(Established in 1804)

JOURNAL
OF THE
ASIATIC SOCIETY OF MUMBAI

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N. B. PATIL

KALPAKAM SANKARNARAYAN

JOURNAL
OF THE
ASIATIC SOCIETY OF MUMBAI

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From the Editors

We, the editors and the members of the Journal committee and the Managing committee of the Asiatic Society, are happy to present the 83rd volume of the Journal to the academia.

Dr. V. M. Kulkarni, the doyen of Sanskrit and Prakrit literary world, who edited this prestigious journal for more than two decades, singly and later in collaboration with Dr. Devangana Desai, is no more with us. He passed away peacefully on 26th Dec. 2009. Earlier, he donated his valuable collection of Sanskrit and Prakrit books to the Asiatic Society. Dr. Devangana Desai and Dr. Indira Aiyar, who edited the journal for the past few years deserved some rest and here we are to present this 83rd vol. to the academic world.

We have not swerved from the general policy of the Asiatic Society to keep the journal as oriental as possible. Herebefore, the emphasis had been on Archaeology and Ancient Indian History. But hereafter, we shall welcome researched articles in allied social sciences as well.

The present volume contains 12 articles and 12 book reviews. The scholars who have contributed are well grounded in their own fields. The fare is a mixed one. Thus, here you will find articles on Vedic rituals, Grammar, Archaeology, Jainism and Buddhism, Medieval history and reminiscences of a member in the early decades of the Asiatic Society.

The review section is also equally weighty with a number of unusual titles. The editors are thankful to Dr. Kumud Kanitkar for doing a lot of ground-work to make this issue presentable. We are also thankful to Ms. Shubha Khandekar who did the preliminary work of this issue. Ms. Mrudula Joshi who was abroad for almost a year, could return well in time to give the final shape to this issue. The staff at the Asiatic Society also helped a lot in bringing out this issue.

Thanks are due to Shri Anand Limaye and his staff at the India Printing Works, Wadala, Mumbai, for executing this job expeditiously and beautifully.

We hope this volume will be well received in the academic world.

Mumbai.   **N. B. Patil**
Nov. 22nd, 2010.   **Kalpakam Sankaranarayan**

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Significance of Japa in Devotion with Special Reference to Japa of the Mantra 'Om Namaḥ Śivāya'

1

Jaya Chemburkar

The idea of devotion appeals to the minds of all the sections of the society. The ordinary people and the highly intellectual find equal appeal in the exposition of the doctrine of devotion. It would appear that the exponents of the idea of devotion have simplified the practice of devotion by way of the introduction of the personal form of God and the concept of nine-fold devotion, meditation, recitation of the name of God (sahasranāma) and *japa*, meaning 'repeated recitation of a simple name of a deity such as Rāma or of a *mantra* offering salutation to the deity or of any single syllable like *om* a certain number of times', are some of the easy and simple modes of worship.

This article proposes to discuss the significance of *japa* of the *mantra 'om namaḥ śivāya'* in the context of devotion to Śiva described in the Śiva Purāṇa (SP).

From physical worship to mental worship

Vedic worship in the form of sacrifice was physical activity or physical worship of gods who did not have anthropomorphic form. The Āraṇyakas substituted physical worship in the form of sacrifice by mental worship in the form of meditations on certain symbols. These meditations were neither on any divinity nor did they develop the idea of devotion. When the idea of a personal God appeared, the Upaniṣads (UPS) prescribed *upāsanās* on certain symbols such as *om, prāṇa, vāk, cakṣu, manas, āditya, pṛthivi, antarikṣa, dyau, samudra, agni, sūrya, candra, vidut,* the quarters and *sāman*

(Chāndogya UP. I, III, IV). These symbols are various manifestations of Brahman who pervades this universe in different forms. The word *upāsana* is derived from the root 'upa+as' which means to sit near the object of meditation mentally. Thus the UPS continued the practice of meditation which was introduced by the *Āranyakas*.[1] According to Yājñavalkya, *ātman* can be realised by *nididhyāsa* i.e. profound repeated meditation (*ātma vā* are - nididhyāsa i.e. profound repeated meditation (ātmā vā are ---- nididhyāsitavyao-----Bṛhadāraṇyaka UP [Brup] II. 4.5). The Br. UP I.6 remarks *manomayah puruṣah* i.e. *puruṣa* viz. Brahman can be realised by the mind only.

These statements from the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad indicate that the Upaniṣadic teaching aims at concentration of the mind through mental activity, that is, meditation. The philosophy of the *Upaniṣads* centres around abstract qualityless nameless *parabrahman* and hence the *upāsanās*, that is, meditations prescribed by the Chāndogya UP were not accompanied by a *japa*. But these *upāsanās* have paved the way to *saguṇa bhakti* that is, devotion to a personal God of the later times.

Incorporation of *Japa* in devotion

The Purāṇas and the Tantras were developing contemporaneously. There must have been some give and take policy between these two ideologies. This is implied by the remark of the Lord Kṛṣṇa in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa (BP) where he lists three types of worship, namely *Vedic, Tantric* and *Mixed,* the last being a combination of the *Vedic* and *Tantric* practices. *Vaidikastāntrika miśra iti me trividho makhah.* (BP XI. 27.7a)

Lord Kṛṣṇa has described to Uddhava a detailed mode of worship wherein the worshipper has to meditate and perform *japa* of Nārāyaṇa (BP XI. 27. 42). This shows that certain features of Tantric mode of worship, which were not conflicting with the Vedic ideology were incorporated by the Purāṇas in their devotional practices. *Japa* which is one of the features of Tantric worship was given a place in devotion by the Purāṇas.

The practice of *japa* must have prevailed in the society at the time of the *Mahābhārata.* According to the *Nārāyaṇīya* section of the Śāntiparva of the Mbh., one of the forms of worship of the Lord is *japa* or *nama-japa* i.e. uttering the god's names (Mbh.XII.336.36.64; 344.26; 337.29). This indicates that *japa* was employed in the practice of devotion. Lord Kṛṣṇa has shown regard to this prevailing practices while describing his *vibhūtis*, 'excellent manifestations', and he has proclaimed, 'Among sacrifices I am *japayajña*' (*yajñānam japayajñāsmi | Gīta* X. 25), Lord Kṛṣṇa has equated *japa* with *yajña* i.e. sacrifice and has emphasised the importance of *japa* i.e. repeated recitation of the name of the deity. Likewise in the Śiva Purāṇa the gods have described the *vibhūtis* of Śiva wherein they have stated that among sacrifices Śiva is *japa-yajña* (SP II.5.2.51). This indicates the importance attached to *japa*.

Three types of *Japa*

Japa is of three types (1) *vācika japa* in which the *mantra* is audibly recited. *Mantra* may be in the form of long lines of a prayer or short formula for worship as in the Vedas.[2] This *japa* is said to be the lowest type of *japa*. (SP VII.14.21) (2) *Upāṁśu-japa* is *japa* in which the tongue and lips move without

sound or emit a slight whisper (SP VII.14.27) *Upāṁśu-japa* is a mediocre type of *japa*. In *mānasa-japa* there is neither any sound nor any movement of any external organ. While performing this *japa* in the mind, attention is to be paid to the meaning of the *mantra* recited. (SP VII.14.28) *Mānasa-japa* is said to be the best type of *japa*.[3] For every spiritual advancement, an external control over the mind and *buddhi* and *ahaṁkāra* are necessary.[4] *Mānasa-japa* can well control the mind and hence it has been described as the best type of *japa*.

