prosperous in this period and it also indicates that the Śilāhāra dynasty was appreciative of creative arts.

In literary arts, Soḍḍhala, the court poet of north Konkan Śilāhāras, is

a case in point. Soddhala was originally from Lāṭa (south Gujarat) but was honoured by the Śilāhāras of north Konkan. Soddhala's *Udayasundarīkathā*[8], patterned after Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita*, gives a rare glimpse in the genealogy of this branch of Śilāhāras. Soddhala has devoted a considerable portion in the beginning as also at the end in his work to describe the three Śilāhāra brothers, Chittarāja, Nāgārjuna and Mummuṇi during whose successive reigns he was the court poet.[9] He also mentions Vatsarāja, the king of Lāṭa as his friend as also the friend of Mummuṇi, the Śilāhāra king. A visit by Vatsarāja to Śūrpāraka (Sopara), is also mentioned though the purpose is not stated. Apparently, Vatsarāja met Mummuṇi during his return from this visit and told him of Soddhala's *kāvya*. Relations between Lāṭa and north Konkan seem to have been cordial at that time.

In the course of the narrative of *Udayasundarīkathā*, Soddhala has listed the names of people 'who grace the court of Goddess Sarasvatī' — great poets of the past such as Bāṇa, Kālidāsa, Bhavabhūti, Abhinanda, (a ninth century poet from Gauḍa, author of *Rāmacarita*), kings Vikramāditya, Śrī-Harṣa, Muñja and Bhoja, sāmantas Vākpatirāja, Māyurāja and Viśākhadeva.[10] Even more interesting are the names that Soddhala mentions as his contemporary literati along with the names of their masterpieces such as Śvetāmbara Jaina mahākavi Candanācārya, (author of *Kathā Aśokavatī*),Śīghrakavi Vijayasimhācārya, (author of *Khadga Kāvya*)[11], Digambarācārya Mahākīrti who knew three languages, Indra, (the author of *Campukathā Ratnamañjirī*). One can feel the esteem in which these literary figures were held and the royal patronage, great appreciation and honour for talent and knowledge that prevailed.[12] It is unfortunate that their works have not survived.

It may be mentioned in passing that the Kashmiri poet Bilhaṇa wrote *Vikramāṅka Devacarita*[13] eulogizing Cālukya king Vikramāditya VI, also known as Tribhuvanamalladeva (CE 1076-1126) whose *paṭṭa mahādevī*, queen Abhinavasarasvatī, a gifted poetess, was a princess from the family of Śilāhāras of Karahāṭaka (modern Karhad), a lesser known branch of Śilāhāras.

Art plays an important role in temples as a vehicle for ideas and principles of religion. Thus, the construction of the Ambarnath Śiva temple must have provided another focal point for attracting talent. This temple is unique in the region for its excellent sculptural details, distinctive style and for the portrayal of the preceptor priest, the king and the master architect of the temple, on its walls. Unfortunately, the only known written record about the temple comprises the few lines that constitute the inscription in the temple.[14] There are records of later Śilāhāra kings alluding to *Jīrṇoddhāra* of other temples but not of the Ambarnath Śiva temple. One can therefore speculate that this temple, which at present has a fallen spire, was intact till the end of the Śilāhāra dynasty (CE 1250). What is lacking in written references however is amply

displayed on the temple wall. The sense of proportion, aesthetic design and placement of images are testimony to a high degree of skill in sculpture and architecture. According to Romila Thapar[15] 'kingdoms of western Deccan maintained the historical role of acting as the bridge between the North and South and facilitating the transmission of ideas from one area to the other. But this was not a passive role as is clear from the example of architectural history in the period when the Deccan style provided new forms both for the northern and for the Dravidian styles.' This is borne out in the '*Drāviḍakarma*' of the *Bhūmija śikhara*[16] of the Ambarnath temple. *Drāviḍakarma* in this case, consists of blending a southern feature, *stambhakūṭa*, with the northern style *Śikhara*. It may be mentioned that the southern influence is reflected not only in architecture but also in the names of the ruling kings. Royal names of the north Konkan branch upto Mummuṇi (CE 1045-1070) are Kannada sounding names; all subsequent names are Sanskritized.[17] The period considered here viz. CE 1024 to CE 1060 saw three brothers becoming kings one after the other. One of them, probably Nāgārjuna, was killed during a battle.[18] This political turbulence seems to be reflected in certain features of the temple. One is the interchanged position of the *dikpālas* Kubera and Īśāna and another is the difference in the design of the columns of the porches (Plates III, IV). The sūtradhāra who was capable of the brilliant design and concept of the Ambarnath temple simply could not have installed *dikpālas* in a *digmūḍha* manner! One can speculate that the political instability led to the temple being constructed in stages. The original concept may have been Chittarāja's[19] and the preceptor priest's and perhaps the initial work was started in Chittarāja's reign but it was completed in the reign of Mummuṇi as per the inscription. The known gap between Chittarāja's and Mummuṇi's reigns is fourteen years during which the dynasty faced calamities such as the death of two of its young kings, Chittarāja and Nāgārjuna as well as invasions (Nāgārjuna was killed in battle indicating an invasion). One can speculate that the temple project was on hold for some time and a different set of artists worked on the temple in the second stage or it was completed at a lower budget and greater speed, leading to discrepancies.

Evolution of local motifs in the region can be seen in Ambarnath and other regional temples. Construction of temples usually included both resident artists and itinerant artists. Local motifs can be considered evidence of contribution by local artists. The mango motif as well as the name Āmranātha suggests the appeal this fruit has in Konkan. Even now, mango is referred to as the 'the king' of Konkan. It is noteworthy that the stylized mango shape depicted is distinctly of the 'Pairee' variety; 'Alphonso' mango was a variety introduced much later by the Portugese.[20] The motif belongs to the region, not to a dynasty and thus is seen on the temples of Śilāhāras of north as well as south Konkan. A *surasundarī* in a recess on the wall of Ambarnath temple holds a branch of a mango tree (Plate VI).[21] The beautifully carved

gold mask of Gaṇeśa found at Dive Agar, district Shrivardhan in north Konkan (Plate IX) shows the idol's ears and trunk decorated with mango fruit and *suvarṇacaṁpaka* (Michelia champaca) flower. An image of Viṣṇu from Bivli (dist. Ratnagiri; Śilāhāras of south Konkan) wears a necklace with the same mango pendants (Plate X); the decoration on the door frame above the river goddess at Karṇeśvara temple in Sangameshwar (dist. Ratnagiri; Śilāhāras of south Konkan) shows the same motif[22] (Plate VII A). The decoration above a small image on the *adhiṣṭhāna* (platform) of the Ambarnath temple shows a stylized *suvarṇacaṁpaka* (Michelia champaca) flower (Plate VII B). Thus mango and *suvarṇacaṁpaka* can be seen as regional motifs.

There are not many Sūrya temples in Maharashtra. In southern Konkan, Kasheli has the Kanakāditya temple. The copper plate inscription of Bhoja II, Śilāhāra of Kolhapur, (Śaka 1113, CE 1191) records a gift to the temple at the request of Prince Gaṇḍarāditya, his son. An inscription of north Konkan Śilāhāra Aparājita (Ś 919 CE 997) mentions a temple of Loṇāditya in Lavaṇetaṭa, modern Loṇād. The Ambarnath Śiva temple (Ś 982 CE 1060) has a syncretic Hari-Hara-Pitāmaha-Sūrya image on the main or east *bhadra*. Below and to the right of it, on the *adhiṣṭhāna*, is an image of Sūrya (Plate VIII A) indicating Sūrya's status as a deity, not just one of the nine grahas. There are in all seventy three deities depicted in that layer on the *adhiṣṭhāna*, only one of them is Sūrya.

A panel in the *narathara* at Ambarnath temple is intriguing for another reason. It shows (Plate VIII B) a figure clad in what could be an Arabic dress, wearing a head covering, foot-ware and apparently slaughtering animals (sheep ?). Arabs were not strangers in north Konkan and its neighbouring areas. Saṁyāna-paṭṭaṇa, modern Sanjan in Gujarat, had merchants of Arab origin (Alliya, Mahara, Mahumata)[23] during Chittarāja's reign. The relations of the Śilāhāras of north Konkan with the Arabs changed from time to time. Arabs at Sanjan were defeated by Arikesarin[24] but relations seemed to be cordial in the period under study which can explain their depiction.[25]

Inscriptions, the next source considered, are an important store of incidental information besides the object stated in them. There are more than forty known inscriptions of Śilāhāras of north Konkan, from Śaka 765, (CE 843, Kanheri caves) to Ś 1182 (CE 1260)[26], nine of which are in the period under consideration. Only two of these are considered, copper plate dated Ś 949 (CE 1027) of Chittarāja and copper plate dated Ś 975 (CE 1053) of Mummuṇi. Also considered are a copper plate inscription of Ś 982 (CE 1060)[27] found in 1949, which is not a royal edict and an exquisite pure gold mask of Gaṇeśa found in 1997.[28] The reason for this choice was that the three copper plate inscriptions and the gold mask were found, though at different times, in the same place, the village of Dive Agar in north Konkan.

It is noteworthy that the copper plate dated Śaka 982[29] (i.e. CE 1060) and the Gaṇeśa mask (found in 1997) were unearthed in the very same 'wadi' i.e. orchard, in Dive Agar and bear the same name. Māvalabhaṭṭa. This copper plate is special on three more counts. First, it was issued in the same year as the Ambarnath temple inscription which is dated Ś 982, (CE 1060); second, it is written in old Marathi[30], not in Sanskrit, and third, it was issued, not by the king, but by the local village assembly.[31] The object of the inscription was to record the handing over of two sets of official edicts or records "*Sthitipurīcī śāsane*" by Vāsudeva Bhaṭṭa to Māvalabhaṭṭa, in the presence of other respected and learned Brahmins from 'Dive.' In addition, 127 gold coins (गद्याणक) meant for the upkeep of the place ('स्थानाचा योगक्षेमु') were handed over to Dāmodara for safe keeping in the presence of seven learned Brahmins as witnesses. The contents of the inscription and the fact that it was issued by local assembly agrees with similar trends during this period in the south noted by Romila Thapar,[32] viz. 'the degree of autonomy at the village level was high and the activities of the village assembly included the keeping of records, particularly those pertaining to charities and taxes.'[33]

It is possible that the two official records referred to, which were being handed over to Māvalabhaṭṭa, were the two other inscriptions found in Dive Agar, viz. one issued by Chittarāja in Ś 949 (CE 1027), and one by his younger brother Mummuṇi in Ś 975 (CE 1053); both are related to revenues and concern the local assembly.

The object of the first one of Ś 949 (CE 1027) was to record the remission of taxes of twenty *drammas* by Chittarāja, on the cluster of trees in an orchard donated to the learned Brahmin Govinda by the Daṇḍanāyaka Nāgavarman. It is noted by Mirashi that unlike other grants, this one does not mention the names of the five ministers of the king but only the Treasury Officer (*Bhāṇḍāgāra-sena*). This may be so since the assembly was responsible for collecting the revenues for the government and the only official concerned was the Treasury Officer, who is mentioned here.

The object of the second inscription of Ś 975 (CE 1053), by Mummuṇi, is to confirm a settlement (*vyavasthā*)[34] prevalent from the time of the illustrious queen Padmaladevī (probably the mother of Chittarāja and Mummuṇi). It specified that neither queens, princes nor Sāmantas, Nāyakas or Thākuras[35] were to lay any claims on Dīpakāgāra (Dive Agar). The local assembly would pay the annual revenues as before, would levy fines for offences, and was exempted from certain taxes etc.

The three copper plates when read together clearly show the importance of the local assembly and indicate that queen Padmaladevī took part in administration perhaps while acting as the regent for her sons.[36]

A reflection of the relative importance / affluence of the issuing authority can be seen in the size of the copper plates and the language. The one issued by Chittarāja (Ś 949) was 15 cms x 10 cms but had three plates held together by a Garuḍa seal and had 49 lines; Mummuṇi's (Ś 975) was a single plate 34.5 cms x 24 cms, weighing 2780 grams; both were written in Sanskrit. By contrast, the one issued by the local assembly (Ś 982) was a single sheet, also 15.5 cms x 9 cms, without a seal and consisted of only nine lines in old Marathi.

The beautifully carved gold mask of Gaṇeśa (Plate IX) (the polish so blemishfree and shining that it might have been made yesterday instead of nearly a thousand years ago) was found in a copper trunk on which was carved the owner's name, 'Māvalabhaṭṭa'. It is likely to be the same Māvalabhaṭṭa mentioned in the copper plate above, especially since both were found in the same plot of land. One may speculate that trouble was anticipated leading to the treasured gold mask being buried carefully in a copper trunk. This would agree with events after Mummuṇi's death when there was a fight over succession between the sons of Nāgārjuna and Mummuṇi. The Kadaṁbas of Goa tried to take advantage of the situation and with the help of some *Yavana* chiefs ruling on the west coast, raided the Konkana country. Destruction and chaos that followed is described in the copper plate of the victor, Nāgārjuna's son Anantadeva[37], '... there was civil war... Konkana country was overrun by the *Yavanas*, who harassed Gods and *Brāhmaṇas*..'

Coins can be an important source of information. A few of Chittarāja's *dramma* coins have been found in Thana, however, they do not bear any date or place names[38]; 127 gold *gadyāṇakas* are mentioned in the Dive Agar village council plate and *drammas* are mentioned in many grants but no other details are available.

In conclusion, if one were to attempt to get a feel of the environment as it existed during the period when the Ambarnath temple was conceived and built, the picture that emerges is of three Śilāhāra Princes in whose court the arts flourished, poets and writers were honoured, and creativity of sculptors and architects was nurtured. The temple architecture that emerged was a blend of northern and southern styles with local motifs finding an expression in the sculptured panels. The contribution of artists and artisans was acknowledged by depiction on the walls and pillars of the temple.[39] It is noteworthy that a dowager queen could take charge of administration until her son attained maturity and her edicts were respected by subsequent rulers. Local village councils played an important role in local administration and religions such as Jainism and Islam coexisted. Building a temple was a costly and longdrawn-out affair requiring an uninterrupted patronage. The region and the times, as seen from the inscriptions, were not without political

instability and this is reflected in some aspects of the temple architecture.

Notes and References

1. Pandit Bhagavanlal Indraji, *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol XII, p. 329.

2. Rev Wilson, Extracts from the proceedings of the Society, *JBBRAS* Vol III part ii 1851 p. 349.

3. Shrinivas Sathe, अग्निरथ, p. 27 विद्यार्थी सहायता प्रतिष्ठान, कल्याण 2004. The first train to Kalyan ran on May 1st, 1854.

4. Letter from Alexander Cunningham, Chief Engineer of the North West Provinces, to the Right Honorable Governor General Lord Canning on 22.1.1862.

5. These drawings were published in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. III November 1874, p. 318.

6. The earliest known inscription of Chittarāja is Ś 946, (CE 1024), last known is Ś 956 (CE 1034); for Mummuni, the dates are Ś 970 (CE 1048) and Ś 982 (CE 1060).

7. Romila Thapar, *History of India*, Vol. I page 221.

8. Soḍḍhala, *Udayasundarīkathā*, (quoted by V. V. Mirashi, *Literary and Historical Studies in Indology*, p. 71).

9. *Udayasundarīkathā* is a *'Campu kāvya'*, a literary form which consists of prose and verse together; this combination of prose and verse is also seen in the inscriptions of Chittarāja, Nāgārjuna and early inscriptions of Mummuni.

10. Vākpatirāja, the Prakrit poet, author of *Gauḍavaho* and *Madhumathanavijaya*; Viśākhadeva is probably Viśākhadatta, author of *Mudrā-rākṣasa* and *Devī Candragupta*.

11. Honoured with the title *Khaḍgācārya* by King Nāgārjuna, ref. 7, p. 86.

12. Soḍḍhala was honoured by Chittarāja with the title *Kavipradīpa*.

13. Kāśhmirakabhaṭṭa Bilhaṇa, *Vikramāṅka Devacarita*, eighth chapter, eulogizes Queen Candralekhā, also known as Abhinava Sarasvatī because of her poetry. An inscription CE 1112 in Alampur describes her as the wife of Tribhuvanamalladeva and daughter of king of Karahāṭaka, and notes that at her directive, Bikkarasu made a donation. The titles of Bikkarasu such as 'Tagara Pūravareśvaram', 'Jīmūtavāhana-kulasambhavam' leave no doubt that he was a Śilāhāra; his name does not appear in the genealogies of the three main branches of Śilāhāras. Abdul Waheed Khan, *'Stone Sculptures in the Alampur Museum'*, Govt. of AP 1973, p. 38, inscription no. 20.

14. In the story *Udayasundarīkathā*, Soḍḍhala spends a night in the *mattavāraṇaka* (aisle) of the *maṇḍapa* (hall) in a temple of Sarasvatī but no other reference to any temple can be seen.

15. Romila Thapar, *ibid*, p. 167.

16. Krishna Deva, (ed. Pramod Chandra), *Studies in Indian Temple Architecture*, p. 97.

17. Binda Paranjape, *Cultural History of the Konkan based on Śilāhāra Inscriptions*, p. 79, Ph.D. thesis, University of Poona, 1989.

18. V. V. Mirashi, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. VI (inscriptions of Śilāhāras) Introduction, p. xiv.

19. The temple inscription says '*Chittarājasya bhavanaṁ saṁpādita*'.

20. दिवे आगर गाव व सुवर्णगणपतीची पूर्वपीठिका, a small leaflet published by the Temple Trust, Dive Agar, where the mask is kept, makes this point.

21. Dr. Devangana Desai, The Mango Tree In Indian Art, *Vanashobha*, Journal of the Friends of the Trees, Mumbai, Feb. 2003. 'Sahakārabhañjikā' or 'Āmrabhañjikā' by analogy to 'Śālabhañjikā' who holds a branch of the Śāla tree and is seen on temple walls where Śāla trees were common.

22. In this connection, Dr. Devangana Desai in her lecture on 'Kūrma, The Tortoise in Indian Art and Myth' at the CSMV Sangrahālaya in Mumbai, showed the turtle shaped pendants in a necklace sculpted on a Gaṇeśa image from Orissa. During the breeding season, turtles are a common sight on the beaches of Orissa.

23. V. V. Mirashi, *Ibid*, p. 72. The relationship was cordial as seen from the inclusion of the names of the Arab merchants in the grant along with other members of the community. The Saṁyāna-Maṇḍala (comprising territory around modern Sanjan in the Surat district) was previously ruled by the Arab feudatory princes during Rāṣṭrakūṭa Indra III and Kṛṣṇa III *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XXXII, pp. 45 f, the Arab feudatory named Madhumati and his family ruled this region for at least three generations-Madhumati (Muhammad) - Sahariyarahara (Shahariar) - Sugatipa (Subakta).

24. Arikesarin was the predecessor of Chittarāja, (known rule CE 1015-1022).

25. Anila Verghese, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Mumbai*, 'Foreigners with Horses at Vijayanagara,' Vol. 74, 1999 (New Series) p. 203-210; The *adhiṣṭhāna* shows Portuguese horse traders.

26. V. V. Mirashi, *Ibid* (inscriptions of Śilāhāras).

27. *दक्षिणच्या मध्ययुगीन इतिहासाची साधने*, खण्ड ४, '*दिवे आगर येथील मराठी ताम्रपट*', Ed. Dr. M. G. Dixit. 1951, pp. 41-44.

28. Ref. 20 above, a small leaflet published by the Temple Trust, Dive Agar, where the mask is kept.

29. This copper plate measures 6.25" x 3.5", has a hole at one end with an ordinary circular ring without a seal. The ring may have been there to hold a blank protective plate in place, however, there is only one plate now and the written record seems complete. There are nine lines in Nāgarī script.

30. It may be the oldest Marathi copper plate complete with date and place names. The inscription at the base of the colossus of Gomateśvara at Śravaṇabelagoḷa is only a line which is conjecturally dated 983 CE.

31. Perhaps for this reason, this inscription is not included in V. V. Mirashi, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol VI (inscriptions of Śilāhāras).

32. Romila Thapar, *Ibid*, p. 200.

33. *Ibid*, p. 204.

34. Such a charter is also referred to as *ācāra-sthiti-patra*, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XXXV, pp. 163 f; (so could it be "*sthiti pūrvīcī śāsane* instead of *sthitipurīcī śāsane*" ?)

35. V. V. Mirashi, *Ibid*, p. 108 footnote : officers of different grades. Sāmanta may be the head of a province, Nāyaka, that of a division and Thākura, that of a viṣaya.

36. No inscriptions of Vajjaḍa II, father of Chittarāja, have been found. He is listed in the genealogies of the later inscriptions and his short reign is conjectured to be CE 1010-1015. His wife, Padmaladevī may have acted as regent for the three young princes Chittarāja, Nāgārjuna and Mummuṇi. Nāgārjuna's inscription from Thana of Ś 961 (CE 1039) mentions in the first few verses that Chittarāja was just a youngster (Śilāhāravaṁśa śiśu) when he became king.

37. V. V. Mirashi, *CII* Vol. VI. p. 119.

38. V. V. Mirashi, शिलाहार राजवंशाचा इतिहास आणि कोरीव लेख, plate 1, fig. 3.

39. K. D. Kanitkar, "Distinctive Features of the Śivālaya at Ambarnath" *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Mumbai*, Vol. 79, p. 137; "Sculptural Depiction on the Pillars of the Śiva Temple, Ambarnath," Vol. 80, p. 76. It may be noted that the temple's *Sūtradhāra* is portrayed without a *Yajñopavīta* indicating that he was not a *Brahmin*; this is in accordance with *śilpa* texts since the *Yajamāna* was a *Kṣatriya*.

Acknowledgements

Illustrations

III. Ambarnath temple, west view.

IV. Columns of the North porch, Ambarnath temple.

V. Columns of the South porch, Ambarnath temple.

VI. *Surasundarī* (*Āmrabhañjikā*) in a recess on the wall of Ambarnath temple.

VII A. Decoration on the door frame above the river goddess at Karṇeśvara temple in Sangameshwar (dist. Ratnagiri).

VII B. Decoration above a small image on the *adhiṣṭhāna* (platform) of the Ambarnath temple shows a stylized *suvarṇacaṁpaka* (Michelia champaca) flower.

VIII A. A single depiction of Sūrya on the east wall on the *adhiṣṭhāna* at Ambarnath.

VIII B. *Narathara* at Ambarnath temple; a figure clad in what could be an Arabic dress, apparently slaughtering animals (sheep ?).

IX. Pure gold mask of Gaṇeśa found at Dive Agar.

X. Image of Viṣṇu from Bivli (dist. Ratnagiri) wears a necklace with the mango pendants.
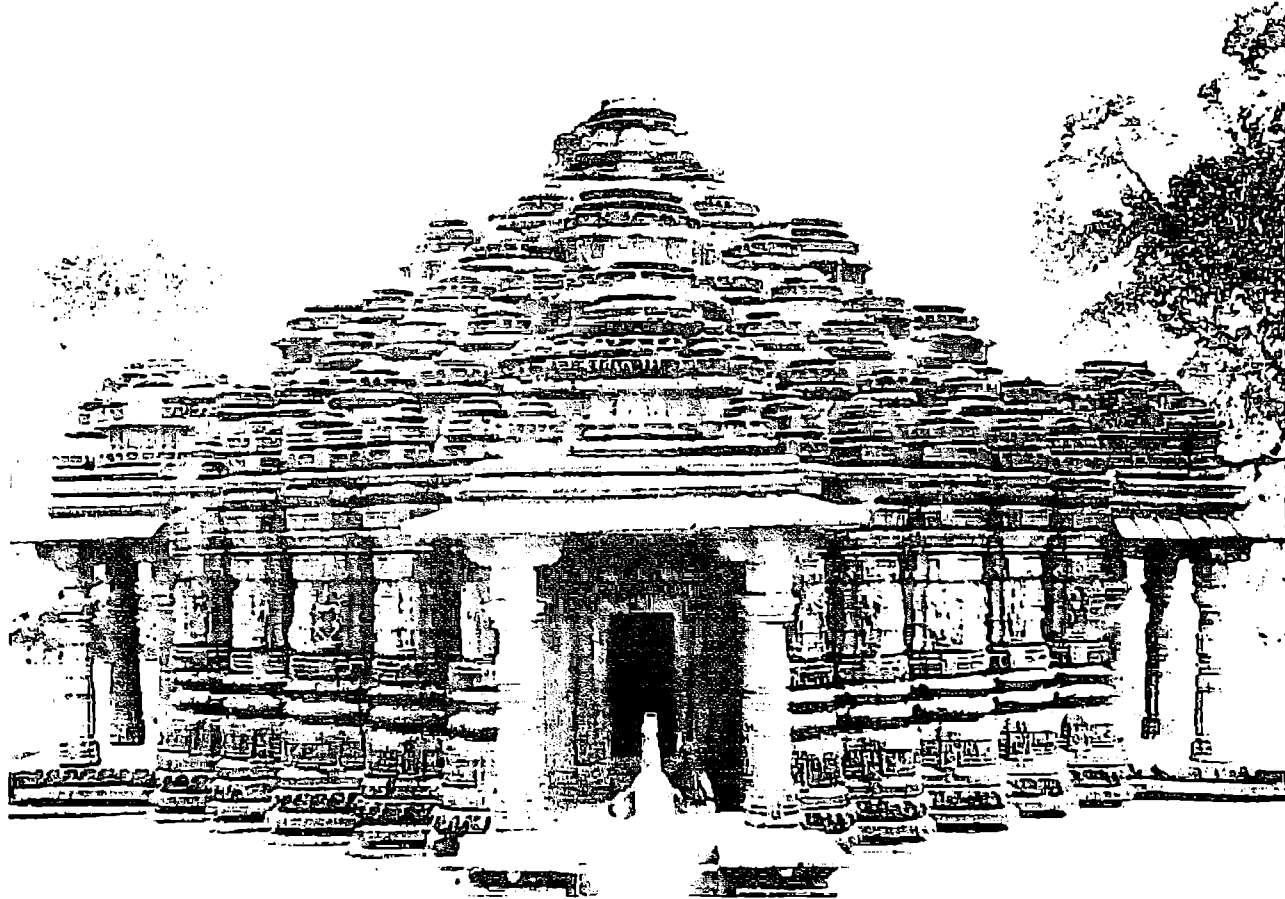
Ambarnath temple. West view.
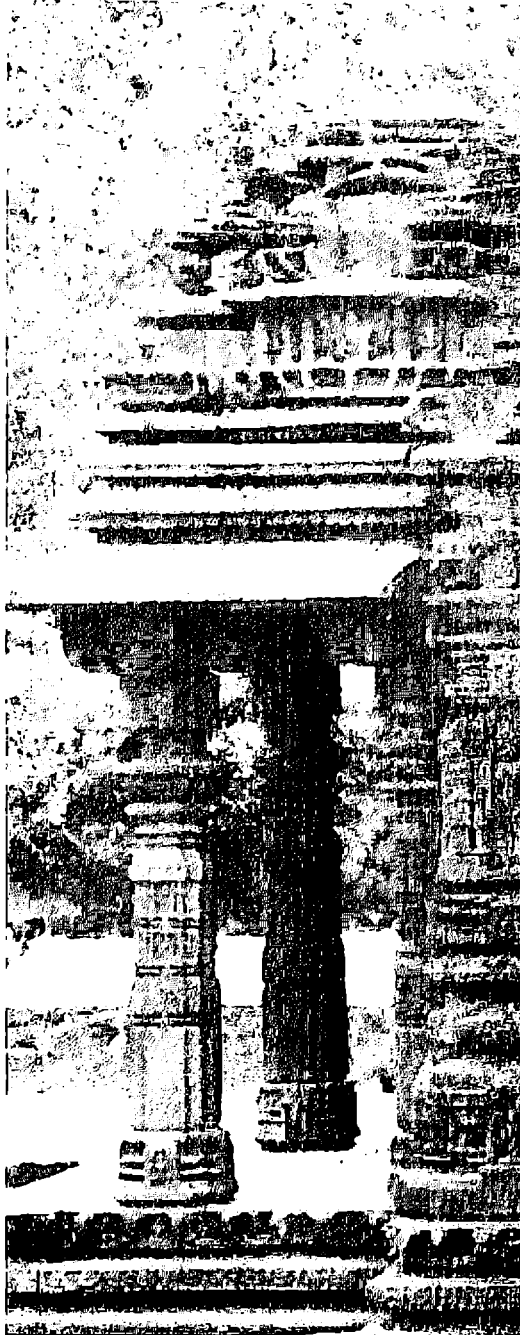
Columns of the North porch, Ambarnath temple.
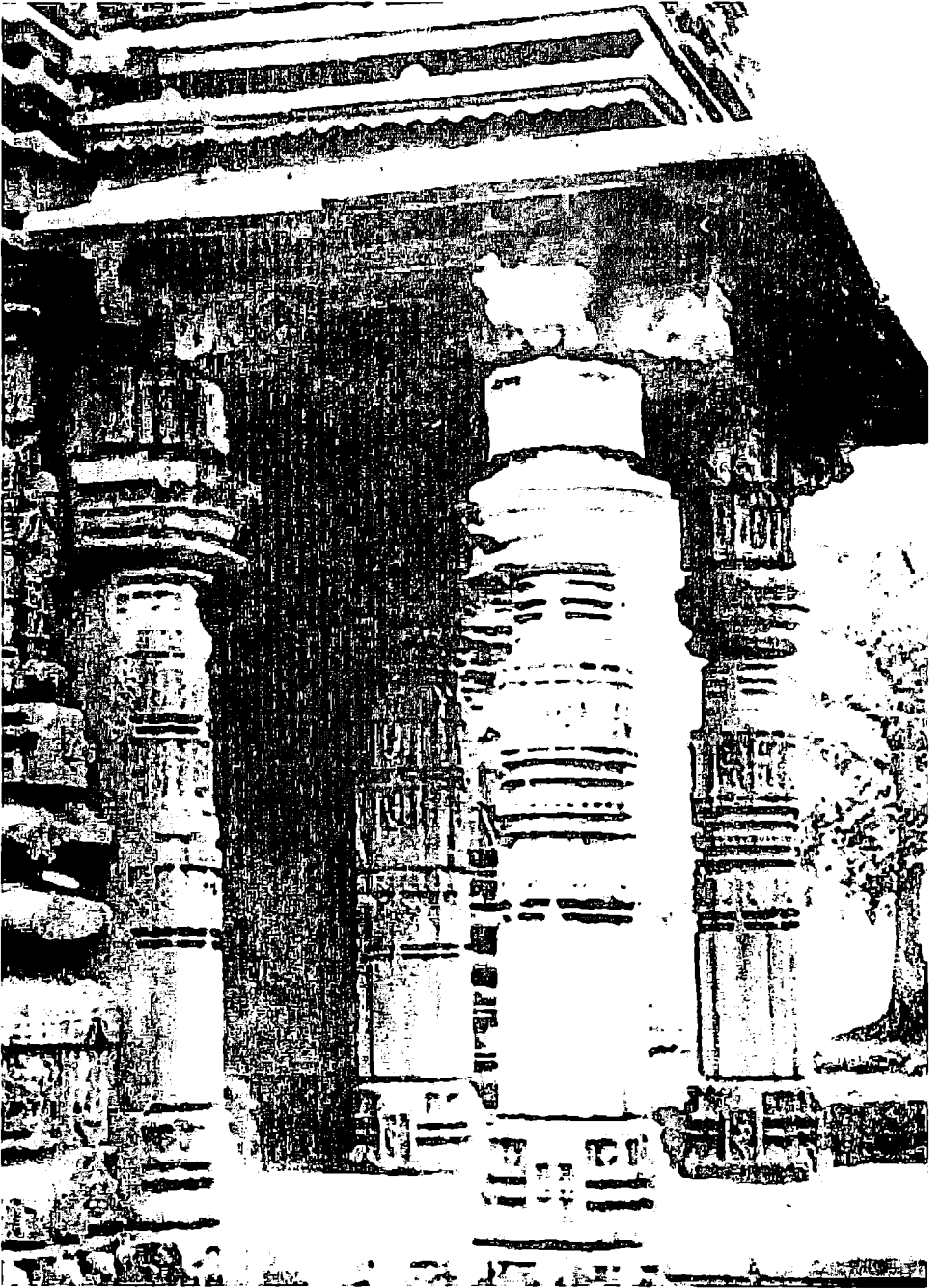
Columns of the South porch, Ambarnath temple.

Surasundarī (Āmrabhañjikā) in a recess on the wall, Ambarnath temple.
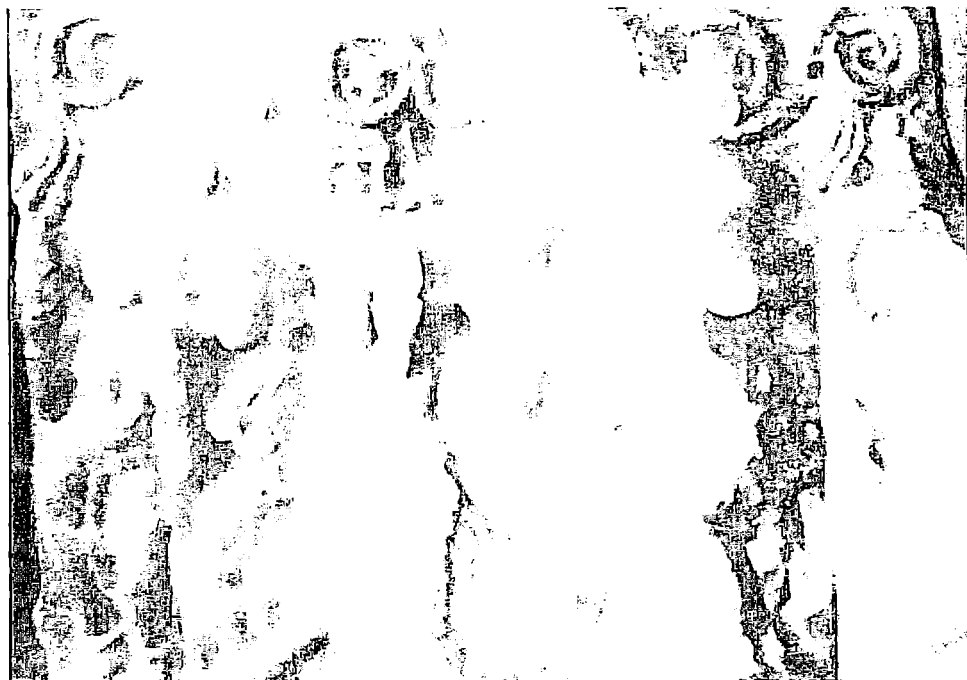
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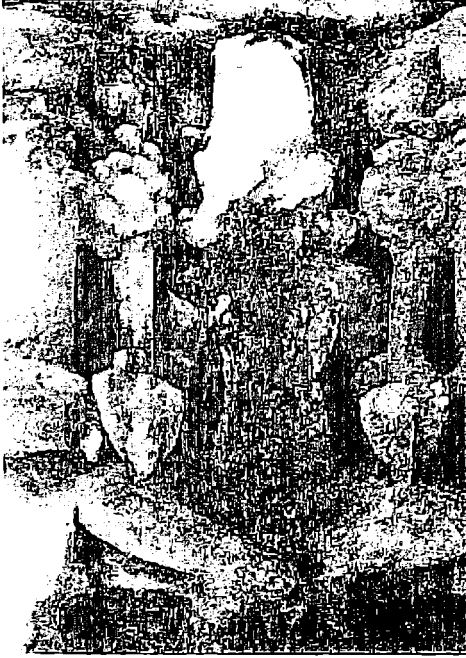
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Pure gold mask of Gaṇeśa found at Dive Agar.

Image of Viṣṇu from Bivli (dist. Ratnagiri) wears a necklace with the mango pendants.

The Doctrine of the Production of Rasa (Rasotpatti)

V. M. Kulkarni

Bharata, the author of the oldest known Sanskrit work on the theory of drama, *Nāṭyaśāstra*, lists at the beginning of Rasādhyāya in kārikā the various topics or subjects of dramatic theory : *rasas, bhāvas, abhinayas, dharmī* (conventions), *vṛttis* (styles), *pravṛttis* (usages prevalent in various parts of the country), *siddhi* (success of the dramatic performance), *svaras* (musical notes), as well as *ātodya* (instrumental music), *gānam* (singing) and *raṅga* (stage). Among these topics he considers *rasas* and *bhāvas* to be the most important. He declares in a terse line : '*Na hi rasādṛte kaścidarthaḥ pravartate*' (Tr. For without *rasa* no topic (of drama) can appeal to the mind of the spectator—perhaps, "For without rasa there can be no true meaning, i.e. no real poetry)[1].

This sentence is followed by the famous *rasa-sūtra* of Bharata : *vibhāvānubhāvavyabhicārisaṁyogādrasaniṣpattiḥ.* (Tr. : *Rasa* comes from a combination of the *vibhāvas*, the *anubhāvas* and the *vyabhicāribhāvas*). It is in commenting upon this concise *sūtra* (aphorism) that Bhaṭṭa Lollaṭa, Śrī Śaṅkuka, Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka and Abhinavagupta develop their views. Unfortunately, all the commentaries in which these views appeared have been lost except for Abhinavagupta's and we are thus totally dependent on Abhinavagupta for knowing what earlier commentators thought and wrote.[2]

Before we proceed further, it is only proper to explain briefly the technical terms *vibhāva, anubhāva* and *vyabhicāribhāva* invented by writers of the traditional verses (*ānuvaṁśya āryās* or *ślokas*) and frequently used by Bharata, especially in his Rasādhyāya (*Nāṭyaśāstra* Ch. 6) and the seventh Bhāvādhyāya. He states that in our world—in our everyday life—there are no such things as *vibhāvas, anubhāvas* and *vyabhicāribhāvas.* They are merely *kāraṇas, kāryas* and *sahakārikāraṇas* (causes, effects and accompanying causes).

The invention of these technical terms is obviously to emphasize the point that the world of drama is different from the real world. And as Abhinava observes in his commentary, in the theatre we live neither in the time nor in the place of the characters portrayed in the drama nor of the actors. Nothing "really happens" or "is affected" in a drama or on the stage as it happens in the real world; when this is not carefully understood something like the following happens:

"A well-known actress and an actor were to enact in a film a scene

of an attempted rape. That the scene should appear as *akṛtrima* (natural) as possible, the actress asked the villain to do his best and that she would resist his attempt with all her might. Later she told her friend that if the filming had gone on a couple of minutes longer she would have died of suffocation.

"In another film in a particular scene the actress was to be slapped. She asked the actor to give her a slap with all force so that it should appear 'natural.' When the actor actually slapped her, her ear drum was damaged and her eye too !

"These things belong to real life and not to the world of drama. What the sensible spectators expect of the actors and actresses is their supreme skill in acting and make the scenes appear real although they are fake."[3]

Now we resume the discussion about the *rasa-sūtra*. Bhaṭṭa Lollaṭa, Śaṅkuka, Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka and Abhinava interpret the *rasa-prakriyā* (process of *rasa*) in four different ways and arrive at four different doctrines or theories of *rasa*: 1. *rasotpatti* (the production of *rasa*), 2. *rasānumiti* (the manifestation of *rasa* through the process of *anumāna*-inference), 3. *bhuktivāda* (the theory or doctrine of the enjoyment of the latent permanent or dominant *sthāyin-sthāyibhāva* on its awakening by *vibhāva(s)* and 4. the (*abhivyaktivāda*) the revelation of *rasa* through the process of *vyañjanā* (suggestion).

This paper confines itself to only the first theory or doctrine of the production of *rasa*. The *rasa-sūtra* is silent regarding the *saṁyoga* 'with whom' or 'what.' Bhaṭṭa Lollaṭa makes an earnest effort to clear the implication by saying '*arthāt sthāyinaḥ*'- of course, of the permanent or dominant emotion with the *vibhāvas, anubhāvas*, and *vyabhicāribhāvas*. *Rasa* arises from a combination of the *sthāyin* (*sthāyibhāva*) with the determinants, the consequents and the transitory feelings. For example, the dominant or permanent emotion, say of love (*rati*) awakened by the *vibhāvas* (such as the hero Duṣyanta and the heroine Śakuntalā), and inflamed or intensified by excitants of love like the spring season, pleasure garden, fragrant breeze, moonlight etc., the *anubhāvas* — the visible consequents — effects — such as sidelong glances, significant smile etc., and nourished by transitory feelings (*vyabhicāribhāvas*) such as joy (*harṣa*), longing (*autsukya*) etc., becomes the *śṛṅgāra rasa*—the aesthetic pleasure or experience of love (the erotic sentiment). This *rasa* is subsequently attributed to the actor who imitates the hero in form, dress and action; further, through complete imaginative sympathy or identification with the situation, the spectators (audience in the theatre) enjoy this aesthetic pleasure — joy or rapture.

Bhaṭṭa Lollaṭa further adds: This is also the thesis-view of the ancient ācāryas and in support of his statement he cites parts of two verses from Daṇḍin's *Kāvyādarśa* (Ch.2).[4]

(i) .... *ratiḥ śṛṅgāratāṁ yātā* (v.1.gatā) *rūpabāhulyayogena* (vv 280-81)

(ii) .... *ityāruhya parāṁ koṭiṁ krodho raudrātmatāṁ gataḥ* - 283.

Tr : The permanent or dominant emotion of love (*rati*) becomes *śṛṅgāra rasa* from the combination of the *vibhāvas*, the *anubhāvas* and the *vyabhicāribhāvas*, and

(iii) In the same way the dominant emotion of anger (*krodha*) reaching the point of greatest intensity —the climax (*parāṁ koṭiṁ*) becomes the *raudra rasa*.

Incidentally, it may be noted here that the tradition regards Bhaṭṭa Lollaṭa as Mīmāṁsaka probably because *rasa* which was not existing before, arises from the combination of *vibhāvas*, etc. even as *apūrva* (the cause of the acquisition of heaven arises from the performance of a sacrifice). There is, however, this difference that the performance of a drama gives instantaneous joy whereas *apūrva* is the cause of future happiness. Śaṅkuka, however, opposes this doctrine of *rasotpatti*. He regards that the *vibhāvas* etc. are the causes of *rasotpatti* and sets forth the process of inference of *rasa*. He is therefore regarded as a Naiyāyika by the tradition. As we are confining this paper to the doctrine of *rasotpatti* we refrain from discussing the arguments advanced by Śaṅkuka for refuting the doctrine of *rasotpatti* as well as the views of Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka and Abhinava.

In a recent Sanskrit work entitled *Alaṁ Brahma*[5] by the illustrious author on Sanskrit Poetics and Dramatics, Dr. Reva Prasad Dwivedi, we have a rich collection of twenty-seven (27) articles or essays dealing with Sanskrit poetics and dramatics. They were published from time to time in various Sanskrit *saṁśodhana-patrikās*. These articles give us glimpses of his originality and critical insight and provide us fresh food for thought. We are, however, here exclusively concerned with only one of the essays with the title *Rasaprakriyāyāmutpattivādaḥ* (*utpattivāda*, a process of *rasa*). This topic is intimately and closely connected with the same topic which is under our consideration.

The term *niṣpatti* in the *rasa-sūtra* of Bharata has been variously interpreted by various writers on poetics. Some interpret it as *utpatti*, some others as *anumiti*, still others as *abhivyakti*, still some others as *bhukti*. The doctrine of *rasotpatti* is generally or popularly attributed to Bhaṭṭa Lollaṭa. But according to Dr. Dwivedi, the author of this essay, the fact is altogether different. The real author or the originator of this doctrine is, in fact, Bharata himself, the well known author of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. In support of this view he cites not less than fifty-seven passages from the most important two chapters known as Rasādhyāya and Bhāvādhyāya — the sixth and the seventh chapters of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*.[6]

If we have correctly understood the stand of Dr. Dwivedi, he holds the view that ignoring the fifty-seven passages from the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, referred to above, the *dhvanivādins* [the followers of Ānandavardhana's doctrine of *dhvani* (suggestion - the suggested sense)] led by Guptapāda (Abhinavagupta) are responsible for this situation. It is they who foisted this view of *rasotpatti* on Lollaṭa; and it is this very Abhinavagupta, the author of the commentary *Nāṭyavedavivṛti* - popularly known as *Abhinavabhāratī* — who has deprived Bharata of this rightful claim to this doctrine of *Rasotpatti*.[7]

We however, find it very difficult to agree with this view. Abhinavagupta could not have deliberately distorted or misinterpreted the views of earlier writers or commentators. For at one place in *Abhinavabhāratī* itself (Vol. 3. p. 74) he proudly declares : "if such things are described in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (the great epic of Vālmīkimuni), what does it matter ? Even if such things are described in the (revered) *Veda*, we are not at all afraid to disagree and disregard." This emphatic statement attests to the utmost independence of Abhinava's thought and judgment.[8]

In view of this very bold —confidently assertive — and emphatic statement of Abhinavagupta we strongly feel that he could not have tampered —made unauthorized changes - in the text of Bhaṭṭa Lollaṭa. It would be more reasonable to believe that before writing his commentary (now lost) on Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* he had carefully read and studied Bharata's text. He did not come across any attempt on Bharata's part to lay down clearly the process of *rasa*. He, therefore, took upon himself this task and taking into account the 57 passages of Bharata (culled by the author of *Alaṁ Brahma* p. 125-26) he expounded the theory of the Production (*Utpatti*) of *Rasa*.

Notes and References

1. Abhinava explains the word *artha* in three different ways: First, as *vibhāvādir arthaḥ*; second as *vyutpattimayaṁ prayojanaṁ* and third as *anyaḥ bhāvādir arthaḥ*. We have translated the passage of the *NŚ* according to the last explanation- *Aesthetic Rapture*, Vol. 2 : Notes by Masson and Patwardhan (p. 65).

2. The commentaries of Bhaṭṭa Lollaṭa, Śrī Śaṅkuka and Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka and Bhaṭṭatauta's work *Kāvyakautuka* are irretrievably lost.

3. See this author's work *Outline of Abhinavagupta's Aesthetics* (p. 40-41).

4. *Kāvyādarśa* of Daṇḍin :
   प्राक् प्रीतिदर्शिता सेयं रति: शृङ्गारतां गता । रूपबाहुल्ययोगेन तदिदं रसवद्वच: ॥ - 2-281
   इत्यारुह्य परां कोटिं क्रोधो रौद्रात्मतां गत: । भीमस्य पश्यत: शत्रुमित्येतद्रसवद्वच: ॥ 2-283
   It is interesting to see how Hemacandra combines different parts of these two verses and gives in one verse the illustrations of the two *rasas* : *Śṛṅgāra* and *Raudra*:
   रति: शृङ्गारतां याता रूपबाहुल्ययोगत: । आरुह्य च परां कोटिं कोपो रौद्रत्वमागत: ॥ - *Kāvyānuśāsana* Ch-2 p. 89 (Bombay edn, 1964)

5. *Alam Brahma* : Prof. Rewaprasad Dwivedi; Pub. Kālidāsa Saṁsthāna, Varanasi-5, year 2005

6. *Alam Brahma*, pp. 125-126.

7. ...त एव हि भरतमतं वादमिमं लोह्नटमूर्धिं समारोप्य प्रोच्छ्वसन्ति । अयं हि गुप्तपाद एव येन उत्पत्तिवादाद्भरतो विच्यावित: । आधीयामहे (? अधीयामहे) वयं केवलं लोह्नटमेव रसोत्पत्तिवादसंदर्भे ।

Alam Brahma,. p. 126

8. रामायणेऽपि मुनिना तथा वर्णितमिति चेत् किमतो वेदेऽपि हि तथा वर्ण्यतां, न वयमतो बिभीम: । In this connection read also : Abhinava had an extremely independent mind. Not only is he not afraid to disagree with his own teachers he is even able to disregard the great texts of the tradition : "We don't care in the least if it is described in this way in the *Rāmāyaṇa* itself. In fact, it might be described in the *Veda* itself, and we won't be stifled by this fact."

Masson and Patwardhan : *Śāntarasa*, Part 1, pp.1-2.

Position of Kingship in the Rājasūya Sacrifice

Madhavi R. Narsalay

One of the factors contributing to the development of a religious order is the support which it receives from the system that governs society. The Vedic sacrificial institution did receive support and patronage from monarchy prevailing during its times. The text-based study here is to review a mutual patronage thriving between the institution of Vedic sacrifice and kingship. The Rājasūya sacrifice will be studied in this context, as it has the king as the sacrificer. This study will focus on the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (*Ait Br*) and the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (*Śat Br*) as well as the two epics namely the *Rāmāyaṇa* (*Rām*) and the *Mahābhārata* (*Mbh*) and also the Mahāpurāṇas. The Brāhmaṇa texts are chosen for study since they are regarded as manuals dealing with Vedic sacrifice. The two Brāhmaṇas represent the *Ṛgveda* and *Śukla Yajurveda* traditions respectively. The epics and the Mahāpurāṇas reflect their adherence to the ritual-oriented Vedic religion. The king is endowed with certain powers different from common living beings. He is associated with authority: authority over land and also authority over existing objects - both animate and inanimate. How is the institution of sacrifice interacting with this authoritative nature of kingship?

Position of kingship as indicated in the myth in the *Ait Br* (VII.4-VIII.2):

Brahma i.e. divine knowledge and Kṣattra i.e. sovereign power were produced by Prajāpati after the creation of 'sacrifice'.[1] The sacrifice which earlier fled away from them, later approached Brahma as it had the implements of sacrifice. It kept on moving away from Kṣattra as its implements (horse, carriage, an armour, bow and arrow) were connected with battle. Kṣattra, which is represented by Kṣattriya as its personification, has to give up his implements and assume the form of Brahma by taking up the sacrificial implements. The myth indicates that Brahma but not Kṣattra, is favourable for the performance of sacrifice. Therefore, to become suitable for performing a sacrifice, the Kṣattriya has to give up the implements representing Kṣattra and thereby assume the form of Brahma.

Kingship in the Rājasūya sacrifice:

The Ajitapunarvaṇya rite is specially devised to show how a sacrificer-king maintains equilibrium between Brahma and Kṣattra now existing in him (*Ibid.* VII. 4.22). When he is performing the sacrifice as mentioned earlier, he has to adopt Brahma, yet he originally is the personification of Kṣattra which

he cannot forsake. Therefore, he gives two invocation-offerings addressing Brahma to protect him from Kṣattra, after which he addresses Kṣattra to protect him from Brahma. The *Ait Br* appears to be very much concerned regarding the king losing his Kṣattra and gaining Brahma. Another problem tackled by the text is the consumption of the sacrificial food i.e. *ahutād*. As the king is kṣattriya by birth he is not permitted to consume the sacrificial food. On the contrary, being a sacrificer if he does not consume it, he would incur a sin. The *Ait Br* solves the problem by giving a solution that the sacrificial food is to be consumed by the Brahma priest i.e. the priest belonging to the *Atharvaveda* tradition, for the Brahma is in the position of the house-priest.

The position of kingship as against priesthood is highlighted in the *Śat Br* through the comparison between the Rājasūya and Vājapeya sacrifices. Compared to the Rājasūya, the Vājapeya sacrifice is on a higher plane. The *Śat Br* mentions that the Rājasūya belongs to the king since the brāhmaṇa is unsuited for kingship. Vājapeya is the sacrifice for Bṛhaspati and Rājasūya is the sacrifice for Indra. Bṛhaspati is Brahma i.e. priesthood and Rājasūya is Kṣattra. By offering the Rājasūya, one becomes a king and by the Vājapeya, he becomes an emperor. The office of the king is lower than that of an emperor. If the king performs the Vājapeya he becomes emperor and possesses for himself everything (*Śat Br* V. 1.1.11-14). At the time of consecrating the king, the Adhvaryu or the king's priest proclaims "This man, O ye people is your king, Soma is the king of brāhmaṇas", (*Śat Br* V. 4.2.3.). This indicates that the brāhmaṇas are above the realm of kingship.

The *Ait Br* highlights selection and rejection of priests by kings (VII.5.27). King Viśvantara rejected the right of the Śyāparṇas to serve as his sacrificial priests and permitted only one member of their family to participate in the sacrifice. Yet the Śyāparṇas went to his sacrificial place and sat in the precincts of the sacrificial altar. King Viśvantara got annoyed with their behaviour and drove them away. It was Rāma Mārgaveya from the Śyāparṇas who challenged the king for such contemptuous behaviour. When questioned by the king regarding his knowledge of the sacrificial order, Rāma Mārgaveya revealed the secret. This was regarding the deprivation of the kṣattriyas from consuming Soma. Gods had deprived Indra from consuming of Soma because he committed sins viz. he had scorned Viśvarūpa, the son of Tvaṣṭr, cast down Vṛtra and killed him, thrown pious men before jackals and wolves, killed Arurmukhas, who were Asuras in the guise of brāhmaṇas and lastly rebuked Bṛhaspati. After Indra had been excluded, all the kṣattriyas were likewise excluded from the consumption of Soma. Rāma Mārgaveya revealed this secret and questioned the king as to why he expels a person like himself who is well versed in the science of sacrifice and can formulate a drink which can replace Soma. The king should avoid Soma as it is the drink of the brāhmaṇas. Besides, his future generations will have the characteristics of brāhmaṇas and would

live like them. He should avoid curds, which is consumed by the vaiśyas and water, which is consumed by the śūdras. He should squeeze the descending roots of the Nyagrodha tree with the fruits of the Udumbara, Aśvattha and Plakṣa trees and drink the juice of them. The descending roots of the Nyagrodha indicate its firm establishment in the earth. The king as well as his descendants would get the fruit of being firmly established on earth on consuming this drink. The fruits of the Udumbara tree have originated from vigour, the fruits of the Aśvattha tree have sprung out of lustre and the fruits of the Plakṣa tree have emerged out of glory. Thus, the *Ait Br* indicates the strife between kingship and priesthood. It is the priesthood to which the king ultimately yields.

Characteristic features of kingship:

The Punarabhiṣeka ceremony mentions the use of various materials symbolizing the essence of kingship (VIII.2.5-11). The tiger skin stands for royal power.[2] Dūrvā grass is used during the ceremony. Dūrvā grass is the ruler of the herbs as it weaves the roots in the earth. This implies that the king and his clan should be firmly rooted on the earth.[3] On his descent he bows before Brahma three times. The Punarabhiṣeka ceremony mentions that the victory of a king is fourfold. He has to be victorious in general (*jiti*), victorious all over (*abhijit*), victorious over enemies (*vijiti*) and attain total victory (*saṁjiti*)[4]. The desire for attaining fourfold victory is expressed by the king by bowing before the priest. In this way Kṣattra comes under the sway of Brahma to acquire prosperity. This particular ritual has the ritual of battle enacted in it. The *Ait Br* records that Janamejaya, son of Parikṣit, became victorious by the performance of this ritual (VIII. 2. 11). This is an indirect reference to battles being fought by performing this sacrifice.

Just as the Punarabhiṣeka ceremony mentions different forms of victory, the Aindramahābhiṣeka ceremony notes various types of governances (*Ibid*. VIII.3.12-23). The king is consecrated in the eastern direction for universal sovereignty i.e. *sāmrājya* and in the eastern direction, he is consecrated for enjoyment i.e. *bhojya*. The kings from the Nicya and Apacya countries existing in the western directions are consecrated for *svārājya* i.e. independent rule. *Ait Br* mentions about people from the northern direction i.e. Uttarakuru and Uttaramadra living without a king i.e. *vairājya*. Kings from the Kurupāñcāla, Vaśa and Uśānara are inaugurated for kingship i.e. *rājya*. It is to be noted that *svārājya, vairājya* and *rājya* indicate different governing systems documented in the *Ait Br* (VIII.3.14).

The importance of kingship relating to law and order is depicted in the *Śat Br*, where the Adhvaryu tells the king that he and the Śrotriya are the upholders of law. Therefore, he should speak and do what is right. After the game of dice, the Adhvaryu and his assistants strike him with sticks on the back. Thus, they guide him safely over judicial punishment; therefore the

king is exempted from punishment (*Śat Br* V.4.4.7).

Developed form of governance indicated in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*:

King rules over the kingdom with the help of his office-bearers. The section in the chapter on the Rājasūya incorporates the offerings given in the houses of office-bearers (*ratninām havimṣi*). The office-bearers are :

The Commander-in-chief of the army

The King's chaplain (*purohita*)

Rājanya

Consecrated Queen (*mahiṣī*)

The Chronicler (*sūta*)

The Headman, who is a peasant

The chamberlain

The charioteer

The tax-collector (*bhāgaduha*)

The keeper of dice (*akṣāvāpa*) and huntsman (*govikartana*)

The courier (*dūta*)

The discarded wife i. e. *parivṛkti* (wife without a son).

The Commander-in-chief, Rājanya i.e. a kinsman of the king, the chronicler, tax-collector, keeper of dice, huntsman and courier indicate the various aspects of administration and governance handled by the king. The Vedic sacrificial ritual has incorporated the kinsman and even the consecrated Queen and the discarded wife in this ritual (*Śat Br* V. 3.1.1-13).

Strife as indicated through the Rājasūya:

The king offers a cake (*purodāśa*) baked on eleven potsherds to Agni and Soma. This ritual is practised with the intention to slay his wicked enemy/cousin (bhrātṛvya).[5] This ritual indicates that the Rājasūya sacrifice enabled the king to have supremacy over his kinsmen. The game of dice is incorporated in the ritual of the Rājasūya. The king is understood to be victorious in this game. The priest hands to him the sacrificial sword i.e. *sphya*. It indicates that the priest makes the king weaker than himself. The king then hands over the sword to his brother; thereby the king makes his brother weaker than himself. The sword is handed over to the *sūta* or the *sthapati* (the architect), then the *grāmaṇī* (the village headman), then the tribesman

(*sajāta*).[6] This ritual is performed with a mutual understanding to avoid confusion of classes and maintain the society in proper order (*Ibid*. V. 4.4.15-16). The text mentions this ritual as performed by the Kurupāñcālas in the section of the Prauga Havimṣi. The *Śat Br* thus mentions the popularity of this sacrifice amongst the Kurupāñcālas.

The Rājasūya sacrifice as indicated through the ritual texts namely the *Ait Br* and the *Śat Br* takes various dimensions of kingship into its fold. The Vedic sacrificial ritual had patronized kingship as a special qualification for performing rituals. The *Ait Br* takes into consideration the dimensions of political sovereignty associated with kingship. The section of the Punarabhiṣeka is significant to understand various types of governance reflected in the ritual texts. The *Śat Br* mentions portfolios of administrative machinery of the state existing in that era. Vedic sacrificial institution gives due place to the office-bearers in the sacrifice like the Rājasūya, wherein kingship plays a key-role. The *Ait Br* makes a clear demarcation between the king who personifies Kṣattra and Brahma as personified by the priests, the latter being superior to the former.

But how the institution of kingship looks at this sacrifice can be understood through the study of the Rājasūya occurring in the Epics and the Mahāpurāṇas. These texts are not manuals of sacrifice. Yet, because of their adherence to the institution of sacrifice, the Rājasūya is mentioned and discussed in them. The question is whether the Rājasūya as depicted in these texts is in tune with those in the Brāhmaṇās or are they different?

The Rājasūya sacrifice as referred to in the *Mbh*:

Since Indra had performed the Rājasūya sacrifice, sage Nārada asked Yudhiṣṭhira to perform this sacrifice. The Sabhā Parvan of the *Mbh* describes the sacrificial place as dotted with *cityas* (arrangement of altars in typical fashion), the detail of which is not mentioned at all in the ritual texts.[7] King Hariścandra also performed this sacrifice and all the kings gave wealth to him and participated in the sacrifice as waiters serving food to the brāhmaṇas.[8] This appears to be a parallel to the mention of Maruts in the sacrifice of King Marutta, serving as waiters as mentioned in the *Ait Br* (VIII.29) and the *Śat Br* (XIII.5.4.6).[9] Vaiśampāyana has narrated the fruit of the Rājasūya sacrifice. A king who performs this gets the qualities of Varuṇa. He also attains the position of a sovereign king.[10] Yudhiṣṭhira was also urged by his brothers and other *ṛtvijs* to perform this sacrifice. Since the Rājasūya indicates absolute sovereignty, the sacrifice performed by Yudhiṣṭhira would not have been successful without destroying Jarāsandha, the king of Magadha. Jarāsandha had imprisoned many kings and he wanted to sacrifice them to please Śaṅkara.[11] The human sacrifice undertaken by Jarāsandha was not approved by Kṛṣṇa.

The *Mbh* and the *Bhāg Pu* mention that Yudhiṣṭhira worshipped Kṛṣṇa through the Rājasūya (*Mbh* Sabhā Parvan 30.19-23, *Bhāg Pu* X. 70.41-42). The ritual texts do not mention the worship of a particular individual during the Rājasūya. To summarise, the role of the Rājasūya of Yudhiṣṭhira was for gaining political supremacy for the Pāṇḍavas by killing Jarāsandha and Śiśupāla as well as for deifying Kṛṣṇa as a hero with supernatural powers. The Rājasūya strained the relationship between the Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas. The Vana Parvan of the *Mbh* mentions that Duryodhana cannot perform the Rājasūya as Yudhiṣṭhira is alive. A solution in the form of Vaiṣṇava Sattra equal in glory to the Rājasūya was sought out. Sattra is that type of sacrifice in which all the priests are sacrificers (*yajamāna*). Duryodhana, not being a brāhmaṇa cannot be the sacrificer. Moreover, the Śrauta tradition does not mention Vaiṣṇava Sattra. This Sattra has been carved out by the *sūta*-tradition as a part of the deification process of Viṣṇu. The reason for not authorising Duryodhana for performing the Rājasūya has its seed in the Śrauta ritual texts. According to Thite, the sacrificer overpowers his relative symbolically. The real overpowering, it may be assumed, must be taking place before the ritual.[12] The *Śat Br* mentions about the ritual in which the priest hands over the *sphya* (sacrificial sword) to the king. By this the king becomes weaker than the priest. The king hands over the *sphya* to the younger brother. This makes the younger brother weaker than the king.[13] The *Lāṭyāyana Śrauta Sūtra* mentions similar ritual through which the weak relatives of the king become permanently disqualified for the Rājasūya.[14] Thus, Duryodhana not being entitled to perform this sacrifice is an echo of the practice recorded in the Śrauta tradition. The Rājasūya narrated in the Sabhā Parvan of the *Mbh* highlights the socio-political eminence enjoyed by the sacrifice. Kings perceived this sacrifice as a means to extend the political boundaries of kingdoms and eliminating political forces acting hostile towards them.

Another section of the *Mbh* views this sacrifice with fear (Śalya Parvan 50.1). It mentions this sacrifice performed by Soma, which was followed by the Tārakāmaya war, in which Kārttikeya killed the demon Tāraka. Battles were fought after Varuṇa performed the Rājasūya sacrifice and even after Janamejaya performed this sacrifice.

The Uttarakāṇḍa of the *Rāmāyaṇa* looks at this sacrifice with fear. Before the performance of the Aśvamedha sacrifice, Rāma wished to perform the Rājasūya.[15] There was a discussion between Rāma and his brothers viz. Lakṣmaṇa and Bharata, who advised him to perform the Aśvamedha in place of Rājasūya. The reason given is that the Rājasūya leads to bloodshed!

A similar reference occurs in the *Padma Purāṇa* (*Pad Pu*). On return to Ayodhya, after fourteen years of exile, Rāma expressed the wish to perform Rājasūya, as an act of merit, to wipe out the sin of Brahmahatyā (killing

a Brāhmaṇa, like Rāvaṇa). He justified this decision by giving examples of other gods performing this sacrifice. Lord Brahmā performed 360 Rājasūya sacrifices. Soma, after performing this sacrifice obtained an excellent position in this world. Mitra, having performed the Rājasūya sacrifice became Varuṇa. But Bharata argued that Rājasūya sacrifice cannot be performed by a king like Rāma as it leads to the desctruction of all beings on earth. After the Rājasūya of Soma, a Tārakāmaya war took place because Soma had abducted Tārā, the wife of Bṛhaspati (cf. *Brahma Purāṇa* 7.13-33). When Varuṇa performed this sacrifice, all the aquatic animals perished. When Hariścandra performed the sacrifice, the terrible war took place between Ādibaka and all the beings on the earth. The *jinxed* nature of the Rājasūya dissuaded Rāma from performing it. Instead he installed an image of Vāmana at Kānyakubja (*Pad Pu* I. 35. 154-171). The outcome of the Rājasūya of Hariścandra was the famous Ādibaka war which caused the decay of the earth, and is also recorded in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*.[16] Fighting of battles is referred to in the *Lāṭyāyana Śrauta Sūtra*.[17]

The point of discussion is that why do the Epics and the Mahāpurāṇas mention about the darker side of this sacrifice? Thite cites examples from the Vedic texts which describe this sacrifice as dangerous and leading to loss of valour. He interprets this sacrifice as something lost by the king during the performance and then regained by the king.[18] As a sacrifice creates new vigour in the sacrificer, it is natural that vigour existing within the king departs. Thite takes note of the references of strife and the disqualification of the kinsmen from the performance of this sacrifice from the ritual texts. According to Dange, the term Rājasūya indicates the creation of new essence (*sava*) in the king. It is clear that, through this sacrifice, the king assured himself of socio-political eminence together with divine protection. He further adds that, at the Rājasūya, the king is already a king. What, then is the speciality of this sacrifice? It lies in the assertion, by a public ceremony, of this status. Hence, it is constantly stated that he is being created (*sūyate, savaḥ*) on various levels—the divine, the terrestrial and the socio-political.[19]

The Epic and the Mahāpurāṇas perceive this sacrifice in comparison with the Aśvamedha. As per the observation of Heesterman, in the ancient Indian corpus rituale, the Rājasūya does not represent a special type of sacrifice nor was it surrounded with the pomp and prestige of the horse sacrifice i.e. the Aśvamedha, the king of sacrifices.[20] He is of the opinion that the Rājasūya is not a royal consecration in the sense of a ceremony performed once and for all, to bestow royal power on a king.[21] It is associated with kingship on the terrestrial, socio-political and divine levels. But, the Aśvamedha is associated with different fruits like obtaining progeny, supremacy and political sovereignty. Besides, it is also an expiatory ritual, which is performed by the king to eradicate the sin of Brahmahatyā. The priestly tradition has naturally

viewed Brahmahatyā as the greatest sin, which can be cleansed by performing the greatest of sacrifices viz. the Aśvamedha. The Puranic tradition though, did not disregard the Vedic tradition yet attempts to substitute Vedic sacrifices. The context in which Rāma was dissuaded from performing this sacrifice should be understood in the light of the installation of an image of Vāmana in Kānyakubja.

To conclude, the Rājasūya faced antipathy in the Epics and the Mahāpurāṇas as part of an exercise to provide a better alternative to the Vedic sacrifice (image-installation) or for heightening the importance of the Aśvamedha, the sacrifice which could be performed to achieve multiple fruits.

Notes and References

1. These terms have been translated by Haug, M. *The Aitareya Brahmanam of the Rigveda*, Vol. II, Bharatiya Publishing House, Varanasi, 1977.

2. *Ait. Br.* VIII. 2.6. : व्याघ्रचर्मेणाऽऽऽस्तृणात्युत्तरलोमा प्राचीनग्रीवेण, क्षत्रं वा एतदारण्यानां पशूनां यद्व्याघ्र: क्षत्रं राजन्य: क्षत्रेणै तत्क्षत्रं समर्धयति । The king spreads the tiger skin on the throne in such a manner that the hairs come outside and that part which covered the neck is turned eastward. c.f. *Śat. Br.* V. 4.4.2-3.

3. *Ibid.* VIII. 2.8. : अथ यद्दूर्वा भवति, क्षत्रं वा एतदोषधीनां यद्दूर्वा, क्षत्रं राजन्यो, नितत इव हीह क्षत्रियराष्ट्रे वसन् भवति, प्रतितिष्ठित इव; निततेव दूर्वाऽऽवरोधैर्भूम्यां, प्रतितिष्ठितेव, तद्दूर्वा भवत्योषधीनामेवास्मिंस्तत्क्षत्रं दधात्यो प्रतिष्ठाम् ।

4. *Ibid.* VIII. 2.9. : अथ यद्वरं ददामि, जित्या अभिजित्यै विजित्यै संजित्या इति वाचं विसृजते; एतद्वै वाचो जितं यद्वदामीत्याह; यदेव वाचो जिताऽऽमु, तन्म इदमु कर्म संतिष्ठाता इति ।

5. *Śat. Br.* V. 2.3.7 :.... एवैष पाप्मानं द्विषन्तं भ्रातृव्यं हन्ति तथोऽऽएव विजयते...

6. For details of *sajāta* as tribesman, Eggeling, J., *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. 41, M. L. B. D., 1996, (first ed. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1894), p. 111, fn. 2.

7. *Mbh.* Sabhā Parvan 3.11. यत्र यूपा मणिमयाश्चित्याश्चापि हिरण्मया: । शोभार्थं विहितस्तत्र न तु दृष्टान्तत: कृता: ॥
The critical edition of the *Mbh.* has suggested the variant *caitya* for *citya*.

8. *Ibid.* Sabhā Parvan 11.56. तस्य सर्वे महीपाला धनान्याजह्रुराज्ञया ।
द्विजानां परिवेष्टारस्तस्मिन्यज्ञे च तेऽभवन् ॥

9. The reference of King Marutta and the Maruts in the *Ait. Br.* is pertaining to the Aindramahābhiṣeka and the same reference occurs in the *Śat. Br.* in the context of the Aśvamedha sacrifice. However, it should be noted that the *Mbh.* links it with the Rājasūya.

10. *Mbh.* Sabhā Parvan 12.11 येनाभिषिक्तो नृपतिर्वारुणं गुणमृच्छति ।
तेन राजापि सन्कृत्स्नं सम्राड्गुणमभीप्सति ॥

11. *Ibid.* Sabhā Parvan 20.10. मनुष्याणां समालम्भो न च दृष्ट: कदाचन । स कथं मानुषैर्देवं यष्टुमिच्छसि शक्ररम् ॥

12. Thite, G. U., "Antipathy to the Rajasuya: Why?", *Sambodhi*, Patan, 1972, Vol. I, No. 4, p. 56.

13. *Śat. Br.* V.4.4.15-16. अथास्मै ब्राह्मण स्फ्यं प्रयच्छति.... ब्राह्मणो राजानमात्मनोऽबलीयांसं कुरुते... तं राजा राजभ्रात्रे प्रयच्छति । ...तेन राजा राजभ्रातारमात्मनोऽबलीयांसं कुरुते ।

14. *Lāṭyāyana Śrauta Sūtra* IX. 1.21. राजन्यास्ते स्युस्तत: ऊर्ध्वमनभिषेक्या: ।

15. *Rām.* Uttarakāṇḍa 83. 13-14. युवाभ्यामात्मभूताभ्यां राजसूयमनुत्तमम् । सहितो यष्टुमिच्छामि तत्र धर्मस्तु शाश्वत: ।। इष्ट्वा तु राजसूयेन मित्र: शत्रुनिबर्हण: । सुहुतेन सुयज्ञेन वरुणत्वमुपागमत् ।।

16. *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* VIII. 286. अत: परं कथाशेष: श्रूयतां मुनिसत्तम । विपाको राजसूयस्य पृथिवीक्षयकारणम् ।।

17. *Lāṭyāyana Śrauta Sūtra* IX. 1.14. अबलानस्य ज्ञातीन्सवित्तानावहेयु: ।

18. Thite, *op. cit.,* p. 53.

19. Dange, S. A. *op.cit,* pp. 285, 327.

20. Heesterman, J. C., *The Ancient Indian Royal Consecration*, Mouton and Co, Hague, 1957, Intro. p. 3

21. *Ibid.* Intro. p. 3.

Searching for Truth on the Beginning of India's

History and Culture

Malati J. Shendge

Before I begin my talk[*], I would like to thank the Director, Dr. N. B. Patil, of Dr. P. V. Kane Institute for Post Graduate Studies and Research of the Asiatic Society of Mumbai for inviting me to deliver this P. V. Kane Memorial Lecture for the year 2006. I feel greatly honoured by being associated with Mm. Kane, so well known for his erudition and vast industry reflected in his *History of Dharmaśāstra*. I also feel rewarded by the association with the august institute of The Asiatic Society of Mumbai which has been in existence for more than two centuries.

The choice of topic for today's lecture has been mine as I have been interested in it for a number of years, to be precise since 1970. It is far more relevant than it may appear at first glance, especially so in the context of what happened to India's history 2/3 years ago. It has been turned topsy-turvy—which also may not be so objectionable—but regrettably without generating any real understanding as to how the history of this great nation began. In fact, it now seems to have been a mere hollow exercise, which furnished an opportunity to foreign and Indian scholars to express their unbaked views and made look India ridiculous in the international world. It showed independent India as an inept, imbecile, stolid nation which is ignorant of its history and is unable to project the truth at the dawn of its nationhood.

Another repetition of such an occasion must be forestalled. And the determination and correct presentation of the course of events as indicated in the available data is to my mind the only remedy. This is the subject of today's talk. It is not necessary to emphasize the urgency and importance of such reconstruction.

India has vast literary and monumental heritage and therefore, there is no dearth of sources. A glance at the inherited literature beginning with the four Vedas and the epic *Mahābhārata* will bring home the vastness. Out of these the Vedas, the earliest, are considered generally religious. But the *Ṛgveda* may not have been so originally. *Mahābhārata* calls itself the *itihāsa*

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[*] The text of Mm. Dr. P. V. Kane Memorial lecture, delivered at the Asiatic Society of Mumbai, on 23rd March, 2006.

(as it-was), gives the history going back to the earliest times and surprisingly enough has quite a modern conception of historiography.

Ancient Indians, though accused by western scholarship of not having a 'sense of history' had a plethora of literature created, preserved and transmitted, through different types of literary genre — *itihāsa, purāṇa, gāthā nāraśaṁsī* (praiseworthy deeds of men) and so on which speaks of their interest and anxiety to preserve and transmit to posterity the past. What is this, if not sense of the historical ?

Despite this when we come to modern times, the credit for writing the first history of India goes to the colonial scholarship. It was written in order to understand the subjects as well as to facilitate the colonial rule. Today, this version of India's early history forms the basis of most of the views. The two competing views viz. the Saffron and the Marxist, especially the former are a sort of a reaction to the colonial view. The Marxists repeat the colonial view itself.

What is this colonial view ? This is known to the academics as the Indo-European Theory. It was formulated in 18th century by Sir William Jones who also founded the Asiatic Society, Calcutta. Sir William was a high-court judge and after his retirement he studied Sanskrit. He as well as some others simultaneously noticed similarities in Sanskrit, Greek and Latin. This was the beginning. On the basis of these phonetic and semantic similarities, a theoretical structure was formulated according to which the speakers of Sanskrit, Greek and Latin may have lived together in ancient times, in their unknown original homeland, and may have migrated out of it to India, Iran and to Europe. Subsequently, comparative studies of most of the European languages, Roman, Gothic, Slavic, Iranian etc. were included. In India, the tribe mentioned in the *Ṛgveda* viz. the Aryas was considered to have come from the west, travelling over long distances on horseback, knowing the use of iron, and iron weapons, using light spoke-wheeled chariots, invaded northern India where presumably only semi-barbaric aborigines lived. The language of the *Ṛgveda* viz. archaic Sanskrit was the Arya language which they taught to the aborigines and imparted culture to them. They were also considered the creators of the vast Vedic literature. All these were mere assumptions, without any supporting evidence.

The Aryas were supposed to be fair-skinned and were sort of brothers of the then ruling class of British origin and the Indians were the subject races. Through this analogy, it was suggested to the Indians, that this was their history and the colonial situation was really nothing new! Sir William· gave ten or more lectures on this theme. He talks mostly of the method of comparing languages, which is now known as comparative method in linguistics.

However, there is hardly any reference to the contents of the *Rgveda* which may have been very difficult to understand because of the archaic nature of the language with Sāyaṇa's commentary which was no less easy.

But the postulate was interpreted by a certain section of Indian society to mean that the Indians are the Aryas. So it reacted to the colonial view by saying that we are the Aryas and the Aryas went out from here. This was also completely unfounded and without any support anywhere. This happened in early 20th century.

In the 20th century (1919) the Indus civilization was discovered adding more than two millennia to India's history. The first and most important effect was the total nullification of the Indo-European postulate, especially its assumptions. Also the excavator of Mohenjo-daro considered it to be 'pre-Aryan' at once making it older than the Aryan 'invasion' of northern India.

The moment of discovery of the Indus civilization should have been decisive and the Indo-European postulate should have been scrapped. But officially, it was never scrapped, giving rise to an anomalous situation attributing the *Rgveda*, the Sanskrit language and the whole of Vedic literature as also the Indian culture to a foreign tribe and the indigenously created Indus civilization remaining cut off from the main stream of history !

The situation is unchanged even today, because the Indians have still not got out of the intellectual slavery to have enough courage to see things in their true light. The British, or for that matter the west, are too averse to call off this hypothetical reconstruct not only for fear of losing the bread, butter, and fame hundreds of Indo-Europeanists are earning, but also the opportunity to remind the Indians of their past and their intellectual slavery. But from a scientific viewpoint the Indo-European postulate stands nullified, and is irretrievable. This is the reason why a search for the facts on the beginning of India's history and culture has to be launched. This new search should be rooted in the totality of the material now available in archaeological and textual sources. Thus, it has to be necessarily interdisciplinary.

The sources:

The Indus civilization has its sites both in India and Pakistan and also Afghanistan. Therefore, it is indigenous to the Indian subcontinent. The *Rgveda* is preserved in oral tradition and has no parallels, despite the I-E postulate (I-E p), anywhere else. These are the two most important sources. But a gulf divides them because, the *Rgveda* preserved in oral tradition, was never related to the Indus civilization (because no carbon copy has been found in the Indus civilization !). Therefore, they are not related to each other. Another reason is also the attribution of the *Rgveda* to the Aryas, which creates a mental block.

Thus of the two, the Indus civilization goes back to 3100/3300 BCE and continued till 1850 BCE and in a slightly limited form till 1300 BCE. And its builders lived here, during this long period. Indian history can be said to have begun with 3100 BCE in earnest. The date of the Rgvedic poems though difficult to fix, may be a few centuries later than 1850 BCE i.e. 1550 BCE. The *Rgveda* is an anthology consisting of 1028 poems. They were composed by generations of priests and preserved in their families, most probably orally. They were edited or compiled by one Śākalya.

The interpretation of the poems poses a real problem by the presence of so-called mythic and mystic elements. But from ancient times, the historical interpretation had also occupied an important position amongst the schools of interpretation.

Thus, these two main sources, the archaeologically known Indus civilization and the earliest known textual material known as the *Rgveda* have either to be interpreted independently of each other or have to be correlated to each other, to see if one knew of the existence of the other, or if any relationship could be envisaged or postulated between the two.

In 1970, when I became interested in this problem, the meeting of the Harappans and the Aryas itself was unknown and also the role of the Aryas in the degeneration of the Indus civilization. But I thought that since the Aryas are mentioned in the *Rgveda*, possibly the Harappans were also known to it. This led me to the first study : 'The Civilized Demons : The Harappans in Rgveda'.

As referred to earlier, the prevalent interpretation of the *Rgveda* accepted the existence of myths and mysticism as its integral part. But in the same poems, the I-E p posited the Aryas as a human tribe and its conflict with the indigenous people. As a matter of fact, the discovery of the Aryas as a human tribe was a great event because it introduced the element of realism and to a limited extent rationality in the interpretation of the *Rgveda* (*RV*). Rationality and realism are the two main criteria. But its main weakness was that it did not apply this same method boldly to the whole of the *Rgveda*. As a result, the Aryas as human beings brushed shoulders with the mythic evil beings, the Asuras, the Rakshasas etc. and the confusion was complete. As pointed out by the Cambridge Ancient History, "The dividing line between events on earth and mythology is not clearly maintained in these poems (i.e. the *Rgveda*) and was probably not even logically conceived."

However, to recover the rationality and realism completely, the question that must be asked is : How did the Asuras etc. who were the adversaries of Indra and whom Indra killed, come to be mythic beings? The *Rgveda* is very clear about the Aryan identity of Indra; he is so called many times

e.g. VII.18.7; V.34.6. His enmity with the Asuras, is also frequently referred to in the *Rgveda*. If this was so, logically, the Asuras were as much human as was Indra. And so the question was : What made them non-human, mythic and evil ? The origin was found in a semantic change of certain words in the context of the Asuras, which introduced irrational and fanciful elements depicting Asuras as inhuman or abnormal, not of this world. When this was eliminated by accepting the 'good' meaning of concerned words, the narratives became rational.