Japa for Specific Number of Times

The SP has laid down *japa* of the mantra of five syllables viz. *namaḥ śivāya* 'Salutation to Siva'. (SP VII.10.53; VII.11.56) This *japa* is to be performed for a specific number of times i.e. it is to be repeated a hundred times or a hundred and eight times or one thousand times etc. (SP VII.14.31-41) Attaining steadfastness and concentration of the mind being the purpose of *japa*, *japa* for a longer period would naturally result in uninterrupted concentration of the mind for a longer time. In the practice of devotion to Śiva, emphasis has been laid on the control of the mind through yoga i.e. *dhyāna* or meditation for controlling the distraction of the mind by the external world and focusing it only on Śiva. *Japa* is believed to prevent the mind from coming in contact with the unreal things of the world and direct it towards Śiva.

Importance of the Five Syllabled Mantra 'Namaḥ Śivāya'

In the description of the importance of the five syllable-*mantra* viz. *namaḥ śivāya*, the SP has correlated this *mantra* with the philosophical concept of *pañcabrahmatanuḥ* i.e. Śiva with his five forms (SP III.1.39). According to the SP Śiva has five faces, i.e. five forms to perform five cosmic functions (SP I.10.9.29) viz. *sṛṣṭi* (creation), *sthiti* (sustenaṁce), *saṁhāra* (dissolution), *tirobhāva* (concealment), and *anugraha* (liberation) (*pañcakṛtyamidam voḍhum mamāsti mukhapañcakam* (SP I.10.9a) Here the last two terms need to be elucidated. After *prākṛtika pralay* everything including god Brahma is said to merge into *Prakṛti* which is *avyakta* (unmanifest). Everything remains in an unmanifest *Prakṛti*. This is *tirobhāva* (concealment). *Anugraha* has been categorically explained as *mokṣa*, 'liberation' (SP I.10.4) and *anugraha* cannot be taken up by any deity (SP I.10.11) *Anugraha* has been stated to be of two types (1) seen in the appearance (creation), and dissolution, and (2) liberation of the soul (SP I.14.28). The first one refers to the process of liberating the soul by way of creation and other cosmic functions and the second one refers to the actual accomplished state of liberation. It is 'anugraha', grace of the deity that opportunity is granted to the soul through these functions to work for his own liberation. And hence *Pañcabrahmas* performing these functions are described as *lokānugrahakārakāḥ* i.e. bestowing grace on the people (SP VI.15.18). These five forms are Īśāna, Vāmdeva, Ghora, Tatpuruṣa and Sadyojāta.

The SP has ascribed to each one of these four forms a cosmic function, except Īśāna. Creation, sustenance, dissolution and *tirobhāva* have been ascribed to Sadyojāta, Vāmadeva, Aghora and Tatpuruṣa. Īśāna is not included in this scheme of functions of Śiva, because Īśāna has been identified with kṣetrajña and other forms of Śiva viz. Tatpuruṣa, Aghora, Vāmdeva and Sadyojāta, who are identified with Prakṛti and her evolutes (SP III.1.40-48) and consistently described as involved in

various cosmic activities. *Kṣetrajña* is only a witness of *Prakṛti's* activity; he is passive, and is therefore kept out of the scheme of cosmic functions. SP has thus linked up its philosophy with Sānkhya philosophy.

These five forms have been described as Śiva's incarnations (SP III.1.1-36). It has to be stated here that these incarnations do not come down to the mortal world like the incarnations of Viṣṇu. Secondly they do not perform only the duty of giving protection to the virtuous as the incarnations of Viṣṇu do. They are all related to different cosmic functions. They are incarnations only in a metaphoric sense. In these five forms of Śiva, the SP has presented five impersonal cosmic functions in personal forms.

Śiva is said to be inherent in the one-syllable mantra *'om' (omityekākṣare mantre sthitaḥsarvagataḥ śivaḥ)* (SP VI.3.4. VII.12.8b). Each one of the five syllables viz. *na ma śi vā ya* has been correlated with each one of the five forms of Śiva and each form is stated to be present in that syllable. The SP has skilfully tried to impress on the mind of the devotee that the *japa* of this *mantra* is a means of uniting him with Śiva. The SP further states that this mantra is both *vācya* and *vācaka* (SP VII.12.10) *abhidheya* and *abhidhāna* (SP VII 12.10) i.e. Śiva is to be expressed by this *mantra (vācya, abhidheya)*. There is no difference between *vācya* and *vācaka, abhidheya* and *abhidhāna*. In other words Śiva is inseparably associated with the *mantra namaḥ śivāya*. There is no difference whatsoever between this *mantra* and Śiva. Thus Siva has been identified with this *mantra*. In the form of *japa* of this *mantra* Śiva is brought close to his devotee who performs *japa* of this *mantra*. The purport of this identification of the *mantra* with Śiva appears to impress on the mind of the devotee that *na ma śi vā ya* are not mere syllables, but they are Śiva himself and in the form of *japa* of this *mantra*, Śiva is with him i.e. the devotee.

Discipline to be observed while performing *Japa*

It has been stated that Śiva is inherent in the *mantra*. Therefore sanctity and piety have to be observed in the practice of this *japa*.[5]

The SP has laid down certain disciplinary guidelines to be observed while performing this *japa*. *Japa* must be performed by counting the numbers on fingers (SP VII.14.39) or a *mālā* (rosary) or *akṣa* (nut of plant). The rosary must not be shown to others (SP VII.14.41). One must not turn away one's face from those who are devoted (to Śiva), while performing *japa*. One wearing a turban, or a long coat, should not perform a *japa*, obviously because such a dress is likely to make the person uncomfortable and distract his mind. Constant concentration needs a person to be comfortable, without there being any cause of disturbance or uneasiness. Similarly one who is naked, one who is yawning or spitting, one who is angry or intoxicated, one whose hands are dirty and is impure etc. should not perform a *japa*. This is inauspicious, immoral behaviour at the time of *japa* of the god who is Śiva i.e. auspicious. The posture of the devotee should be erect and comfortable. Therefore the SP lays down that one who is not sitting, who is lying down or walking or standing should not perform *japa*. These postures are not fit for concentration or steadfastness of the mind. Japa should be performed in clean, holy and pious place(SP VII.14.48-50). The *mantra* has been glorified as *pañcākṣarī vidyā* i.e. it is

sacred lore in five syllables; in other words all sacred knowledge is contained in these five syllables. Therefore its sanctity has to be maintained.