These interpretations were further supported by narratives preceding the sacrificial rites in the *Brāhmanas* which were seen as the enactment of events of the conflict between the Asuras and the Aryas. This rendered the poems realistic bringing their meaning within the ordinary human experience, discarding the necessity of positing the poems to be mythic and/or mystic outbursts of composers. This further meant that this was the original meaning conveyed by the poets to their listeners. This was non-religious, secular and in a way, materialistic or this-worldly meaning of the *Rgveda*.

I give one illustration : Asura Araru is mentioned in the *Rgveda* as having four legs and was killed by Indra. Examining the wording for 'four legs', the Sanskrit equivalent is '*catuh pāt*' i. e. *pāt* treated as *pāda*, is glossed by Sāyana as one with four legs. But in the *padapātha* (paraphrase) it is present participle of √*pā*, to watch, keep, preserve, defend against, protect etc. The phrase then meant that 'preserving (him i.e. Araru) four times.' The whole narrative then became : Araru was captured alive by Indra and kept tied up in a cowshed with a guard, from where he tries to escape. But he is recaptured; when he was found doing so for the fourth time he was beheaded by Indra, but even when killed he was said to be preserved in the fourth world ! This narrative is found in The *Śatapatha-brāhmana* (I.2.4.8-21).

The episode was rendered into a ritual in which Araru is represented by a blade of grass, beaten by the *adhvaryu*, with a wooden sword, enacting the hesitation and preserving it in the cowpen. The fourth time he beats the grass-bush, throws it on the rubbish heap, symbolising the killing of Araru.

This is a very clear illustration in which a real episode is mentioned in the *Rgveda* first, then its details are given in the pre-rite narratives and then its symbolic performance in a rite is explained. Many such illustrations are found.

An important trait that came to light is the dominance of the Asuras, Rākṣasas, Yakṣas, Piśācas and Gandharvas in the Rgvedic world. They are mentioned in hundreds of references. Secondly, the Aryas, as a tribe, are referred to in only 36 places. Third, the *RV* does not seem to know much about the Aryas. The vital details like their homeland, language and culture

are missing. They are clearly described as defeated, dispossessed and driven out of their own country (name unknown) who undertake a refugee trek in bullock-carts facing many odds on the way. The trek was in search of a new home and sovereignty. They reach the Indus valley. If the Aryas had composed the poems, they would have talked about themselves.

The Indus valley is called the land of Sapta-sindhu, (*RV* VIII. 24.27); the rivers are also named in one piece (*RV* X. 75). This land belonged to the Asuras and the *Dāsas* (*RV* VIII. 24.27) who are called cultivators (*pañca-carsaṇi*). The river Irāvati is said to belong to Varuṇa, who is called the emperor and sovereign ruler of the Asuras, and who passessed legal, criminal, executive and judiciary powers. The political organization of the Asuras is also reconstructed.

This method has been extremely effective and it clearly manifests the world of the *Rgveda* as depicted by the poets. This picture is correlated to the Indus civilization for further confirmation and to establish a clear relationship between the two. The details that we obtain are as follows :

i) The Indus valley was inhabited by a people known to the *Rgveda* as the Asuras, Rākṣasas, etc. forming five tribes. The various components of these tribes were known as dāsas, dasyus, paṇis, etc. who formed a complex society. They were ruled by a sovereign emperor, assisted in his governance by a joint ruler and a council of ministers holding different departments like agriculture, collection of revenue and redistribution, intelligence, road-building, social welfare, defence, finance and so on, similar to present day governance. The Asuras manned the government and were the ruling elite.

ii) The Asuras had built *puras*, enclosures/fortresses, which were really seats of administration. They symbolised the Asura government and its political authority. Tne Indus civilization's excavated urban centres like Harappa and Mohenjo-daro as well as smaller towns all have a citadel. The cities are well planned with a good road-system.

iii) Varuṇa, the emperor, controlled the rivers and their water. He had created an irrigation system with dams so that the rivers did not pour their waters into the seas but sprinkled the banks making them fertile.

iv) They made pottery on the wheels. Their burial rites consisted of inhumation with furniture, personal articles, food and clothing etc. The underlying belief laid down in the *Chāndogyopaniṣad* was that these were considered to be useful to the dead person in the next world.

v) The Vedic Asuras were said to be great builders, which is exactly reflected in the great building works found in the Indus occupational remains. Their Veda was called *Māyāveda*, that is the knowledge of creation or building.

√*mā* has the original meaning of 'to create', 'to measure', and 'to build.' When the Asuras were transformed into evil beings, the meaning of illusion, or unreality was given to √*mā*.

vi) The Aryas arrive in the Indus valley and their entry was resisted. Realistic descriptions of the conflict are available in the *RV* and later literature.

vii) The memory of the conflict with all its details ever remained fresh and was never forgotten. It is recorded in poems and in detailed prose narratives preceding the rites. The conflict haunted the psyche of the indigenous people for generations and is reflected in its compositions like the Samhitās, Brāhmaṇas, etc.

Thus, it is obvious that the *Ṛgveda* had nothing to do with the Aryas but was composed by the Asura poets in the Indus valley. So it is no wonder that it reflects the Asura culture. There is a good similarity between the material culture as reflected in the Indus civilization and the Asura culture of the *RV*.

The Asura poets knew little about the Aryas beyond the fact that they were foreign refugees which was not surprising.

In order to keep the memory of the conflict alive and as a heuristic exercise, the later generations dramatised it into a sacrificial system, performing the events symbolically. This may have taken place between 1850-1550 BCE and sacrifices probably continued to be performed up to the time of the Buddha (5th cen. BCE).

This brings us to the next point viz. the language of the Harappans: The Harappan population consisted of many ethnic groups who lived side by side. The political organization set up by the Asuras brought all the population living on the subcontinent under it and they continued to live together with quarrels and jealousies, battles and alliances. But the Asuras were the ruling elite. The government was manned by them.

It is possible that the various tribes brought together under one organization spoke different languages, as we do today. Also they may have had local cultural differences. But the standardized Harappan culture was probably practised all over the empire, as if by a government decree. It is recognisable in the material remains.

As the Asuras were dominant politically and socially, their language would have been the *lingua franca*. The Asuras hailed from Mesopotamia (northern Iraq) where their language was Akkadian. This language was hypothesized to be the language of the Harappans. Of course, this was not without the support of archaeological, cultural and chronological factors like the choice of location of the Indus valley, the Dāsas (sailors/mariners) forming an important

element of society, the divine name Asur-Aššur and its use as a name of the tribe and in personal names, etc. common to the *Rgveda* and Mesopotamia. This is a well known semitic custom.

In order to find actual linguistic evidence, a large number of Akkadian and Sanskrit words were compared. Sanskrit was chosen as it is the first known language of the Indian subcontinent and the relics of earlier language were expected to be inherited by Sanskrit. In all 350 words were compared which included names of gods, names of Asuras, names of poets, priests, later grammarians, building structures, walls, animal names, colours, metals, number names, body-parts, body defects, constellations, horse and horse carriages and so on. The argument is if the names of the Asuras and also Vedic gods and priests have parallels in Akkadian, it means they all were of Asura origin. Strangely enough though the I-E p posited the *RV* to be Aryan, the names of gods do not have parallels in Greek, Latin or other western languages. Did it mean that the Aryas worshipped non-I-E gods? Such anomalies were not dissolved by the postulate. This is a great weakness.

In order to know their origin, they were first divided into two groups: 1. Those considered to be inherited I-E words and 2. Those which were considered to be borrowings from local languages into Sanskrit. The comparison of the words yielded regular phonological and semantic correspondences. The phonemic correspondences were worked out separately displaying regular and comparable correspondences. Since both the groups had Akkadian correspondences, they were considered native to Akkadian. A genetic or descendency relationship is envisaged between Akkadian and Sanskrit on the basis of regular phonemic correspondences, which throw light on the emergence of Sanskrit phonemic repertoire without creating any further problems, unlike the I-E p.

I give here a few words so that the process is made clear :

1) Skt Asura, n. of a god, cp Akk Ašur, a godhead, a solar deity, Asura derived from *asuh*, life, life-force, life spirit, is comparable to Akk ašū, a living being or creature, animal and also animals. The sound is the same and meaning is related. This formed parts of names of teachers Āsuri, (*ŚB* XIV. 5) and Asurāyana (*ŚB* XIV. 5). In the *Rgveda* many individuals are called Asura.

2) Ilah, ilum, terrestrial or atmospheric deity. cp Akk ilum, elum, god, divinity; ten p. n. derived from ilum, viz. ailah, Ilavila, Ilāvrta, etc.   .

3) Apsu, patronymic Āpsavah (Manuh), descendant of Apsu; cp Akk apsu, Sum a b z u, the underground, sweet water sea, the ur-father of man and god.

4) Nārāyana, Nārya, pn of *RV* poet, X. 90; also Visnu's n. in purānas;

cp Akk nārum, river, Iddin-nārum, a pn. Naraina, dual of nārā, from which comes Nārāyaṇa. *MBh āpo nārā iti proktā.*

5) Śiva, auspicious, propitious, god Śiva with serpent girdle. cp. Akk šibbu-(m), a girdle, waistband, serpent girdle šib-bu, god Šibbu in the underworld, with serpent girdle.

6) Umā, wife of Śiva cp. Akk Umm, mother goddess.

7) Mitra, joint ruler holding the portfolio of Exchequer General of contracts. cp. Akk mithāru, adj. of equal size, amount or degree, equal amount. Mithāru indicates 'same share', 'same obligation.'

8) Aśvinau, the physicians of Gods. cp. Akk asû(m), Sum a z u, water knower, doctor, physician, asûm + ini (two eyes) = aświni, the two doctors.

9) Ilībiša, n of an Asura, cp. Akk Il(ū)-biša, Il(u)-piša, Šamaš as a god of the word.

10) Araru, n of an Asura, cp. Akk Arrarum, A-RU-RU, a divine name.

11) Bhṛguh, n of poets, Bhṛguh Vārunīth (*RV* IX. 65; X. 19), cp. Akk abrakku, a high dignitary, seer; steward of the temple.

12) Vasiṣṭha, pn of a poet (IX. 67, X. 137 etc.), cp. Akk pašīšu(m) a class of priests who had charge of anointing the god. *vasu*, wealth, goods etc. cp Akk būšum, movable property, belongings.

13) *Labaḥ*, n of a *RV* poet (X. 119); cp. Akk labûm, labwum or lab'um, lion.

14) *aśva*, horse, stallion, cp. Sum a n š u/e, donkey, ass. When borrowed into Akk it reads aššu > aśva. Seventeen horse names and three words for horse carriage.

15) *pīluh*, elephant, cp Akk pīru(m), elephant.

16) *cakrah*, wheel, Akk kakkaru, round bread, round disc, orb, wheel, talent. Also cp Akk kakkartum, round bread.

Thus, the Vedic language as the first known language of India, descended from the language of the Asuras who were the Harappans. Here the earlier I-E proposition viz. Sanskrit being the language of the Aryas is not confirmed. Secondly, Sanskrit is the indigenous language, not brought over by a foreign tribe. Thirdly, the *RV* is also composed in India, with a background of the Asura culture which is the same as the Indus civilization. Finally, the Vedic literature is strewn with references to the story of Vāmana-Visṇu, taking three steps, by which he deprived the Asuras of the *lokas*, the regions, the Vedas

(the knowledge), and *vāc*, speech. This clearly affirms that the Vedas, the speech and the regions belonged to the Asuras and through adoption or deceit these were made their own by the Aryas.

The name Sanskrit is explained in the Vedic literature (*ŚB* III.2.1.18-24) as the devas after stealing the speech from the Asuras purified (*saṁskṛtā*) her in fire and adopted her as their own. This simply means that after the conflict the Aryas settled down as a part of Asura society and were subsumed, which is a sociologically observable occurrence in foreign countries even today where minorities are forced by circumstance to adopt the culture and language of the majority around them. This confirms the force of this custom equally even amongst the early societies.

The discovery of the linguistic evidence of cognates comparable in Sanskrit and Akkadian constitutes the proof for the earlier hypothesis that the Asuras and their allies were human tribes. Only because this was a fact, the linguistic evidence existed and could be discovered.

All this emphasizes the differences between the ancient historical reality as transmitted through archaeological and Vedic textual sources and as postulated by the I-E p. It is completely different from the latter which has failed to draw upon the Vedic literature to know the truth, whatever may be the reasons. The Vedic literature, wearing the garb of ritualism and story-telling, still has, undeniably, for its basis, historical fact.

None of the details attributed by the I-E p to the Aryas were confirmed in the fresh investigation undertaken. I have laid them down in the monograph 'The Aryas : Facts without fancy and fiction' (1996).

It is felt that no other tribe in the world's history has been so much romanticised as the Aryas. In comparison to the degree of romance, the material available is scanty, poor and uninformative. As said earlier, there are only thirty six references to the Aryas in the *Rgveda*. It must be remembered that in the Indian literature, the *Rgveda* is the chief source for the Aryas. Even the archaeological material which can be associated with the Aryas is scanty.

The Aryas do not find a place in the ādivaṁśāvataraṇa chapter of the Ādiparva of the *Mahābhārata*. Instead, the Aura genealogy, going back to the hoary past and their later kings, appears. This is the direct confirmation that the Asuras were historically considered the creators of the Indian culture, and Indian history began with them. Thus, I am of the view that the *Rgveda* and the *MBh* both hold the same view viz. the Asuras were the local people.

The Aryas were driven out of their country. They started on a trek and arrived in the land of the seven rivers. But is was already inhabited by the

Asuras and their allies. A conflict ensues in which the Aryas were constantly defeated. So they hatch a secret plan : According to it Visnu, the young friend of Indra who himself was a young man, was to find out the weak-points of the Asuras by going round the Asura empire. He does so and comes up with a five-fold formula. He found the rivalries and jealousies amongst the Asuras and helped one against the other in their quarrels and skirmishes. Second, they were to bribe the advisor Uśanas of the Asuras and obtain good weapons from him. Thus Indra was given the *vajra*, a spiked mace, probably of meteoric iron. Thirdly, they were to take possession of the dam across the seven streams and fourthly, to let out waters accumulated behind the dam, creating untimely floods. Fifth, in order to oust the population holding on to the homes, fire was to be used. The floods and the use of fire and the massacred Harappans in houses have been confirmed in the latest levels of the archaeological remains.

The strategy succeeds, Indra single-handedly killed Vrtra the dam guard and his troops, took possession of the dam and let out the waters, creating floods downstream. The settlements in the southern banks suffered loss of life and property and citizenry fled in panic. Many officers also fled to the west. This is described as the rite of *paurumadga*, i.e. the inundation of cities. The Aryas also laid siege to settlements, which is called the rite of *upasad*, the sieges of the cities.

Ultimately they win. Varuna, the emperor, is left in the Indus valley. One of the poems describes the truce called by Indra according to which Indra invites Varuna to be the joint ruler.

This is the complete story. It was not because of horses which in fact, Indra did not possess, but looted from the Asuras, nor because of the chariots, which were not there at all that the Aryas won. Instead the Aryas travelled in bullock carts, lived in sheds of matting and ate barley.

This picture is well matched by a culture dated to post-Harappan levels. It is called the Jhukar culture found at some sites, but more at Chanhu-daro. Mackay, the excavator observes : The Chanhu-daro mound was occupied by the Jhukar folk (their identity unknown) "after it was deserted by the Harappan people, indeed, they took up residence in some of the deserted houses of the latest Harappa period. The poorest people, however, seem to have lived in square or rectangular huts, of matting... the fireplaces they made outside their huts...." The matting dwelling should remind us of the tents or temporary shelters associated with the Aryas in the *Aitareya-brāhmana*. Their other possessions like seals, pottery, awls, beads of faience and a copper shaft-hole axe bore an imprint of the west (of the Indus valley). The use of pottery head-rest is foreign to the Indus civilization. Most of the items they carried were those of travellers.

Since the Aryas were the people who occupied the Harappan deserted houses, there should be no difficulty in associating the Jhukar culture with them. By no stretch of imagination is it the magnificent culture of the victors! Neither were they indigenous to the Indus valley.

The *Rgveda* does not know any details about the Aryas, much less about their culture, language or homeland. Since they obtained weapons by bribing the Asura advisor, it means, their weapons were not superior to those of the Asuras nor did they know the use of iron. The only two names viz. Indra and Viṣṇu are mentioned as those of the Aryas.

The Asuras were a metal — copper and bronze — using people. The *Rgveda* does not mention iron. It is a generic term for metal.

Thus none of the details about the Aryas and flashily associated with them by the I-E p are found in the Vedic literature or archaeology. The only detail that is confirmed by the *Rgveda* was that they were refugees, defeated, dispossessed and driven out of their own country.

An important fact that emerges from this investigation is that the *Rgveda* is a product of the Indus civilization. It is in fact the long missing verbal commentary on the Indus material remains. Thus both these earliest monuments complement each other and are inseparable. The Indus civilization's archaeologically discovered remains are the earliest traces of India's history and culture and the *Rgveda* is its product, though it is of slightly later date. The two together comprise the beginning of India's history and culture. Both are found on the Indian soil and are of indigenous origin.

With this method, the *RV* becomes a unity : there are no conflicting gods, demons and humans, but all that is depicted is the Indian world as it existed five thousand years ago. This is a great achievement to unravel what has been preserved for five thousand years.

The Indian nation has descended from those who built the Indus civilization and were part of the Indus polity. This comprises of many ethnic groups, languages and cultures. Pluralism was already practised.

The concatenation of these two types of sources yields an objective, realistic picture that existed at the beginning of India's history. It is an authentic picture furnished by the sources, each supplementing and proving the other.

To conclude : India's history begins with the Indus civilization. The *Rgveda* is the verbal commentary on the Indus civilization. The unique culture created by the Harappans is the matrix of Indian culture. In more than one way the Indus civilization marks the historico-cultural beginning of India.

Mythical Symbols of Water Charities

Varsha Shirgaonkar

During the evolution of society the antithetical processes of mankind initiate the process of change. Every stage of synthesis is the blending of the previous culture and the cultural change ushered in. In the wake of modernisation people may not practise their religion with its ritualistic elaborateness. Yet some of the signs of one's own religion along with certain mythological traces continue to remain, though, in a much transformed manner. Especially the beliefs and customs connected with the emotions of the people hardly vanish. The symbols on the structures become then the sign-posts of these matters. One such matter where emotions of the individuals are involved is the structure of water charity. The drinking fountains or *pyaavs* have been a part of Indian culture. They have been the symbols of water charity. At the personal level giving a water charity was considered to be a blissful activity. This was especially so in the memory of a deceased family member.

Water charity has been praised since ancient times. A verse in the Uttarakhaṇḍa of *Padma Purāṇa* states that digging of wells and such other water places from where human beings and animals drink water causes half the sins of the donor washed away.[1] It is with this belief that water charities are still made. There is a clear reference to the drinking fountains in the Purāṇas. The word *prapā* in the Purāṇas stands for a drinking fountain. Such *prapās* were to be arranged for the people who travelled in summer, rainy season or in autumn.[2] The current Indian word *pyaav* or *pāṇpoī* is derived from the Sanskrit word *prapā*. The belief regarding erection of water charity as the highest pious duty prevails to this day not only among the Hindus but also among the Jains, Buddhists and Parsis. Reverence for water is seen in every Zoroastrian ritual. Femal Yazata Ava, also known as Ardvi Sura Anahita is the Goddess of Water. The Parsis to this day celebrate the birthday of water on the Zoroastrian calendar day called Ava Ruz Ava Mah. On this day they visit the sea, river or a well with offerings.[3] The structures or drinking fountains came to be erected in the memory of the deceased not only among the Hindu families but also among the Jains and the Parsis. The *pyaavs* can be sub-divided into those for humans and those for animals. Generally those *pyaavs* that catered to the purpose of providing water for animals were called troughs. All the same it must be stated that at times the fountains served multiple purposes like being the objects of ornamental beauty, the *pyaav* for human beings and the troughs. Before the advent of automobiles

when transport largely depended upon animals like bulls and horses drinking fountains were also erected for animals. The purpose behind installing *Kabutarkhanas* also was for attaining bliss.

There are quite a few examples of the drinking fountains all over India the symbols of which attract our attention. Not necessarily the ones built after independence but some of the ones existing since the colonial period, though at times in dilapidated condition, have the symbols carved on them that are carried to posterity by their donors.

During the British period the term 'colonial architecture' broadly indicated architectural style of the European world. While implementing this experiment, in some cases, blending of Indo-Saracenic architecture and the Gothic and the Classical styles was seen.[4] The term Indo-Saracenic refers to the fusion of Hindu and Islamic architecture during the pre-British centuries, the architectural style that fitted into the neo-Gothic composition. The symbols in this composite style show a blend of Oriental and Occidental cultures. The Western civilizations also convey the cultural significance of fountains. The ornamental fountains inside the courtyards of a house or public building not only enhanced the beauty and grandeur of the structure but represented the source of fertility also. The fountains were considered as symbols of life. They were the symbols of the soul and the source of inner life and spiritual energy and ultimately of individuality itself. There was a belief that the ancient Greeks peopled their springs with nymphs.[5] In Western mythology a fountain was not a mere construction but "essentially moving, living and natural water."[6]

The drinking fountains depict the typical architectural characteristics. They include the water bowls of lotus shape, the cow-mouths and also the mouths of other animals like elephants, crocodiles etc. Usually these animals are associated with water and also have some religious and mythological significance. At many places cow-mouths are water outlets. Very interestingly, there is neither a record of the actual worship of the cow nor the identifiable origin of the cow worship.[7] Yet cow came to be associated with water. If the study of religion does not give us the exact origin of cow worship one needs to have a peep into the realm of mythology and take some support for the same. Dr. Sadashiv Dange offers a very interesting explanation to the association of water and cow. According to him this association is to be analysed from the zoomorphic and anthropomorphic myths. Myths since the Ṛgvedic times could be reconstructed for this purpose. The Vedic seers believed that the waters from the midregion or rain clouds were the cows. The term *apām garbha* for the sun indicates that the sun was also the source of water. The water streams from the solar orb are the cows.[8] Usually the *kapilā* or the cow of tawny colour is said to be associated with water according to mythology. This is especially so when the myths related to the rivers are

to be interpreted.[9] There are interesting myths about the river Godāvarī in Maharashtra showing the connection between the river and the cow. The very name of this river of Maharashtra means 'giver of cow.'[10] The blending of both is thus out of the belief that the water of the river nourishes the habitation around and produces crops. The association of river with the cow has led to the formation of an expression *kapila-dhārā* and is applied more specifically to such places from where water falls from a height in one or more streams.[11] One can say that this led further to the belief that the water captured from the origin of the river, if released from the outlet of cow-mouth would be holy. It is because of this reason that at practically all the river mouths and the shrines associated with the rivers the water outlet is of cow-mouth.

The belief that water coming out from the mouth of the cow is holy continued even till very recently. The same was upheld and carried forward in the case of the *pyaavs* constructed in the nineteenth century. In Ratansi Mulji fountain at Mint Road in the Fort area of Mumbai one can see the buffalo heads as some of the water outlets. The mythological reference of buffalo in art shows that the male was taken to be the vehicle of Yama while the female was the incarnation of Sāvitrī, the wife of Brahmā.[12] Its association with water though not direct may be construed with the belief of Vaitaraṇā river as the mid-way between the earthly life and the other one. There are some water outlets of elephant head as well in this fountain. Elephant also has been considered as an auspicious animal traditionally. It is a well-known fact that in India it is representative of Lord Gaṇeśa, while in Siam and Cambodia the white elephant is an indicator of the soul of the dead (perhaps the Buddha) and good luck respectively.[13] The general architecture of the fountains and *pyaavs* also would depend upon the personal liking of the donor or his family members. Thus the style could be the one that existed in the region from where the donor hailed. The *pyaav* donated by Madhavdas Kothari opposite Metro cinema has some features of Nāgara type of temple architecture. The Kothari family came from Gujarat and hence the impact of the local temple architecture gets reflected in their *pyaav* that they constructed in Mumbai. Sometimes the features seem to be in keeping with the architecture of the surrounding buildings. Devidas Purbhoodas Kothari *pyaav* opposite the General Post Office adjacent to Chhatrapati Shivaji Terminus (Victoria Terminus) has a dome like that of G. P. O. building.

The Arthur Crawford Market (presently Mahatma Phule Mandai) was built in 1869. Among the three fountains inside the market the one designed by W. Emerson in the middle of the outer courtyard is quite elaborate with three tiers. It depicts French Gothic style in Porbundar stone. The floral carvings, many aquatic animals and river goddesses make the architecture of the fountain quite elaborate. The aquatic animals include fish, crabs, frogs, crocodiles and

storks. Mythologically, each one of these has some significance. The fish is the symbol of good fortune among the Hindus.[14] According to Hindu mythology it was the fish that carried the boat of Manu to a place of safety. Such mythological accounts offer a somewhat supernatural power to the fish. A crab was generally taken to be sacred among the ancient Greeks. The practice among certain ancient groups was to put the crab back if they found it caught in the net. The respect for crocodile or alligator was found to be universal.[15] Frog is very commonly associated with water or rain. The frogs are generally supposed to be the controllers of water. In *Rgveda* (7.103) *Manduka sukta* is chanted to invoke the rain-god. The other name of this *sukta* is *parjanya sukta*. Thus the inseparable connection between the frog and rain is obvious.[16] It appears that the practice of sacrificing animals got replaced by making replicas of animals by the time of the *Puranas*. The Puranas mention a particular ritual soon after a freshly dug tank was filled with water. It was of placing in a plate a fish and a crocodile of gold, a fish and a non-poisonous serpent made of silver, a frog and a crab of copper and a tortoise made of iron and offering to the new tank to ensure continuous water supply.[17] The same belief must have continued in the later years and operated in case of the *pyaavs*. It must have been the belief of the donors that inscribing the aquatic animals on the *pyaavs* would make the water charity ever-lasting. Very interestingly as per the tradition the tokens of the aforesaid aquatic animals are buried even in present times at the time of digging a well or a reservoir with the same belief.[18] Thus sculptural expressions of aquatic animals on drinking fountains and the practices associated with the digging of a source of water show a very striking similarity and most importantly, they show a continuation of the age-old belief of the society.

The symbol of lotus on the drinking fountain not only exists on the structures of drinking fountains because the lotus is held as auspicious flower in Hinduism, Buddhism or Jainism but more so because as an aquatic plant it links the macrocosm and human microcosm.[19] Indian mythology has the lotus as the bridge of creation. Same is the belief in Egyptian mythology. A very interesting belief associated with life after death and the lotus is found among the Chinese Buddhists. They believe that at the hour of death the Buddha will appear to the humans and that their souls will be placed in a lotus. Thus the concept that lotus is a symbol of aquatic life seems to be universal. Its expression on the drinking fountains is but natural.

Some of the fountains and *pyaavs* in their own little way become the representatives of the Indo-Saracenic architecture. In the colonial architecture the Western motifs got blended with those of the Orient. Certain religious and mythological symbols of the Western world associated with water got merged with those of the Orient. The motifs like dolphins, and gargoyles are typically Western. Dolphin was considered to be auspicious while the gargoyles

had mythological significance. Gargoyles are mostly grotesque figures.The gargoyle's grotesque form was said to scare off evil spirits so they were used for protection. The word gargoyle shows its derivation from the Latin words such as *gurgulio, gula,* meaning the gurgling sound of water. In architecture they are the carved terminations to spouts which convey water away from the sides of buildings. Thus they are the projected water spouts from a cornice or parapet allowing water from the roof gutters to escape clear of the walls of the structure. They were not a feature of the Romanesque architecture in Europe but there were many examples of gargoyles on Gothic cathedrals and churches.[20] During the renaissance in Europe gargoyles were also water spouts that threw water off the roofs. Interestingly, sculptures similar to gargoyles are found on the walls of some buildings in Europe during the 14th and 15th centuries. But they were not having the function of throwing water, rather they were meant as ornamentation.[21] Sculptural impressions of gargoyles have a long historical tradition. One could see such gargoyles also in Egypt where they served the purpose of washing the sacred vessels which seems to have been done on the flat roofs of the temples. In Greek temples water from the roofs passed through the mouths of gargoyles shaped as lion's heads.[22] At Pompei, many terracota gargoyles were found that are modelled in the shape of animals. In the city of Mumbai one can see gargoyles as water spouts in the structure of the Chhatrapati Shivaji Terminus (Victoria Terminus) that was designed by F. W. Stevens. He was also the designer of Ratansi Mulji fountain mentioned above where the gargoyles were replaced by their Indian counterparts like cow-heads, buffalo-heads, elephant-heads etc. W. Emerson has given the sculptural representations of gargoyles on the fountain that he designed. This is the above-mentioned fountain existing within Mahatma Phule market.

A dolphin which is a counterpart of fish in European countries is considered to be auspicious. It is regarded as a divine intermediary between the upper and the lower worlds. The Western mythology and Christian art also depict it as a guide to the departed souls.[23] Such dolphins are seen in the designs of some of the fountains at Mumbai like the one inside the compound of Masina Hospital, Byculla and Flora Fountain at Hutatma Chowk, Fort. These two are ornamental fountains and not drinking ones.

The historical account of Flora Fountain reflects that earlier this fountain was called Frere Fountain but the appearance of the Greek Goddess Flora on the Fountain caused it to be renamed as Flora Fountain. In the city of Mumbai this is the only fountain having the representation of Flora. Flora is described as an Italian goddess associated with flowers and plants. She is one of the primal powers that preside over the growth of the natural world. She guards and protects the plants of gardens and fields from harm. Flora is said to be one of the primal earth goddesses. She is the divine patroness

of all gardens, orchards and fields, and of everything that blossoms, grows, and ripens. In Roman mythology Flora is mentioned as the goddess of spring and of flowers. A festival in her honour was held in 170 BCE that lasted for six days during which there were theatrical spectacles and animal hunts.[24]

It is found that Flora was worshipped throughout Italy in ancient times. The Sabines dedicated the month of April to her, and the Oscans knew her under the name of Flusia. Important cults of Flora existed in Agnone, Vittorino, Furfo and Rome.

According to legend, the cults of Flora and other Sabine divinities were brought to Rome by King Titus in the eighth century BCE. The high priest of Flora in Rome was the Flamen Floralis, one of the priesthoods believed to have been established by King Numa in the seventh century BCE. Since Flora is the Goddess of vegetation, her association with water is obvious, water being an essential component in the process of vegetation.

Another symbol that occurs on many of the European architectural buildings is that of the *puttis* (plural of the word *putto*). They were also seen on some renaissance paintings. The revival of the figure of the *putto* is generally attributed to Donatello, in Florence in the fifteenth century, although there are some earlier manifestations. These are the small, chubby naked babies with curly hair. *Putto* was the motif used in the decorative arts quite frequently in Europe since the classical times.[25] They are seen holding the pipette in hand on some fountains. The Italian word *putto* means a figure of a pudgy baby, almost always male, often naked and having wings. The iconography of *putti* is deliberately unfixed. The difference between *putti*, cupids and angels cannot be easily made out.[26] They have no specific attributes, but can take on the attributes of numerous other figures. Thus *putti* can indicate various meanings some of which are :

Associations with Aphrodite, and so with romantic − or erotic − love.

Associations with Heaven.

Associations with peace, prosperity, mirth and leisure.

It is their connection with prosperity that *puttis* may have been associated with fountains. The fountain inside the compound of Wadiaji Aatash Behram, Marine Lines, Mumbai and the one inside the compound of Masina Hospital, Byculla may be given as examples where *puttis* form a part of the fountain design.

Thus the otherwise ignored structures of water charity can be significant if we trace the history of symbolism that is embedded in them. It is not just Hindu symbolism but the blending of the Western and Oriental beliefs

emanating through mythologies that becomes an area of research. Such symbols, as seen from the aforesaid discussion may attract the world of scholarship and can provide further directions to research in Indology.

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The Chatrīs of Naikahāī, Reminiscent of the Kalacuri Art

Amarendra K. Singh

On the outskirts of Rewā city lies a tiny village of Dohī Nipaniyāñ adjacent to the Vindhya Telelinks Ltd., a cable manufacturing unit. Pulsating with the usual hustling and bustling, this village is chiefly inhabited by the *Kols* and *Harijans*. The skyline around it is dotted with the clusters of arable land, hamlets and a group of nine intact and two ruined *chatrīs* (*chatarīes*) (Pl. IX A). In lexicons, the *'chatarīes'* are described as umbrella-like *maṇḍapas* erected in the memory of kings and saints. These monuments (*chatarīes*) are to be constructed at the place of last rites performed in the memory of deceased.[1] A fierce battle was fought between Ajit Singh - the Baghela King and Yashavanta Rao Naik - senāpati of Ali Bahadur of Bundelakhanda in 1795 near this site popularly known as Babupura. Consequently, Naik was defeated and beheaded. Because of this reason, in common parlance this place is also called as Naikahāī or sometimes Peśawāī Maidāna.

The Battle of Naikahāī

Ali Bahadur, for some trivial reasons, was annoyed with Ajit Singh hence he dispatched a strong army of ten thousand soldiers under the command of Yashavanta Rao Naik to teach a lesson to his arch rival.[2] As has been said Naik succumbed to his injuries and was beheaded by the Kalacuri soldiers who were fighting for the Baghelas. His head was buried beneath the Ghariyārī Darawājā in the Rewā fort while torso was cremated in the battle ground itself.[3] Later in the years 1797-1800 Ajit Singh caused to erect *chatrīs* to commemorate the valour of his brave men. Along with these one *chatrī* also was constructed for Yashavanta Rao Naik.[4] With this note the architectural features of the *chatrī* of Yashavanta Rao Naik are being discussed succinctly in the forthcoming pages which is hopefully bound to have lasting impact on the studies on the Kalacuri art ensued or yet to be undertaken by the scholars in near future.

The *Chatrī* of Yashavanta Rao Naik

A cursory survey of the site reveals existence of nine *chatrīs* standing amidst abounding lush green vegetation if visited during rains. Of these, three bear inscriptions reading as[5]

1. *sam. 1855 ke sāla chaturī banī* Lala Gopāla Sīdha Jū Deva.

2. *sam. 1854 ke sāla banā* Anupa Sīdha Rāmapura *ke.*

3. *chatrī* Srī Sivadeva Singh Baghele *kaī* Teduni *ke* Srī Baijanātha Singh *ka* betā yā kaī Srī Parjo Sāhi *ke nātī.*

Thus, these inscriptions in *Baghelī* dialect furnish details on the dates of the erection of *chatrīs* and reveal the names of those warriors in whose memory these monuments were erected. In the premises, onlooker may find a dilapidated structure of two cellae supposed to be a temple constructed later (Pl. XI B) and closely followed by a tank, also in ruins. In the vicinity is lying embedded an *āmalaka* of pinnacle of the temple. Anecdote popular in the masses narrates existence of a Siva temple here. Not long back a *Sivaliṅga* also was seen here which has since disappeared. But the most important monument (*chatrī*) standing at the extreme end in oblivion is the one meant for Yashavanta Rao Naik (Pl. XI A).

Apparently, barring the dome crowning the superstructure of all the *chatrīes* and incidentally which is conspicuous by its absence in the *chatrī* to Yashavanta Rao Naik, it is identical to the remaining *chatrīs* at the site. It looks like an unpretentious peristyler *maṇḍapa* (5.18 x 4.58 m.) supported on eight elegantly carved pillars rising from a platform of 1.02 m. in height decorated with a *vasantapaṭṭikā*. The corner pillars up to some extent are alike, however, the intermediary pillars vary in the delineation of figural and floral patterns. These pillars are of *miśraka* type but rendering of the ornamentation raises question of their provenance. Rising from a flattened *kumbhikā* ornamented with pedimented *gavākṣa* the corner columns have eight, sixteen and circular ribbed facets surmounted by the cushioned capital and massive *bhāravāhakas* (Pl XIII A). Two circular bands of the *grāsapaṭṭī* and floral pattern divide these pillars into three. The *ghaṇṭāmālā* (chain-and-bell) motif is being issued from the mouth of these gorgon heads in the lower band (Pl. XIII B) while upper band is exquisitely carved with garlands. Though the intermediary pillars also are divided by two bands of the *grāsapaṭṭī*, the *ghaṇṭāmālā* design is absent here. The corner pillars, in addition, are surmounted by a panel of vegetal pattern of late mediaeval origin.

The ornamentation by the *ghaṇṭāmālā* design reminds us of the columns in the Ghaṇṭaī temple, Khajuraho[6] (Pl. XII B). It is a Jaina temple. Since the chain-and-bell motif has been prominently carved on its tall slender pillars, this temple is locally called as Ghaṇṭaī.[7] In the temples of Pratihāra period also the *ghaṇṭāmālā* design, with each of its loops enclosing a small bell is a peculiar feature.[8] This design is a favourite to the Kalacuri artificers also, as this could be seen in the temples of Bāndhogarh (Pl. XIV A) and Semra (Pl. XIV B). The *jaṅghā* of both these temples of early phase terminates into the *ghaṇṭāmālā* design.[9] The garland being issued by the *grāsamukha* is also seen in the *toraṇa* (Paturihā Darawājā) now adorning the Rewā fort

which was earlier brought from Gurgī.[10] Interestingly enough, an adjunct to the quatrefoil attached with the soffit of Rewā *torana* is decorated with the same type of garlands as seen in the columns of this *chatrī*. Thus, hopefully, these pillars at Naikahāi could be cognate and coeval to the specimens cited above.

These pillars are supporting four long friezes of amorous couples in pilastered niches in four cardinal directions (Pl. XVI). Each niche arranged alternately with a dancing dwarf is topped by a *caitya-gavākṣa*. This scheme in turn is capped by another *vasantapaṭṭikā* while below the niches runs another frieze of a procession of human beings. The number of pilastered niches in north and south is eleven each contrary to the east and west where this number is thirteen and fourteen respectively. Externally the roof is supported by cornices, again of late mediaeval fashion.

Ceiling of this *chatrī* is most fascinating and exquisitely carved (Pl. XV A), though its parallels could be cited from the Candellas and Kalacuris. Particular mention, however, may be made of the Virāteśvara temple, Sohāgapur in Śahaḍola. The *mahāmaṇḍapa* of this temple has a *kṣipta vitāna* with intricate carvings. Highly ornate ceiling of the Naikahāi *chatrī* also is of *kṣipta vitāna* type. It has been bordered on two sides by the arabesque work and pilastered niches arranged alternately with a dancing male crowned by the *gavākṣa* motifs. Here also, all the niches are holding amorous couples. These niches also are followed by a procession of men and *vasantapaṭṭikā* below while two floral bands are carved above it. The remaining *chatrīs* also at this site are ornamented with exquisite floral pattern (Pl. XV B). The rendering of these motifs is suggestive of the notion that these *chatrīs* were erected sometime in CE 1800-1900.

Conclusion

The allegorical and architectural scheme of the Naik's *chatrī* is not in conformity with the other *chatrīs* at Naikahāi. The remaining *chatrīs* are having a dome and are devoid of the type of pillars, ceiling and ornamentations employed in the Naik's *chatrī* which seems to be an ensemble of incongruous stuff taken from different sources. The only explicable and intelligible situation for this could be the intermingling of the raw materials of early and late mediaeval period. Hence, it could be surmised that this monument was built of the reused material.

The use of different types of pillars, the cornice and the vegetal panel surmounting the corner pillars is of interest. Yet, more interesting is the *ghaṇṭāmālā* design on these pillars. Since it was a favourite motif of the Kalacuri artisans, inference may be drawn that these also were the columns brought from Gurgī, the site known for its Śaivite temples and monasteris

patronised by the Kalacuris particularly by the illustrious king of the dynasty, Yuvarājadeva (C. 915-945 CE). Notably there are other instances also like the Hara-Gaurī image, *toraṇa* (Paturihā Darawājā) in the Rewā fort which have been brought from Gurgī. Besides the repertory of sculptural and architectural wealth displayed in the State Museum, Rewā and stored in the godowns of Archaeological Survey of India, Rewā Office also are from there. It is strange that though the Hara-Gaurī image and the *toraṇa* of fort is known in the academic environs, very little is known about the splendour of this *chatrī* which is in the continuation of the Kalacuri genre.[11] The ceiling of this *chatrī* also is in strict conformity with those of the Kalacuris.

Giving credentials to the above hypothesis if it is accepted that the ceiling and pillars were brought from Gurgī, a time frame of CE 1000-1100 may be assigned to them, although as has been said earlier, the Naik's *chatrī* was erected later using the same material.

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5. Pt. Brijmohan Natha, 1937, Naikahai Plan, A Survey....

6. Krishna Deva, 1994, *Temples of India*, Vol. I (Text), p. 151, Aryan Books International, New Delhi.

7. Dhaky, M. A., (Ed.) 1998, *Encyclopaedia Of Indian Temple Architecture*, North India - Beginnings Of Medieval Idiom, p. 71, American Institute of Indian Studies, New Delhi.

8. Trivedi, R. D., 1990, *Temples Of The Pratihara Period In Central India*, p. 18, Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi.

9. Singh, A. K. 2002, *Temples Of The Kalacuri Period*, p. 39 and 100, Pratibha Prakashan, Delhi.

10. Singh, A. K. 2002, *op. cit.* p. 77.

11. Many scholars have worked on the Kalacuri art and architecture but how this

A. General View of the Chatris, Naikahai.

B. Ruins of a temple, Naikahai.

A. Chatri of Yashavanta Rao Naik, Naikahai.
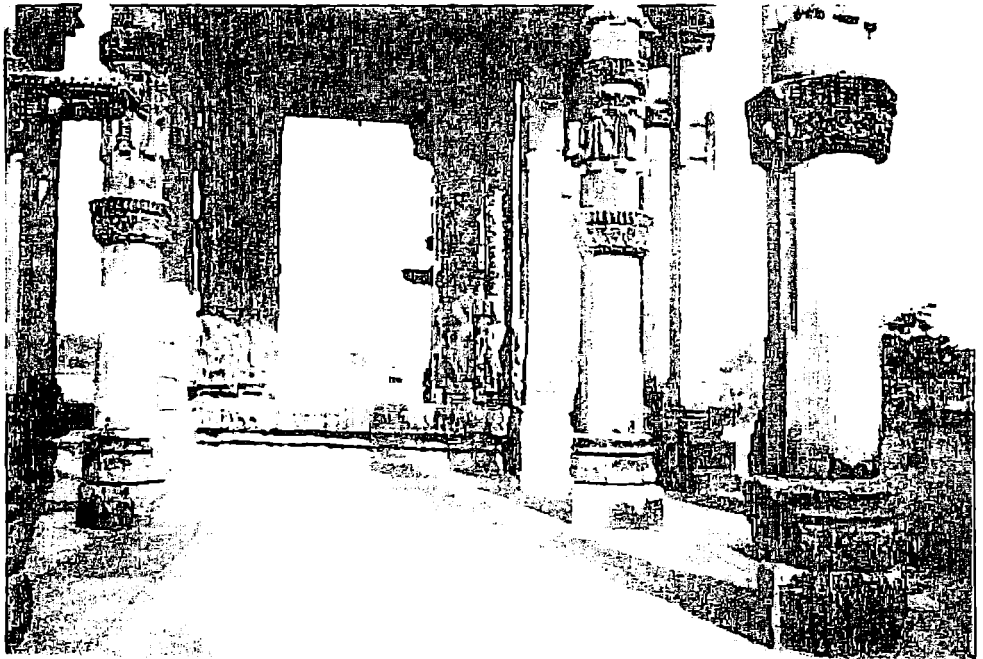
B. Pillars decorated with *ghaṇṭāmālā*, Ghantai temple, Khajuraho.
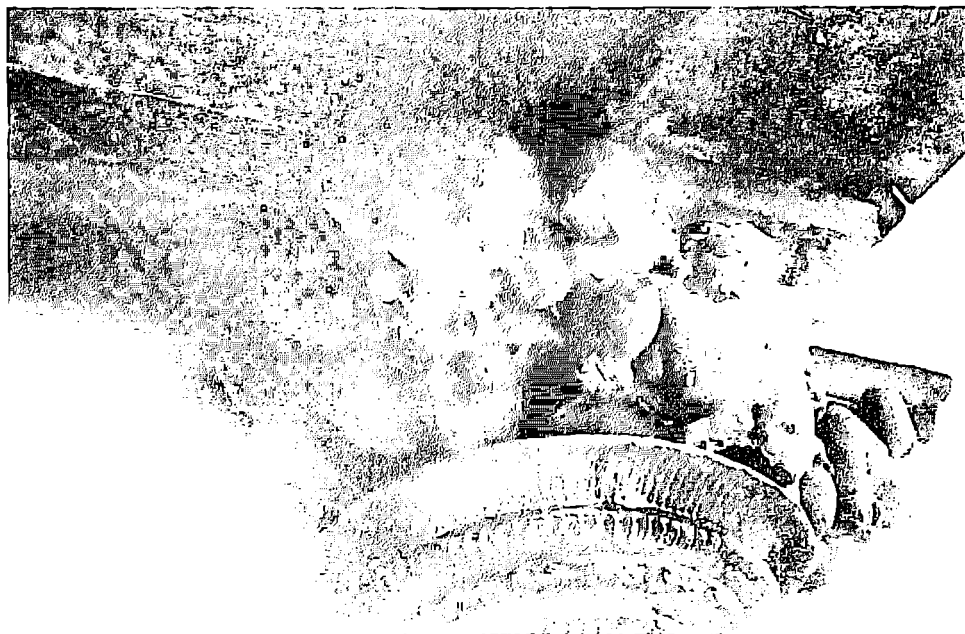
A. *Bhāravāhakas*, Chatri of Yashavanta Rao Naik.

B. Pillar embellished with *ghaṇṭāmālā* design, Chatri of Yashavanta Rao Naik.
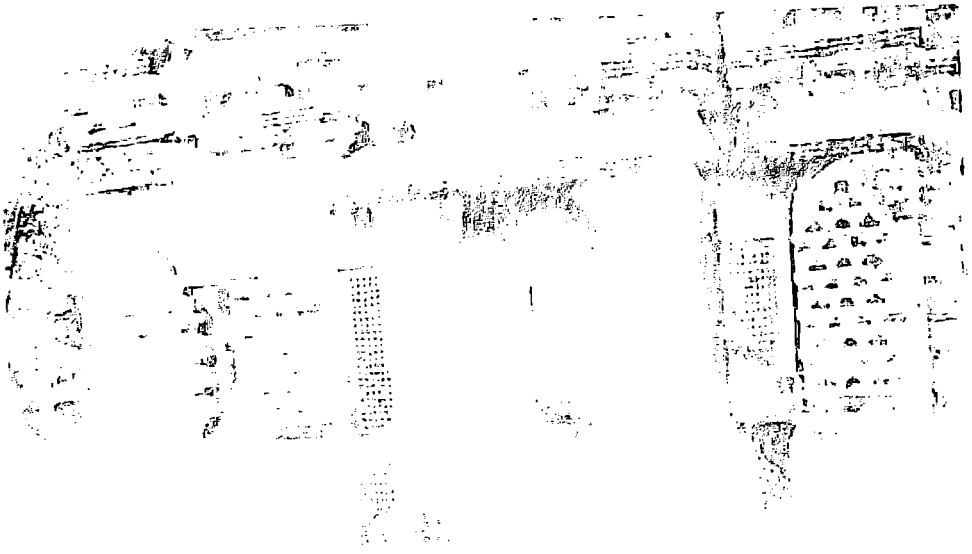
A. *Ghaṇṭāmālā, jaṅghā*, temple. Bandhogarh.
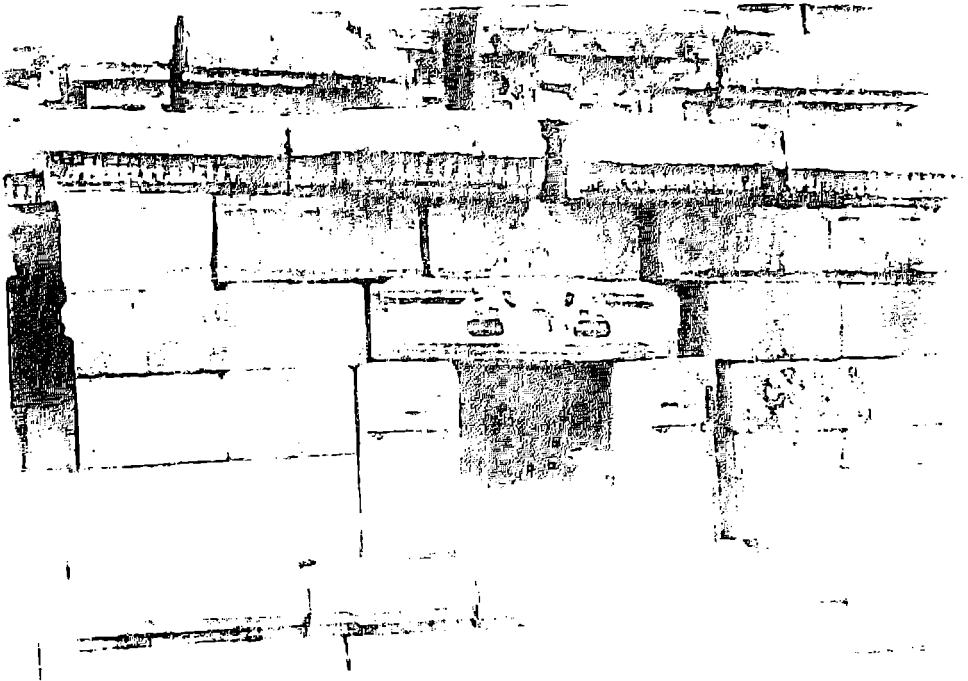
B. *Ghaṇṭāmālā, jaṅghā*, temple, Semra.
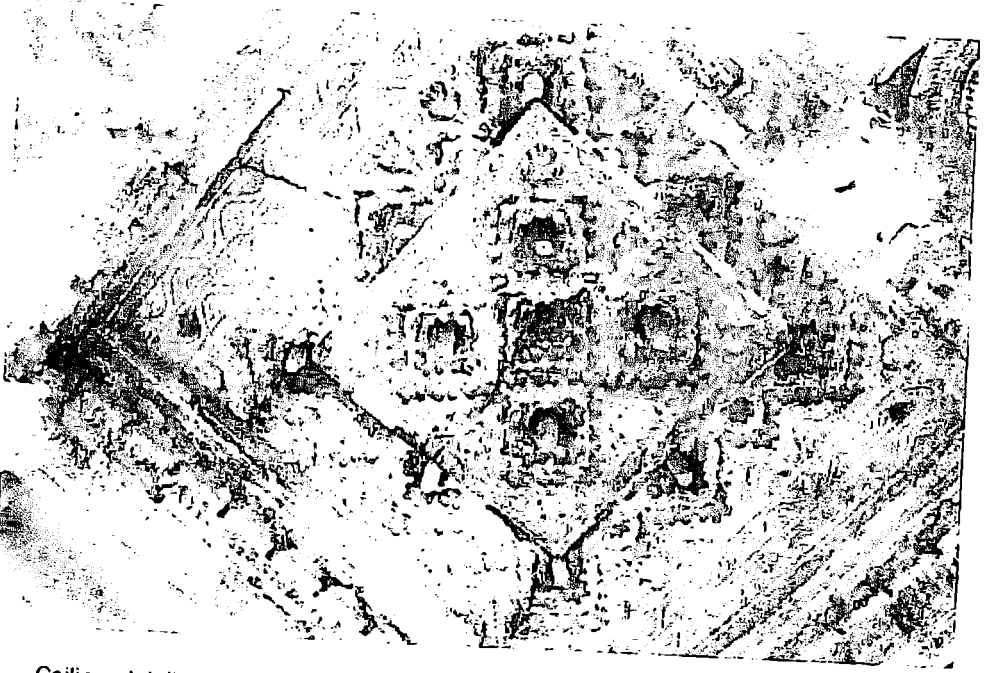
A. Ceiling detail, Chatri of Yashavanta Rao Naik, Naikahai.
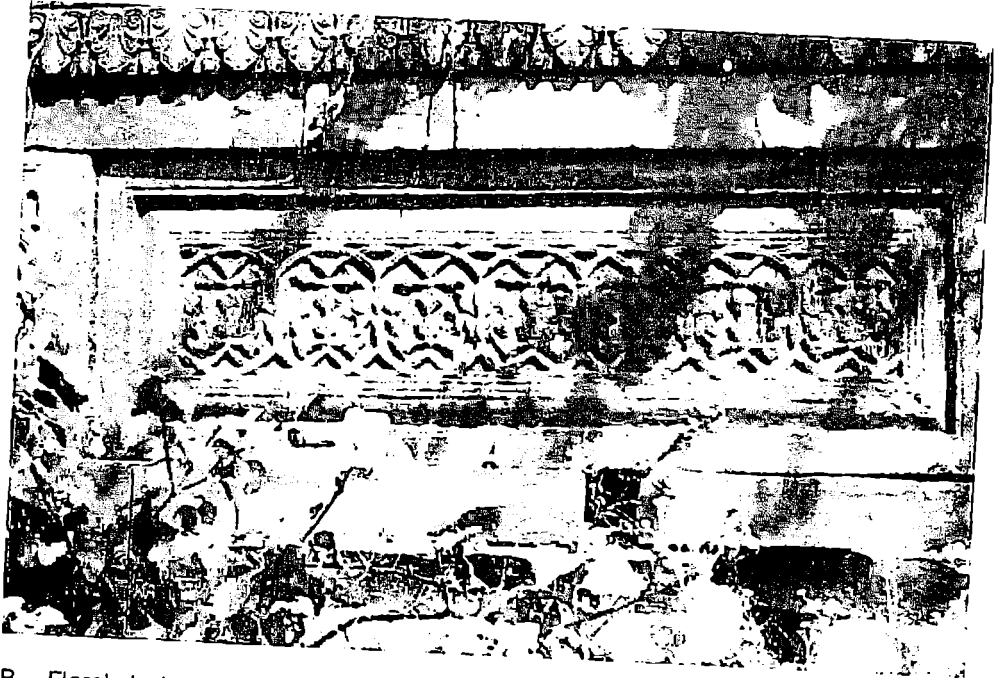
B. Floral design, Chatri, Naikahai.
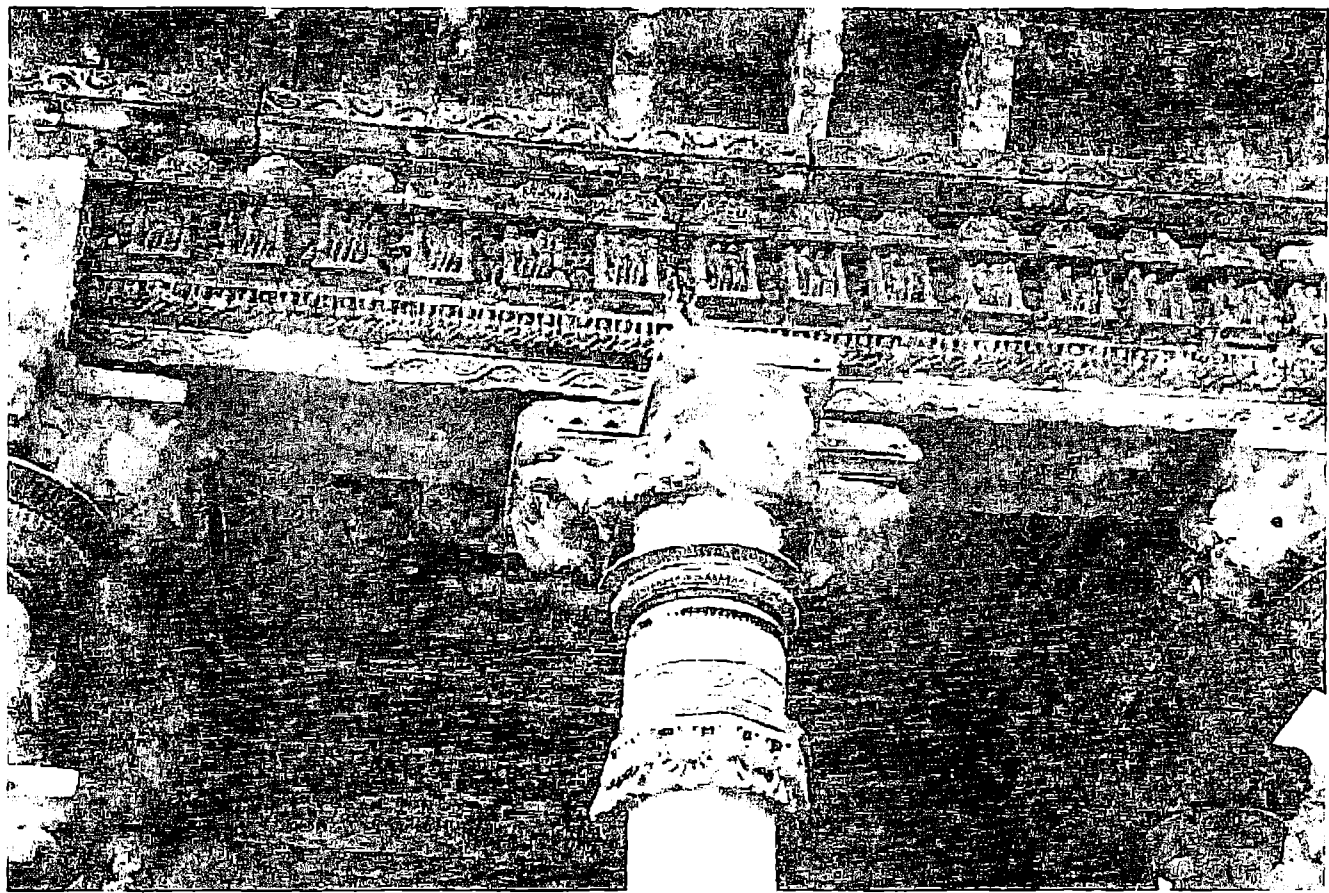
Exterior frieze, Chatrī of Yashavanta Rao Naik, Naikahai.

monument escaped their attention is puzzling. Besides Cunningham, Indian scholars also could not visit this site which now stands despoiled.

Acknowledgement

Interpreting the Early Medieval History of Gopādri Region

Arvind K. Singh

The diverse geographical profile of Gopādri region (northern Madhya Pradesh) comprises Gwalior, Bhind, Morena, Sheopur, Datia, Shivpuri, Guna and Ashoknagar districts. The physical setting of the region comprises three distinct geological formations, namely the Gwalior group, the Vindhyan system and the Alluvium. Of these, the Gwalior group and the Vindhyan system have Upper Cambrian context and the Alluvium (c. 3.5 to 1.3 million years BCE) belongs to the Pleistocene period. It seems that the semi-arid climatic conditions of the region formed around the Pleistocene period.[1] The landscape presents massive variations marked by the ravines on the Chambal, Kunwari and Sindh in the north, and the dense forests on the rolling hill ranges of Shivpuri district besides the vast and expansive Mālava plateau in the south with Guna as a part of it. Gwalior, Morena, Shivpuri, Gohad and Mehgaon of Bhind district are situated in the plateau of Madhya Bharat while Datia, Bhander of Gwalior district and Lahar and Mow of Bhind district are the parts of Bundelkhand plateau. This entire region was probably not in a position to support a large population because of varied geographical conditions. Even the Alluvium of the Pleistocene period, as a result of fluvial deposits, was of little use for agriculture due to continuous erosion, which ultimately formed the ravines. For the evolutions of the history of man and cultures in the region, these factors served as a basic background. On the other hand, the region of Gopādri is protected on both the west and north by the river Chambal. This river, with its zigzag tributaries and maze-like ravines forbids travel around rather than through Gopādri region. This geographical safeguard has been a factor in preserving the numerous antiquities and temples of the region.[2]

The history of the region begins from Prehistoric times. Primitive tribes lived in forests and hills in India for thousands of years.[3] Despite the cultural diversity, the state of Madhya Pradesh presents an interesting account of tribal and non-tribal customs and traditions. As for the tribal scenario, Madhya Pradesh, located in an area of tribal concentration, alone contributes 25 percent of the total tribal population of the country. The tribal population of the state is spread over all the districts, grouped in five zones. Of them, north-western tribal zone comprises the area of Gopādri region, which is the most homogeneous in its composition and bears tribe Sahariyā with a little sprinkling of Gond and Bhīl tribes.[4] Their conventional occupation was working in forest and

living on forest produces and is mostly under privileged group.

District-wise Information of Gopādrī Region:

Name	Area	Recorded	Forest- cover		Population	Density	Urban	Literate	ST
(District)	Sq km)	forest area	Dense	Open	(2001)	(per sq km)	%	%	%
Bhind	4459	91.450	23	73	1428559	320	23.73	70.5	0.5
Morena	4991	899.430	228	646	1592714	319	21.53	64.7	0.8
Sheopur	6585	3999.430	2070	1679	59495	85	15.83	46.4	21.5
Gwalior	5214	1396.890	500	840	1632109	313	60.23	69.4	3.5
Datia	2038	267.390	90	76	628,240	308	21.89	71.8	1.6
Shivpuri	10278	3249.180	1054	1492	1441950	140	16.62	58.9	11.2
Guna	6485	4252.640	867	1346	976596	150	24.04	52.5	16.1
Ashoknagar	4674	(Included in	Guna)		688940	147	16.80	60.8	8.7

The descriptions of the Gopādri region and its environment draw attention to the preponderantly *āṭavika* character of the land and its people and their survival in isolation. In Purāṇas the region is described as part of the Pāripātra (or Pāriyātra) mountain ranges which joined with the Vindhyan system. It is described in Baudhāyana's *Dharmasūtra* (1.125) as forming the boundary between the lands of the Vedic and the non-Vedic people in the forest tract. The region was inhabited by Niṣādhas and the Pulindas, Sekas, Aparasekas and also the Mlecchas, Nāgas (Karkotaka Nāga), Mṛga-vyādha (hunters) and Taskaras (bands of robbers).[5] The *āṭavika* linkage of the region seems to be confirmed from the mention of it in the Rock Edict XIII of Aśoka[6] and also from the Prayāga *praśasti* of Samudragupta.[7] Varāhamihira and Bāṇabhaṭṭa mention some of them as Vindhyāṭavī, and Kālidāsa mentions Vindhyapada as the region of their abode. The references to the āṭavikas and their eighteen kingdoms find mention in the Khoh plates of Saṃkṣobha.[8] These references put forward that even in the Gupta times the region was a loosely organised political unit in which alliance factor was particularly important. Interestingly the Chinese traveller, Hiuen Tsāng says that the Po-Li-Ye-To-Lo country (Pāriyātra region) was ruled by a Vaiśya king.[9] The traders' guilds continued to exercise control on the trade activities and administration of this region up to the early medieval period as seems indicated in the epigraphs from Gwalior and Sīyaḍoṇī of the Gurjara Pratihāra time. Such information indicates a kind of social and political system in this region where tribal chiefdoms exercised political control. The local tribes might have claimed new roles as a result of integration. However, a symmetrical political and social formation in this region may be noticed during the early historical times because all the segments of the hinterland could not have absorbed the varying moulds of culture uniformly.[10]

The region must have been in a blooming order under the Guptas as is apparent from the artefacts. Invasion by the Hūṇa leader Toramaṇa speeded

the disaster of the Gupta Empire. The Gwalior inscription of Mihirakula confirms that some part of the region was in Hūṇa possession. Yaśodharman of Mandsaur emerged like a meteor in the political sphere, achieved brilliant success against the Hūṇas and seems to have won the struggle against Mihirkula and conquered him. In the second quarter of the eighth century the region was under the rule of Yaśovarman of Kanauj whose conquests are described in the *Gauḍavaho* of Vākpati. Lalitāditya had a considerable sway in the region ruled by Yaśovarman as known from Kalhaṇa's description.[11] It is interesting to note a short inscription in the temple no. 17 at Naresar (District Morena) reading *Śrī Karkoṭakeśvaradevaḥ*[12] with resonance like the name of the dynasty 'Karkoṭa' to which Lalitāditya belonged. The son and successor of Yaśovarman was Āmarāja or Āma, who was converted to Jainism by a Jaina saint named Bappabhaṭṭi in samvat 807 (CE 750), as informed by Rājaśekhara. The *Bappabhaṭṭacarita* and the *Prabandhakośa* indicate that Āma held his court at Gopagiri, but according to the *Prabhāvakacarita* he, like his father Yaśovarman, reigned at Kanauj and not altogether at Gopagiri. Although other texts do not confirm this statement about Āma's occupation of Gwalior one scholar identified Āma with Nāgabhaṭa I of the Gurjara Pratihāra dynasty.[13]

Thus, Gopādri region seems to emerge in ancient times as a distinct eco-zone with its vast forest cover and an early vast mass of ravine-ravaged wasteland with sparse habitation and shifting settlements of the forest-based communities, who depended not insubstantially on violent, mercenary pursuits including even pillaging and plunder, which eventually became a way of life. Archaeological and historical records available so far on Gopādri region arrest our attention for what it holds in terms of early institutional formation and organisational network in the region. The kind of socio-economic stratification and network, as seen in northern India and elsewhere, from the Vedic times down to the Guptas and even later, does not seem to occur here. For instance, the *Vāsala gotra* and *Bheraṇḍa anvaya* of the donee are not found listed in the authentic old works on *gotra* and *pravara*. Artisans and traders seem leading citizens in the region, virtually running the administration through the council of the chief. Hiuen Tsāng also seems to indicate presence of a belt of area under a Vaiśya ruler from Gwalior to Ujjain. Till the emergence of Gurjara-Pratihāras, in the 9th century, there is a distinct presence of the *bhaṭas* (warriors) whose status fluctuated from the state of mercenary warriors to that of *koṭṭapāla, rājā, bhūpa, nṛpati, mahāsāmantādhipati, mahārājādhirāja* and finally in the eleventh century to that of *nṛpa-cakravartī*. This entire corpus of information about absence of a centralised political authority and about large pockets of forest-based communities, people and their chiefdoms, small habitation subsisting on incipient agricultural pursuits, pastorals and forest produce in a land of sub-subsistence resources, calls for an alternative mode of enquiry into the making of institutional history of the region, rather than looking for an operative system based on agrarian economy. We may have

to look for its roots in early forest-based (*vanaja*) institutions and their organising mechanism. Studies indicate communities' transition from nomadic to pastoral states and then on to tribal chiefdoms after which, by 9th century CE, a feudal system seems to have been imposed on the region from outside.[14] Of these different points, history of the early medieval period, especially of the time of the Gurjara Pratihāra, in Gopādri region forms the subject matter of the present article.

I

For the regional history of the Pratihāra period, information is available in Sāgaratāl,[15] Vāillabhaṭṭasvāmin temple,[16] Sīyaḍoṇī,[17] Rakhetrā[18] and other contemporary inscriptions. Pratihāras ruled from the second quarter of the eighth century to the first quarter of the eleventh century CE, with varying regions under their dominion, but their governance by and large lasted in the north and central part of India up to the middle of the tenth century CE. During this period, the region from Gopādri (Gwalior) down to Daśārṇa (Vidishā) was under the Pratihāra sway, who ruled earlier from Ujjain and afterwards from Kanauj (Kānyakubja). The dynasty of the Pratihāras seems to have established itself with the appearance of Nāgabhaṭa I, in the second quarter of the eighth century CE. The Gwalior inscription of Bhoja describes him as the 'shelter of the worlds' and as one who appeared as the image of the old sage having crushed the large armies of the powerful Mleccha king, the destroyer of virtue and undoubtedly he achieved popularity as a grand national hero by overpowering the Arabs.[19] The next two rulers in the line, Kakustha or Kakkuka and Devarāja were his brother's sons. The son and successor of Devarāja was Vatsarāja (c. CE 770-805). The region around Gopādri seems to have been occupied by him. The author of a Jaina work, *Kuvalayamālā* (Ch. II, p. 23) says that he composed the work in the year 700 (CE 778) at Jāvālipura (modern Jālor) which was at the time ruled by the *raṇahastin* (war-elephant) Vatsarāja. Jaina works prove that his kingdom comprised both Mālava and eastern Rājaputānā. There is no doubt that Vatsarāja gradually extended his dominions in the north. The Gwalior inscription records that he forcibly wrested the empire from the famous Bhaṇḍi clan. Rāṣṭrakūṭa inscriptions[20] mention that he defeated the lord of Gauḍas, probably Dharmapāla.[21] The Gwalior inscription of Bhoja records that Nāgabhaṭa II (c. CE 805-833), 'desirous of the great growth of virtuous acts enjoined in the Vedas', performed a series of religious ceremonies according to the custom of the Kṣatriya families and, after having defeated Cakrāyudha, Kanauj seems to have been confined to the Pratihāra kingdom and served as the capital city. He defeated the lord of Vaṅga, and the kings of Āndhra, Sindhu, Vidarbha and Kaliṅga were attracted towards him or perhaps sought his kindness and he forcibly seized the hill forts of the kings of Ānartta (north Saurāṣṭra), Mālava, Kirāta (in the Himālayan region), Turuṣka, Vatsa (Kauśāmbī region)

and Matsya (eastern Rajasthan). During the time of Rāmabhadra (c. CE 833-836) the region around Gwalior continued to be under his efficient reins which is apparent from one of the inscriptions engraved in the Vaillabhaṭṭasvāmin temple in the Gwalior fort. The inscription records about a person named Vaillabhaṭṭa in the service of the illustrious Rāmadeva (Rāmabhadra), who never transgressed his duty of chief of the boundaries (*maryādādhuryatām-alanghayatā*). Another fragmentary inscription found in the Gwalior fort mentions the name of Rāmadeva and his official Vaillabhaṭṭa.[22] This inscription begins with the invocation to god Viśākha and seems to record the construction of a temple dedicated to Kārttikeya. Bhoja (c. CE 836-885) is called Mihira and Śrīmad-ādivarāha. The pillar inscription of CE 862 indicates that the great feudatory (*mahāsāmanta*) Viṣṇuvarman was the governor of the Deogaḍh region.[23] Vaillabhaṭṭasvāmin temple inscription of CE 976 mentions that Śrīmad-ādivarāha (Bhojadeva) appointed Alla, the son of Vaillabhaṭṭa as the guardian of Gopādri or *koṭṭapāla* of Gopagiri. The hereditary position of Vaillabhaṭṭa and Alla under the Pratihāra kings indicates a continual authority of the Pratihāras over the Gwalior region. Within a few years of his accession Bhoja succeeded in re-establishing the fortunes of his family to a considerable extent, but soon he had to measure his strength against the Pāla king Devapāla. There is no doubt that he renewed his aggressive career some time in the third quarter of the ninth century CE.[24] He had a reputation as a strong ruler, able to maintain peace in his kingdom and defend it against external dangers as he stood as a safeguard of defense against Muslim attack, leaving this as a revered legacy to his successors.[25] Bhojadeva seems to have earned a lasting fame in the Gwalior region and it is not surprising to find his name mentioned as that of an ideal, munificent king of the past in a fragmentary inscription dated in saṁvat 1329 (CE 1272) in the Temple 19 of Naresar. The power, prosperity and efficient administration of Bhoja have been admired even by the Arab traveller, Suliman, in CE 851.[26]

Mahendrapāla (c. CE 885-910), was known as Nirbhayanarendra, Nirbhayarāja, etc. The Sīyaḍoṇī inscription from Sīroṇ Khurd (District Lalitpur), mentions the name of Mahendrapāla along with three other rulers of Kānyakubja, and records many donations for providing materials of worship of Viṣṇu and other gods.[27] The reign of Mahendrapāla as well as that of his son Mahīpāla is glorified by their patronage to Rājaśekhara, the writer of *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*, *Karpūramañjarī*, the *Bāla-Rāmāyaṇa*, etc. His son Bhoja II (c. CE 910-912) ruled for a short period. Mahīpāla (c. 912-944) or Kṣitipāla was Bhoja's step-brother. The central region of India was peaceful during his regime. In the view of Majumdar, Vināyakapāla, was Mahīpāla alias Kṣitipāla alias Herambapāla, but some scholars do not accept the identification and therefore, regard Vināyakapāla as different from Mahīpāla alias Kṣitipāla.[28] Vināyakapāla exercised control in the area from Gopācala to Chanderi only, which indicates that during his reign the Gurjara Pratihāra power was much reduced.

Vināyakapāla ruled till at least CE 942, and was succeeded by Mahendrapāla. Mahendrapāla II (c. 944-947) and his successors were not powerful. The disintegration and decline of the Pratihāra power was apparent during the time of Devapāla, another son of Mahīpāla, when the Candellas of Jejākabhukti became independent. Decline continued steadily under Vijayapāla's rule. Rājyapāla, Trilocanapāla was completely defeated by Mahmūd who marched in to Kanauj again in CE 1019. At last the Pratihāra Empire, which successfully resisted Muslim attack from the north-west for about two centuries, yielded to the disruption of the local forces of northern India.[29] The second half of the 10th century CE saw the disintegration of the Pratihāras and emergence of Cālukya, Candellas of Jejākabhukti, Kacchapaghāṭas and others. The known kings of the Cālukya family who ruled over the Kadwaha region till the last quarter of the 10th century are Avantivarman, Siṁhavarman, Sadhanvā, Avanivarman, Narasiṁha and Kesarin. Soon thereafter, Harirāja of later Pratihāra dynasty advanced on Kadwaha. This branch of Pratihāra family ruled over Jhansi-Chanderi-Kadwaha-Pacarai-Thubaun and adjoining areas during 10th-13th centuries. Other rulers of this dynasty were Bhīmadeva, Raṇapāla, Vatsarāja, Svarṇapāla, Kīrttipāla, Abhayapāla, Govindarāja, Rājarāja, Vīrarāja and Jaitravarman.[30] The inscriptions of some of these rulers have been found from different places in the region.

<div align="center">II</div>

Gurjara Pratihāras were powerful rulers, and stuck to Gwalior persistently, recognizing its great strategic and military position in the contemporary political scenario. Vāillabhaṭṭasvāmin temple inscription of CE 875 and 876[31] gives pre-eminence to Gopagiri as a strong centre in the neighbouring area, though Gopagiri seems to have stood as a satellite of Kanauj even as it served the military purpose of controlling the hinterland. The armies of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas in the course of their northern campaigns might have passed through the region in the tripartite struggle for power between the Gurjara Pratihāras, the Pālas and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. For instance in CE 903, a bloody battle between Rāṣṭrakūṭas' feudatory, *mahāsāmantādhipati* Guṇarāja and feudatory of the Gurjara-Pratihāras, Undabhaṭa was fought on the bank of the river Madhuveṇi at Terahi in which the *Koṭṭapāla* Caṇḍiyāṇa, a *mahā-aśvapati* besides Allabhaṭṭa and Allajiyapa lost their lives.[32] Gwalior fort was turned into a *'koṭa'* (fortress) with Alla, son of Vāillabhaṭṭa as its *koṭṭapāla* who served as the *maryādādhurya*, 'warden of marches' meant to take care of the security needs of Gopagiri fort and its surroundings in the near or distant regions within or outside the empire of Gurjara Pratihāras. Inscription of CE 875 refers to the other officers, the commander of the army (*balādhikṛta*), a council of administrators of town (*sthānādhikṛta*), the chief of oilmen's guild (*tailika mahattaka*) and chief of gardeners (*mālika mahara*). It appears that in the lack of centralised political authority and regular ruling dynasties till the 9th century CE tribal

chiefdoms exercised political control and there is a distinct presence of *bhaṭas* like Undabhaṭa, Dhurbhaṭa, Vāillabhaṭa, Allabhaṭa, Gobhaṭa and others whose position graduated from mercenary warrior to that of *koṭṭapāla, rājā, bhūpa, nṛpati, mahāsāmantādhipati* to *mahārājādhirāja.*[33] Here one notices a surprising pattern in the polity highlighting absence of the overlord and claim of dominance by the *bhaṭas* who occasionally proclaimed themselves as *mahārājādhirāja* even as they invoked their overlord. Sīyaḍoṇī stone inscription[34] mentions Undabhaṭa, who is described as *mahāpratihāra, samadhigataśeṣamahāśabda,* and *mahāsāmantādhipati.* From the introductory remarks to the donations we learn that the town of Sīyaḍoṇī, in the V. S. 969 (CE 912) was held by the *mahārājādhirāja,* the illustrious Dhurbhaṭa; and in the years 1005 (CE 948), 1008 (CE 951), and 1025 (CE 968) by the *mahārājādhirāja* Niṣkalaṅka. Under these nobles, the affairs of the town would seem to have been managed by an assembly of five called *pañcakula,* and by a committee of two, appointed from time to time by the town. The mahārājādhirājas themselves were subordinate to, and derived their authority from, the paramount lords of the country, of whom the inscription mentions: Bhoja, Mahendrapāla, Kṣitipāla or Mahīpāla and Devapāla.

Some personal names recorded in the inscriptions without royal lineage may have royal affiliation. In Mahua inscription, datable to 7th century, Vatsarāja's lineage is given as Āryabhāsa Vyāghrahela, his son Nāgavardhana, Tejovardhana and Udita. The latter's son was Vatsarāja of spotless character.[35] Lakhārī inscription of CE 1067 mentions a grant of 200 *siddhidramma* by Jahalaṇadevī, wife of *rājaputra* Candrāditya in the time of *mahārājādhirāja* Abhayadeva.[36] Indore memorial pillar inscription mentions the warrior Ajayapāla who died after conquering his foe in battle.[37] Ajayapāla is known as the ruler of Gwalior and Naresar and Rāval Vāmadeva as the local chief ruling over the area with his quarter at Naresar.