Significance of *Japa* in Devotion

In order to understand the significance of *japa* in devotion, it is necessary to understand the concept of devotion according to the SP. This concept can be ascertained from a number of instructions given to the devotee in the SP such as:

1) *Śivaikāsaktacetasaḥ* - SP VIII 9.23b

2) *Śivadhyanāikatatparaḥ* - SP VII. 9.26b

3) *mano matpravaṇam cittam* I SP VII. 10. 50

4) *mayi cittam pratiṣṭhitam* I SP VII. 10. 62a

5) *mano matpravaṇam bhavet* I SP VII-10.63a

6) *mayi saṁnyastacetasām* I SP VII. 10. 67a

7) *mayi cittasamāsaṅgo yenakenāpi hetunā* I SP VII. 11.43b

8) *yenakenāpyupāyena śive cittam niveśayet* I SP VII 11.54b

9) *mayyāsaktena manasā* -------I SP VII.13.58a etc. etc.

All these phrases referring to mental activity clearly establish that according to the SP devotion meant constant concentration of the mind on god Śiva for any purpose or with any intention.[6] Meditation is necessary for perfect concentration. Here meditation is to be performed on a personal god viz. Śiva who has a concrete form and specific name viz. Śiva. Besides, *meditation is to be accompanied by the japa of the mantra* which is equated with Śiva as has been earlier stated. The devotee has to perform profound meditation bearing in mind that the god Śiva is with him. Uninterrupted *japa* is a means of attaining constant concentration of the mind on Śiva and such concentration is devotion according to the SP. Thus *japa* is subservient in the practice of devotion.

Concluding Remarks

The mind plays an important role in all the spiritual pursuits. The Viṣṇu Purāṇa (VP) has stated the importance of the mind in the words *"mana eva manuṣyānām kāraṇam bandhamokṣayoḥ"* i.e. mind is the cause of bondage and liberation of men. (VP VI.7.28a) To attain *sayujjya* i.e. complete merging or union with Śiva, the mind must be completely detached from the external world and fixed on Śiva. Hence the SP has laid emphasis on meditation accompanied by the *japa* of the *mantra 'Om namaḥ Śivāya'* Concentration of the mind on the god is the result of *japa* and according to the SP devotion means constant concentration of the mind on God. Because of this cause and effect relationship *japa* has been given place in the practice of devotion by the SP.

Notes and References

1   Kane, P. V.; *History of Dharmasastra*, Vol.5 Part II, P. 1411.

2   Satpathy, Sarbeswar, *Daśa Mahāvidyā and Tantra Śāstra*, P.80

3   *Ibid* P. 83.

4   *Ibid* p. 79.

5   Satpathy, Sarbeswar, *Daśa Mahāvidyā* P.83.

6   The SP appears to be indebted here to the BG and the BP where the concept of devotion has been described in similar words.

     e.g. BG VI.47, VIII 5, 8, 14; XII 2, 8, 14 XVIII 65 etc. and BP III 25, 29, 44; III 32, 43; VI. 5.22; VII.1.29, 31; VII.10.23 etc. etc.

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Śivāmahāpurāṇam: Pandit P.

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Helārāja on the Eight Padārthas

2

Chaitali Dangarikar and
Malhar Kulkarni

1. Introduction

The present paper makes a historiographical study of the linguistic[1] and ontological categorisation[2] in *Vākyapadīyam* and *Prakīrṇa-prakāśa*. It analyses the way ontological terminology[3] is discussed in the grammatical texts and the ontological basis of the semantics developed by them. The term discussed here is padārtha which is closely related with *jāti* and *dravya, apddhāra-padārthas, laukika-padārthas,* and with *śakti.* The aim of this study is to draw the link between the language and ontology.

Before presenting a textual study of the term *padārtha*, we would like to explain the linguistic categorisation in the Indian philosophy of language. Bhartrhari proposed three levels of language.[4] So, it is necessary to identify the linguistic units accepted on all levels. In our view, at the *Vaikharī*-level linguistic categories are the auditory, perceptible sounds of the language. They have diversified appearances and due to their differences they are treated as different units of language. The ontological categories at this level are known as *laukika-padārthas* on which the actions are performed after hearing the words and grammarians are not concerned about them.

The next level in ascending order is *madhyamā*-level. Categories of this level are known as *padas* and ontological categories at this level are *padārthas (apddhāra-padārthas).* Linguistic categorisation of this level is found in the second verse of the *Jātisamuddeśa.*[5]

For any grammatical system it is necessary that it should develop its segmentation of words in accordance with the meaning of sentence *yathārtham*. Following this rule the grammarians divided the words of the languages in two main classes: (a) words denoting the accomplished form of existence *(siddhābhidhāyī)* and (b) words denoting *sādhyarthas* (to be accomplished forms of the existence). Based on the principle of direct and indirect denotation, these two classes are again divided into subclasses. *Siddharthābhidhāyī* noun words are further subdivided into two subclasses: (1) *nipāta* and (2)*avyaya*. The *sādhyārthābhidhāyī* verb class is subdivided into two subclasses: (1)*upasarga* and (2)*karmapravacanīya*. But this classification is not a strict classification as some *avyayas* like *hirug* denote the action and hence come under the class of *sādhyārthābhidhāyī* words. Thus, the categorisation of the linguistic units which are abstracted from the smallest meaningful unit of the language i.e., sentence, is an important task of any system of grammar. This linguistic categorisation is the footprint of the categorisation of our world knowledge as we try to accommodate all the segments of our cognitive experiences in these categories. Hence, modern cognitive scientists see this categorisation of grammarians as the cognitive process. Aarts (2006) writes, "To a considerable degree categorisation is the imposition of a meta-reality on the world which involves a good deal of idealisation. The problem in slicing up reality into chunks is that we do not want the chunks to be too large, nor do we want them too small; regarding the world as an undifferentiated continuous mass is not productive, nor is compartmentalisation into infinitesimal categories." He also quoted Layons to show the history of inconsistency in the categorisation of parts of speech. Early Greek grammarians categorised words into two primary categories i.e., noun and verb. Plato and Aristotle considered 'adjectives' as verbs whereas, Alexandrians and later grammarians considered them as nouns. Controversies are still there regarding the participles as they have both verbal and nominal characteristics (Robins 1990, 39). History of the grammar of English language shows that there are at least 60 systems of parts of speech in English (Mischael 1970, 521-529). No other proof is needed to show the inconsistency in the categorisation! For the theoretical debates over the above mentioned categories of Sanskrit language and their meanings, see *Paramalaghymañjuṣa* and *Mañjuṣā* of Nāgeśabhaṭṭa as well as *Vaiyākaraṇa-bhūṣaṇa-sāra* of Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa. Bhartṛhari says that the linguistics categories abstracted from the sentence are either of the two types, *nāma* and *ākhyāta*, based on the ontological distinction between *siddha* and *sādhya*, or of four or five types. These linguistic categories are further divided into *prakṛti* and *pratyaya*. The discussion on the ontological categories called *apoddhāra-padārthas* begins from the *Bhūyo-dravya-samuddeśa*.[6]

Third level of language in Bhartṛhari's philosophy is called the *paśyantī*-level and the linguistic category at this level is *sphoṭa* which, on the basis of the ontology that is functional at the level, is considered as having two parts or *bhāvas*, (1) *jāti* and (2) *dravya*.[7] Thus, the ontological nature of the meaning according to this level is either *jāti* or *dravya*. These two *padārthas* are discussed in the first two *samuddeśas* of the third *kāṇḍa* of Vākyapadīya, whereas, the linguistic category *sphoṭa* is already discussed in the Brahma-kāṇḍa.