The entire region seems divided into towns (e.g. Gopādri, Ḍobha, Padmāvatī and Saraśvatīpaṭṭana and others) on one hand and vast expanse of hinterland on the other. In this division, the towns were controlled by traders and the hinterland was impregnable, guarded by the *bhaṭas* of the forest tribes who were similar to the *bhadakanas* of yore who lived in the natural rock shelters and occupied inaccessible forests.[38] As for the town, Vāillabhaṭṭasvāmin temple inscription presents some broad idea about a typical town. It records that there was the ruler Parmeśvara Śrī Bhojadeva, the guardian of the fort; Alla commanded Gopagiri, Tattaka commanded the army and the merchant Vavviyāka, the trader Icchuvāka, and the other members of the board of the Savviyākas were administering the city. The whole town gave to the temple of the nine Durgās, which Alla, the son of Vāillabhaṭṭa, had caused to be built on the further bank of the Vṛścikālā River, a piece of land belonging to the village of Cūḍāpa'likā, which was the town's property, two hundred

and seventy royal hastas (*parameśvariya-hasta*) in length and one hundred and eighty seven hastas in breadth, for a flower garden. For the performance of worship, lands donated were the field cultivated by Dallaka, the son of Saṅgaḍāka, in the chief grain land of the common called Vyāghrakeṇḍikā, in the village of Jayapurāka, which was the town's property, and on the north of this same field, the field cultivated by Memmāka, the son of the Kṣatriya Devavarmaṇa. The seed required for the two fields is eleven *droṇas* of barley according to the measure of Gopagiri *(Gopagirīya-māpyena)*. The two fields were defined by their four boundaries. In order to provide oil for the lamps, the following were made responsible : the chiefs of the oil millers, who dwell in Śrī Sarveśvarapura, such as Sarvasvāka, son of Bhoccāka, Jyāśakti, son of Mādhava, Sāhulla, son of Śivadhari, and Gaggīka, son of Saṅgāka; the chiefs of the oil millers, who dwell in Śrīvatsasvāmipura, such as Siṅghāka, son of Kuṇḍāka, and Khohaḍāka, son of Vallūka; the chiefs of the oil-millers, who dwell in Caccikāhaṭṭikā and Nimbādityahaṭṭikā, such as Jajjaṭa, son of Deuvāka, Goggāka, son of Vacchillāka, Jambeka, son of Deddūka, and Jambahari, son of Rudraṭa, and the other members of the whole guild of oil millers. They had to give one *palikā* of oil per oil mill on the ninth day of the bright half of every month. The gardeners, who dwell on top of Śrī Gopagiri, such as Ṭikkūka, son of Gāhulla, Jāseka, son of Deddūka, Siddhūka, son of Vahulāka, Sahaḍāka, son of Jambāka, Durgadhari, son of Dantin, Vāumāka, son of Nannumāka, and Vāyaṭāka, son of Veuvāka, and other members of the whole guild of gardeners should daily give, for the requirements of worship, fifty garlands of such market flowers as are available at the particular season.[39] Thus, Gwalior, the chief town of the region had a cluster of settlements around the fort. These consisted of general localities, e.g., Caccika-Haṭṭikā and Nimbāditya-Haṭṭikā, Śrī Sarveśvarapura and Śrīvatsasvāmipura, representing the settlements of oilmen (*tailikas*). Two other settlements namely, Vyāghrakeṇḍikā and Jayapurāka were 'peasants' villages. The locality named Cūḍāpallikā and the hills of Gwalior were the habitats of the gardeners. A *sthāna* in the city was under the *sthānādhikṛta*. The fort was in the hands of a 'warden of boundaries' (*maryādādhurya*) and *koṭṭapāla*, i.e. Vāillabhaṭṭa and his son and successor Alla. Inscriptions suggest that the town was administered by a board (*vāra*) run by the *sthānādhikṛta*, along with *śreṣṭhī, sārthavāha-pramukha, tailika-mahattaka*,and *mālikamahara*. In these arrangements the domination of traders is fairly noticeable. However, in the view of Mazumdar[40] donations of merchants of the period under survey convey an impression that they were poorer in comparison to the landed aristocrats. No single merchant has been found to donate a whole village or construct big temples. In order to construct or defray the expenses of temples, not one but several merchants pulled their resources together. As many as nine chiefs of oil millers of four villages and all the members of the guild of oil millers came to an agreement that each one of them would give one *palikā* of oil on the ninth day of

the bright half of every month for the illumination of the Vaillabhaṭṭasvāmin temple of Gwalior in CE 876. On the date of the agreement amongst the oil millers, the guild of gardeners also decided to give fifty flower garlands for the worship of the above mentioned deity at the same time.[41]

Likewise, the affairs of the Sīyaḍoṇī town seem to have been managed by an assembly of five called *pañcakula*, and by a committee of two, appointed from time to time by the town. Sīyaḍoṇī stone inscription records a large number of donations made at different times, from CE 903 down to CE 968, and almost all of them by traders and artisans, for providing the usual materials of worship of Viṣṇu and other deities at Sīyaḍoṇī. For instance: the whole town gave a field measuring 200 by 225 *hastas* to Śrī Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭāraka, set up by the merchant Caṇḍuka, son of Saṅgata in CE 903; in CE 907 the *mahāsāmantādhipati* Undabhaṭa assigned an endowment, securing the daily payment of a quarter of a *pañcīyakadramma* and of one *yugā* while merchants Caṇḍuka, Sāvasa, and Māhapa, sons of Saṅgata gave an *āvāsanikā* or residence comprising four houses to Śrī Viṣṇu-bhaṭṭāraka. Chaṇḍū's son Nāgāka made an endowment acquired from certain potters, to the effect that the distillers of spirituous liquor, on every cask of liquor, were to give liquor worth half a *vigrahapāladramma* to the god and assigned an endowment securing the daily payment by certain sugar boilers of a *varāhakayaviṁsopaka* in CE 908. Vāsudeva gave an *āvāsanikā* in the Dosihaṭṭa to Śrī Viṣṇu-bhaṭṭāraka, and a house of his own to the god in CE 910. Caṇḍūka gave a *vīthī* or shop in the Prasannahaṭṭa; and the same person gave four hereditary *vīthīs* of his own; seller of betel Keśava gave a hereditary *vīthī* of his own in the Caturhaṭṭa; Nāgāka gave two *vīthīs*, acquired in the Dosihaṭṭa to Śrī Viṣṇu-bhaṭṭāraka while merchant Siluka gave a *vīthī* acquired by him to Śrī Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭāraka. In CE 912 merchant Nāgāka gave a capital of 1350 *Śrīmadādivarāhadrammas*, invested with the distillers of spirituous liquor, who were to pay every month half a *vigrahatuṅgīyadramma* on every cask of liquor to Śrī Viṣṇu-bhaṭṭāraka; an endowment realising a payment of two *kapardakas* on certain *yugās* in the Dosihaṭṭa; a *vīthī* acquired in the Dosihaṭṭa and three vīthīs of his own to Śrī Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭāraka; two houses to Tribhuvanasvāmideva; merchant Bhāila gave a hereditary *vīthī* to Śrī Vāmanasvāmideva. The seller of betel Dhamāka gave an *uvaṭaka* bought by him to Śrī Umāmaheśvara. In CE 934 Nāgāka, Dedaika, Vāli, Rudāka, and Chitarāka gave a *āvāsanikā* with the houses and *vīthīs* to the god Viṣṇu. Dedaika, Vālīka and Rudāka gave a *vīthī* in the Catuṣkahaṭṭa to Śrī Viṣṇu-bhaṭṭāraka. In CE 937, the sellers of betel, Keśava's son Savara, and Mādhava, son of Iccū gave an endowment realising the payment of a *vigrahadrammavisovaka* on every *pālikā* of leaves to the god Viṣṇu. Sāvasa gave a *vīthī* to Tribhuvanasvāmideva. Nāgāka gave a *palikā* of oil from every oil mill of the oil-makers. In CE 948 the *mahājans* in the Dosihaṭṭa assigned a monthly payment of one-third of a *dramma* to Śrī

Bhāilasvāmideva, set up by the merchant Vikrama. The *sūtradhāras* Jejapa, Visiāka, Bhaluāka and other stone cutters assigned a payment of one-third of a *vigrahapāladramma* on every *bharaṇa* to Śrī Viṣṇu-bhaṭṭāraka. In CE 951, Keśava, Durgāditya, and other oil-makers, gave a *palikā* of oil from every oil-mill to Śrī Cakrasvāmideva, set up by Purandara in the temple of Viṣṇu. The merchant Mahāditya and Nohala gave a *āvāsanikā*, comprising of three houses, to Śrī Cakrasvāmideva, set up by Pappāka. In CE 968, the merchant Śrīdhara, son of Mahāditya assigned a quarter of a *Śrīmadādivarāhadramma*, paid as the rent of a *vīthī* to Śrī Viṣṇu-bhaṭṭāraka, set up by Mahāditya in the temple of Viṣṇu. The second part states that an immigrant Brāhmaṇa, who came on a matter of business to Sīyaḍoṇī, Vasiṣṭha's son Dāmodara founded here a temple of Murāri, furnished it with an image of the god, provided it with a garden, and probably endowed it with funds for the worship of the deity. The concluding line would appear to say that Vasiṣṭha died in battle.[42] Thus, both the inscriptions of Vāillabhaṭṭasvāmin temple and Sīyaḍoṇī denote that people from distant places migrated and settled in the Gopādri region. Sīyaḍoṇī inscription also indicates that the persons of Brāhmaṇa caste were performing other works than those typically prescribed for them. They were doing business and died in battle.

The monetary transactions are well recorded in Sīyaḍoṇī inscription, which refer to eleven types of coins and also to the *yugās* (vouchers authorising the owner to exhibit his commodities in the market place for one day). In connection with the objects of donation, attention may be drawn to the various names of coins mentioned in the inscription, which are as follows: *dramma, pañcīyaka-dramma*,[43] vigrahapāla-dramma, vigrahapālīya-dramma, vigrahapālasatka-dramma, vigrahatuṅgīya-dramma, Śrīmadādivarāha, Śrīmadādivarāha-dramma,[44] varāhakaya-vimsopaka,[45] vigraha-dramma-visovaka, kapardaka, and 2 coins in latter portion *kākiṇī* and *varāṭakā*.[46] As for the information about collective banks, there are very few references to guilds in northern India accepting deposits or endowments and paying regular periodical interest on them; however, Sīyaḍoṇī inscription records that 1350 *Śrīmadādivarāha-drammas* donated by a merchant named Nāgāka were invested with the distillers of spirituous liquor. According to Gopal[47] the reason for the paucity of such references is to be sought in the disturbed conditions of the time and it is also likely that the frequent migration of population from one place to another that resulted from the interminable wars of the period did not leave the guilds stable and permanently established in one place.

Here we find the information about guild on the basis of division of labour. It appears that by this time the significance of the chief of the guild within the organisation had increased. Vāillabhaṭṭasvāmin inscription recorded two perpetual endowments made respectively by the members of the guild of

oil-millers headed by their chiefs (*mahattakas*) whose names are given and the members of the guild of gardeners with their seven chiefs (*maharas*). In the view of Gopal[48] the use of the singular number indicates that in both the cases there was only one guild of the occupations in the localities mentioned. It is likely that the persons named as chiefs occupied an important place in their guilds through their being better than others. However the option cannot be ruled out that there were sub-groups like the *praśreṇīs* of the Jaina text in different wards of the city and their chiefs were their heads. It appears from epigraphic references that the guilds of an area regulated their affairs without any mention to their counterparts in other areas or to any central body, if it existed at all. Besides many chiefs of the oil millers, gardeners, we read of the distillers of liquor (*kallapālā-mahattaka*) and betel-sellers (*tāmbolikamahara*) in the Sīyaḍoṇī inscription. It appears that the chief could accept any endowment and in fulfilling it could impose a cess on the members of the guild. In one case a temple built by the chief of a guild received endowments from the members of his profession.

The artisans and traders had their own guilds and corporations, to look after the general management of the whole affairs and probably also for controlling the markets. Sīyaḍoṇī inscription mentions several artists like *Sūtradhāra* Jejapa, Visiāka, Bhaluāka and other stone-cutters, who assigned a payment of one-third of a *vigrahapāla-dramma* on every *bharaṇa* to Śrī Viṣṇu-bhaṭṭāraka, besides others who were engaged in writing the epigraphs or construction activities. In fact, it is a collective public copy of a series of deeds; and there are occasional remarks that a certain portion was written by the *karaṇika*, or writer of legal documents, Sarvahari, son of Bhocuka, another by Racchāka, son of Sarvahari, another by Svāmikumāra, another son of Sarvahari, and another again by the *karaṇika* Dhīravarman, son of Svāmikumāra. Here, three generations of Sarvahari are mentioned and his two sons also follow the same profession that confirms the hereditary nature of the profession. Hence proficiency came from family background. A large number of *sūtradhāras* and masons left their names or marks on their creations, which gives an idea of their art activity, heredity of profession, expansion, etc.[49] With reference to the other professions and crafts, inscriptions incidentally mention *tailika, mālika, kallapālā, tāmbolika* and some others. The products of the home-industries were all brought for sale to the local markets; which are known to have been flourishing. The market at Dubkuṇḍ, the capital of the Kacchapaghāta *mahārāja* Vikramasiṁha, has, more or less, the same description.[50] The record mentions articles in connection with tolls and sales tax imposed on them, some of which were local products whereas others were imported. Gwalior inscription[51] uses the term *maṇḍapikā*, also stating that a portion of the income from it was to be made in favour of the deity installed in a temple at each of the places. *Maṇḍapikā* thus appears to be the place, a pavilion in the market, where sales and the other taxes were

collected on articles before they were displayed for sale.

Traders are also known as moving in groups, as evidenced by the expression *vaninmaṇḍalikā*. It appears to have been due to the fear of robbers infesting the highways and forests, as we also know from one of Ajaygadh inscriptions which says[52] that Bhilalas, Sabaras and Pulindas were bothersome to the people and state. This reflects the condition of Vindhya vide *Śṛṅgāramañjarīkathā* (p. 84) of Mālava, but the condition was more or less the same throughout the region. A picture of the life of these aboriginal tribes is given by Somadeva, a Kashmiri writer of the eleventh century, in his *Kathāsaritsāgara* (in XIII, p. 39).

As for the general economic life of the region in the period under review, people following different vocations enjoyed high material prosperity. The villagers who were satisfied with their limited wants of life, tried to make their villages beautiful by their interests in excavating wells, planting gardens and erecting temples. The internal trade seems to have been prosperous and the traders and the craftsmen organised themselves not only according to their own businesses but also by making pious donations and willingly imposing tolls upon various articles of trade. The industrial development progressively resulted in a vital growth of towns and cities, like Gwalior and Narwar. Dubkuṇḍ is described as a town with flourishing markets and widespread commercial activities. There is also evidence to show that effective arrangements were made to guard the city and its surroundings. Big towns had peripheral areas attached to them.

The ploughing, sowing and other agricultural activities are depicted in some of the rock paintings and also recorded in inscriptions. Vaillabhaṭṭasvāmin temple inscription records that the seed required for two donated fields was eleven droṇas of barley according to the measure of Gopagiri. Dubkuṇḍ inscription of the time of the Kacchapaghāta ruler Vikramasiṁha mentions a field to be sown with four *goṇīs*.[53] *Goṇī* is a measure of capacity equal to a *droṇa* or four *āḍhakas*, or 1024 handfuls. As for the agricultural products, inscriptions occasionally mention the following: *yava* (barley), *godhūma* (wheat), *kodrava* (a kind of millet), *tila* (sesame), *vrīhi* (paddy), *mudg* (kidney beans), *kaṇikā* (cumin seed) and *morata* (moranda or mordhan). The population in this region was endowed with agricultural products which find mention as a means of subsistence in the *Harṣacarita* in connection with the Vindhyāṭavi people. It refers to the commodities which abounded in the households; and the list includes *rājamāṣa, trapuṣa*, cucumber, gourd, cotton, linseed, *senai*, honey, wax, *catachue* etc., besides castor, *vaṅgaka, siṅgu*, and the corns tied in knots and collected in bundles. In the Sagar plates of Trailokyavarman the products of the Batuari viṣaya (Jhansi District) are listed as *asana, ikṣu, karpāsa, sana, āmra*, and *madhūka*. But it may be necessary to indicate

here that while subsistence on such produce might have regulated the daily life, the prosperity of the region depended on the ivory trade and forest products. References to ponds, wells and reservoirs that were used for public utility as well as for irrigation are numerous. Even their regular maintenance was cared for by royal personage as is evident from Gaṅgolātāla inscriptions.[54] Rakhetrā rock inscription of CE 942 mentions irrigation work on the river Urvaśī (Urra) provided by Vināyakapāladeva; it also mentions the Gopagirīndra but this person is not named.[55].

In medieval period, the chief support of life was agriculture in the villages. The grant of cultivated land to temples and brāhmaṇas, helped to create powerful intermediaries, wielding considerable economic and political power. Vāillabhaṭṭasvāmin temple inscription and Sīyaḍoṇī inscription mention that the whole town gave the land to the temple. Significantly these inscriptions record that the granted land was the property of the whole town which suggests that community ownership of land prevailed in the region even during 9th-10th centuries.

A comparison between town and hinterland may help in understanding the political formation in the region. The hinterland, dense forests and desiccated ravines of the Gopādri region offered an ideal habitat for the tribes or people *āṭavika* in character, who were descended from Sabara, Pulinda, Seka, Aparaseka, Kacchapa, Bhadakana and other forest tribes. Because of their works of public utility like building temples, *vāpīs* and digging wells, holding festivals, providing shelter to visitors and protection to traders and perhaps even help them in times of need, monastery succeeded in being a symbol of trust to the forest communities. There is institutionalisation of the prevalent asceticism into the monasteries of the Śaiva Siddhānta order in the hinterland, and pre-eminence of Vaiśyas in the town administration. The pontiffs and feudal chiefs sometimes appear as rivals for political power but the traders seem associated with both the monasteries and the feudal chiefs and thus gained both at the centre and in the hinterland in terms of pursuing their trade unhindered. The pontiffs and monasteries appear to have been accessible, safe halting stations for passage of traders. Sometimes, the feudal chiefs declared themselves as *mahārājādhirāja* even as they simultaneously invoked their overlord; and the pontiffs did not fail in stating their own supremacy and emphasising their role as protectors of the people. This is obvious from Ranod inscription which pronounces that the pontiff Vyomaśiva acted as the 'liberator of the *prajā* (people) in times of distress', and that 'in glory' he vied with the power of ruler and pelf.[56] The passive nature of political and social institutions in the region may be due to the empowerment of pontiffs as well as their unhindered expansion from the seventh to the tenth century in the region. In the absence of a strong political and administrative authority, the monasteries emerged as an institution and mediated between traders in towns and *bhaṭas*

in the hinterland.[57] Apart from religious activities, special roles related to the pontiffs' militarism and administrative function as well as their well-knit monastic organisation, as is evident from the Kadwaha inscription[58] 'where the pontiff Dharmaśiva 'filled with great compassion and like Tripurāntaka, conquered the whole army of the enemy of Gobhaṭa by means of bow and arrow acquired by his own miraculous power.' Other similar instances bring out their aggressive, militaristic role in favour of the rulers cum their royal disciples and seems to admit the possibility of the monastery being an arsenal of weaponry too. During four ruling dynasties namely the Gurjara Pratihāras, the Cālukyas of Mālava, the later Pratihāras and the Kalacuris of Tripuri the entire monastic movement seems to have expanded. In the course of its expansion it reveals several ruler-pontiff pairs, such as pairs of Anantivarmana Cālukya (c. 875 CE) and Purandara at Kadwaha; of *mahāsāmantādhipati* Undabhaṭṭa (c. 899 CE) and Śaṅkhamaṭhikādhipati at Terahi; of *mahārāja* Durbhaṭa (c. 913 CE), the *bhūpa* Gobhaṭa and the saint Dharmaśiva at Kadwaha; of the *nṛpacakravartī* Karirāja and a disciple of Dharmaśiva at Kadwaha (984 CE); of Yuvarājadeva I and Prabhāvaśiva at Gurgi and others. The authority and influence of the pontiffs is emphasised by their pre-eminent status which was independent of the rulers, their massive and strong 'fortress' like elite monastic establishments, their material wealth and acquisitions, specially the elephants and horses, gold and jewels and abundant store of corn, their well-knit 'spiritual' genealogy, their mythically sanctified descent traced back to Brahmā and blessed by Śiva, their assistance to rulers in battle, titles like lord (*nātha*), overlord (*adhipati*) and protector (*pāla*) which one normally finds reserved for the royalty and by the supplication of rulers to their temporal authority.[59] And in the process of helping out the State this militant monarchism seems to have succeeded in carving out for itself 'a State within the State', as it were. Thus, the monastery and their pontiffs seem to have had an omnipresence, disseminating theology and doctrine, aiding the State in various ways, promoting themselves and their brotherhood; assimilating local cults and people; propagating culture through fairs and festivals; running the monastery and managing its property and function even with force if it so required. Nobody could ignore them, not even the rulers and they developed a close nexus with the kings : pontiffs as *rāja-gurus* and rulers as their distinguished disciples.[60]

Literary work was also of a high standard as is evident from inscriptions, such as the Vāillabhaṭṭasvāmin inscription of CE 675 which consists of 27 Sanskrit verses and must have been composed by an ingenious Paṇḍita, who was well versed in *alaṁkāra*. His extravagant hyperboles will appear startling and amusing even to one accustomed to the usual *kāvya* style.

Some inferences may be drawn about the family life. It is learnt from the Vāillabhaṭṭasvāmin inscription that Alla's grandfather had migrated from Ānandapura in Lāṭamaṇḍala (Vaḍanagar in Gujarat) and belonged to the Varjāra

family. He was the son of Vāillabhaṭṭa and Jajjā (the daughter of Kāsarakīya-Viṣṇu), and grandson of Nāgarabhaṭṭa. Alla had married Vavvā, daughter of Kanhuka and the mother of his favourite daughter Somaṭā; he also had married Goggā, daughter of Bhaṭṭa, then Gaurī, daughter of Mahādeva, Sillā, daughter of Govardhana, and Isaṭā, daughter of Nannaka, which confirms the opinion that royal personages and feudatories had more than one wife. Even a few commoners married more than once as is known from satī inscriptions of the region.

<center>III</center>

The practice of assignment of plots of land or land revenues for religious purposes caused unequal distribution of land. Extensive practice of land grants created unique social formation dominated by the landlords, who had the right to enjoy communal resources at the cost of the village or the tribal community. To keep intact the relationship between the peasant and the landlord, temples, *bhakti, vratas, tīrthas*, and other methods were used, while rituals legitimised power and social status and presented occasions for sharing of common food and its redistribution in medieval times. Social and religious ideals were articulated in representations of gods and goddesses in numerous pieces of sculpture in stone. Their number in early medieval times is so large that one encounters them in almost all the settled parts of the country.[61]

The temple-building activity was prevalent throughout the entire region, and the excellent grace exhibited in sculptures found in abundance in the whole region, furnishes evidence of the general development of stone architecture. This is also supported by the *Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra* and other contemporary works. Gwalior record of a later period, CE 1093, shows that a temple was equippd by the king with stone-cutters, stone-polishers, diggers of wells and tanks and their builders, along with carpenters, engineers and artisans.[62] Pratihāra were great patrons of temple construction. It is said that the early temples of Gopādri region, a group of temples at Naresar, the Śiva temple at Dang (Bhind), eighth century temples at Amrol (Gwalior) were constructed in the reign of Yaśovarman and Āmarāja. The temples datable to the later half of the eighth century at Batesara (District Morena), Amrol, Gwalior fort and Indore (Ashoknagar) appear to have been constructed during the period of Vatsarāja. On stylistic grounds the Śiva temple at Keldhāra, the Cāmuṇḍā temple at Mahua, the Śiva temple at Terahi are assignable to the period of Bhoja. The Sun temple at Sesai (District Shivapuri) may be assigned to Mahīpālas time. Of these, the earlier temples consist of a square *garbhagṛha* and rectangular *antarāla* inside the doorway without any *mukhamaṇḍapa* in front. The temple no. 20 at Naresar and the Telī-kā-Mandīr in Gwalior fort have their *garbhagṛha* in rectangular form, north south elongated, which are roofed by the valabhī-type of *śikhara*. The *antarāla* of certain

temples like the Śiva temple at Mahua, the Rāmeśvara temple at Amrol and the Telī-kā-Mandīr in Gwalior fort is more elongated towards the *garbhagṛha* providing a larger passage between the doorway and the *garbhagṛha*. The temples at Naresar, Mahua and Amrol have no pilaster inside, but the Śiva temple at Dang, the Bhūteśvara temple at Batesara, the Telī-kā-Mandīr in Gwalior fort and the Garagaja Mahādeva temple at Indore have projecting pilasters between the *garbhagṛha* and the *antarāla*. The outer plan of most of the temples is *pañcaratha* consisting of *bhadra* flanked by two *pratirathas* and two *karṇas* on each of the three sides. The Gargaja Mahādeva temple is altering with ten *koṇikas* (angular projections). The circular outer plan is in noticeable contrast to the square *garbhagṛha* from inside. The temples of the next phase are usually preceded by a *mukha-maṇḍapa* resting on two front pillars. The plan of the temple continues to consist of a *garbhagṛha*, an *antarāla* and a *mukha-maṇḍapa* supported on two front pillars. In the Vāillabhaṭṭasvāmin temple in Gwalior fort, no *antarāla* is provided inside the doorway but the narrow space in front of the doorways serves the purpose of an *antarāla*. The practice of building temples with a rectangular *garbhagṛha* continues, like the Cāmuṇḍā temple.[63] The significant sculptures of the area are Kalyāṇasundara, Lakulīśa, Gajāsurasaṁhāra, Mahādeva, Naṭarāja, Bhikṣāṭana and Ardhanārīśvara form of Śiva; Pārvatī in *pañcāgnitapas* in seated and standing forms, Pārvatī seated with yoga-paṭṭa, Pārvatī godhāsanā, Pārvatī flanked by plants, Saptamātṛkās. Viṣṇu in Dasāvatāra, Kṛṣṇa-līlā, Garuḍāsana-Viṣṇu, Viṣṇu and āyudha-puruṣas, Viṣṇu with consorts, Harihara, Sarasvatī, Gaja-lakṣmī, Sūrya in seated and standing forms, Dvādaśāditya, Aśvinīkumāra, Navagrahas, images of Brahmā, Gaṇeśa, Kārttikeya, Aṣṭa-dikpālas and Gaṇas. Jaina images of Tīrthaṅkaras, Yakṣīs, Ambikā, Cakreśvarī, and others are also known.

The temple symbolized the authority of the priestly function, and seen as an institution, which sought a special sanction for protection as a sacred centre. The ritual treated the chief deity as a dominant landowner in a *jajmānī* system. The temple was a large estate employing hundreds of people in various capacities who performed services for the deity and the economic resources were in the name of the deity. Some of the temple authorities collected taxes as well, and used judicial rights and further income came in at the time of fairs and festivals and from pilgrims. The temple brought new land under cultivation. Commerce was also encouraged by the markets catering to pilgrims and by bringing in ritual items. The temple represented a multiplicity of functional and symbolic meanings as its architecture and sculpture were the expression of theories on aesthetics and iconography. For the devotee the temple was a sacred place of worship while for the king it was both a place of worship and a source of legitimation. This led to consecutive rulers from different dynasties recording there donations. As a nucleus of loyalty it would draw not only on the institution but also on the

networks of devotees and pilgrims. A military outpost was established at the temple and the state saw the temple as a revenue collecting institution as well.[64] The monasteries attached to the temple for training priests developed into centres of sectarian activity as well as centres for formal education and debate.

Monasteries played a significant role in integrating the community by organizing fairs and festivals, where people from neighbouring as well as distant places could assemble and perform worship in the temples. The institutionalisation of asceticism within the Śaiva Siddhānta fold helped in the rise and organisation of the monasteries. Between the 7th and 10th centuries, six such monasteries came out in the Gopādri region at Kadwaha, Keldhar, Ranod, Mahua, Terahi and Surwaya and six more at Sirpur in Dakṣiṇa Kosala and at Bilhari, Maihar, Gurgi, Candrehe and Tripuri in the Ḍāhala region of Central India. The Ranod inscription refers to several monastery sites, and their ascetics and also indicates a rapid proliferation of the Siddhānta *taposthāna* and their *sthānapatis*. The movement appears to have started with the Śaivite saint Guhāvāsī or Kadambaguhāvāsī, 'the inhabitant of Kadambaguhā' at Kadwaha in c. CE 675 where a regular monastery was later built by Purandara. Taking after the name of its locus, this line of ascetics came to be re-designed as Mattamayūra while Purandara was known as Mattamayūranātha. Kadambaguhāvāsī was followed by Śaṅkha-maṭhikādhipati, 'the lord of the Śaṅkha monastery' (Surwaya), may be dated to CE 700. The monastery of Surwaya comprises three temples and a *bāoḍī* (10th century). Terahi seems associated with Terambipāla, 'the protector of terambi', a pontiff who was third in succession from Kadambaguhāvāsī. There are two temples at Terahi dating from 9th to 10th century. Next to come up was a *tīrtha* at Āmardaka or Amrol founded by Āmardaka-tīrtha-nātha (i.e. Rudraśambhu, c. 775 CE). He is stated as fourth in line from Kadambaguhāvāsī in the Ranod inscription. Amrol is famous for its three temples locally known as Rāmeśvara Mahādeva, Mātā-kī-Maḍhiyā and Dānebābā-kī-Maḍhiyā (7th-8th century CE). Purandara or Mattamayūranātha was fifth in descent from Kadambaguhāvāsī according to the Ranod inscription, while a Kadwaha inscription lists Purandara as the fifth saint in the Mattamayūra line. By the ninth century the entire region extending from Amrol in Gwalior to Kadwaha in Ashoknagar district had come under the sway of the Siddhānta movement, without accepting any royal support till the appearance of Purandara. All the locations occupied by *munis* before Purandara were established in forests which suited their ascetic ways of life, miraculous as it would seem because forests were the exlusive spaces of the forest tribes (*āṭavikas*). Purandara established a monastery at Mattamayūra (Kadwaha) and Araṇipadra (Ranod). After Purandara, this line includes Dharmaśambhu, Sadāśiva, Purandara II "Madhumateya" and Cūḍāśiva at Kadwaha in that order. The disciple of Cūḍāśiva named Hṛdayaśiva went to Maihara, invited by Kalacuri Lakṣamaṇarāja (c. 946-973 CE), and founded

the Vaidyanātha monastery. But there must have been other pontiffs at Mattamayūra after Hṛdayaśiva as a Kadwaha inscription refers to the disciple of Dharmaśambhu who gave initiation to Harirāja (c. 984 CE). Another monastery at Araṇipada, which was earlier managed by Purandara from Mattamayūra, was later placed in charge of his disciple Kavacaśiva who was followed by Sadāśiva, Hṛdayaśiva, Vyomaśiva and Pataṅgaśambhu in that order from c. 825 to 950 CE. Temples, wells, and tanks were built at Ranod. Pavanaśiva, 'the lord of Madhumatī', (c. 900 CE) founded the monastery at Madhumatī (Mahua), succeeded by Sadāśiva whose disciple Īśvaraśiva was invited and established by the Kalacuri queen Nohalā (915-945 CE) at Bilhari and founded a monastery known as 'Nohaleśvara'.[65] Mahua has temples dating to 7th- 9th century. The statements of the Candrehe inscription of Prabodhaśiva specify that both the lines of Mattamayūra and Madhumatī were in reality one in which the former remained the main seat while the latter formed a branch. Madhumatī turned into a limitless source in providing several ascetics. Prabhavaśiva of the Madhumatī branch of Mattamayūra line was invited by Yuvarājadeva (c. 915-945 CE) to his territory to take charge of a monastery built at Gurgi. His disciple Praśāntaśiva built two temples and established two *siddhasthānas* at Varanasi and on the banks of the river Sona respectively. Again his follower Prabodhaśiva founded a monastery at Candrehe in c. 973 CE. Several temples and a monastery seem to have come up at Tripuri sometime in the 9th century. Malkāpuram inscription of Rudra records a line of the Śaivite pontiffs descending perhaps from Prabhāvaśiva (Sadbhāvaśambhu) while the monastery under this line perhaps started during the reign of Kokalla II (990-1015 CE). Viśveśvaraśiva, disciple of Dharmaśiva founded a Śaivite monastery called Viśveśvara golakī at Malkāpuram (Mysore). Śāntaśiva and Nādaśiva are mentioned as mortgaging the village of Alaura, which was their property, to the rāṇaka Dhareka during the reign of the Candella ruler, Trailokyamalla which explains that Mattamayūra line fell into lean days in Madhya Pradesh after the Kalacuri Vijayasiṁha (1188 CE). The occurrences indicate that at first the centre tended to extend towards peripheries in the Gopādri region, the cradle of the Śaiva-Siddhānta. Later the principal centres, so developed at Kadwaha, Terambī, Āmardaka and Madhumatī, constantly sent out their disciples to distant places. The movement was remarkable for its activities of religious commitment, public utility, besides political and social content.[66]

For the smooth running of monasteries an ample system of organization developed in which they were collaterally linked with each other through the pontiffs of the same *anvaya* (network, lineage). Their place in the total hierarchy depended on the status of the pontiff concerned in relation to that of the main seat at Kadwaha, though each monastery seems to have employed considerable sovereignty for all practical purposes. The existing Śaivite monasteries . at Kadwaha, Surwaya, Terahi, and Ranod are sturdy, very big

and elite structures, comprising of temples, and are built like 'fortresses' with surrounding walls and battlements, impressive as seats of power and authority of pontiffs who controlled them and lived there in a lavish style. Internal organisation of these establishments betrays a hierarchy in which each monastery had a pontiff at the top while his disciples formed other ranks. Such a hierarchy is reflected in the architectural division of space in the existing monasteries, where interiors are more exclusive. In the case of the Surwaya monastery, the ground floor has an inner room with a stone bed, and the upper storey has a small *śikhara* above that bed of the inner room exactly in the manner of the *śikhara* and sanctum combination that characterise temples. Such an architectural division of inner space in the monastery exemplifies the hierarchy and raises the pontiff to the level of divinity. The pontiff in charge of the monastery supervised charities and managed the wealth as well as other activities of the monastery. Revenue flowed plentifully in these monasteries as a result of taxes and perhaps facilitated banking activities involving traders and the community. Money-lending on interest was banned in the Siddhānta monasteries (*vṛddhayārtham artham asṛjadbhiḥ*), but their affluence must have been quite visible in their property and resources. The convergence of interests of pontiffs and traders in the well-being of the monastery may be seen. Such information seems to substantiate the proposition about the 'third urbanization' during the early medieval period, in which the religious institutions played a significant role.[67]

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    kimanyat kānyakubjorvī yamunā pāratosya sā /

    abhūd-ākālikātīraṁ gṛha-prāṅgaṇa vadvaśe // (v. 145)

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39. *EI*, I, 154-162.

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41. *Ibid* : It is interesting to note here that the images of Viṣṇu in Gwalior were not installed by the merchants, but by feudatories. The Vaillabhaṭṭasvāmin temple at Gwalior was built by Alla, the *koṭṭapāla* or guardian of the fort of Gwalior. In early medieval India feudalism triumphed over the ideas of united realm and over royal authority. The formation of territorial principalities had great impact on the politics, administration and economy of this country. Landed aristocrats held many of the superior posts and became members of the governing body. The feudatories also directed the rural and urban economy. As some merchants became more interested in transforming themselves as feudatories, landed aristocrats gained a measure of control of the investment capital. When feudalism was firmly established in north India by the end of the twelfth century, capital to a large extent ceased to be invested in commercial enterprises outside the confines of the territories of the landlords. Much wealth therefore seems to have been utilized over building of temples and creation of religious endowments.

42. *EI*, I, pp. 162-179.

43. *Pañcīyaka-dramma* has been suggested on the analogy of the *ṣaḍboddika dramma*, that it consisted of a five *boddikas* and connecting *boddika* with *pādika* weighing 11.2 grains, the *pañcīyaka-drammas* are said to weigh 56 (11.2 x 5) grains (*JASB*, Num. Supp., 1930, pp. 34 ff). But *Bodika* is to be connected not with *pādika* but with *voḍi* or *kākiṇī*. Moreover the term *pañcīyaka* is not the same in form as the *ṣaḍboddika*, since it makes no mention of the *boḍi*. Mirashi (*CII*,

IV, p. cxxxiv) has pointed out that in the Sīyaḍoṇī inscription a cess of 1/4 *ādivarāhadramma* is subsequently put down as *pam dra*. It therefore follows that a quarter *dramma* was known as a *pañcīyaka-dramma*, most probably because it was equal in value to five *vimśopakas*. It is however to be noted that in the Sīyaḍoṇī inscription itself there is a reference to a quarter of a *pañcīyaka-dramma* (*pañcīyaka-dramma-pāda*). If this refers not to the abstract value but to some specific coin having that value, then this would represent 1/16 of the drachma weight standard. This would be a tiny coin, especially in view of the usual depreciation in the coins of this period, and we have yet to recover a coin with such a weight. In this case it is not unlikely that *pañcīyaka-dramma* did not represent a coin weighing one-fourth of a *dramma* but a coin having that value, and it probably contained considerable copper. For detail see, Lallanji Gopal, *The Economic Life of Northern India, c. A. D. 700-1200*, Delhi 1989 (1965), p. 201-202.

44. The *Śrīmadādivarāha-dramma* mentioned in the Sīyaḍoṇī inscription and the *varāhamudrā* of the *Dravyaparīkṣā* (*JNSI*, X, 29) is to be identified with the Indo-Sassanian coins with the legend *Śrīmadādivarāha*, issued by the Pratihāra king Bhoja I (see the Kaman inscription, *EI*, XXIV, 332 for a reference to *drammas* circulated by king Bhojadeva). The *drammas* variously described in the Sīyaḍoṇī inscription as *vigrahapālīya-dramma, vigrahapāla-dramma, vigrahapāla-satka-dramma* and *vigraha-dramma* can easily be recognised as the Indo-Sassanian coins with the name of Śrī Vigraha on them, though it is difficult to be dogmatic about the king who struck them. The Sīyaḍoṇī inscription also refers to the *vigrahatuṅgīya-drammas* which are generally identified with the *vigrahapālīya-drammas* (*JNSI*, X, 29). S. Ray proposes to identify these with the Kashmir coins of *Vigrahatuṅga* (*JNSI*, XIV, 125-27). But the coins from Kashmir are not known to be based on the drachma standard of weight and hence the name *dramma* can be applied to them only if *dramma* is treated as a general term for coins. For detail see, Lallanji Gopal, *The Economic life of Northern India*, p. 196.

45. D. R. Bhandarkar (*EI*, X, p. 19, fn. 3) regarded *vimśopaka* as a copper coin equal in value to 1/20th of a *dramma*. This suggestion is supported by the Sīyaḍoṇī inscription which mentions a monthly tax of half a *vigrahatuṅgīya dramma*, then abbreviates this as *vi* 10 i.e., 10 *vimśopaka*. The *Gaṇitasāra* of Ṭhakkura Pheru also equates 20 *vimśopakas* with one *dramma*. As suggested by Mirashi (*CII* IV, p. clxxxix, f. n. 7) the coin was so named because it formed the twentieth part of a dramma. Bhandarkar seems to be justified in regarding *vimśopaka* as a copper coin, because a silver coin weighing 1/20th of a *dramma* has not yet been recovered and would have been so tiny as to be inconvenient to handle. For detail see, Lallanji Gopal, *The Economic Life of Northern India*, p. 204. *Vimśopaka* denomination of coins is mentioned in Dubkuṇḍ inscription, in H. V. Trivedi, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. 7, part 1 and 3, New Delhi, 1989-1991, no. 154.

46. The inscription refers to both *varāṭaka* and *kapardaka*, but as the references are not in the same context it does not affect their being synonyms. In the Bilhari inscription one *kapardī* is mentioned as a cess to be paid to the Śaiva ascetics by each shop (*CII*, IV, p. 209, v. 80).

47. Lallanji Gopal, *The Economic Life of Northern India*, p. 175.

48. *Ibid.*, pp. 84-86.

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58. V. V. Mirashi and A. M. Shastri, 'A fragmentary stone inscription from Kadwaha', *EI*, XXXVII, pp. 117-124. The convergence of the two roles in sages is implicit in later inscription where a *muni* is mentioned as '*śāstra-śastra visārada*', skilled in learning as well as in weaponry.

59. R. N. Misra, 'Beginning of Saiva-Siddhanta and its Expanding Space in Central India', *Sāmarasya*, pp. 275-306.

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63. For detail see, R. D. Trivedi, *Temples of the Pratihara Period in Central India*, New Delhi, 1990; Michael D. Willis, *Temples of Gopaksetra, A Regional History of Architecture and Sculpture in Central India CE 600-900*, London, 1997.

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65. The irony is that the sect which was once biased to women in disallowing their entry inside monastery was in due course of time patronised by a woman, Nohalā, daughter of Avanivarmana Cālukya (c. CE 900) who hailed from the Kadwaha-Mattamayūra region, was the queen of Yuvarājadeva I (CE 915-945). The Ranod inscription states in its concluding verses, that women are not to be allowed to pass night in a *matha* (*EI*, I). This incidentally brings to light the rules of the *mathas* that were followed by the Śaiva Siddhānta ascetics of Gopādri region. It even leads to doubt whether this rule was an aberration from the monastery ideas ? The Sankapata inscription of the time of Panduvamsi ruler Sivagupta Balarjuna, is a Śaiva Siddhānta record, states (*EI*, XXXI, v. 23) tht Sadāśivācārya

carried out *yoga, dīkṣā* and *vyākhyā* for the local people. The women were automatically included and permitted not only for attending the *vyākhyā* but were also eligible for *dīkṣā*. For detail see, Neeta Dubey, 'Saiva sects and the position of women in Central India from 300-1200 A D.', *Itihasa Darpan*, no. 1 (1997), New Delhi. pp. 32-33.

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Significance of Candella Copper Plates

S. K. Sullerey

The age of the Candellas is one of the glorious epochs of early medieval history of India. They are famous for their contribution to the field of art and architecture. During their reign they issued copper plates which exceed more than twenty-five[1] in number and a large number of them afford valuable pieces of information not available from other sources. An attempt has been made in the present paper to study the significant and special aspects of Candella Copper plates.