Thus, we find that, in *Prakīrṇa-prakāśa* of Helārāja on the third *kāṇḍa* of *Vākyapadīya*, the term *padārtha* is used in different senses, for meaning which is ontologically *jāti* or *dravya* at the *paśyantī-*

level. This meaning assumes the *apoddhāra-padārthas* of the *madhyamā*-level. All these *padārthas* are related to the term *śakti* used by Bhartṛhari in *Vākyapadīya*. So, to distinguish them from each other and present a possible ontology of Bhartṛhari at different levels, we present a textual study of the term *padārtha* and *śakti* in PP and VP respectively.[8]

2.   Textual Study
2.1 Śakti

Bhartṛhari used the term *śakti* for Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika categories. Ogawa (1999) showed that Vaiśeṣika categories are treated as *śaktis* in Bhartṛhari's philosophy. Bhartṛhari discussed *kāla-śakti* (VP 1.3, 3.7.34, 3.9.24), *sādhana-śakti* (VP 2.275), *sañjā-śakti* (VP 2.365), *āvṛtti-śakti* (VP 2.478), *jāti-śakti* (VP 3.1.77), *samavāya-śakti* (VP 3.3.10), *bhāva-śakti* (VP 3.3.83) as *bhāga-prakalpanā-śakti* (VP 3.6.13), *dik-śakti* (VP 3.6.3), *dik, kriyā, sādhana, kāla śaktis* (VP 3.6.1), *ādhāra-śakti* (VP 3.7.151), *sattā-śakti* (VP 3.8.36), *janma-śakti* (VP 3.9.51), *atīta-śakti* (VP 3.9.51) *janmānugata-śakti* (VP 3.9.58), *grāhyatva-śakti* (VP 3.1.56), *vyāñjaka-śakti* (VP 3.1.91), *vyajyamān-śakti* (VP 3.1.114), *bheda-śakti* (VP 3.2.496), *saṁsarga-śakti* (VP 3.2.496) *dravya-śakti* (VP 3.1.23), *vyakti-śakti* (VP 3.79) and *jñāna-śakti* (VP 3.1.107) etc. Thus, the list of *śaktis* in VP is quite extensive and one cannot consider all *śaktis* as ontological categories.

The textual study of the both texts VP and PP says that the word *padārtha* is used for ontological categories in PP. But, Bhartṛhari used the term *śakti*, rather than the term *padārtha*, for categories.[9] Categories are the powers or capacities of the ultimate being to manifest themselves in the diversified world.

Helārāja explains the nature of *śakti* while commenting upon the verse VP. 3.6.1. *śaktis* are *paropādhirūpā*. He also says that *pāratantraya* is the characteristic feature of the *śaktis*. For example, action is the *dravya-paratantrā śakti*. Bhartṛhari had used the terms *padārtha* and *śakti* in connection with *jāti, dravya, dik, sādhana, kriyā* and *kāla*. These powers are subject-matters of the various *samuddeśas* of the third *kāṇḍa* of VP. The inconsistency in terminological usage and the ambiguity whether the term *padārtha* stands for word-meaning without any ontological sense or it implies the ontological category of the meaning, makes it difficult to identify the categories ´   ᴊ ontology of grammar. Therefore, it is necessary to undertake a textual study of the term ´   ..ı VP and the term *padārtha* in PP.

But there are 14 *samuddeśas* in the third *kāṇḍa*. The explanation and number of *padārthas* are vital to the study of the third *kāṇḍa*. A textual study of both, VP and PP is made. The term *padārtha* is used 61 times in the VP and 182 times in PP. There is very little consistency or uniformity in the use of the term *padārtha* in the grammatical texts and in the philosophical texts also.

2.2 Padārtha

The term *padārtha* is used around 182 times in PP. The term is used for word-meaning, ontological categories and for the subject-matters of the VP. It means word-meaning (PP 10a.1 on

VP 3.1.1 PP, 13a.1 on VP 3.1.2 etc.). It is used with the pair of terms *jāti* and *dravya* (VP 3.1.2 and PP 13a.4, 13b.5, 16c.5, 17.1, 54.2[10]), with *jāti* (PP 15.1, 16a.1, 17.1, 17.2, 36.1[11], 36.2[12], 38b.4, 40.1, 43a,1, 44.1, 54.1[13]), with *dravya* (PP16c.1) and with *śakti* (PP 21a.3). Helārāja distinguished *pratyakṣa* and *śabdavācya-padārthas* in PP 37e.1.

All occurrences of the term *padārtha* can be grouped into three main groups, (1) for subject-matter of the VP, (2) for word-meaning and (3) for ontological categories. We also notice that it is used in the compound term *apoddhāra-padārtha*,[15] *laukika-padārtha*.[16] Among these three, the use of the term *padārtha* for word-meaning is discussed in detail by many scholars but the ontological aspect is still not discussed at length. The following subsections discuss the use of the term *padārtha* for ontological categories in VP and PP.

2.2.1 Use of the term *padārtha* for the subject-matters of VP in PP

In the beginning of the PP, Helārāja mentions that VP is devoted to the discussion of eight *padārthas*. He says-

> *iha padārthāstakavicāraparatvād Vākyapadīyasya*
> *prathamakāṇḍena prayojanādipadārthe nirṇite*
> *'nantarakāṇḍopapāditopapattibhiḥ vākya-tadarthayor*
> *anvākhyeyasthitalakṣaṇayoḥ padārthayor nirṇṇitatvāt*
> *tadaupayikāpoddhārarūpapadavicārah prakramyate |*
> *tatrāniyatavikalpo yathābhiprāyam apoddhāra iti*
> *yathāsambhavam padabhedān uddiśati |*

This sentence gives rise to some confusion regarding the meaning of the term *padārtha*. The confusion arises because of the use of the word *padārthas* in connection with the word *prayojana* of the first kāṇḍa. Sharma presented a detailed discussion on the eight topics in VP 1.24-26. According to him, the term *padārtha* of this passage refers to the subject-matters of the VP. But Bhartṛhari never used the word *padārtha* in connection with these eight topics. He used the term *padārtha* in *apoddhāra-padārtha* and carefully phrased the verse as *apoddhārapadārthā ye cārthāḥ sthitalakṣaṇaḥ*. He used the term *artha* in connection with *sthitalakṣaṇa*.

Verses VP 1.24 and 25 deal with the objectives of the treatise. The interpretation of the above quoted Helārāja's sentence in the line of *prayojana* etc. is suitable in that sense. But the question here is whether the term *padārtha* is ever used in the sense of objective or topic. If not, can it be the meaning of the term *padārtha* in Helārāja's sentence? It is doubtful whether we will find any evidence for such interpretation. Why did Helārāja use this term then?