A most significant aspect of Candella Copper plates is the discovery of Kundeshwar (District Tikamgarh, Madhya Pradesh) Copper Plate of Candella Queen Satyabhāmā dated in V. S. 1060 (CE 1003).[2] It is in Nāgarī characters and Sanskrit language which records the grant of some *padas* of land in the village Vāraingi caturāsika situated in the Isauni Viṣaya bhoga to several brāhmaṇas of different villages, Śākhās and gotras by the Candella chief queen Satyabhāmā, wife of the great Candella ruler Vidyādhara. The grant was made on Śrāvaṇī Amāvāsyā on the occasion of the solar eclipse in the year V. S. 1060, mentioned in words and numerals corresponding to July 8th, 1003 C.E.[3] The significance of this copper plate is that it gives us a definite date for the Candella ruler Vidyādhara and the name of his Chief Queen. This is the only epigraph which belongs to the reign of Vidyādhara. We have to revise the chronology of the three Candella rulers on the basis of this copper plate. We cannot accept the chronology of the Candella rulers assigned by Alexander Cunninghan, N. S. Bose, S. K. Mitra, R. K. Dikshit and others.[4] An attempt has been made by the author to refix a new chronology for Dhanga Candella (from CE 955 to 999), Gaṇḍa (from CE 1000 to 1002) and Vidyādhara (from CE 1003 to 1030) on the basis of the Kundeshwar Copper Plate.[5]

The Candella copper plates give us very significant information regarding the land grants made by Candella rulers by way of reward, gift or maintenance of certain individuals. The Pachār Copper Plate refers to Senāpati Madanapāl Sarmā, certainly a brāhmaṇa, in recognition of his meritorious military service, in whose favour grants of land were made.[6] The Dāhī Copper Plate refers to one Malaya as a distinguished soldier being similarly rewarded.[7] The Chārkhārī-Plate of Vīravarman refers to the grant of a village to one Rauta Abhi for a deed of valour in the battle of Sondhī.[8] The Candella copper

plates mentioned the system of granting family pension, named Mṛtyakavṛtti, to the person killed in the battle. The Gārrā Copper Plate of V. S. 1261, records grant of land to Rauta Śāmanta, son of Rauta Pāpe who was killed at Kakadadha in a battle with the Tursuṣkas.[9] This is a very significant information given by the Candella copper plates. It has been suggested that the war referred to was in some way or the other connected with Qutbu'd-Din's invasion of Kālañjara in CE 1202, and the fall of Mahobā in CE 1203.[10] This Copper Plate shows that Trailokya Varman followed the high ideal that it is the duty of the king to support the wives of those who meet death or calamities in the king's service.[11] Kauṭilya says that the sons and wives of those who die while on duty should get assistance and wages.[12] The above mentioned reference of the Candella copper plate indicates that the sacrifice of life or of gallantry on the battlefield was honoured by the Candella kings and recognising their service, the Candellas went even further than what the authorities advocated.[13]

Study of Candella copper plates reveals that they followed the rules emphasised in the Smṛtis and the Purāṇas regarding land grants of place (*sthāna*) and time (*kāla*) so that the grants made at particular places and particular occasions bring special merit to the donor. The places generally selected for this purpose are the Tīrthasthānas and the time, the auspicious day Pūrṇimā (full moonday), Saṁkrānti, Puṣyanakṣatra and occasions of Śrāddha, solar eclipse, lunar eclipse, etc.[14] If we study the Candella copper plates, it appears that the above mentioned injunctions were duly observed by the Candella rulers.

The copper plates refer to Sāra, Usara, Nimna, Unnata, Sthāvara. Jaṅgama, Jala, Sthala Garttā and Pāṣāṇa types of land. This classification was necessary for an accurate assessment of revenue.

The Candella copper plates referred to well determined boundaries of land. The Mahobā plate of Parmardīdeva describes a piece of land granted in the village of Dhanurā as bounded on the east by the nālā belonging to a barber, on the south by a nālā, on the west by an embankment of Bhatahada tank, on the north by a brāhmaṇa's land and tank embankment.[16] Similarly the Augāsī plate mentions 'another by a madhuka tree' as the western boundary of a gift land.[17]

The Candella copper plates refer to land which was measured on the basis of its sowing or ploughing capacity. The Augāsī copper plate mentions a gift of ten ploughs of land.[18] Similarly the Chārkhārī grant refers to a gift of five ploughs of land.[19] The Semrā copper plate records land gift excluding a plot of land measuring four ploughs.[20] These references point out the importance of 'hala' or the ploughing capacity as the popular unit of measurement of cultivated plots of land in the Candella period. The system of measuring

land on the basis of its 'Seed Capacity' was also in vogue. The equation between the 'hala' measure and 'droṇas' of land was identical with ten halas.[21] The 'droṇa' of course was a kind of dry measure weight of agricultural products and each drona contained sixteen prasthas. The references show that it was also known that one prastha of seed was to be sown on each vādhya of land, vādhya evidently was unit of measurement of land surface. The Candella copper plates give us some interesting information about the main agricultural products, the mines and other commodities. The Mahobā copper plates of Paramardīdeva record the gift of land by the king along with the temple mason, with the right of easement, with trees and plants such as sal, sugarcane, cotton, flower, hemp, mango, madhuka etc., with forest mines, hollow quarries and iron etc., with animals, deer and birds, aquatic or otherwise and other objects within the boundaries.[22]

The copper plates give us terms like Viṣaya and Maṇḍala for territorial division. The Semrā copper plate of Paramardīdeva records the confirmation of subdivision of the Viṣayas as Pañcela, Grāma, Dvādaśaka and Aṣṭādaśaka.[23] The Rewa grants of Trailokya Varman record the gift of two villages within two patalās[24] and this supports the view that patala was one of the divisions of local government and comprised a number of villages.[25] Thus on the whole then Candella State was known as Jejākabhukti and subdivided into many districts called Viṣayas or Maṇḍalas. These were in turn subdivided into Patalās which comprised several Grāmas. The terms Aṣṭādaśaka, Dvādaśaka, etc., were used to mean a unit of eighteen villages, twelve villages and so on.[26] The word Pañcela is not known from other inscriptions but possibly means a group of five villages. It is known from the land grants that Bhāga, Bhoga, Kara, Hiraṇya and Śulka were the chief sources of revenue. Kara means taxes in general while Bhāga usually means king's dues on land, trees, drugs, etc. Śulka generally means the tolls or customs duties levied from vendors and purchasers on merchandise exported or imported into the kingdom or from district to district.[27] Hiraṇya has two meanings, gold and money whether in gold, silver or copper.[28] the Candella copper plates do not refer to the eight Bhogas, it is probable that the Bhoga actually means all the eight Bhogas. The Candella copper plates refer to various sources of revenue current during their times.

The supremacy of the Brāhmaṇas and the honour and privileges enjoyed by them are clearly evident from the Candella copper plates. In the copper plates the Brāhmaṇas are referred to with their Śākhā, Gotra and Pravaras. The Semrā plates of Paramardīdeva record grants to no less than three hundred and nine Brāhmaṇas, all of them mentioned with their Gotras, Pravaras and Śākhās.[29] Brāhmaṇas devoted themselves to religious studies as is known from copper plates, one of which states that a Brāhmaṇa donee was ever ready to expound the Vedas, the Vedāṅgas, Itihāsa, the Purāṇas and Mīmāṁsā

and was devoted to Ṣatkarma.[30] It cannot be said that they devoted themselves only to the study of religious works. The inscriptions mention other activities of the Brāhmaṇas as Senāpati, Dharmādhikārins and Rautas.[31]

The influence of the Kalacuris, whom the Candella rulers defeated, is noticed in the adoption of the Gaja-Lakṣmī emblem on the latter's seals and coins. The same influence is noticed in the assumption of the well known Kalacuri titles by some Candella kings viz. Parama-Maheśvara Śrīmad Vāmadevapādānudhyāta and Trikaliṅgādhipati, Nijabhayapatjit, Aśvapati, Gajapati, Narapati, Rājatrayādhipati prefixed to the name of Candella Trailokya Varman in the Rewa Copper plate[32] and in one of the plates he is also called Kānyakubjādhipati and Triśatisajyādhipati.[33] The Candellas generally assumed the full imperial titles viz. Parameśvara Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājā-dhirāja and Kālañjārādhipati.[34] The *Sukranītisāra* states that the king should personally inspect villages, towns and districts every year.[35] This advice was regularly followed by the Candella kings. Almost all the Candella copper plates discovered so far record grants made by the kings when on tours of inspection in various parts of the kingdom, and some of them are issued from the interior villages.

The spirit of religious tolerance and respect for other religions is a striking feature of the Candella copper plates. The Candella rulers though themselves worshippers of Śiva and Viṣṇu, patronised Jainism and Buddhism and carefully protected their interests. The Chārkhārī plate of Paramardīdeva records in the grant that in the gifted village, exception was made of the four halas of land gifted to Buddha.[36]

The Candella copper plates give us very significant information regarding the craftsmen. The title 'Śilpin' was applied to a craftsman until he became an expert in his craft. The title 'Vijñānin' was certainly superior to the title 'Śilpin'. It was applied only to those senior Śilpins who attained further skill and efficiency in their respective crafts. Pālhana, the engraver of the Semerā plates of V. S. 1223,[37] is described as merely a metal engraver, pītalkara. But the Icchāwar plate of V. S. 1228,[38] issued about five years later mentions him as 'Śilpin', and with further experience for about two years he is mentioned as a Vijñānin; as claimed in the Mahobā plate V. S. 1230.[39] In the Pachār plates of V. S. 1233,[40] and Chārkhārī plate of V. S. 1236,[41] the same craftsman has been mentioned as Vaidagdhi Viśvakarmān, master of art and craft. By this time he had reached a stage in his craft career when his knowledge was not confined to the basic technicalities of the craft, but embraced a wider field including the aesthetic aspects of the craft, which was recognised by the aristocratic patrons of art and culture.[42] Though Rai Bahadur Hiralal observes that no important improvement in the skill of this particular individual is discernible in the workmanship of the plates mentioned above,[43] on the

basis of changing titles we can presume that during these years he enhanced his position among other craftsmen and also his level of workmanship.

It is also revealed from the Candella copper plates that the queens also played a significant role in the field of donations as known from the Kuṇḍeśvara copper plate of the Candella queen Satyabhāmā. Similarly from the Chārkhārī copper plate of Devavarman we know about Bhuvanadevī, wife of Vijayapāla.[44] The Bharat Kala Bhawan copper plates of Candella ruler Madan Varman, V. S. 1192, inform us about the donations of his three wives Vālhaṇadevī, Lakhamādevī and Cāndaladevī given by the permission of the king. Thus, queens played an important role in granting land grants.[45]

The purpose of the Candella copper plates was that they were generally made with a view to earning religious merit for the donor, his parents and other relations. Thus, the study of the Candella copper plates reveals various important aspects of the Candella political, social, religious and economic conditions.

Notes and References

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Aghoreśvara Temple At Ikkeri:

A Synthesis of Architectural Styles

Anila Verghese

Introduction

The Aghoreśvara temple at Ikkeri, in Sagar taluka of Shimoga district of Karnataka, is one of the numerous temples built by the Nāyakas in the second half of the sixteenth century. In the previous two centuries, from the mid-fourteenth to the mid sixteenth century, when much of southern India was brought under the Vijayanagara hegemony, an imperial style of temple construction was created which was an amalgamation of the Deccan and Tamil styles of temple architecture; however, throughout the Vijayanagara-Nāyaka periods there were considerable regional variations in architectural styles between the Deccan, northern Tamil Nadu and southern Tamil Nadu. Even within the Deccan there were considerable differences in architectural styles when one compares those of the coastal region and those of the areas along the Western Ghats or just east of them with those of the imperial centres of Vijayanagara city or Penugonda.

At the height of the Vijayanagara Empire's power in the 1520s and 1530s a new level of authority had been established with the appointment of a number of regional governors or Nāyakas in both the Deccan and Tamil zones. Following the disastrous defeat of Vijayanagara in the battle of Talikota in 1565, these local governors gradually asserted their independence. In the Deccan, autonomous Nāyakas ruled from Ikkeri, Mysore and Bangalore, while in Tamil Nadu their centres of power were Gingee, Tanjavur and Madurai. The Nāyaka period (1550-1700) was one of the most important periods of temple construction in south India, and this is linked with the search for legitimacy by the Nāyakas in a politically unstable yet culturally vibrant era.

The state of Keladi, thereafter known as Ikkeri and Bidnur after the names of the successive capitals, was the most important of the post-Vijayanagara polities in Karnataka. From the middle of the sixteenth to the middle of the eighteenth centuries this state played an important role in effectively curbing the Portuguese on the Arabian Sea coast, while at the same time resisting the invasion of their dominions by the Adil Shahis of Bijapur. At its zenith, this kingdom extended from Goa in the north to Malabar in the south. The founder of this Nāyakadom was Caudappa Nāyaka, whom Krṣnadevarāya, the greatest ruler of Vijayanagara, appointed as Nāyaka at Keladi after he

had successfully put down rebellious chiefs in the Malnad region of Karnataka. Caudappa was succeeded by his son Sadāśiva, who governed from 1544 to 1565. It was under him that the capital moved to Ikkeri, which remained the centre of this Nāyakaship from 1560 to 1640, after which it moved to Bidnur. Sadāśiva was succeeded by Dodda Sankanna, who ruled for less than ten years.[1] The Aghoreśvara temple is believed to have been constructed by Dodda Sankanna in the newly established capital at Ikkeri. However, no foundational inscriptions are available in this temple.

The temple architectural style of the Keladi/Ikkeri Nāyakas, while having certain features borrowed from the imperial Vijayanagara style, manifests many unusual qualities. Repeated references to the earlier Hoysala traditions are apparent. Their absorption of elements derived from Sultanate architecture in the adjacent Bijapur kingdom is another outstanding feature.[2]

The Aghoreśvara temple at Ikkeri is the most impressive monument of these Nāyakas, and indeed one of the most original architectural conceptions of the period.[3] This north-facing temple complex comprises the principal shrine of Śiva in the form of Aghoreśvara and a smaller consort shrine, with a Nandī pavilion in front of the main shrine, to the north of which is a *balipīṭha*. All these structures stand within a large enclosure, with the remains of a ruined columned gateway in front (i.e. on the north side). Beyond the gateway are an octagonal tank and the base of a *dhvajastambha* (See figure 1).

There are traces of cloisters around the interior of the enclosure walls of the Aghoreśvara temple complex. The material used for the construction of the outer walls and the base of the cloisters is laterite. The other parts of the temple complex are in granite. Of the entrance gateway, only two jambs and a lintel and some pillar bases are extant. A description of the main structures within the compound now follows.

Nandī Maṇḍapa (Pl. XVII)

This is a square structure, standing on a plinth comprising the following mouldings: *upāna, jagatī, padma, kaṇṭha* with a diamond-shaped design running along it, and an upturned *padma*. On the south side, steps, flanked by *yāli*-balustrades, lead into the pavilion. There is a *praṇāla* on the north side. The wall surface comprises seven cusped arched openings (one on the south side and two each on the other three sides); of these, all except the one on the south side are framed within low reliefs of a shrine. The arched openings are flanked by slender, decorative pilasters. The overhanging eaves are of the plain angled variety. A parapet of tripartite merlons, with corner finials, runs along the roof. The ceiling of the Nandī pavilion is well carved in the form of rotated squares with a drooping lotus bud in the centre. Inside the pavilion, a large and beautifully polished stone statue of Nandī is located.

Main Shrine (Pl. XVIII A)

The main shrine comprises a large enclosed *mahāmaṇḍapa* and a *vimāna* that consists of two antechambers, a *garbhagṛha* with an enclosed *pradakṣiṇā* around it.

Exterior

The *mahāmaṇḍapa* has a tall *adhiṣṭhāna* with the following mouldings: *jagatī, padma, tripaṭṭa kumuda, kapota* decorated with *kuḍus*, a frieze of *yāli* heads and an upturned *padma*. A one-line inscription in Kannada script is found on the *tripaṭṭa kumuda* on the north side, to the east of the entrance door. This hall has openings on the north, west and east sides. The steps on the sides (east and west) are framed by *yāli*-balustrades, the scrolls of which end in a lotus bud which projects upwards from the scroll. This lotus bud on the *yāli*-balustrade appears to be a regional variation. The steps on the north side have fully-sculptured elephants standing on extensions of the lower three *adhiṣṭhāna* mouldings. The unusually thin walls of the *mahāmaṇḍapa* have their lower portions covered with a line of single pilasters capped with temple towers in shallow relief. A band, divided into panels with relief carvings, terminates this frieze on the rear (south) half of the *mahāmaṇḍapa* walls. However, on the north half, above the pilasters surmounted by temple towers are cusped arched openings framed by shallow pilasters and temple towers. Pierced stone screens in different designs, mostly diamond-shaped patterns, adorn the arches. Between the arched openings, at two levels, the wall surface is decorated with shallow reliefs. A frieze of stylized diamond-shaped lotus medallions is seen above the arched openings (Pl. XVIII B). The doorways of the *mahāmaṇḍapa* are framed by bands of lotus ornament with Śaiva *dvārapālas*, in niches framed by ornate *makara-toraṇas*, at either side. On the lintels are reliefs of Gajalakṣmī. The walls are terminated by angled eaves carried on brackets that project outwards from the columns within.

As already mentioned earlier, the walls of the *mahāmaṇḍapa*, have some sculptural themes cut in shallow relief. These are all fairly small. The themes that occur on the reliefs include the following: four of the *dikpālas*, namely Vāyu, Kubera, Īśāna and Agni; Bhīma and Puruṣa-mṛga; and the Nātha ascetics seated on a variety of exotic animals, such as a fish, a feline, a *makara*, a *kūrma* etc. The *gaja-vṛṣabha* motif makes an appearance and so do small reliefs of the fertility goddess Lajjā-gaurī and some erotic sculptures. *Kinnaras* and *kinnarīs, haṁsas*, musicians and dancing Turks also appear. Garuḍa and Hanumān are among the Vaiṣṇava motifs found, while among the Śaiva themes are the reliefs of Gaṇeśa, Vīrabhadra and some forms of Śiva. There are no narrative sculptures present in this temple either on this *maṇḍapa* or anywhere else.
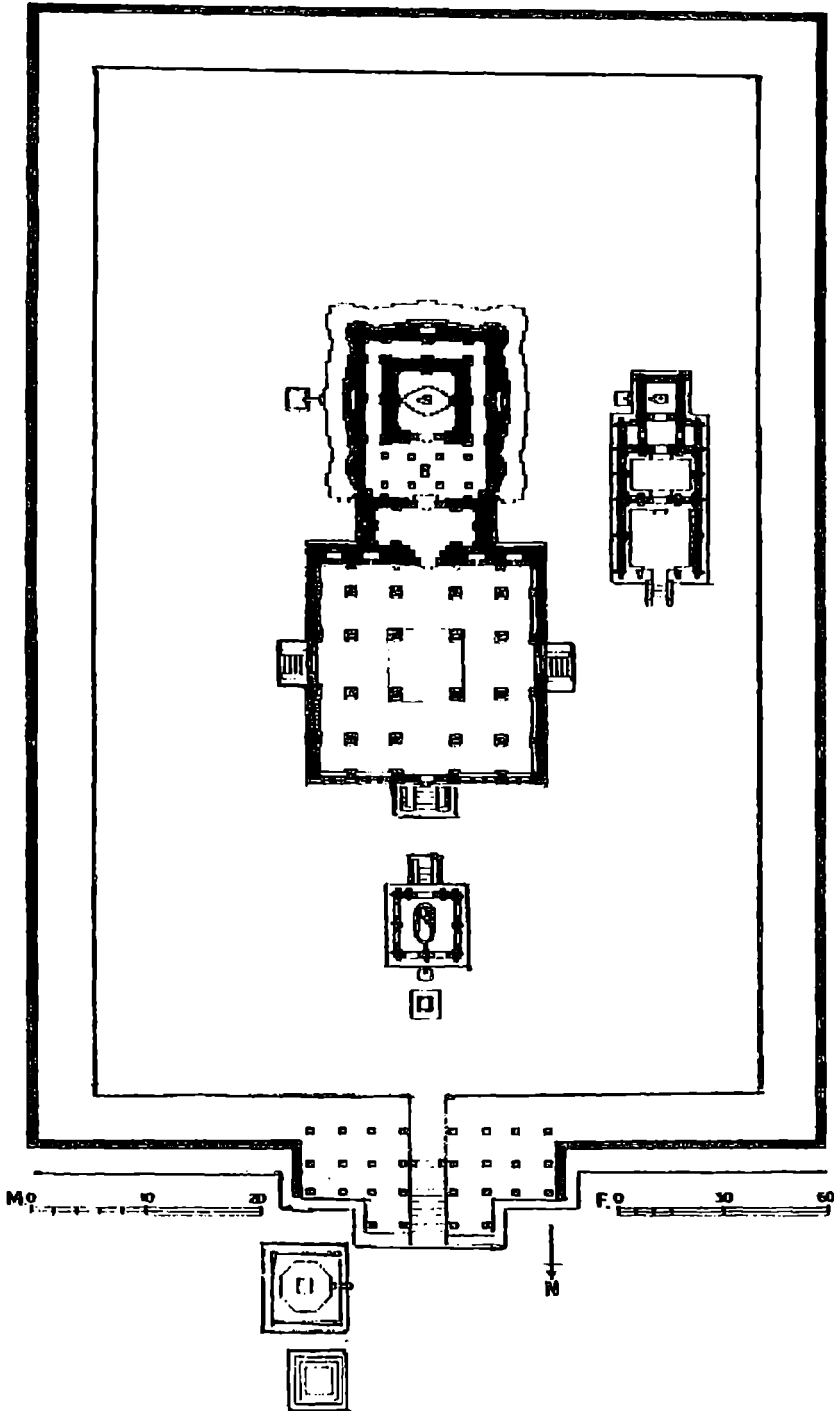
Fig. 1: Plan of the Aghoreśvara temple, Ikkeri

The exterior of the *vimāna* portion is different from that of the *maṇḍapa* in many respects (Pl. XX). The outer *pradakṣiṇā-patha* walls are raised on an *upapītha* adorned with a *jagatī, padma, tripaṭṭa kumuda, kapota* decorated with *kuḍus*, a frieze of *yāli* heads and an upturned *padma*. The *upapītha* has projections and recesses which continue on to the *bhitti*. The mouldings of the *upapītha* are interrupted by shallow niches on the projections in the middle of each side. The niche on the east, which contains an image of Indra seated on an elephant, is capped by a richly carved *makara-toraṇa*. This provides the frame for a *praṇāla*. The niche on the west side has an image of Varuṇa inside. The walls of the *pradakṣiṇā-patha* are set back from the *upapītha* to create a shelf almost 2 metres in width. Above this rises an *adhiṣṭhāna* with plain tripartite mouldings. In the centre of each side of the *bhitti* there are niche chambers. The rest of the wall surface is adorned with simple pilasters. On top there is a curving *kapota*-cornice, surmounted by an inverted *padma*, a recess with projecting lotus-spouts and a *kapota*. The three-storeyed tower over the sanctuary is intricately worked and its *kūṭas, śālās* and pilasters are so arranged that the tower has a polygonal appearance; it is capped by a part-spherical dome. The *stūpikā* on top of it is of brass. A barrel-shaped *śukanāsa* extension projects from the superstructure on to the roof of the first antechamber.

On the floor outside the main shrine there are a number of small *balipīṭhas*. On the east side of the *vimāna* portion small *pīṭhas*, representing the 8 *mātṛkās*, are placed on the ground.

Interior

The spacious interior of the *mahāmaṇḍapa* has elaborately carved columns and ceilings. There are sixteen free-standing columns and sixteen along the walls (Pl. XIX A). The free-standing columns rest on *adhiṣṭhāna* footing blocks with crouching *yālis* or medallions in the middle. The column shafts comprise plain cubic blocks at the bottom, above which the column is cut in a variety of styles: sixteen-sided or with pot-like profiles etc. The columns are topped by double capitals. The brackets are provided with rolled ends in multiple projections. The attached columns along the periphery are surmounted by *puṣpapodigai* brackets. Foliate ornamentation decorates the beams above. The pillars and beams divide the ceiling into 25 bays. The ceiling over the middle bay is raised on two rotated squares embellished with lotus medallions and other designs. The central medallion has a pendant bud surrounded by an octagon of *haṁsas* and buds etc. Four deep niches are set into the rear (south) wall of the *maṇḍapa*. In these are found sculpted images of Gaṇeśa and Subrahmaṇya on the east side and Mahiṣāsuramardinī and Bhairava in the west side shrines. Three prostrating figures are carved on the floor in front of the *maṇḍapa*. These have labels identifying them as Nāyakas. One

is clearly that of Sadāśiva.

The entrance from the *mahāmaṇḍapa* into the first antechamber is beautifully decorated with highly ornate Śaiva *dvārapālas* on the jambs, flanked by reliefs of the standing Gaṅgā on either side. A relief of Gajalakṣmī adorns the°centre of the lintel which is surmounted by a decorative shrine-like design. The interior of the first or outer antechamber is fairly plain. However, the door leading from it into the inner antechamber is again quite ornate. The second antechamber has two rows of four pillars each. The *garbhagṛha* is also plain inside. The *pīṭha* within is unusually large, occupying nearly three-quarters of the whole space within the sanctum. It has thirty-two multiple projections, each with a seated female figure. On the *pīṭha* rests a polished granite *liṅga*.[4]

Sub Shrine

The goddess shrine, immediately west of the main shrine, consists of a *garbhagṛha* and an *antarāla* with side chambers, a *raṅgamaṇḍapa* and a *mahāmaṇḍapa* which is open only in the front (north) side.

Exterior

The *adhiṣṭhāna* running around the shrine is unadorned; it comprises only a *jagatī*, a *kaṇṭha* with lotus medallions on it, and an upturned *padma*. A *praṇāla* projects from the *adhiṣṭhāna* on the east side of the sanctum. Columns with cut-out colonettes adorn the otherwise plain walls of both the *maṇḍapas*. The surfaces in between three colonettes on each side are enlivened with friezes of temple towers, replicating those on the *mahāmaṇḍapa* of the main shrine. The overhanging angled eaves have log-like strips covering the joints. A parapet of trefoil merlons with corner finials runs over the eaves of the *maṇḍapa*. The superstructure over the *garbhagṛha* is two-storeyed, more or less repeating, though on a smaller scale, the principal features of the tower over the main shrine. The open end of the *mahāmaṇḍapa* (Pl. XIX B) is framed by four columns fashioned as rearing *yālis*, with foreign-looking riders atop them. The *yālis* rest on the top of short pillars; the brackets above are of the *puṣpapodigai* variety. Flanking the entrance passage, there are low parapets between the front columns; the outer faces of the parapets are enlivened with friezes of temple-towers.[5] The entrance steps are flanked by *yāli*-balustrades. From the mouth of the *yāli* a scroll emerges, which ends in a lotus bud.

Interior

The interior of the *mahāmaṇḍapa* is undecorated. It has seating slabs along the edge of the inner walls. The column on either side of the entrance into the *raṅgamaṇḍapa* has a *yāli* with rider. The doorway itself is an arched opening surrounded by a flattish lotus ornament, with parrots and medallions

in the spandrels. Smaller arched openings with pierced screens occupy the bays at either side.[6] The first antechamber has Śaiva *dvārapālas* on the jambs of the door leading into the second antechamber. The interiors of the antechambers do not have any carvings.

Conclusion

The synthesis of different architectural traditions is one of the unique features of this temple. The influence of the imperial style developed at Vijayanagara in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries is evident in the material used for the construction, namely granite, in the enclosed *pradakṣiṇā-patha* around the sanctum, and in the presence of a smaller consort shrine to the side of the main shrine. The sculptural motifs of the Nāthas, Lajjā-gaurī etc. are also derived from the Vijayanagara repertoire of sculptural themes. Again, the *yāli*-balustrades and the *yāli*-columns are also derived from the Vijayanagara tradition. However, here the *yāli*-balustrades have a regional variation in that a lotus bud emerges from the end of the scroll that issues from the mouth of the *yāli*. The *yāli*-pillars here are also of a different type from those found in Vijayanagara city; here, the *yālis* stand on top of a small column.

The Hoysaḷa influences on this temple's architecture and decorative details are evident in the wide *upapītha*, the finely-cut stone grilles, the presence on the wall surface of the *maṇḍapas* of pilasters topped by shrine façades and the fact that the superstructure over the *vimāna* is of stone (and not brick and plaster as was the practice in contemporary Vijayanagara). Even the almost polygonal profiles of the superstructures resemble the superstructures over Hoysaḷa *vimānas*, in contrast to the pyramidal superstructures of the typical Vijayanagara style temple of the sixteenth century. The *śukanāsa* projection is also an element derived from earlier Deccan architecture. The plain angled eaves of the Nandī pavilion and the *maṇḍapa* of the main shrine of Aghoreśvara temple also derive from the earlier traditions of the Deccan, for in the mature phase of Vijayanagara temple architecture the eaves are of the curved variety.

The cusped arches, the merlons on top of the Nandī pavilion and the decorative panels of geometric and floral designs on the walls of the main shrine are evidently borrowed from the neighbouring Deccan Sultanate architecture. In general, arches are rare in temple architecture. However, in the Aghoreśvara temple they are quite prominent both in the Nandī pavilion and in the *maṇḍapa* of the main shrine.

The Aghoreśvara temple at Ikkeri is the first major temple at this site and was built soon after the site was selected as the capital of this Nāyaka kingdom. Also it was built around the time when the local Nāyaka was asserting

his autonomy from the imperial centre, following the decline of the Vijayanagara polity in the post-Talikota scenario. This historical background provides the clue to the architectural synthesis present at the Aghoreśvara temple. Temple building and patronage of religious sites was one of the means of claiming legitimacy that was used by kings and rulers down the ages, including the Vijayanagara sovereigns and their successors, the Nāyakas. In temples built contemporaneously with the Aghoreśvara temple by the Nāyakas of the Tamil zone, we note a blending of the imperial Vijayanagara style, with a conscious archaism that harks back to the earlier political powers of the region. Thus, in the Veṅkaṭacalapati temple at Krishnapuram in southern Tamil Nadu, built in the third quarter of the sixteenth century by Krṣṇappa Nāyaka, the first of the Madurai Nāyakas to assert his autonomy, the *vimānas* of the main shrine and the two consort shrines are built in an archaic style, harking back to the Pāndya architecture of the thirteenth century. This temple also has many features found in the mature Vijayanagara temples as well as certain innovative and unique features. The Aghoreśvara temple at Ikkeri is a similar case. Here, while maintaining the architectural links with the imperial Vijayanagara style, a conscious attempt is made to link up with the earlier Hoysala traditions of this region of Karnataka, thereby claiming for the Nāyaka, legitimacy not only as the successor of the Vijayanagara polity but also of the earlier Hoysala kingdom.

One might wonder about the reason for borrowing from Sultanate architecture, for the Adil Shahis of Bijapur were among the main enemies of the Keladi/Ikkeri Nāyakadom. This is not surprising, for although the Bahmani Sultanate and its successor states were among the principal enemies and political rivals for hegemony over the Deccan that faced the Vijayanagara polity, yet, the influence of Sultanate architecture on Vijayanagara art and architecture is very evident, though primarily in courtly buildings and not in religious structures. Indeed, the cultural impact of Islamic culture on Vijayanagara is found in various fields, besides architecture. Political rivalry and warfare did not seem to come in the way of cultural confluence.

The Aghoreśvara temple is an interesting and unusual monument. Its art and architecture proves that there were regional variations in temple architecture in the sixteenth century, even after Vijayanagara had brought about a more or less uniform imperial style over a large part of the empire. In Karnataka, while the temple architecture of the Woḍeyars of Mysore and the Gowḍās of Bangalore is aligned very closely to the imperial style, that of the Nāyakas of Keladi/Ikkeri and of the chiefs of the coastal regions displays marked regional variations. Of the architecture of this Nāyaka kingdom, the Aghoreśvara temple is the most important surviving example.

Notes and References

1. George Michell and U. S. Moorti (Eds.), *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture - South India, Dravidadesa Later Phase C. A. D.1289-1798*. New Delhi: American Institute of Indian Studies, 2001, p. 259.

2. George Michell, *The New Cambridge History of India: Architecture and Art of Southern India - Vijayanagara and the Successor States*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995, pp. 65-66.

3. *Ibid*, p. 67.

4. George Michell and U. S. Moorti (Eds.), *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture - South India, Dravidadesa Later Phase C.A.D. 1289-1798*. New Delhi: American Institute of Indian Studies, 2001, pp. 267-270.

5. *Ibid*,p. 270.

6. *Ibid*.

Illustrations

Figure 1 : Plan of the Aghoreśvara temple, Ikkeri (courtesy: Dr. George Michell; reproduced with the permission of the author).

Photographs

XVII. Nandī Pavilion.

XVIII A. Main shrine of the Aghoreśvara temple.

XVIII B. Details of the wall surface of the *maṇḍapa* of the main shrine.

XIX A. Main shrine *maṇḍapa* interior view.

XIX B. Entrance to the sub-shrine.

XX. *Vimāna* of the main shrine.

Nandi Pavilion.
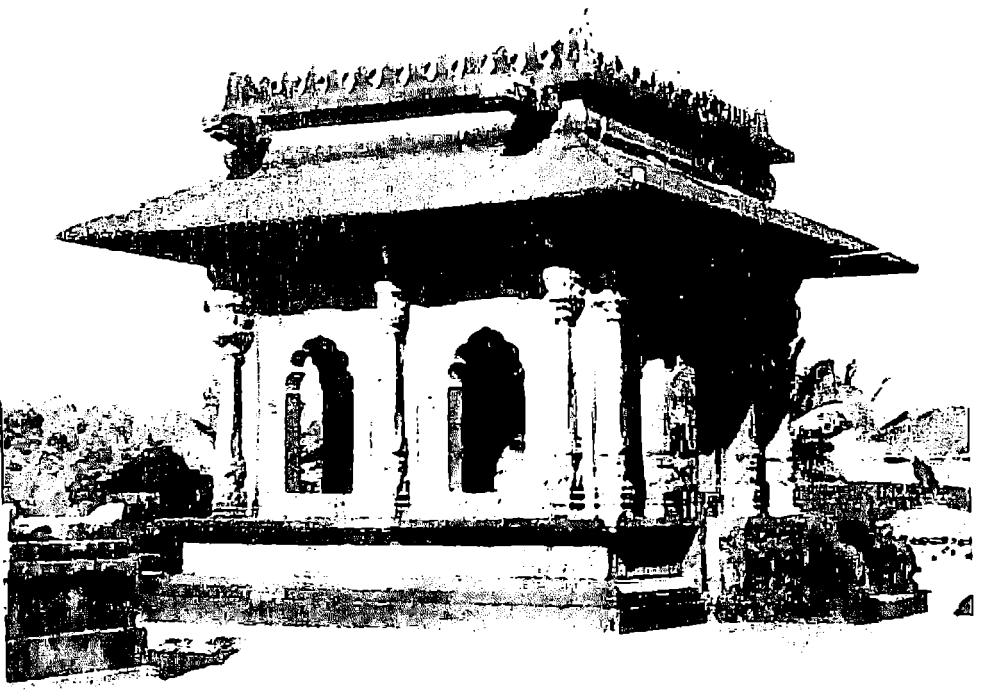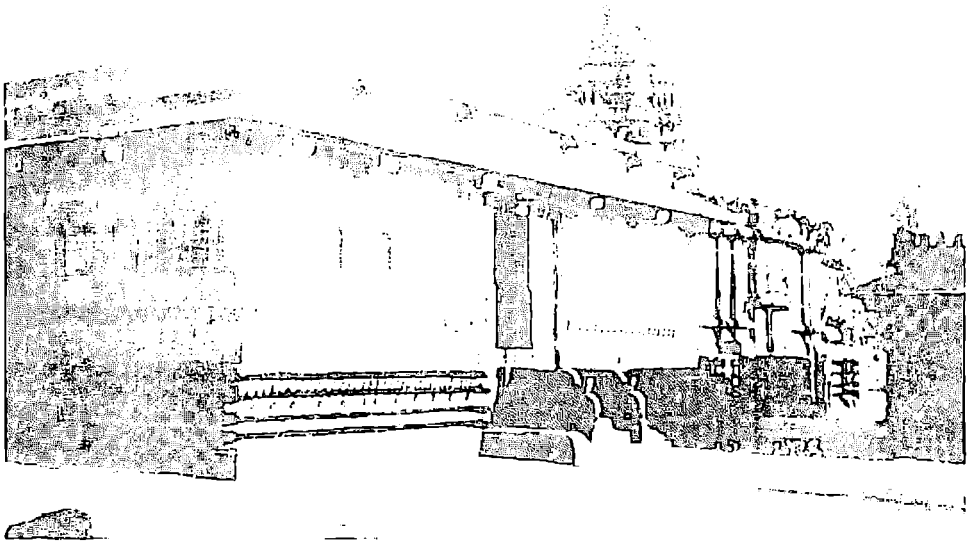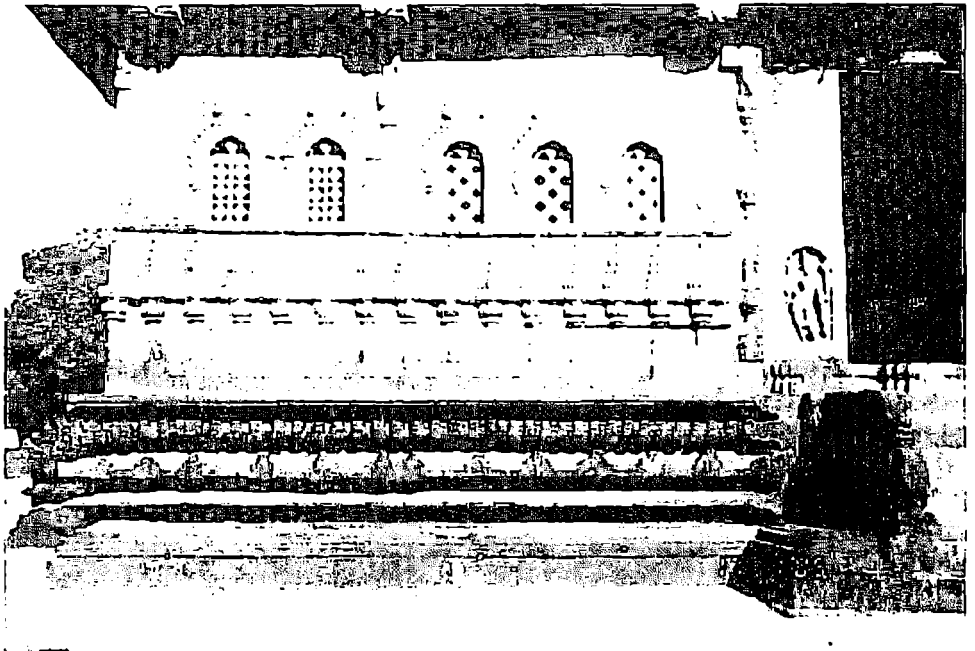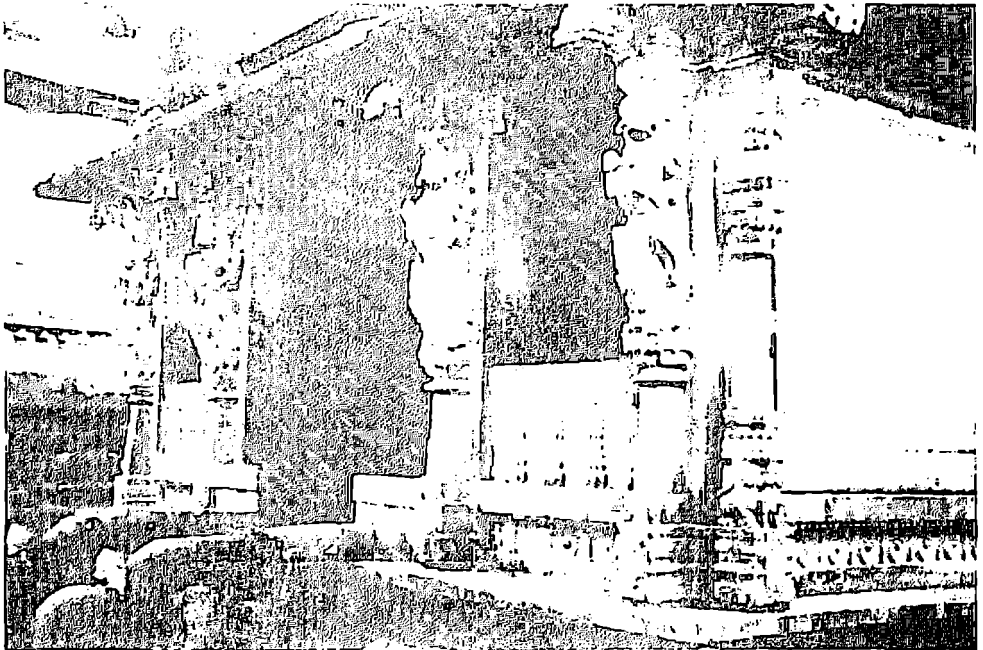
A. Main shrine of Aghoreśvara temple.