The constituent term *artha* seems to be a slippery part in the term *padārtha*. One of the meanings mentioned in *Nirukta* 1.3 is 'purpose' and it can support Helārāja's use of the term *padārtha* in the sense of topic. Another defence for this translation is from the *Nyāyaśāstra* where Udyotakāra (6th -7th century) glosses over the term *padārtha* as *tatpadārthaḥ pramāṇādayaḥ, tasya śāstrasya padānām arthaḥ*. So *padārtha* means the meaning of the main technical terms used in a theoretical system

(Gokhale 1982). Helārāja's intention behind this might be to present the connections between these key concepts of Bhartṛhari's philosophy. In this paper we attempt to list and explain the *apddhāra-padārthas* which in our view constitutes the ontology of Bhartṛhari's philosophy and criteria for their being *padārtha*.

2.2.2 Use of the term *padārtha* for ontological categories

According to the tradition of Sanskrit grammar ontological categorisation is based on the language. As everything is in a flux, everything can be expressed only through a language in any form, be it auditory, or in the form of signs or gestures. Keeping this in mind, Bhartṛhari most often makes it clear that the objects *(arthas)* that he is talking about are the objects of buddhi[17] and not the empirical objects.[18] The ontological stand of the grammarians in the *dravyavādin* view is that there is one ultimate being. This ultimate being has two *śaktis*. One is called *jāti* and the other is *vyakti*. All objects are the synthesis *(saṁsarga)* of the ontological categories. Ontological categories are abstracted from the cognition of these objects. Every object is divided into two parts or entities; one that is real and universal and the other that is unreal and particular.[19] But the ultimate being is something to which we cannot attribute the *viśeṣaṇa eka* (same) and *pṛthak* (different). It is neither *saṁsarga* nor *vibhāga*.[20] Helārāja on VP. 3.2.12 points out that this ultimate substance is the cause of the expanse of existence and non-existence. But in reality it is neither existent nor inexistent.

Helārāja, to a certain extent, explained the nature of the ontological categories, their existence, and their relation to each other. We have found around 186 occurrences of the word *padārtha* in PP.[21] It is impossible to present all occurrences here. So we present our observations based on this textual study. Helārāja points out the necessity of discussing *padārthas* in grammar. He says-

> *pratyakṣā api ca padārthāḥ svakāryam vijñānādikam kurvantaḥ*
> *santīti vyavahriyante, kim punaḥ śabdavācyāḥ padārthā iti*
> *sāmānya-vacanād dravyādayo 'pi śabda-vācyatvenaiva*
> *lakṣyante | śabda-pramā-ṇakānām hi yac chabda āha tat*
> *paramārtharūpam |*
> *(Diksamuddeśa 24 37e.1-2)*[22]

Helārāja raises the question that though the *padārthas* are perceivable and functions in the act of cognition, why do we grammarians again explain the *padārthas* denoted by words? He further provides the answer *yadyapi bahirvastūni na santi tathāpi śabdaistathā pratyāyyante, ato 'bhidhā-vyāpāra-vaśād anvayi-rūpena pratyāyanād vyāptir jātau padārthe siddhetyeso 'py arthaḥ |* He again makes it clear in 55a.1 saying that *śabdārtho 'arth iti vā padārtha-vyavasthā iyam.*

2.2.3 Padārthas: Jātī and Dravya

If we observe the use of the term *padārtha* in PP and VP we find that the term is used with the pair of *jāti* and *dravya*. Helārāja linked the usage of the term *padārtha* and *buddhi*. According to him whatever is reflected in the *buddhi* is either *jāti* or *dravya*. He says, *arthadvārena padam parīkṣyata*

iti darśana-bhedena prathamam apoddhāra-padārtha-vicāraḥ | (PP 13a.1 on VP 3.1.2) But before explaining the *apoddhāra-padārthas*, according to him, Bhartṛhari explains the nature of those *apoddhāra-padārthas*.

Like VP, in PP too we find that the term *padārtha* is often related to *jāti*. Whether it is a separate entity or not is not clear as the two readings, *bhāvau* and *bhāgau* in the verse *satyāsatyau tu yau...* (VP 3,1.32) shows that Bhartṛhari's ontology can either hold the view that each object is a synthesis of two *bhāvas* (entities) or is of a complex nature of two *bhāgas*. If we follow the second alternative we find that Bhartrhari differs from the realistic schools and maintains that universal is real but not a separate entity. Based on this ontological position, *Jātivādī* grammarians hold that sentence meaning is an indivisible universal sentence. For them it is *saṁsarga* of the *jātis* of *padārthas*.[23]

2.2.4 Padārthas: dravya, guṇa, krlyā, dlk, kāla, saṁkhyā, sādhana, sambandha

The list of *padārthas* or, to be precise, *apoddhāra-padārthas*, as ontological categories starts with the *dravya, guṇa* etc.[24] Helārāja points out that these *dravya, guṇa* etc *padārthas* are not grasped differently in the sentence but first we must understand the *saṁsarga*. From that we further grasp the *padārthas* on the basis of *apoddhāra*.[25] In the beginning of the *diksamuddeśa* Bhartrhari listed four *padārthas: dik, kāla, kriyā,* and *sādhana*.[26] *Dravya* and *sambandha* are the other two categories dealt with in the earlier *samuddeśas*.

2.2.5 Remarks on the textual study of the term padārtha in PP and VP

Identification of the ontological categories in the philosophy of grammar thus becomes problematic because of the use of the term *padārtha*. The term śakti is used by Bhartṛhari to differentiate the ontological category denoted by any word from its meaning. The very first sentence of PP gives rise to another confusion and equates eight *padārthas* with eight subject matters. To identify the ontological categories in the philosophy of grammar one must carefully note the use of the words *śakti* and *padārtha* in VP and PP.

We find that Bhartṛhari did not use the word *śakti* with gender, *upagraha* and *puruṣa*. Though, Helārāja used the term *padārtha* with them, he intends the term to denote the "meaning" of the word in those cases. Therefore, neither the use of the term *śakti* nor the use of the term *padārtha* can help us to identify the ontological categories acceptable to the grammarians. But, at the same time we can say that whatever is described as *śakti* by Bhartṛhari and *padārtha* by Helārāja can be included in the list of ontological categories at the *madhyamā* and *paśyantī* level. We also find that, the nature of the linguistic categories of these levels is definitely related with the ontology functional at that level.

Bhartṛhari and Helārāja both maintained that there is no contradiction even if we hold the view that the logical substance is the meaning of the word. Because, according to them, substance is the *āśraya* of the *dravyadharmas*. The discussion on *Jātisamuddeśa* is focused on the word-meaning as universal. With respect to the meaning *padārthas* are *jāti* or *dravya*.[28]

2.3 Principle and method behind the categorisation

The general principle behind the formation of categories is cognitive economy, that is, to reduce the infinite differences among stimuli to behaviourally and cognitively usable proportions. Second, it reflects the perceived world structure, as the objects in the world possess high correlational structure. According to Helārāja, *apoddhārabuddhi* (abstraction) is the form of cognition. Categorisation is the result of that *apoddhārabuddhi*.[29] The nature of abstraction is *anvaya* and *vyatireka*. The method of abstraction is used as a philosophical reasoning in Indian philosophy. In modern psycho-linguistics and cognitive studies also abstraction is used as a method of categorisation. Rosch investigated four converging operational definitions of the basic level of abstraction: (1) attributes in common, (2) motor movements in common, (3) objective similarity in shape, and (4) identifiably of averaged shapes. She found that objects were first perceived at their basic level; that basic level words were the first to be acquired in infancy and that the basic level is linguistically the most useful.[31]

In cognition we grasp the form or the stimuli of the worldly objects. According to Helārāja the reason behind the abstraction of linguistic categories from the sentence is the *lakṣya-lakṣaṇabhāva* relation with the *laukika* division of objects such as *dravya, guṇa, kriyā*.[32] The *arthas* abstracted are of two types; (a) *lokaprasiddha* like *paśu, devatā* and (b)*śāstra-paribhāṣita* like Vaiśeṣika categories. He further points out that grammarians do not accept the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika theory of *padārtha*; instead they have developed their system-specific theory of *padārthas*.

Helārāja presents a bird's eye view of the subjects of the third *kāṇḍa* and their characteristic features in *Bhūyodravya-samuddeśa*. He says the characteristic features of *padārthas* are known by *anumāna* from the rules of grammar. *Dravya* according to him is *bhedya*. It is the cause of the diversity of words as substances are expressed prominently.[33] He further explains the nature of the next *padārtha, guṇa* as *āśritatva*. He quotes Vā. P. 5.1.119 *yasya guṇasya hi bhāvād dravye śabda-niveśas-tadabhidhāne tvatalau* in support of it. He further says that from linguistic usage we can see that sometimes the universal also becomes *guṇa*.[34] P. 4.1.44 *voto guṇavacanāt* is the indication of this view.

The next category he mentions is *kāla*. *Kāla* is known as *dhātvarthopādhi* indicating an action of the past, future and present. P. 1.2.58 points out the nature of *saṁkhyā* as *bhedagaṇanā*. Helārāja further mentions that gender is known as *guṇa*. This becomes possible by accepting the Vaiśeṣika definition of *guṇa*. He further explains the nature of *sādhana*. It is the capacity to accomplish the action. Though it depends upon a substance, it is not the invariable nature of the substance. Therefore, it is understood as a different category. Substance is unchanged in all situations. So it cannot express the *śeṣabhāva* or *kartṛ-karmabhāva*. The necessity of the category *sādhana* is indicated by the *avyayībhāva-samāsa* like *adhistrī*.

Dikpadārtha is necessary to establish the notion of east, west etc. It becomes the *viśeṣaṇa* of substance, action etc. Helārāja further talks about the *puruṣa* and *upagraha* but seems to be excluding them from the *padārthas*. They can be *padārtha* only in the sense that they are expressed by *padas*. Linguistic category *ākhyāta* denotes *kriyā, kāla, sādhana, saṁkhyā, puruṣa, upagraha* whereas *nāma*

denotes *dravya, linga, samkhyā, sādhana* and also *kriyā and kāla.* Helārāja did not use the word *padārtha* in connection with *linga, puruṣa, upagraha* etc. At the end he says that linguistic units *(padas)* express them therefore they can be *padārtha* but not in the sense of categories.

Helārāja on VP. 3.3.88 clearly stated what grammarians mean by the term *padārtha.* He said that grammar is the science of *laukika* words. Hence, grammarians explain the indivisible sentence on the basis of the *lokaprasiddhā padārtha-prakriyā.*[35] He further says that when we grammarians say *kriyāvacano dhātuḥ, sattvapradhānāni nāmāni, pratyāyakaḥ pratyayaḥ* we are talking about ontological categories such as *kriyā, guṇa, laukika-padārthas.* Grammarians engage themselves in the controversial debate in which some hold Vyāḍi's view of substance as word-meaning while others hold the universalist theory of Vājapyāyana. Patañjali accepted both views in *siddhe śabdārtha sambandhe.*[36] But this debate is related to the ontological nature of the meaning and not with what we cognise or what we express as universal or substance in meaning.

Bhartṛhari in the beginning of *Bhūyodravya-samuddeśa* explained how grammarians identify the *padārthas,* categories of our cognition. Cognition itself is embedded with the language and therefore these categories are abstracted on the basis of language. Bhartṛhari's words are as follows

samsargarūpāt sambhūtāḥ samvidrūpād apoddhṛtāḥ |
śāstre vibhaktā vākyārthāt prakṛtipratyayārthavat || VP 3.4.1 ||
nimittabhūtāḥ sādhutve śāstrād anumitātmakāḥ |
ke cit padārthā vakṣyante samkṣepeṇa yathāgamam || VP 3.4.2 ||

Three Historical Developments of Ontology of Grammar and *Padārthas*

In Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī,* categories like substance, quality etc. are often used.[37] In *Mahābhāṣya* we find the term *pravṛtti-nimitta*[38] for them and Patañjali discussed four of them i.e., *jāti, guṇa, kriyā* and *samjñā.*[39] Coming to Bhartṛhari, we find that the term *śakti* is used for Nyāya-Vaiāeṣika categories.[40] We, here, propose that Helārāja, then based on Bhartṛhari's views, developed three levelled ontology, which is functional at the three levels of language respectively.[41] The first level of language is called *paśyantī*-level where the ontology can be described as having two categories, i.e. *jāti* and *dravya* whereas the corresponding linguistic category is indivisible, unitory *sphoṭa.* Holistic claims about the sentence are actually made adhering to this ontology as at this level an entity is seen as one indivisible whole.

Second level in descending order is *madhyamā*-level where the ontology has eight categories i.e., *dravya, guṇa, kriyā, sambandha, sādhana, samkhyā, dik* and *kāla* whereas the corresponding linguistic categories are *samghātas* (divisible phonemic sequences)[42] in the form of *apoddhāra-padas* like *nāma, ākhyāta, upasarga, nipāta* and *karmapravacanīya* having the sequences *prakṛti* and *pratyaya* corresponding to the ontological categories which are called as *apoddhāra-padārthas.* Third level is the *vaikharī*-level where the auditory sounds are the linguistic categories and the physical objects are existent. At this level, the world-view consists of diversified entities.

3.1 Ontological Categories and Linguistic Categories

In Indian philosophy, the oldest categorisation of linguistic units *(padas)* can be found in the *Nirukta* of Yāska (Nir. 1.1) as *nāma, ākhyāta, upasarga,* and *nipāta.* Yāska defined the first two categories in terms of 'philosophy of being' saying that the verb is primarily concerned with 'being and becoming'. These nouns are concerned with existents. Overlooking the influence of 'philosophy of Being', Pānini divided linguistic units into two main groups i.e, *subanta* and *tinanta* to formally explain the formal set up of the science of language. *Kṛdanta, taddhitānta, nipāta, karmapravacanīya,* and *avyaya* are included under the broad category *nāma.* Each *subanta* and *tinanta* are again divided into two parts; *prakṛti* and *pratyaya* by formal enterprise of Pāninian grammar. *Padārthas* are expressed by both parts when they are in combination.