B. Details of the wall surface of the maṇḍapa of the main shrine.

A. Main shrine *maṇḍapa* interior view.

B. Entrance to the sub-shrine.

Vimāna of the main shrine.

REVIEWS

HARI SMṚITI : STUDIES ON ART, ARCHAEOLOGY AND INDOLOGY,
2 Vols., Ed. ARUNDHATI BANERJI, Kaveri Books, New Delhi, 2006,
pp : xxxi + 575, + plates colour 43, black and white 222 + figure
drawings 51, Rs. 4800.

The two volumes prepared as a tribute to a great scholar reflect that
savant's expertise on all aspects of Indology. There is a warmly appreciative
Foreword by Kapila Vatsyayan, and the first volume starts with a section
on personal reminiscences by six scholastic admirers whose eulogies gently
touch on the many facets of Dr. Haribishnu Sarkar's persona, some with
respectful admiration, and some with a light touch of humour. They bring
before us a man humane in his qualities, endowed with an imaginative and
poetic mind, exactingly precise in his work. The second Section is the weightiest
of both the Volumes devoted to art and Iconography, and the Volume closes
with a Section on Architecture. The second volume starts with a Section on
Archaeology, followed by Sections on Epigraphy and Numismatics, Antiquities
and Museums, Conservation and Heritage Management and ends with one
on Miscellaneous, since the two papers in the section do not fall under any
of the above classifications. All papers are of uniform quality of scholarship.
But constraints on space preclude discussing all of them here.

Lokesh Chandra brings to our notice that the entire building and all its
iconography of Angkor Vat is in honour of Jayavarman II's coronation, and
the *Meru* structure stands for the *aindra abhiṣeka* as mentioned in the *Aitareya
Brāhmaṇa*. This myth of Devarāja ceremonies had spread to Thailand, as
seen from their Book of Palace Law wherein it is mentioned as *Indrābhiṣeka*.
P. K. Agrawala's article on Gupta terracottas would have been more enjoyable
if there had been some illustrations, particularly when he talks of a unique
Śiva image holding a rosary in its two upraised hands, where the artist has
expressed 'the highly inscrutable level of mystic exerience' of the Yogi. Elizabeth
Rosen Stone finds the multiple planes of certain Buddhist sculptures of Amaravati
akin to the artist's efforts at presenting a linear perspective to his paintings,
especially of the Roman era. This may have been one of the results of the
close trade ties India had with Rome.

Some contributors dwell on their favourite theme, as for instance Debala
Mitra on the Udayagiri Main Stupa, Walter M. Spink on the reasons for the

long period for the development of the cave paintings of Ajanta, and Bimal Bandyopadhyay on the recent excavations at Udayagiri; though Devendra Handa describes a unique four-armed Viśvarūpa image from Haryana.

Certain papers correct the existing misconceptions on dating of a style, or the style itself. Nolamba style has been wrongly stated to be an imitation of either Cola or Chalukyan style. But Andrew Cohen avers that it is of the lesser known Alupa style, and its later innovations are of the Vijayanagara style. In a similar vein Kirsti Evans speaks of the influence of local myths on Hoysala art (ignored usually by scholars, who prefer to rely on Sanskrit texts), while examining the Amr̥teśvara temple. B. V. Shetti corrects the reading of the inscription on the pedestal of the Brahmā image of Elephanta. In one of the two donations to the Mahāsāṅghikas of Mathura, Gouriswar Bhattacharya identifies the eunuch donor Kaṭhika, servant to the royal harem of Śaravaṇaka, correcting the earlier mistaken opinion of art historians that it was the sage R̥syaśr̥ṅga. Udayaravi Moorti demolishes certain extant 'myths' regarding the Megalithic culture. After a detailed examination he points out the vast spread of this culture. Appendices of lists of Megalithic sites in South India and carbon dating of these sites illumine the paper. Terracotta bull figurines with horns or humps are a distinguishing feature of the Banas culture. Arundhati Banerji concludes that though there were interactions with the Harappan culture, these figurines show their unique indigenous style.

Gerd J. R. Mevissen brings up an interesting detail that the Śiva Tripurāntakamūrti was placed in a temple complex such that it faced the direction from where danger from enemies lurked. It infused power in the ruling monarch and protected him. He also points out that whereas in the Early Western Calukya and Rāṣṭrakuṭa icons the fierce form was represented, under the Pallavas the attitude of the icons was benign, thus differentiating between an actual military campaign and a general threat. R. Nagaswamy clarifies the iconographic differences of Śiva *līlā mūrtis*, which would otherwise confuse a Tripurāntaka Śiva with a Vīṇādhara Dakṣiṇāmūrti or a Kirāta Śiva. He opines that when viewed outside a temple complex say, in a museum, one could easily make a mistake in identification. Mallar Mitra agrees that the *sapta ratnas* mentioned in the Buddhist texts *Dīghanikāya* and *Lalitavistara* symbolise regnal power and are understandably associated with the Master in iconography or literature. But it is a puzzle that they were depicted on Avalokiteśvara images. Similarly, one of the two representations of a rare Buddhist deity Mahācaṇḍaroṣaṇa, discovered by B. S. Verma at Antichak was decorating a stone drain. The question arises as to why an important deity is used to embellish a drain, when its worship is strictly prohibited in the Buddhist texts. Murtaja Baseer after a detailed narration of the vicissitudes of various rulers of Kamarupa and Bengal, makes a tentative suggestion that one of the Sena kings who had Southern ancestry must have made gold

coins in imitation of the coinage of Kulottuṅga Cola and his successors. Raghunath Bhatt states that though the temples of Tulunadu were influenced by a few major regnal styles, it retained some of its own unique regional features. While D. Dayalan examines a dilapidated monastery of the Gupta style in Behati, Madhya Pradesh, B. L. Nagarch goes in detail over the Samidheśvara temple in Chittorgarh, with an accompanying list of sculptures in its *Janghā*.

Sections on Antiquities and Museums and on Conservation and Heritage Management deal with contemporary problems on protection of our heritage, retrieval of our 'patrimony', and aspects of conservation and its attendant problems.

As seen in this short and random survey of the papers, some of them highlight little known sites or styles, while others bring out obscure facts on well-known sites. All in all these two volumes are a fitting tribute to the stalwart scholar Haribishnu Sarkar. The editor deserves kudos for her efforts. This well-accomplished task is a reward in itself.

Indira S. Aiyar

THE LIFE OF HSUAN-TSANG, HUI-LI AND YEN-TSUNG, Translation LI YUNG-HSI, Akshaya Prakashan, 208, M. G. House, 2, Community Centre, Wazirpur Industrial Area, Delhi 110052, pp. 274 + xix, Rs. 250.

This volume contains the amazing life-story of an outstanding Chinese scholar, Hsuan-Tsang. It was published as a commemorative volume with the help of the Buddhist Association of China. Interestingly, the Chinese Government had presented to the Government of India Hsuan-Tsang's relic-bone for lodging in a memorial hall to be constructed at Nalanda. He visited India during 629-643 CE for seeing the sacred places associated with Buddha and to pay homage as also to study authentic Buddhist scriptures. His journey to India through mountainous routes was indeed a mind boggling adventure. He took the northern route through Turfan, Karashar, Tashkent, Samarkand, Balkh, Bamian-Gandhar, Multan and Kashmir, and onwards to many Indian cities. He travelled right up to Magadha and Nalanda and down south upto Dravida country. He has recorded minute details of the terrain, distances, rivers, mountains, people and their customs, food habits, culture etcetera.

Hsuan-Tsang is the greatest translator of Buddhist literature into Chinese. In young age when he was studying Buddhist scriptures, he found that the

translations were inadequate. He, therefore, decided that he would visit India and learn from eminent scholars. While returning to China after 14 years, he carried 657 manuscripts. Of these, he himself translated 75 volumes into Chinese. In translating from Sanskrit into Chinese, his emphasis was on precision and readability. He evolved a unique style of translation. He created appropriate terminology in Chinese for Buddhist philosophical concepts. His mastery over Sanskrit also enabled him to translate Lao-tzu into Sanskrit.

His travel had the approval and patronage of Tai-tsung, the Chinese Emperor. The Emperor made him write the record of his travels. Thus, the silk-route became well-known. He initiated diplomatic relations between China and India. He was the one who informed the Emperor about the Indian invention of sugar. Thereupon, an ambassador was sent to India to study the technology.

Mr. Li Yung-hsi, the translator of this volume, was the first Chinese scholar to translate *The Life of Hsuan-Tsang* into English. Hsuan-Tsang was born in Honan province of China. His family name was Chen. His great grandfather as well as his father were men of eminence. He was the youngest of four brothers. In childhood itself he studied the classics and mastered their teachings. Since his inclination was towards religion, he ordained himself in a monastery. After becoming a monk, he studied various Dharma-sutras and participated in many debates and discussions. His teachers praised his intellect and depth of knowledge and called him 'sun of wisdom.' He moved from one master to another and thus enhanced his learning. In the process, he got his doubts cleared. He learned from many teachers but found that there were many contradictions regarding the holy scriptures. He was naturally bewildered. So, he decided to travel to India and to procure books like the *Yogacaryā-bhūmi-śāstra* to clear his doubts.

Before the commencement of his arduous journey to the Buddha-bhūmi, that is India, with great difficulty he obtained official patronage. Some wise men tried to dissuade him from travelling to the West, as the road was dangerous and it involved crossing the deserts, facing the demons and hot winds. There was danger of getting lost. Since Hsuan-Tsang was determined to go to brahminic country for seeking the great Law of Buddhism, he embarked on his journey to the West. At that time, he was 26 years old. He was 7 feet tall and needed a tall horse. His complexion was pinkish-white. He had broad eye-brows and bright eyes. His voice was sonorous. He talked very softly and preferred Gandhara costumes in which he moved gracefully.

On his way to India, he visited many monasteries and met many learned teachers. He had discourses with them. They were greatly impressed by him. He also crossed across many kingdoms and met several kings on the way. Most of the teachers and the kings tried to dissuade him from undertaking onward journey, considering the hazards on the way. He pleaded with them

not to obstruct him. At their request, he, however, agreed to extend his stay at many places. He used the time to teach them the scriptures. Since he was determined to proceed with his journey, the monks and the kings ultimately provided him with escorts, horses, silk and woolen robes, ration and water etc. They also gave him recommendatory letters to kings and monks he was likely to meet on the journey ahead.

In the country of Baluka, in Pamir range, he met Turkish Shehu Khan. Hsuan-Tsang describes thus : The Khan was wearing a green silk robe. A white silk turban about 10 ft long was wrapped around his forehead and hung behind his back, leaving his hair exposed. 200 officials with plaited hair, all wearing embroidered silk robes surrounded him. The military men wore felt clothes made of coarse wool, and had banners and bows in their hands. So many were the camels and horses that they stretched out of one's sight. The Khan welcomed him. The Turks worshipped fire and would not use wooden beds as wood contained an element of fire. They would not even sit on anything wooden. An envoy of China and a messenger from Kaochang were accompanying Hsuan-Tsang. The Khan offered pure food and juices to the Master Hsuan-Tsang, and treated the others with lots of wine and mutton.

On reaching Bamian, he saw ten monasteries and several thousand monks who were studying and teaching Hīnayāna philosophy. Bamian was a great centre of Buddhist studies. Here he saw a 150 ft tall image of Śākyamuni Buddha. In the monastery there was also a 1000 ft long image of reclining Buddha. On reaching Nagarahara, present Jalalabad, he wanted to see the shadow of the Tathāgata in a cave. After entering the cave, reciting sutras he made 200 prostrations. The whole cave became brightly illuminated and he saw the Tathāgata's shadow distinctly on the wall. The shadow was lustrous with a bright and divine appearance. Further, he went to many holy places in Northern India. His mission was to visit places made holy by Buddha, and also to collect manuscripts from the monasteries set up by Emperor Aśoka.

On his return to China, he was received with great joy and respect. He was given an imperial welcome. Hsuan-Tsang had carried with him hundreds of manuscripts, and a large number of images of Buddha made in wood, stone, silver and gold. His luggage of 520 boxes of books and images was loaded on 20 horses. These were ceremoniously carried in a parade. Golden flowers were scattered on the road, as a mark of welcome for the Master as well as for the treasure of wisdom brought by him.

He called on the Emperor who repeatedly asked him to join the Court, so that his knowledge and wisdom could be used for the statecraft. But, he politely declined the honour as he wanted to devote his life to translate

the scriptures he had brought, as well as study theology. The Emperor had told him to write about his travel, which he happily did. In 662 CE, a pagoda designed by Hsuan-Tsang was erected in Shensi province in China to store the scriptures brought from India. Hsuan-Tsang spent the rest of his life diligently translating the remaining scriptures.

This biography provides us with authentic information about the peoples of India and China during the 7th century. We come to know about their life-style, religious belief, monuments, social and religious hierarchy etcetera. Hui-li and Yen-tsung, the writers of the original volume in Chinese, have written in a lucid style which is also reflected in the translation done by Li Yung-hsi. The narration of Hsuan-Tsang's courage and adventure as well as his longing for knowledge have the quality of a near-epic.

Sanjeevani Kher

CONTRIBUTION OF RĀMACANDRA PAṆḌITA TO SANSKRIT LITERATURE, M. L. WADEKAR, Bharatiya Kala Prakashan, 3421-A Narang colony, Tri Nagar, DELHI - 110035, 2005, pp. 138. Rs. 250.

It was in August 2001 that Yashwant Maharaj of Kolhapur handed over the family collection of 800 MSS to the Oriental Institute of Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda. Among these some 23 short MSS were selected by Dr. Wadekar for publication. He edited these into the book under review.

The editor has classified these works of Rāmacandra in three parts viz. 1. Philosophical works, 2. Stotras and 3. Other works. The editor has provided an elaborate introduction running over 22 pages. It contains 1. Biographical information and genealogical table of Rāmacandra Paṇḍita, 2. His philosophical works, 3. Stotra works and 4. Writings on technical subjects such as *kuṇḍas* for daily sacrifices etc., some chapters on *Vṛttas*. His Marathi works viz. *Baiṭha Paribhāṣā* and *Aṣṭākṣara Mantra Vidhānam* are not included in this book. The editor has examined critically most of the verses that form the text of these works.

Siddheśvara Paṇḍita, father of Rāmacandra was a Sanskrit scholar, who lived in the latter half of the 18th century. He was known for his saintly qualities. He was a great devotee of Harihareśvara and believed that his son Rāmacandra was verily an incarnation of one of the *Bhairavas*. Even at an early age of 11 years, Rāmacandra had opportunities to learn various *śāstras* from the experts in the field. He learnt Vedānta and *Mantraśāstra* from his

father at the age of thirteen.

Part I of the volume contains six works, two dealing with *Īśāvāsyopaniṣad*. Of these, one is *Rahasya Stotram* and the other is *Rahasya Vivṛtiḥ*. The third work is *Daśopaniṣad Rahasya* with *Vivṛtiḥ*. The originality of the author lies in elucidating the esoteric meaning of the texts. Each *mantra* is explained in great detail in the *ṭīkā*. Author's transformation of the original *mantras* in lucid metres viz. *Indravajrā, Upendravajrā* and *Upajāti* is poetic and adds lucidity to the original texts, without damaging the serenity of the *Śruti*. This is followed by *Daśopaniṣad Rahasya* with the author's *vivṛtiḥ*. This sort of *Svopajñya Ṭīkā* is helpful in comprehending the essence of this deeply philosophical literature.

The second part of the book contains 12 *stotras*, two about *Gurupūjā*, five about Śrī Rāma, author's favourite deity, one each about Śrī Kṛṣṇa and Gaṅgā and three in praise of Sanskrit.

The subjects covered in Part III are more practical and deal with arrangement of *kuṇḍas* for daily household sacrifices, art of prosody etc. Thus, *Vṛttābhirāma* is a work of five chapters describing the arrangement of *mātrās* and *gaṇas*. The author believes that without the knowledge of *Chandaśāstra*, attempt at poetry would be ridiculous. He wants everyone attempting poetical work to be well versed in metrical versification.

This nicely edited version of the works of Rāmacandra Paṇḍita is a good addition to 18th century Sanskrit literature.

The editor has candidly acknowleged his personal linkage with the family of Rāmacandra Paṇḍita and that explains the precedence of these texts over the other texts received by the Institute. Let us hope that the Director of the Institute will take up the editing and publishing of other MSS in this lot.

The printing and the get-up of the book are good and it has been well-produced.

N. B. Patil

SWATANTRATA SANGRAM ME JAIN, Eds. KAPURCHAND JAIN and SMT. JYOTI JAIN, Prachya Sramana Bharati, Muzaffar Nagar U. P. 251 001, pp. 430, Rs. 200.

Many a warrior has laid his life on the altar of struggle for Independence. A few names have been recorded in history but most of them are unknown

and unsung. In fact their sacrifices are a perpetual inspiration to the oncoming generations. It is through these sacrifices, that the succeeding generations enjoy the fruits of freedom.

Towards the close of the 18th century, the British who came to India as traders, lost their interest in mercantile activities. The battle of Plassey in 1757 and subsequent encounters with Tippu and the Marathas turned the scales in their favour, and they could grab large tracts of Bengal, Karnataka and Maratha territory. The *Jaripatkā* of the Marathas was pulled down at *Śanawār wādā* in Pune in 1818 and the British found themselves supreme throughout India. Delhi, Punjab, Rajputana, Malwa, Bengal, Karnataka, and Maharashtra were under the thumb of the East India Company.

Although the British Parliament regulated the activities of the East India Company the subcontinent was still not a part of the British empire. The heavy hand of the East India Company in ruling the vast territory aroused patriotic feelings and an organized attempt was made in 1857 to shake off the yoke of the British governance. This rising for independence was mercilessly crushed by the military officers of the East India Company resulting in the proclamation by the Queen in 1858.

The early attempts of the All India Congress were directed towards social reforms and national awareness. The Freedom Struggle grew under the leadership of Gopal Krishna Gokhale, Mahadev Govind Ranade, Lokmanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Aurobindo and many other political leaders, both liberal and radical. But from the third decade of the 20th century, Mahatma Gandhi was all in all, in Indian National Congress. Popular leaders such as Lala Lajpat Rai, Pt. Madan Mohan Malaviya, Sarojini Naidu, Jawaharlal Nehru, Subhash Chandra Bose, Jay Prakash Narayan, Sardar Patel led the struggle for freedom. Quit India movement of 1942 and the march of the Azad Hind Sena led by Subhash Chandra Bose hastened the transfer of power and India became free on 15th August 1947. All these great leaders fired enthusiasm and self sacrifice among the masses during the pre-Independence decades.

Although many historical movements in the march of Independence have been recorded, a comprehensive history of India's struggle for freedom is yet a desideratum. In Maharashtra, attempts were made to record all the moments in India's struggle for freedom district-wise and these were later incorporated in the revised editions of District Gazetteers and other popular books. It is a fact that those who participated in the Freedom Struggle did so forgetting their caste, creed and religion.

The volume under review, however, is a fairly authentic record of those freedom fighters of Jain community. Non-violence is the basic creed of Jainism and so the participants in the freedom struggle have no stories of violence.

But they were proud to participate in the struggle for freedom as a community response in this great movement of independence under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, whose weapons in this struggle were Truth and Non-Violence. The Jains throughout the country rose to the clarion call of Mahatma, gathered under the banner of A.I.C.C. and strengthened the movement to a large extent. The community supported the freedom struggle with money and men. They also underwent rigorous imprisonment.

These freedom fighters led non-violent *morchas*, boycotted schools and colleges run by the British Government and underwent sufferings that were the lot of the freedom fighters.

All these freedom fighters would not have been known to history, had the authors Dr. Kapurchand Jain and Dr. Jyoti Jain not pursued this project. They collected the life histories of most of the Jain participants in the struggle for freedom and edited the same in an encyclopaedic form. Both the authors have a good standing in their own field of research and they took this project by way of service to their community and to the nation.

The volume contains pictures and photographs of most of the freedom fighters and due care has been taken to see that the information culled is authentic.

The volume serves as an information house of the participants in freedom struggle and it also serves to integrate the community. This is the first volume of an ongoing project. The project was commended and supported by *sarakhoddhāraka* Shri Jnanasagarji Maharaj. The paper, print and binding are quite good and the price is reasonable for 430 pages.

N. B. Patil

BIBLIOGRAPHY ON BUDDHISM, SHIMSHO HANAYAMA, Edited by the Commemoration Committee for Prof. Shimsho Hanayama's Sixty-first Birthday, Akshaya Prakashan, New Delhi, Reprint, 2005, pp. 869 Rs. 1500.

Prof. Shimsho Hanayama's Bibliography on Buddhism is an important reference work for articles and books on the subject published during the last two centuries. It is quite comprehensive in covering major European publications in English, French and German. Prof. Hanayama prepared the entry cards in the Libraries at Tokyo, London, Paris, Berlin and Heidelberg. These include reviews of works. The entries are alphabetized under the names

of authors. An exhaustive index enhances its utility. With 15073 entries, it is a *sine qua non* for any research scholar working on Buddhist art, philosophy, literature, history and culture.

Prof. Shimsho Hanayama was born in Kanazawa, Ishikawa prefecture, on December 3, 1898 and graduated from the Department of Indian Philosophy and Buddhism of the Tokyo Imperial University in March, 1921. He studied in Europe and taught in Tokyo University. He was granted the Imperial Academy Award in 1935, and the Degree of Doctor of Literature in 1942. He retired in 1959 and became Professor Emeritus of the University of Tokyo. At the retirement function in Tokyo, on April 27, 1959, the professor consented to make public his manuscript and thus enabled the publication of this work in 1961. The Keimei-Kai Foundation, the Daito Shuppansha, the Ministry of Education and the friends of the Sixty First Birthday Commemorative Committee gave financial assistance in making possible the completion of this volume.

I find there is no mention of articles published in journals like *Lalit Kala*, *Marg* and *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum*. So also works of authors like Percy Brown, Douglas Barrett, and Christmas Humphreys are not listed in this publication.

Nevertheless this publication is an outstanding work as a reference book on Buddhism.

B. V. Shetti

BHARTṚHARI'S VĀKYAPADĪYA KĀṆḌA 1, J. OUSEPARAMPIL, Published by J. Ouseparampil, Pune, 2005, pp. 244 + 20 + 10. Rs. 400.

There are three books by Bhartṛhari, and the book under review is his first *kāṇḍa* or book, named *Brahmakāṇḍa*, where he states his objective of the work, as attaining Brahman. He treats the ontology and epistemology of language in this *kāṇḍa*, applying this to the *vākya* (sentence) and *pada* (word) in the 2nd and 3rd *kāṇḍas* respectively. This work, *Vākyapadīya* uses creation metaphors to state the philosophy. Brahman is *śabdatattva* (word in its essence-form) and words reveal it. The sequenceless, undifferentiated Word becomes differentiated as letters, words and sentences. For a meaningful use of language the four stages — *parā, paśyantī, madhyamā* and *vaikharī*— in the evolution of words are explained. *Vāc* is rooted in consciousness, *caitanya*, both in its inward (*pratyak*) and outward (*parāk*) aspects, and is

identical with it. Thus dealing with the One and the multiplicity, it emphasizes the ultimate identity or *vidyā*, explaining in the process the reality of the world as the power of Brahman's differentiation. *Pratibhā*, or intuition, the ultimate state of the expressive word, appears as written or unwritten *āgama*. The written *āgama* as a foundation of the system of language is *śāstra*.

Discussing the *Vākyapadīya* Kamlesh-datta Tripathi, in his Foreword states that though this work is rooted in the Vedas, it belongs to the *āgamic* tradition of *vyākaraṇa* (Grammar). Examining the three terms *śāstra, smṛti,* and *āgama* as used in the *Vākyapadīya* (p. 2 ff), he says *śāstra* denotes a systematization of the process of derivation of words (*prakriyā*) and in a specific sense it denotes *avidyā. Smṛti* is a written tradition, though rooted in *śruti,* an unwritten tradition. In its more specific aspect, since it strives to give clear understanding of *dharma, vyākaraṇa* in its *smṛti* aspect is concerned with *dharmavyavasthā. Āgama* is both beginningless tradition, as well as the written down, as it explains the nature of Reality. This is transmitted through an unbroken line of *guru paramparā*. Bhartṛhari defines *āgama* as the common source of knowledge and the tradition of moral living.

The goal of attaining Brahman can be achieved, Bhartṛhari states, by the study of grammar which is an *ānvīkṣikī* or *mokṣa śāstra*. His grammar treatise does not deal with the grammar of the language per se, but of the philosophy of language. Bhartṛhari considers the system of language and the unity of reality, and their mutual relationship to consciousness. Further, for him, Grammar is not only an *āgama* (metaphysics), but a *śāstra* (science), as well as a *śruti* (tradition). Patañjali laid emphasis on grammar and analysis of words, whereas Bhartṛhari uses grammar in a wider sense, to understand the nature of words.

Vākyapadīya is a complete work on language, Dr. Ouseparampil feels, because it fulfils the three requisites that are mandatory for such a work: ontology, epistemology, and the theory of error (p. 80). In each section dealing with one of these topics, the other two are implicit. *Apauruṣeyattva*, the author feels is best understood from the explanation by Bhartṛhari. Amongst Indian scholars no one has explained it, nor its relevance to religious thinking. (p. 228, fn. 23; p. 229, fn. 24) as lucidly as Bhartṛhari. Moreover, according to the *mīmāṁsakas* Vedic words are more important in their form, rather than what they mean. But according to Bhartṛhari, the form of the word and the form of the object are identical. Putting this in Western terminology, the universal of the word and the universal of the object are the same. Raising the question of what is the universe made of, Bhartṛhari explains the mutual relationship of language, thought and reality, the nature of morality, and the attainment of Brahman (p. 82). The threefold relationship between self, language and reality arises because of their eternal origin from the same Brahman.

In the west, since the self is denied by the Positivists and the Analytic school, they view life, language and reality as fragmented. The connection between the internal and the external, the part to the whole can be grasped according to the author, only if we understood the self and its role in establishing the relationship to language and reality (p. 264). The tradition as seen in the philosophy imbedded in the text is relevant even today, as we see it in the very lives of great men which stand as an illustration to the text. Such stalwarts are never bothered by the question whether their actions are 'right.' Theory and practice are mutually illuminating and this is the cause for greatness in men, the author avers while discussing the contents of *Vākyapadīya*, where all aspects of a man's goal in life are treated in their totality (pp. 14,15).

The author refutes certain criticisms of the work. Rebutting Somānanda's criticism that Bhartrhari has wandered far away from the main objective of explaining the form and structure of the (Sanskrit) language, Ouseparampil puts it down to professional jealousy, since the work is *āgamic*. Jayanta Bhatta's criticism arises out of his misapprehension of '*sphota*'. According to Bhartrhari, this term refers to the unity of understanding of the sequential word which leads to the sequenceless understanding (p. 79). Ouseparampil denies the view of the solipsist that the age and views of this ancient text have no modern relevance. This negates the commonality in human understanding, and though such studies might be difficult, they are not impossible. He also refutes the view that Bhartrhari was an Advaitic monist (pp. 55 ff. & 64/65).

The relationship of language, thought and reality is treated differently by certain Western thinkers, like Kant (p. 130, fn. 19), Heidegger, Wittgenstein (p. 118, fn. 18), Chomski, etc. These are pointed out in the relevant places of his commentary, and dealt with in detail in Appendix 1. Wittgenstein's thoughts on certain issues are dealt with in Appendix 2. Ouseparampil makes a peroration that man cannot be tied down to physical objects alone, but must endeavour towards higher experience — mythical, mystical and aesthetic. This is achieved by intuition, and not by intellection.

In his Preface (pp 12/13), the author faults works of P. V. Kane, S. N. Dasgupta, M. Hiriyanna, et al, that they have not tried to contextualize Indian texts with Western systems of thought. Further, he states that they merely translated these works with their own erroneous concepts imbedded in them. He rightly says that Western thoughts should be used as *pūrvapakṣa* when presenting Indian texts, and vice versa. One also agrees with him that while presenting a text, personal views should not be allowed to interfere, and the text should be presented as its author intended.

Plato's classic 'The Republic' has been taken as a model while presenting this work, the author says, clarifying the language wherever necessary. As

stated in his Epilogue, Ouseparampil has made a tough subject clearer by his lucid analysis and presentation. He has not only achieved his objective of providing an impetus to students of philosophy and language to further research, but has made an obscure subject understandable to lay readers.

Indira S. Aiyar

SAMVIJÑĀNAM (SELECT ARTICLES OF DR. T. N. DHARMADHIKARI),
Ed. by MADHAVI KOLHATKAR and PRADNYA DESHPANDE, Mac Script, Aundh-Pune, 2006, pp. 429 + xxvi. Rs. 650.

The present Volume is a collection of seventy-five articles written in Sanskrit and English by Dr. T. N. Dharmadhikari. It is published on the occasion of his completing seventy-five years of age and is thus a Felicitation Volume. The Volume gives an academic Bio-data of T. N. Dharmadhikari, a list of books written, edited or translated by him as also a list of his articles (in Hindi, Marathi, English and Sanskrit) not included in the present Volume.

The articles are grouped in two sections viz. Sanskrit and English. In the Sanskrit section, there are thirteen articles - two (No. 2 & 3) introducing and critically appreciating the two works of Pt. Ogeti Parikshit Sharma; one (No. 1) highlighting the patriotic song–the very vein of the freedom-fighters– "Vande Mātaram" and the remaining dealing with the topics on Veda and Vedāṅgas, mainly on the Taittirīya branch of the Veda, Śrautasūtras and Mīmāṁsā. Here a special mention has to be made of the article No. 10, which gives several instances of the changes introduced with the passage of time and the alternatives suggested thereof in the context of the Karmakāṇḍa of the Veda. The author discusses these issues not only from the point of view of a ritualist but also from that of a scholar trained in research methodology. He rightly concludes the article with a note that the proper way to look at these changes would be to believe in the unbroken line of the Vedic rituals. He has caught the exact vein of religion, for change and continuity are the two principles on which any religion functions. Another such noteworthy article (No. 13) is regarding the Indian commentators, most of them of medieval times, who have critically edited different works and have commented upon them. The works are from spheres such as rituals, ancient Hindu law and classical Sanskrit literature. Though the discipline of critically editing a text does not date to olden times, Dr. Dharmadhikari makes us agree to the fact that the Indian commentators were well aware of the principles of that discipline and critically followed them.

The English section mainly deals with the Vedas and the Vedāṅgas (No. 14-66) and nine articles here (No. 67-75) deal with textual criticism. These nine articles have sprung from his experience as the Editor as well as the Director of the Vaidika Samshodhana Mandala, where he has been efficiently carrying out the work of editing and translating some important ritual-texts. Dharmadhikari is one of the few Vedic scholars who have done an in-depth study of the rituals from the Saṁhitās, Brāhmaṇa-texts and the Śrautasūtras. The present Volume (though containing only seventy-five articles) clearly vouchsafes for this. With the detailed Vedic data to his credit about rituals, Dharmadhikari can deftly compare that to the tenets from such branches of study as Śaivism (No. 41), Śāktism (No. 42), Buddhism (No. 43), Yoga (No. 63), and even Dharmaśāstra (No. 64) this one dealing with a vital issue regarding "Womens' Right to perform Religious Rites." Article No. 40 "Śūdras and Vedic Sacrifice" is thought-provoking. The author deserves praise for clearing many mis-interpretations of the Vedic references and establishing that the Śūdras and the Atiśūdras were involved in the fold of the sacrifice from the Vedic times. Apart from giving the information about different Vedic sacrifices and discussing the views of commentators viz. Sāyaṇācārya (No. 15), Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara (No. 25), Śaṅkarācārya (No. 58) and Śabarasvāmin (No. 61) on certain points, the present Volume contains the valuable thoughts of the author on topics such as "Macro-Micro in Vedic Rituals" (No. 44), "Eschatology and Vedic Rituals" (No. 47) and above all "Secret Knowledge behind the Institution of Sacrifice" (No. 46), this one serving as a convincing reply to the non-believers of Vedic sacrifice. The articles No. 30-34, again are to be taken note of, as they give valuable information about the Five Great Elements, which are linked with the Vedic concept of cosmology. Loka (space-encompassing Great Elements) and Kāla (Father Time) being greatly important in the entire sacrificial procedure, these five articles (on Pṛthivī, Āpaḥ, Tejas, Vāyu and Ākāśa) dealing with the concept of Loka provide many ritualistic details, documented from several sources.

Thus the present Volume contains a rich treasure of information on the Veda for scholars as well as for general readers. It is a commendable addition to libraries, especially when it contains articles authored by a highly knowledgeable traditional ritualist, who has also mastered the modern methods of research. Passingly one observation and a suggestion for further reprints has to be made. The list of articles of the author not included in the present Volume given on pp. xviii-xx, should have contained all the details viz. publication, place, year, pages etc. to enable the readers to reach these. In some cases they do figure. The two editors deserve credit for bringing out this elegant Volume, with its attractive get-up and above all making a silent and unassuming scholar 'eloquent' through these pages.

Sindhu S. Dange

ORIGIN OF BRĀHMĪ AND KHAROSHṬĪ SCRIPTS, B. N. MUKHERJEE, Progressive Publishers, Kolkata, pp. 100, plates 24, 2005, Rs. 100.

Scripts as vehicles of languages indeed form a major source of knowledge of the activities of man through the ages. His progress in this sphere of his life can be traced from non-phonetic signs to fully developed alphabets via pictographs, ideographs, phonetic characters and syllabic writings. One must know the language and script of a writing to grasp its meaning.

The Brāhmī script, devised primarily to write Sanskrit and Prakrit can be considered to be the most scientific script of the world. Brāhmī is the mother of all major scripts of Indian origin except Urdu. Brāhmī had been also the major script of Central Asia and South East Asia. The epigraphic and literary data indicates the origin of Brāhmī by c. 1000 BCE or even by c. 1200 BCE.

The decipherment of Brāhmī script used in Aśokan inscriptions was made by James Princep in 1837. The study of another script Kharoṣṭī, commenced also in about the same period. The direction of its writing was from the right to the left. Kharoṣṭī was in regular use from c. 6th or rather 3rd century BCE to 7th century CE.

The true nature of the script of India's civilization has not yet been recognised, in spite of several attempts made by scholars. Of the different theories about the origin of the Indus script and language, those advocating for Sumerian, Dravidian and Aryan connections have been predominant. Recently an attempt has been made to interpret the characters of the Indus script as signs of different numerals. Most of the hypotheses offered were results of mainly preconceived notions. In 1964 a group of Soviet scholars headed by Y. K. Knorozov launched a scientifically objective project for accomplishing the task.

The Indian educated people are very much interested in knowing the origin of the Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭī scripts of early India. They are also curious about the feasibility of the decipherment of the Indus script. Attempts have been made in this monograph by Dr. B. N. Mukherjee to fulfil these needs.

The monograph is divided in four chapters. Chapter I discusses the difficulties in deciphering the Indus script and also the progress made in recent decades about fixing the origin of Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭī. The first successful attempt at deciphering Brāhmī and partly of Kharoṣṭī is elaborately discussed in Chapter II. Chapter III probes into the feasibility of deciphering the Indus script and its relation with Brāhmī and the origin of the latter. Chapter IV determines the correct spelling of the name, the origin and the areas of the use of the Kharoṣṭī script.

Thirty plates tellingly illustrate the points discussed in the book.

The monograph is expected to be considered as a significant contribution in the field of early Indian epigraphy.

B. V. Shetti

INDIAN LINGUISTIC STUDIES, Festscrift in Honor of George Cardona, Ed. by MADHAV M. DESHPANDE, PETER E. HOOK, Motilal Banarsidass Publishers Pvt. Ltd., Delhi, 2002, pp. xxvi + 384. Price Rs. 695.

It is quite gratifying and challenging to review a Festschrift in honour of George Cardona, an Encyclopaedic figure in Pāṇinian Grammar. The title 'Indian Linguistic Studies' is very apt for the treatise, for Prof. Cardona represents the whole branch of Indian Linguistics. In fact, the titles of the chapters not only present the contents of the book but also are the facets of the linguistic personality of Prof. Cardona, and the authors who have contributed to this volume, are not only the text-scholars but have huge experience in research and the views presented by them with modern research methodology can be compared to the scholarly traditional commentaries.

It is noteworthy that scholars from different countries of the world have written these articles but academically they belong to a single clan of Indian Linguistics, which is headed by Professor Cardona at present. The inside layout of the book is quite interesting. The book is divided into six parts, namely, Sanskrit grammatical theory, *Kāraka*-studies, Historical studies in grammatical traditions, Lexical studies, Cultural studies and lastly Modern Indian languages. The Bibliography of G. Cardona occupies not less than 13 pages in the volume as good as an abridged, candid and splendid article. It is really a tiring job to classify the variety of writings he has handled. He has written books, contributed a number of articles to felicitation volumes, delivered memorial lectures and has written a number of reviews, finally, tried all the possible types of academic documentation very successfully.

From the introduction it is absolutely clear that the senior Indian scholars in Pāṇinian tradition, proudly announce their studentship under him and fondly remember the golden days they have passed under his guidance. Apart from all other skills which Prof. Cardona exhibits, they remember his quickness to catch the misunderstanding, with the rapid string of negations, --No, no, no, no--. Having reached worthy destinations, these students are now offering him in return, a string of pearls i.e. the words of praise through the articles in this volume. The reader gets convinced of what Prof. S. M. Katre has

appropriately remarked, 'Cardona combines in himself the erudition of modern linguistics as well as the traditional Indian approach.'

An overview of the articles of the first section will reveal some of the important features of the topics handled by the scholars. James Benson in his article titled 'How names work in Grammar' presents a very grass-root thought, why at all the two methods of interpreting Pāṇini i.e. '*Yathoddeśaṁ saṁjñāparibhāṣam*' and '*Kāryakālam saṁjñparibhāṣam*' were devised. Without the concept of '*Kāryakālam saṁjñaparibhāṣam*' it is very difficult to explain the rule. '*Adaso′sserdādu do maḥ*' (P. A. VIII 2.80) for it falls in the Asiddha-section and there is no possibility of carrying the two rules, i. e. '*Edūdeddvivacanam pragṛhyam*' and '*Adaso māt*' (P. A. I. 1.12) into Asiddha-section. The necessity for '*Yathoddeśapakṣa*' is also brought out and in order to ensure the result the authority of Patañjali is cited. What is important is to note the convenient jumping of the grammarians from this device to that so as to enable grammar to arrive at the correct forms and in a way surrendering to the language by saying '*Bhāṣāśaraṇāḥ vaiyākaraṇāḥ*'.

In the second article, titled 'Some observations on the 'Sthāna-sambandha', the linguist scholar E. Kahrs plots a graph of observations on 'Sthānasambandha' starting from *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali to *Mahābhāṣya-dīpikā* edited by Palsule-Bhagavat. He pinpoints different opinions on the meaning of Sthāna and shows how the commentators had hair-splitting discussions on this point. He supports the opinion of Kaiyyaṭa, Nāgeśa and that of Annambhaṭṭa. What he means is that, the Sthāna is not a Sambandha by itself and thus is not something conveyed by the genetive endings but it is a necessary condition for the relation between the Sthānin and the Ādeśa and hence metaphorically considered as relation. E. Kahrs has another book to his credit, '*Indian Semantic Analysis*' and he mentions in that book that the material of this article is drawn from the fifth chapter of that book.