Indian grammarians always believed that there is a relationship between ontological categories and linguistic categories and they are abstracted from the experiences of objects and sentential experiences respectively. Cognitive science of modern days also supports this assumption of Indian grammarians. The experiments conducted by N. Soja (1987), N. N. Soja et. al. (1992 and 1991) and Imai (1997) showed that ontology plays an important role in understanding the linguistic categories. Helārāja tried to show how ontology helps linguistic categorisation.[43]

For Helārāja, *sattāvivarta* is the basis of noun-verb division.[44] So, not only *tinantas* are *ākhyātas,* but whatever expresses an action prominently is *ākhyāta.* For example, the *nipāta 'hirug'.* It is of two types, *siddha* and *sādhya.*[45] Linguistic category *nipāta* comes under the broad category *nāma* or *ākhyāta.* It denotes the particularity of the category expressed by the *nāma* or sometimes by the category *ākhyāta.*

The other category *upasarga* expresses the particularity of the action expressed by *ākhyāta* to which it is associated. Some grammarians advocate the need for another category, called *'karmapravacanīya'* which denotes a specific relationship between words.[46] In this categorisation, the *nāma-ākhyāta* division is basic and important. Some argue for four[47] categories and some for five.[48] But other linguistic categories are considered subsets of these two main categories. Similarly, though we see a diversified world of entities and objects, in reality, Being manifests itself into two forms, accomplished (existents) and 'to be' accomplished (existing in the form action). Linguistic categories either denote *siddha* form of the being or *sādhya* form of the Being.

Most schools in Indian philosophy link the theory of ontological categorisation with the theory of meaning. For example, in Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika philosophy *jñeyatva, abhidheyatva* and *prameyatva* are the necessary conditions for the *padārthatva.* Each school discusses the ontological nature of the meaning, i.e., whether it is universal, or substance, or both. Grammatical tradition is divided into two groups. One holds that ontologically meaning is universal and the other holds the view that substance is the ontological nature of the meaning. According to Bhartṛhari and Helārāja, there is no ultimate difference between the two as they denote Being as universal or substance. Helaraja's remark in 77.c of *Prakīrṇa-prakāśa* is that the universalist theory of meaning is about all-pervading "Being" whereas, in the *dravyavādin's* view the *pariniṣṭhita* form of Being is the meaning of all words.

When we look into the categorisation of grammarians, we find that the linguistic categories are established at the early stage of the grammatical study. Yāska had presented the oldest linguistic categorisation. Pāṇini, Kātyāyana, Patañjali and other grammarians engaged themselves in the philosophical discussions of the ontological categories of the other philosophical schools. But their independent theory of ontological categorisation was yet to develop. Bhartrhari put forward the ontological theory while discussing the nature of word-meaning. Thus, the third *kānda* of VP provides the ontology which is necessary for building a new theory of semantics, namely, 'ontological semantics'.

Notes and References

[1] By linguistic categorisation we mean the segmentation of linguistic matter into units, namely categories like *nāma, ākhyāta, upasarga, nipāta* and *karmapravacanīya*. The process of linguistic categorisation has four stages, (a) identifying sentence as meaning-bearing units of language, (b) *apoddhāra* (abstraction): (b.1) abstract words from the sentences, (b.2) tokenisation into grammatical categories, (b.3) morphological analysis which will be helpful when a word denotes more than one ontological category (for example a noun word in Sanskrit can have *(dravya/guna+samkhyā +kāraka)* (c) dependencies of lexical units, such as noun(consisting of (noun+*taddhita*) or (verb+*krdanta*) or (noun+noun+samāsānta) or (*avyaya/gati*+noun))+case-endings, verb (or verb+cvi/nic/yañ/luṅ)+[tense and person suffixes] and so on. The *varna/pada/vākya-sphoṭa* of later grammarians can be considered as the governing principles for all these processes. The resulting linguistic units such as phoneme, morpheme, lexicon, are the units which grammatical theories assume or postulate for the operational purposes. The debate whether these categories are innate or psychological is always persistent in the study of language but they serve the purpose in the system of grammar and hence cannot be rejected.

[2] Ontology deals with reasoning regarding entities, events and relations that happen to be represented in the language. Ontology can be considered as the knowledge base which all language users share. Ontological categorisation then would mean the categorisation of the entities of the knowledge base which all language users share inherently. The entities of the world are the assemblage/synthesis of various categories. Categories cannot be understood singly, they are knowable only when they are in combination. The process of abstraction *(apoddhāra)* helps us to understand them. These categories provides the basis of the semantic underlying the language use. In present days there is a huge interest in developing ontologies for generating the content of information stored in the natural and formal languages. Web Ontology Language (OWL) is specified for the next generation of internet using semantic web. This shift led us to move the age old discipline called ontology. So, along with the traditional ontologies of Indian philosophy we include here the gene ontology, biomedical ontologies, and business enterprise ontology in the term. Our aim is to put forth the philosophically developed ontological semantics on the basis of the textual study of the terms used for ontological semantics.

[3] The ontological term in question here is *padārtha* which is used for ontological categories in Indian philosophical schools. Wilhelm Halbfass listed *sat, satya, astitva, sattā* etc. from the root as and *bhāva, bhūta, bhāvanā* etc. from the root *bhū* and *vastu, tattva, utpatti, vyakti, śakti* etc. But we are not discussing any of them apart from the Bhartrhariās along with Helārājaās *padārtha*.

[4] Three levels of language in ascending order are: (1) *vaikharī*, (2) *madhyama* and (3) *pasyanti*. According to Aklujkar (1970), Bhartrhari also talked about *paravāk* as the highest level of the language.

[5] Much before Pāṇini, the scholars of the Vedic tradition divided words into four categories; *nāma* (noun), *ākhata* (verb), *upasarga* and *nipāta*. Such divisions are found in RPk, VPk, SC and Nirukta. Yāsk divided words into four types, *catvāri padajātāni namākhyātopasarganipātāśca* (Nir I.1). The MBh. 1.3 quotes the classification of words which is found in the tradition as *catvāri śṛṅgāṇi catvāri padajātini nāmākhyātopasarganipātaś ca.* and also as ... *catvāri vākparmitā padāni catvāri padajātāni nāmākhyātopasarganipātāś ca.* VPk. gives the fourfold division of *pada* along with the definition of *pada* as *varnasamghātaḥ padam. tac caturvidham nāmākhyātopasarganipātaś ceti* (S. Shastri 1909). Pāṇini divided the words of Sanskrit language into two types, *suptiṅantam padam.* According to Bhartrhari the segmentation of words from the sentence is an artificial process called *apoddhāra* and it is based on the principle of *anvaya-vyatireka.*

[6] See PP 1a.1 *"tadevam śabdārthayoḥ sambandham uktvā anvākhyān-opayogi padārthaḥ śāstre kāryārtham laukikam pravibhajyata ..."* and PP 1c.1 *"idānim anvākhyānāṅgam apoddhāra-padārtho dravya-guṇādikaḥ samuddeṣṭavya ...".* Verses 1.2 of *Bhūyodravyasamuddeśa* explain the nature of the *apoddhāra-padārthas* and the necessity of them as *samsarga-rūpāt sam-bhūtāḥ samvid-rūpād apoddhṛtāḥ / śāstre vibhaktā vākyārthāt prakṛti-pratyayārthavat || 1 || nimitta-bhūtāḥ sādutve śāstrād-anumitātmakāḥ / kecit padārthāḥ vakṣyante samkṣepeṇa yathāgamam || 2 ||*