In the article, 'Exegetics of Sanskrit grammar' Dr. Saroja Bhate has focused on the point that the Vyākhyāna is the most important external means to understand the topic and the role of the commentaries is brought out scholastically. She is quite right in pointing out that in the grammatical debates put forth in the Pāṇinian tradition i.e. the *Mahābhāṣya*, though the offender marches against the defender he shares with the defender, concern for his discipline, faith in the foremost teacher and his pronouncements. Thus, both, the offender and the defender emerge as very vivacious personalities with a sincere outlook and respect for each other; attack and counterattack is their strategy. From all this explanation it is clear that in ancient India, the academic atmosphere was very cultured, healthy and decent. The discussions were verbal and verbal only. There was hair-splitting (Keśākeśī?) but in the interpretations only, there was a harsh beating (Daṇḍādaṇḍī?) but in the

discussions only. Thus, these verbal fights proved not to be destructive but constructive.

The article 'Bhartrhari's rule for unexpressed *Kārakas*' attracts our attention for the simple reason that it explains the thought with known classical illustrations. He points out that the configurations of control and anaphora in classical Sanskrit and their treatment by the Sanskrit grammatical tradition are of interest to Sanskritists, because, in spite of the prodigious and insightful work of Sanskrit grammarians, much still remains to be discovered about these configurations in classical Sanskrit. They are of interest to the formal Syntacticians and Semanticists with a universalist outlook not only synchronically but also diachronically.

Peter Scharf in the footnotes of his article, titled 'Pāṇini, Vivakṣā and Kāraka-rule-ordering', many times quotes Cardona and makes the reader understand how Cardona perceives certain situations and how his interpretations are practical and at the same time, consistent with Pāṇini (p. 141, Fn. 49).

Late Dr. Palsule's article evidences that even a small topic sometimes provides some important points. The rare grammatical operations, in a very common example like *asīna* are discussed in very lucid language and in convincing way. The learned scholar arrives at a conclusion that side by side with *āsīt*, the Sanskrit language has another Past Passive Participle with the allied suffix-*na* and that the union vowel was lengthened under the influence of forms like *Kṣīṇa, Hīna, Dīna* etc. though root *ās* does not belong to the category of these roots. The meticulous thought and the crystal-clear presentation of it is a very special feature of this Eassy. It seems that the study of Pāṇinian system itself has inculcated the clarity of thought in Indian grammarians.

In the article titled as '*Kārakas*-Direct and indirect relationship' Madhav Deshpande takes the review of the models used in the intellectual history of Indian philosophy and grammatical sciences. According to him the graphic representations in modern linguistics have no place in oral traditional Sanskrit but these are well substituted by the device of Analogy. It is through the use of Analogy that one's unformulated thoughts get shaped and formalized. He also mentions that his interpretations are not based on texts but on the oral instructions he had received in Pune from various teachers. The topic is very interesting and the two figures given, the one with *Kriyā* at the centre and the other with *Kartā* at the centre are eloquent about the topic.

While writing about the two Buddhist grammarians, Candragomin and Jayāditya, Anna Raddichi traces the origin of the concept of '*Vivakṣā*' in the grammar of Candragomin. It is to be noted here that the '*Sūtravivakṣā*' of antiquity (with comparatively limited scope) is developed into wider field of '*Vaktryadrcchā*' in poetics.

J. Bronkhorst has the habit to pose the questions on singular or multiple authorships of the texts since his studentship. Regarding the *Candrasūtra* and *Cāndravṛtti*, he says, 'It can now with more certainty than before be maintained that the *Candrasūtra* and *Cāndravṛtti*, even though different authorship of these two works cannot altogether be ruled out — must be looked upon as belonging together as essentially one work conceived as such, right from the beginning. He clearly mentions that the aim of this article is not to present new findings but to better support earlier conclusions.

It was not possible to present a detailed review of the articles in Sections five and six but they also have made rich contribution to the volume by handling the uncommon topics. All the three articles in the section of 'Modern Indian Languages' exhibit a very rare scholarship in the area. Unfortunately, I have never met George Cardona in person till today, though I have heard of his scholarship many a times. After reviewing the volume in his honour I am acquainted with the multifaceted personality of G. Cardona.

The overall organization of the work is attractive and skillful for it draws a very candid and transparent picture of language behaviour. Some of the articles are not easy to read. However, this volume is very true to its title as a festschrift and proves to be an appropriate acknowledgement of the contributions made by George Cardona to the field of Indian Linguistics.

Uma Vaidya

HISTORY AND CULTURE OF TAMIL NADU, CHITHRA MADHAVAN, D. K. Printworld, New Delhi, Volume 1, 2005, pp. xix + 305, Rs. 620; Volume 2, pp. xvii + 198, Rs. 400.

History of Tamil Nadu in the ancient and medieval periods as can be traced from epigraphy consisting of copper plate grants and lithic inscriptions of panegyrics (*praśastis*) belonging to the Pallava, Pāṇḍya and Cōḷa regimes of the region are examined in the book (Vol. I) under review. The most numerous belong to the Cōḷas. In the early Pallava period, the charters are in Prakrit language, but the later ones are in Sanskrit. There are two illustrations of inscriptions, of a Nāgari script and a Grantha script (pp. 286-287) appended. Some of the copper-plates are bilingual. Pandyan epigraphs also follow the above pattern. Though the Cōḷa inscriptions are in the majority in Tamil, there are many inscriptions either fully in Sanskrit, or, bilingual. Other than these three dynasties, Madhavan draws our attention to some inscriptions of the Hoysala king Vīra Rāmanātha, of the Kerala king Ravivarman Kulaśekhara,

and of the Kākatīya ruler Pratāparudra II, in the Tamil area. These kings had conquered some parts of the state and had left these inscriptional records. The author has attempted to glean the socio-cultural history of the state from the Sanskrit epigraphical records. She states that one of her prime objectives was to place Tamil Nadu in the broader perspective of the Pan Indian milieu and to highlight its position in the mainstream culture through these inscriptions.

The work is divided into seven chapters each dealing with aspects of political, economic, social and cultural life of the period from the fourth/fifth centuries CE to 1310 CE. We find valuable information regarding the composers of the *praśastis*, their lineage, and their educational prowess. These are appended at the end of these inscriptions. This is an interesting information since most Indian arts do not boast of their authorship. The language of these panegyrics is comparable to the best of Sanskrit literature, the author avers, and one poet of this period (Aihole, 7th century CE., p. 96, Vol 2) went so far as to place himself in the august company of Kālidāsa and Bhāravi !

In the first chapter on Political Geography, we learn of the terminologies used for different territorial divisions, such as: *rāṣtra* (province), *koṣṭaka* (*koṭṭam*-district, province), *agrahāra / maṅgalam* (village). In the Cola period, *nāḍu* consisted of small villages and a few of these *nāḍus* coalesced into *valanāḍu* for administrative viability. In the same period, the largest unit was a *maṇḍalam*.

The next chapter deals with Civil Administration and the topic is treated in a comprehensive manner, starting with the qualities and duties of a king, the officers of the king's council, justice, and *parihāra* grants (exempted from taxation). In the chapter on Military administration, over and above the usual information on the division of the army into four regiments, the weapons, etc., interesting facts about the musical instruments (p. 95) used to enthuse the soldiers are given.

In the chapter on Economic Life not only agriculture and irrigation system which are indispensable for good harvests (and developed well under the Colas), but various artisans, some of whom enjoyed special privileges, and also temples which were the hub of socio-economic life are discussed.

Brāhmaṇas (chapter 5-Social Life) were an honoured class, since they were revered as teachers and priests. An interesting sidelight (p. 135) is a decision by the Brahmins during the reign of Kulottuṅga Cola I, that the *rathakāra* sect was an *anuloma* sect, and should be allowed to perform most of the Vedic rituals, but that their *upanayana* should not be performed accompanied by recitation of mantras. This sect is mentioned as an intelligent professional class in the Vedas, according to the author (p. 136). Sports and pastimes are covered in this chapter (pp. 144/5), including gambling. Women were held inferior to men, though the pious women of royalty were

powerful enough individually to make independent endowments to temples and hospitals.

In the chapter on Education and Literature, the role and scope of educational (religious) dissemination by *ghaṭikās* and *maṭhas* are examined. There were also *śālais* where Vedic education was imparted to the students or *chātra* (*chattar* in Tamil / Prakrit), some of whom were resident pupils. The kings of the period were well educated in arms, polity, Sanskrit literature and the fine arts. The Pallava king Mahendravarman was an accomplished musician. He was also a musicologist, a playwright, and a painter. Musical scales indigenous to Tamil Nadu were used in Tevaram, as shown by the researches of late Dr. S. Ramanathan. The lay people similar to their compatriots today, learnt about our Itihāsas and Purāṇas, by listening to religious discourses. The dance form was also patronized by kings as seen from the statuettes illustrating the *karaṇas* in the well-known Chidambaram temple (illustrated in Appendix I, by the relevant inscriptions, along with critical 'References'), and the Śārṅgapāṇi temple at Kumbakoṇam. Theft was considered one of the 64 arts that a prince had to be proficient in, and Madhavan points to a few examples (p. 220 ff) !

Religion is dealt with in the last chapter. There is no dearth of inscriptions in temples stating the deep piety of a monarch, his family members, and even the courtiers, and the grand donations made by them to their favourite deity.

Coming to the second Volume now, chronologically it is contiguous to the first Volume, covering the period *c* 1310 - *c* 1885 CE. The format and the division of chapters tend to be similar. There are fewer sources of lithic and copper plate inscriptions in this period as compared to the earlier one. These inscriptions were usually in Sanskrit followed by Tamil, and sometimes Telugu or Kannada versions were used. The script was Grantha in the lithic sources, but in the copper-plate grants it was in Nandināgari script. There are 23 photographs of inscriptions appended in the book to illustrate this.

In the first chapter on Administration, some inscriptions are used to illustrate the custom of anointing the eldest son as *yuvarāja* (heir apparent). They were given the office of the Viceroy, Governor, or even a ruler of an adjoining territory, if the empire was large enough to warrant such a practice. The boar was not a popular emblem in the earlier period, but under the Vijayanagara kings it was a royal insignia. We learn an interesting fact that a firman issued by the Delhi emperor in 1710, to the Kāñci Ācārya starts with a laudatory verse to the boar incarnation (p. 102). The Brahmin ministers were held in reverence by the kings. But there is no clue in the inscriptions as to the ministers' duties or qualifications in the hierarchy. In wars, it is learnt that a Paṇḍyan ruler (CE 1583) used guns with lead shots. According to

the traveller Domingo Paes (p. 26) the Vijayanagara kings used guns in wars. Though the king was lauded in some inscriptions as the protector of the four castes, the rider was that the subjects should adhere strictly to the rules governing their respective castes. The Brahmins held sometimes non-religious offices, such as members of the council advising the king, or even as commanders-in-chief. This was more common during the Pallava and Cola periods. The best known minister of the latter period was Govinda Dīkṣita who served three Nāyaka kings. He was well versed in all religious texts, and was an excellent administrator as well.

The queens of the Vijayanagara dynasty were well educated. One of the queens of Acyuta Rāya composed a *campukāvya* named *Varadāmbikā pariṇayam*. Though there may not be much political accuracy in such works, Madhavan tries to glean some facts about the state and the king from this. In most of the copper-plate grants, the donee invariably a Brahmin or a group of them, is mentioned by name. But in the Vellaṅguḍi plates of Venkata II, some of the Brahmin ladies as donees are mentioned by name. This the author sees as an example of women having a share in property (p. 47).

Great emphasis is laid on education in this period as well. All the kings were well educated, and some were even authors and poets. They were patrons of fine arts, which flourished particularly under the Maratha kings of Tañjāvūr. All the kings of this period were devout patrons of mutts attached to temples, and their munificence gave a fillip in disseminating education amongst the subjects. Similar to the earlier period, the language of the inscriptions was of a very high literary quality. There is this odd fact that in such inscriptions the composer's name is given; even the name of a poet who composed only a couplet is carved in the inscriptions. This is a rare phenomenon. Some of the Vijayanagara inscriptions are in the *maṇipravāḷa* language which was more common in the earlier period. These texts show that the composers had good grasp of religious lore. Usually, the invocatory verse was on a sectarian god, based on the respective myths. Though Śrī was the popular deity of the earlier period, Bhūdevī was the preferred deity in this period. Śrīraṅgam Raṅganātha temple is rich in inscriptions and a mine of information on the Vijayanagara period. One of these (CE 1371) ascribed to the Vaiṣṇava teacher Vedānta Deśika, praises the officers who brought back the. idols of the gods, after the Muslim invasion (p. 114). There was a lot of restoration, renovation and maintenance undertaken by the kings after this invasion. Religious tolerance, a hallmark of Indian dynasties, save for a few aberrations, continued to be practised in this period as well. Agriculture was as always the main occupation of the people, and the kings of this period also, following the model of the Colas, built and maintained canals (p. 50).

On p. 85 speaking of the generous donations to the mutts during the

Vijayanagara period, it is mentioned that the Advaita philosopher Ādi Śaṁkara established the Śṛṅgerī mutt, and that Vidyāraṇya played an important role in establishing the Vijayanagara kingdom. Both these premises are refuted by recent scholarship on the subject, as chronologically impossible. On p. 33 there is a mention in an inscription that Parākrama Pāṇḍya (CE 1422-33) dreamt that god Viśvanātha commanded him to build a temple for him since the one in Benaras was in ruins; the king also brought Brahmins from the north and settled them in his state (p. 33). Sometimes these myths are created by the kings in collusion with the priests to give divine sanctity to their reign, and assign power to the Brahmins, as in the case of the Cidambaram temple *Dīkṣitas* vis-a-vis the Coḷa king.

The literary and epigraphical records in India in general tend to describe the ideal rather than the factual. The objective of these epigraphical inscriptions is not to record history with accuracy, but to praise a donor or a king in a "tropically efflorescent" language which has peeved many a scholar. Sadly we have to cull facts with painstaking patience. Discounting for the exaggerated panegyrics, we still get a good picture of the various aspects of the life and times of the periods. Madhavan has done her best, and should be lauded on her efforts towards this interesting presentation.

Indira S. Aiyar

SILPA PRAKĀŚA, Medieval Orissan Sanskrit Text on Temple Architecture, Introduction and Translation by ALICE BONER and SADASIVA RATH SARMA, Revised and Edited by BETTINA BAUMER, RAJENDRA PRASAD DAS, SADANANDA DAS, Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts, and Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, Delhi, 2005. Rs. 1795.

The *Śilpa Prakāśa*, an important *śilpa* text on temple-building in Oriya script and Sanskrit language, was composed between 9th and 12th centuries by Rāmacandra Mahāpātra, a Master Architect who followed Kaula doctrine. The text of the *Śilpa Prakāśa* exists in four palm-leaf copies, two found in Orissa, two in Andhra Pradesh. The translation by Alice Boner and Sadasiva Rath Sarma was based on three copies.

Dr. V. S. Agrawala in his erudite Preface to the First edition of this important text of Tantric tradition, while pointing out its distinctive characteristics, says that it advocates consecrating of *yantras* in foundations of the temple and under the images of deities, a practice not advocated by other Indian *śilpa*

texts. He describes various Gupta and post-Gupta motifs of temple decoration in northern India and shows how some of the motifs continue, but also new decorative features are seen in this Orissan text. For instance, it mentions two types of Lakṣmīs on the door: Gaja-Lakṣmī with cloud elephants around her head, known earlier, and Śubha-Lakṣmī having elephants as pedestal figures.

The credit for the discovery of the *Śilpa Prakāśa* goes to Alice Boner, Swiss artist and perceptive scholar, who, while studying the art of the Western Indian Cave temples, had diagnosed the method of composition in their sculpture, and wanted "to get to the root of the disputed question as to whether definite principles and rules of composition, binding and guiding the work of the sculptors, had at all existed in ancient times." She was in search of relevant *śilpa* texts and was meeting traditional sthapatis, when she met Pandit Sadasiva Rath Sarma who introduced her to the *Śilpa Prakāśa* manuscript in a library at Puri in Orissa. It has some descriptions of compositional diagrams for sculptures. Significantly, Boner and Sarma found two temples in Orissa, one at Bhubaneswar and the other at Chaurasi, which correspond to the descriptions of the text.

Alice Boner in her Introduction distinguishes this *śilpa* text as written by a historical person, an architect, rather than by a divine or mythical author, as in the case of other *śilpa* texts. This text concentrates on one particular type of Tantric temple and its construction. It does not mention worship of the Vāstupuruṣa maṇḍala of 64 squares on the building site, which other texts ordain, but it advocates Yoginī *yantra* in the foundations of the rectangular plans of Devī temples. It insists that all images have to be composed on *yantras*, and decorative motifs too have to have compositional diagrams. Although these diagrams are of a simple composition, Boner points out that "they represent the most valuable contribution of this text to the understanding of ancient Indian art."

The *Śilpa Prakāśa* presents good descriptions of architectural components of different temples as well as different types of decorative, protective and symbolic motifs of temple art. It describes sculptural motifs such as *alasā kanyās* (indolent maidens), *mithunas, vajramastakas* (*kīrttimukhas*), creepers, flower ornaments, lions, *kumbhas* (water pots), and so on. It mentions, for instance, four different types of floral designs: Raṅganī (a four-petalled red flower), Cāluki (running ornament in the form of lozenges or eyes), Paṅkajā (lotus), Utpalā (night lotus). This text helps us notice different types of lions carved on temples. It mentions the motif of hybrid lion, calling it '*Kautūhala*' (wonder), which is the '*Vyāla*' or griffin of western and central Indian texts, depicted in the recesses of temple walls.

The *Śilpa Prakāśa* classifies the *kanyās* in 16 types shown in different

playful attitudes and gestures such as Darpaṇā, holding a mirror, Nūpurapādikā, tying anklets and so on. As V. S. Agrawala points out, the list of these *kanyās* in this text has comman figures with the lists in the later western Indian texts, which mention 32 types of female figures to be carved on walls and pillars of temples. The author of the *Śilpa Prakāśa* adjoins that their depiction on temples is necessary for fruitfulness and categorically states that without their depiction "the temple will remain without interest and bear no fruit" (I. 393).

Very few *śilpa* texts give specifications regarding erotic figures carved on temples. The *Śilpa Prakāśa* describes the *Kāmakalā yantra* to be placed on the walls of the temples of Śiva and Śakti in order to protect the temples from evil spirits. But the lines of this *yantra* have to be concealed from uninitiated by placing on it *mithuna mūrtis* or amorous couples, which in turn would "give delight to people". So the *mithunas* were supposed to conceal the powerful *yantra* from the gaze of the uninitiated persons. This helps us to arrive at an ingenious interpretation of erotic figures on temple walls. At Khajuraho in central India, on the juncture walls, *sandhi-kṣetra*, joining the hall for devotees and sanctum of divinity, lines of the sculptural compositions indicate some such *yantra*.

In the Preface to the second edition, Bettina Baumer says that as the *Śilpa Prakāśa* was originally published in Leiden, and was out of print since 20 years, its copies were not easily available to scholars in India. Hence this second revised edition became necessary. The text and translation were revised, and Alice Boner's doubts raised in the first edition were clarified on "a careful new reading of the text." The editors point out that the Rajarani temple in Bhubaneswar is based on a ground plan of the *Śrī-yantra*, as given in a later Orissan text *Śilparatnakośa*. There is continuity of Tantric tradition in Orissa from 9th to 17th century.

There is an excellent Glossary of technical terms explained with drawings of architectural elements and sculptural motifs. The book illustrates relevant photographs of palm leafs of the manuscripts that are examined, ground plans of temples, compositional *yantras*, various types of temples, images and architectural components of temples as described in the text and seen in actual representation on temples at Bhubaneswar and Chaurasi (Vārāhī).

The author of the *Śilpa Prakāśa* mentions the *Saudhikāgama* as the source of his knowledge and tradition. This encyclopaedic text on both secular and religious architecture, predating 10th century, was hitherto unpublished. But we are delighted to learn from Bettina Baumer's Preface that the *Saudhikāgama* has been edited and is in the process of translation and publication.

Devangana Desai

RUKMINI DEVI ARUNDALE (1904-1986), A Visionary Architect of Indian Culture and Performing Arts, AVANTHI MEDURI, Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, Delhi, 2005, 258 pages, Rs. 450.

Even today, to walk in Adyar, at the Theosophical Society or Kalakshetra campus, is to breathe in a quaint old world charm. A serene, open landscape filled with all manner of trees and flowering shrubs, and the murmuring undercurrent of the sea like a drone. Women in colourful handloom saris and canvas shoes walk briskly or cycle by, with a courteous smile and friendly nod. A bullock cart trundles along driven by a dark, bare torsoed man with a rough white turban. Somewhere a bell tinkles. These were the places in which Rukmini Devi lived: the former was where she grew up and the latter was what she created. Walking around here, it is not difficult to accept the basic point made in Avanthi Meduri's book that dance was one aspect of Rukmini Devi's many splendoured genius, integrally linked with all her other passions, be it animal welfare, vegetarianism, theosophy, close communion with nature, or handlooms and handicrafts. It is this holistic world view of Rukmini Devi that comes through in the 23 essays of the book, though many essays are on specific aspects of her work and personality. Despite, the hagiographic tenor of some pieces, the unevenness of style (some are solidly researched papers and others personal reminiscences), and occasional inappropriate references (calling Rukmini Devi as 'Devi' as if it were a surname!), this is a deeply absorbing collection of essays that provide fascinating glimpses on one of the outstanding personalities of our time. Contributors include critics and scholars like Kapila Vatsyayan, R. Nagaswamy, Sunil Kothari, Leela Venkataraman, Gowri Ramanarayanan, V. R. Devika, Janet O'Shea; disciples like Sarada Hoffman, Krishnaveni Lakshmanan, Shantha and Dhananjayan; other distinguished dance performers like Mrinalini Sarabhai, C.V. Chandrashekhar, Lakshmi Viswanathan, Vena Ramphal, Uttara Asha Coorlawala; activists in the cause of animal welfare like Maneka Gandhi, Chinny Krishna, and of vegetarianism like N. Mahalingam, Rukmini Devi's niece Radha Burnier, who is the President of the Theosophical Society, and S. Sathyamoorthy, a senior bureaucrat in the Department of Culture of the Government of India.

The editor Avanthi Meduri who is a dance scholar and performer has written a substantial introduction and one chapter developing a new performance perspective on Rukmini Devi's oeuvre. Her contribution is really the valuable core of the book, and most other articles are somewhat in the nature of extensions and illustrations. There has been an influential stream of research in the 80s and 90s on Bharata natyam that has pegged its rise from the 1930s onwards in a new and modified form to the destruction of the devadasi system by efforts of social reformers like Muthulakshmi Reddy. The devadasis, who were the custodians of the highly evolved dance form called sadir, lost their livelihood and their art and what took its place was a sanitised version

that projected bhakti at the expense of the erotic element of *sṛṅgāra*. This was rechristened as Bharata natyam which was then open to women from non-devadasi background. Under the compulsions of nationalism, its lineage was linked directly to the Sanskrit treatise *Nāṭya Śāstra*, and the Tamil tradition, largely oral, that was maintained by the devadasis was erased. In these processes, says this critique, Rukmini Devi played a leading role.

Avanthi Meduri contests this interpretation. She painstakingly charts out Rukmini Devi's multi dimensional contributions on a range of areas and issues. She argues that her theosophy background impelled her to stress on the universal and the global and this was at least as important as the nationalist thrust towards recovering and reinventing a Sanskritic lineage for the dance form. Similarly, the link with *Nāṭya Śāstra* was not so tight that it foreclosed connectivity with Tamil texts and oral traditions transmitted by the gurus. Rather, in developing a new aesthetic for Bharata natyam, she created a triple reed (Sanskrit - Tamil - oral tradition) structure for Bharata natyam and she mobilised the three large cultural symbols of god, guru and temple stage simultaneously. The marginalization of the devadasis was due to the usurping of their primacy by the male gurus of the tradition. It is a persuasively developed argument and has justly triggered a re-appraisal of Rukmini Devi's legacy. As many of the articles point out, Rukmini Devi's contribution to dance was on several fronts: her stagecraft was admirable, her attention to detail in the costumes, headdresses, entries, colours, backdrops and her entire aesthetics and philosophy of beauty and harmony were brought to bear on her productions. To condense all of this into the box of classicalizing and textualizing dance is too limiting, and, as several articles point out, she was not too familiar with the details of *Nāṭya Śāstra*. She pioneered the genre of dance dramas and the best known among them - her Rāmāyaṇa series - brought in a painterly sensibility that has charmed elite and popular audiences alike. The Kalakshetra training process emphasized other skills and knowledge apart from dance: music, literature, physical traditions, and crafts. Her students have spread far and wide in many countries, and she is regarded as a person who made dance inclusive and open, quite different from the label of making the dance more text based and therefore narrower.

The volume, in the nature of a tribute, has an eminently readable style and the black and white photographs, though few, offer glimpses into Rukmini Devi's incandescent personality.

Kamala Ganesh

THE CONCEPT AND EVOLUTION OF RAGA IN HINDUSTANI AND KARNATIC MUSIC, GEETHA RAVIKUMAR, Bhavan's Book University, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Mumbai, 2002, pp. 184. Rs. 230.

Rāga based music, at the apex of the melodic system, exemplifies a uniquely Indian genious. Rāga music of both Karnatic and Hindustani systems is considered to provide a soulful, transcendental experience; a rāga has a distinct form and personality and invokes a dominant mood and rasa; yet it is instructive to remember that it has a complex structure, which has historically evolved from ancient beginnings, and is capable of being comprehended as much cerebrally as through feeling. Around 14th century, the basic form developed into two distinct styles. Hindustani and Karnatic, and over time the two became very different from each other in treatment, emphasis, extent of improvisation, invoking of mood and so on.

Geetha Ravikumar's book, based on her doctoral research, is, in a limited sense a historical treatise dealing with the origin and growth of Rāga music. Mostly it is a technical manual for students and practitioners, testifying to her twin allegiances - to scholarship as well as to practice. It gives a bird's eye view of the subject in a simple, clear manner, and this synthesis of a vast amount of data, moreover on a comparative basis, taking into consideration both the classical styles, is to be applauded.

The book begins with the general history of music in India from Sāma Veda, touching upon the ancient concepts of *Grāma, Mūrcchana, Jātis* and the *Pann* system of early Tamil region.The author peruses a variety of relevant Sanskrit texts including *Nātya Śāstra, Nāradīya Śikṣā, Sangīta Makaranda, Brhaddeśī, Sangīta Ratnākara, Caturdandī Prakāśikā* and so on. The birth and growth of Rāga system is traced, from its first mention in Mātanga's *Brhaddeśī* in the 5th century CE. There is a detailed and substantial chapter on the Classification of Rāgas. There are several systems of classifications, since new ways of classifying developed as the rāga system evolved and became elaborate. These are treated under three broad headings: ancient period i.e. up to 1300 CE covering classifications like *Jāti vargīkarana, Grāma Rāga vargīkarana, Ratnākara's vargīkarana, Śuddha, Chāyālaga and Sankīrna vargīkarana.* The medieval period from 1300-1800 CE covers the *Mela* classification of Karnatic style and *Rāga Rāginī* classification of Hindustani style. In the former place of pride is given to Venkatamakhin, whose system of 72 *Melakartās* with *janaka* and *janya* rāgas forms the base of the modern classification, although precursors like Vidyāranya, Pundarīka and Rāmāmātya are also mentioned. Apart from the classification structure, this system also delineates defining characteristics of certain rāgas, their suitability for types of compositions, tempo and *rasas.* Intersecting with this system are various other sorts of classifications - into superior and inferior, for example, and

into *ghana*, *naya* and *deśya* according to manner of elaboration, and by geographic origin. Then there are classifications based on *rasas*, on *kāla* or time of singing, etc. In the latter the schemes of four *granthakāras* viz., Śiva Mata, Bharata Mata, Kallinatha Mata and Hanumant Mata are described. These were however discarded later (in the early 19th century) and replaced by a new mode of classification called *Thāṭa-Rāga-paddhati*, later fine - tuned by Pt. Bhatkhande. The author then takes up a few specific rāgas for each of the two styles, and analyses their grammar and *svarūpa* according to the prevailing classificatory schemes. The Appendices contain useful charts and tables of the classification systems cited in the text.

One only wishes that the technical precision displayed by the author was fused with a more expansive and context sensitive rendering of the historical development and cultural content. This lacuna is part of a widespread tendency in writings on Indian music to adopt the 'scientific manual' approach without leavening it with historical and aesthetic contextualization. That said, there is no doubt that this book is a useful addition to the literature on rāga classification systems.

Kamala Ganesh

UNDERSTANDING TRADITION, *Inter-Disciplinary Studies on Sanskrit,* C. RAJENDRAN, Publication Division, University of Calicut, 2004, pp. 158, Rs. 150.

The book under review is a collection of papers presented at various Seminars (excluding two which were published in *Sandhan*, New Delhi, and *The Adyar Library Bulletin*), over a period roughly from 1987-2002.

The author tries to trace the influence of Sanskrit on world literature, in the eponymous paper. We need to remember that there would have been some, if not equal, influence on the language from the latter. He illustrates his concept further in his paper "The Image of India in Western Literature-Changing Patterns", by quoting western authors whose works reflect their bias for (or against, as in the case of Milton, p. 18) Sanskrit literature. The initial enthusiasm shown by European poets and authors for the literature died down particularly after the Mutiny / The First Indian Independence Movement. William Darlymple has admirably adumbrated the politically motivated divide between the ruler and the ruled on all aspects of Indian life and has shown that the Mutiny was not the cause, but the effect of this divide in his books (*White Moghuls* and *The Last Moghul*).

In the paper comparing the traditions of literary criticisms in India and the West, (pp. 24/25) he relates the two view points: that literary compositions are the result of an almost sudden intuitive outpouring; or that the poet / author crafts his piece with great attention towards perfection in the expression of his ideas. He cites examples from Sanskrit literature to illustrate both these views. In both cases though, emphasis is laid on the emotive content of the work than on the author employing artificial structural devices to impress the reader with his literary ability (p. 31).

Aesthetic theoreticians in the West (Baumgarten, p. 35), as well as in India (Bhaṭṭanāyaka, Abhinavagupta) state that we should not expect moral guidance from poetry, but it should be enjoyed for the aesthetic pleasure we experience in its perusal. Further, importance is given more to the suggestive meaning of a work than its referential language. The paper concludes that the *dhvani* theory gave a much needed synthesis to Indian literary criticism which the western tradition totally lacked. In the paper "Indian Poetics - Some Post-Modern Musings" Dr. Rajendran appreciates the Post-Modern trend of placing emphasis on the text and its reading over its author. The author is quick to defend our religious texts wherein the language is an autonomous phenomenon, but as he points out we still have innumerable interpreters employing various strategies to overcome his limitation (p. 43). This is idealized in the Sanskrit saying *vyākhyātā vetti no kaviḥ*". This is similar to William Dilthey's "the ultimate goal of the hermeneutic process is to understand an author better than he understood himself' (p. 44). In his summing up the author cautions us not to be passive, overwhelmed by western contemporary theories, but exert ourselves to find solutions to our problems unique to us and our civilization, by turning to our own traditional knowledge for help. Continuing the same thought in his next paper "Traditional Poetics : An Encounter with Contemporary Literature", he tackles the problem of our reluctance to those traditional "tools" (as Levi-Strauss would put it) to evaluate contemporary literature. Enumerating the irritants as they exist in our traditional theories, he provides solutions himself. For instance, certain ancient theory of *aucitya*-propriety, should be dropped, and more weight should be given to the aesthetics of language. He reiterates that Indian aesthetics gives equal importance to the text as well as to its author, and this should definitely help us, as he puts it to 'look at out past with the hindsight of the present.'

In the paper "The Concept of Beauty in Indian Tradition", he juxtaposes Western and Indian concepts of beauty. The former makes use of mathematics of symmetry to adjudge an object, whereas the Indian aesthetician places the assessment in the viewer, and the measure of pleasure the object evokes in him. One is surprised to learn of the tremendous output of Sanskrit plays in modern times in his paper "Sanskrit Poetry in Post-Independent Kerala", he avers Sanskrit is destined to stay with us as a language of spirituality

and grandeur. The next two papers examine the problems faced by translators of Sanskrit classics. We learn that Sanskrit was used for political purposes to propagate nationalist ideals in his paper "Nationalism and Social Change-the Role of Sanskrit." City life in ancient India as presented in the literature is dealt with in the ensuing paper.

"Reference Sources in Sanskrit" lists lexical texts, broadly dividing them into two groups: synonyms - *paryāyapada* and homonyms - *anekārtha*. In his paper "Influence of Pūrvamīmāṁsa on Alaṁkāraśāstra" he brings to our notice how the former had enriched the thought processes and the basic concepts of the latter. The paper "Caturaṅga Movements Described in Rudraṭa's *Kāvyālaṅkāra*", various movements of some chess pieces as mentioned in the work are explained with clear illustrations. In "Sociolinguistic Problems in *Nāṭyaśāstra*" he reviews the languages mentioned in that text and concludes that some mentions of languages are obscure and also that the geographical division of north India based on some peculiarities in the sounds in pronunciation by the people seem to be imaginary and not factual. There was no hard and fast rule about using any dialect in plays, though Sanskrit dominated the scene. In the last paper he acknowledges that we as a rule sadly lack a sense of historiography, but if we cull through the mythic/mystic layers we find we do have an acceptable scientific approach to the history of ideas in the literary genre.

This collection of papers reveals the depth and range of Dr. Rajendran's knowledge on all aspects of the language and the rich knowledge enshrined in it. On a perusal of the book one concurs with the view expressed in the Publisher's Note that the ancient knowledge enshrined in Sanskrit is interpreted using inter-disciplinary tools and a successful effort has been made to bridge the gap between our tradition and the contemporary world.

Indira S. Aiyar

KŪRMAŚATAKADVAYAM, *Two Prakrit Poems on Tortoise who supports the Earth; Inscribed at Dhārā by Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Bhojadeva*, Translation with Select Glossary by V. M. KULKARNI; Introduction by DEVANGANA DESAI; L. D. Series 136, L. D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad, 2003, pp. 57, 2 Figs. Rs. 100.

Several years ago, while looking for literary references to the different kinds of writing materials used in India, I was struck by the fact that stone was used also for inscribing poems, dramas and other genres of *belles lettres*,

besides what are generally known as "inscriptions" consisting of royal proclamations and other public announcements. (Cf. my "Palaeographic Notes," *Aligarh Journal of Oriental Studies*, 3. 2 (1986) 125-140). In this connection, two places are particularly noteworthy: the Śāradādevīsadman established by the Paramāra king Bhoja in his capital city of Dhārā in the first half of the eleventh century; and the Sarasvatīmandira erected about a century later by the Cāhamāna monarch Vigraharāja IV at Ajmer. The walls of the former were covered by stone slabs on which were inscribed poetic compositions commissioned by Bhoja, grammatical charts designed by one of his successors Naravarman, a *nāṭikā* called *Pārijātamañjarī* composed by Madana to commemorate the victory of yet another successor, Arjunavarman, over Jayasiṁha Caulukya, and so on. At Ajmer were discovered two plays one of which was composed by Vigraharāja himself, several *devastutis* and fragments of many *kāvyas*, all inscribed on stone.

One of the stone slabs discovered in Bhoja's chamber of poetry contains two Prakrit poems, each containing 109 verses. R. Pischel published these in *Epigraphia Indica*, 8 (1905-06), 241-260. These two poems are now brought out afresh by the L. D. Institute of Ahmedabad under the title *Kūrmaśatakadvayam*, with an introduction by the art-historian Dr. Devangana Desai and an English translation by Dr. V. M. Kulkarni, the erudite scholar of Prakrit poetry.

From the colophon at the end of the first poem (A), we learn that the poem was entitled *Avanikūrmaśataka* and that it was composed by Bhoja. The second poem (B) has no such colophon to inform us about the author and title of the poem. Dr. Desai avers that "The second Śataka... in which King Bhoja himself is praised for ably supporting the earth... could not have been composed by him." Indeed, every second verse of this poem refers to Bhoja by name, and at least ten of these (B 5,11, 20, 27, 47, 49, 83, 91, 96, 108) are addressed to him directly. But the clinching evidence occurs in the concluding verse which states *teṇa sayaṁ nimmaviaṁ eaṁ siribhoāraeṇa*. Here the expression *nimmaviaṁ* is not active but causative, as Pischel himself showed in his *Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen*, 553. Yet Pischel rendered this sentence as "...by this king Bhoja has this śataka been composed" and Kulkarni follows suit. But the fact is, Bhoja did not compose this poem "himself", but "caused (it) to be created" (*nimmāvia = nirmāpita*) by somebody else, while the first poem was composed (*viraia = viracita*) by himself.

Pischel thought that the two poems deal with the *Kūrma* incarnation of Viṣṇu, who supported the Mandara mountain when gods and demons were churning the Ocean of Milk. In her learned introduction, Devangana Desai persuasively argues that the *kūrma* in these Prakrit poems is not connected

with the incarnation of this name; but rather with the Primeval Tortoise (*ādi-kūrma*) who supports the Earth (*dharaṇī-dhara*). This concept of the Primeval Tortoise upholding the earth occurs sporadically elsewhere, but it is fully developed in these two poems. In support of this thesis, Desai cites a number of instances from literature and sculpture when the tortoise is conceived as the mount of the earth goddess Pṛthvī, and of the river goddess Yamunā, and the *lāñchana* of several other gods. "*Kūrma* is also the symbol of stability and is placed in the form of *kūrmaśilā* in the foundation of buildings."

As *dharaṇī-dhara*, the Primeval Tortoise is the mythical prototype of the earthly king (in this case Bhoja) who too supports this earth. Indeed it is the *leitmotif* of these two poems. In the *Avani-kūrmaśataka*, this analogy is implied; in the second poem, it is loudly proclaimed. In the first poem, two ideas are repeated without much variation, viz. (i) though there are many tortoises in the world, there is none like the present one who suppports the Earth; (ii) the mother of such a tortoise is worthy of praise.

In the second poem, a single idea occurs again and again, viz. King Bhoja, being himself very weighty (*guru*), made the principal mountains (*kulagiris*) and others, including the Earth, look light / small (*laghu*); therefore it is not difficult for him to uphold the Earth which is lighter than he is. The play on the words *guru* and *laghu* is no doubt charming, but is rather overworked.

Though inscribed in elegant letters on the stone surface, the text of the poems is poorly transmitted. Dr. Kulkarni took commendable pains to reconstruct the correct version (see esp. pp. 43-46) and to make a lucid translation. He also provided a very useful glossary with etymological notes (pp. 47-57).

Drs. Kulkarni and Desai deserve all praise for resurrecting these interesting documents in Mahārāṣṭrī Prakrit and for elucidating the symbolism underlying them. The edition is embellished by photographs of two sculptures, one showing the Primeval Tortoise supporting the Earth, and the other showing him meditating like a sage, a notion that is expressed in verse 30 of the first poem. A facsimile reproduction of the stone slab on which the two poems were inscribed would have further enriched the volume, because this stone slab, like the others found in the above-mentioned monument, displays very fine calligraphy.

S. R. Sarma

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TRANSLITERATION OF THE SANSKRIT AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

अ	a	औ	au	ठ	ṭha	भ	bha
आ	ā	क्	ka	ड	ḍa	म	ma
इ	i	ख	kha	ढ	ḍha	य	ya
ई	ī	ग	ga	ण	ṇa	र	ra
उ	u	घ	gha	त	ta	ल	la
ऊ	ū	ङ	ṅa	थ	tha	व	va
ऋ	ṛ	च	ca	द	da	श	śa
ॠ	r̄	छ	cha	ध	dha	ष	ṣa
ऌ	ḷ	ज	ja	न	na	स	sa
ए	e	झ	jha	प	pa	ह	ha
ऐ	ai	ञ	ña	फ	pha	ळ	ḷa
ओ	o	ट	ṭa	ब	ba		

͜ (Anusvāra)	ṁ	× (Jihvāmūlīya)	h		
˘ (Anunāsika)	m	͜ (Upadhmānīya)	h̄		
(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	ش	sh	ل	l	ͺ	ā
ث	th	ص	ṣ	م	m	ي	i, e
ج	j	ض	ḍ	ن	n	و	ū, ō
ح	h	ط	ṭ	و	w	ى'	ai, ay
خ	kh	ظ	z	٤	h	و'	au, aw
د	d	ع	ʿ	ي	y	silent t	h
ذ	dh	غ	gh	ء	'		
ر	r	ف	f	ͺ	a		

PERSIAN

پ	p	چ	ch	ژ	zh	گ	g

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