7   Bhartṛhari's famous verse satyāsatyau tú yau bhāgau/bhavau ...   and PP 12d.2 to 12.e.1-2 on VP 3.2.11 says that at *paśyantī-*level the ontology has two categories, (1) *jāti* and (2) *dravya.*

8   According to Aklujkar, Bhartṛhari's ontology is an inflated ontology which means that it presents more categories than other philosophical schools unnecessarily. We think, if we rearrange the ontology stated by Aklujkar (1970, 1990) with the help of the categories listed by Sudhakar 2004) (which can be the *apoddhāra-padārthas*) and linking them with the levels of language as Ganguli (1963) and Halbfass (1993), we can avoid this charge inflation. The ontology of *apoddhāra-padārthas* can avoid the problems which NV ontology faces, for example the problem of numbers, *sāmānya* and *viśeṣa.* Careful study in this line is needed to develop and ontology which can provide a strong basis to semantics and information extraction from the language.

9   dik sādhanam kriyā kāla iti vastvabhidhāyinaḥ / śaktirūpe padārthānām atyantam anavasthitāḥ || VP 3,6.1 ||

10 According to Helārāja, Bhartṛhari is discussing the nature of the two *padārthas; jāti* and *dravya* as stated in the *Vijñāna-vāda* of Buddhist philosophers in VP 3.1.19.

11 *Helārāja says, tad eva svanikāya-siddhādhyāsadarśanāśrayeṇa sārvatrikī jāti-padārtha-vyavasthā darśitā*

12 On VP 3.1.11 Helārāja says, *svarūpa-bhūtā hi jāti sarveśāṁ śabdānām antara / ngatvād asādhāraṇatvāt ahetvāc ca prathamam pratipādyā*

13 Here, Helārāja notes that verses VP 3.1.15-18 explain the *jātipadārtha-vāda* following the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika principles.

14 Helārāja points out that, grammarians are talking about the *śabdavācya-padārthas* and not about the *pratyakṣa-padārtha.* He says, *pratyakṣā api padārthāḥ svakāryaṁ vijñānādikaṁ kurvantaḥ santi iti vyavahriyante, kiṁ punaḥ śabdavācyāḥ padārthāḥ iti sāmānyavacanād dravyādayo 'pi śabdavācyatvenaiva lakṣyante*

15 In PP 13a.1 on VP 3.1.2, Helārāja said that grammarians view the world as having the categories abstracted from the saṁsarga (VP 3.2.1-2). But before we proceed to these abstracted categories, we must note that all entities of the world have two *bhāga or bhāva* (VP 3.1.32) and these two are considered as the meaning of all words (VP 3.1.2).

16 Helārāja defines *laukika-padārtha* as *phala-sādhana-yogyaḥ padārtho hi laukiko hetu-dravyādi-viṣayaḥ...* in 120.c.3 and 147b.3 of PP on *Sādhana-samuddeśa*

17 *Buddhyārthas.*

18 *Vastvārthas.*

19 *satyāsatyau tu yau bhāgau pratibhāvam vyavasthitau / satyaṁ yat tatra sā jātir asatyā vyaktayaḥ smṛtāḥ || VP 3.1.32 ||*

20 VP 3.2.12.

21 So far the word-index of PP is unavailable so we have manually collected these occurrences from the Iyerās edition of third *kānda* of VP. Due to human error the number of occurrences may vary.

22 The numbers given here are the numbers of the paragraphs marked by Iyer (1994).

23 *Jātisamuddeśa* 24c.3 of Iyerās edition of VP (1994).

24 *Bhūyodravya* 1e.1.

25 *Bhūyodravya* 4a.2 and 6a.1.

26 Dikṣamuddeśa $1a.1.

27 According to Matilal (1986, 257-269) Patañjali's definition of *dravya* is the definition of the substance which is the logical subject.

28 *Jātirvā dravyaṁ vā padārthāv ityuktam (Dravyasamuddeśa 1a.1) and jātidravye hi sarvaśabdānām arth iti "siddhe śabdārthasaṁbandhe" (Bhūyodravyasamuddeśa 1b.1).*

29 K. A Subramania Iyer explained *apoddhāra* as a grammatical analysis in his paper "Bhartṛhari on grammatical analysis" in *Visheveshwaranand Indological Journal* (Hoshiarpur) in 1980.

30 For a detailed analysis of *anvya-vyatireka,* see Cardona, "Anvaya and vyatireka in Indian grammar," *Adyar Library bulletin* 31-32 (1968):313-352.

31 See E. Rosc, "Principles of categorisation," In: E. Rosch, B. Lloyd (eds.): Cognition and categorization. Hilldale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1978.

32 PP on VP 3.4.1-2 para 7a-b.

33 PP on VP 3.4.1-2 para 11a.

34 *jātirapi bhāvapratyayābhidheya iti guṇo 'sāvevamupapadyate* PP on VP 3.4.1-2 para 12a.

35 PP on VP 3.3.88 para 98c.

[36]   PP 3.4 para 1.b.

[37]   R. Shastri (1976) has done an extensive study of the *Vaśeṣika-tattvas* as reflected in Pāṇini's grammar.

[38]   The term means the *nimitta* (purpose) of the *pravātti* use or application of words.

[39]   *catuṣṭayi śabdānām pravṛttiḥ : jaati-śabdāḥ guṇa-śabdāḥ kriyā-śabdāḥ yadṛcchā-śabdāḥ caturthāḥ*| (;SS 2) P I.19.10 - 21.28   R
       I.70 - 79 Ç17/115– (Cardona 2002).

[40]   Ogawa (1999) showed that *Vaiśeṣika* categories are treated as *śaktis* in Bhartṛhari's philosophy.

[41]   If we consider *parā* as the fourth level of the language, the ontology corresponding to it will have only one category, that is *śabda-tattva*. Monist approaches in grammar are considered as having only one category and therefore they are known as *ekapadārtha-vāda* (Abhyankar and Shukla 1986). The *śabda-tattva* or *śabda-brahman* is considered as an inner controller *(antaryāmin)*, who while remaining unaffected creates the diversity of the world out of language. Even though, all powers, which are considered as categories at the lower levels of ontology, are collected in it remains one. It comprehends physical objects and leads to the comprehension of *ākāra* of awareness (Aklujkar, Bhartṛhari 1990, 127). Although, the similarity between Advaita-Vedānta and Bhartṛhari's view one should not consider him Advaita-Vedāntin. Though, both of them propounded inflated ontology, where the *brahman* or *śabda-tattva* turns into a temporal multiplicity in Bhartṛhari's view. He called it *vivarta* (manifestation). Aklujkar (1990, 126) says *vivarta* is single thing's taking on unreal *(asatya)* distinctions as belonging to other things and without losing its own unitary nature. According to Bhartṛhari it is possible because of the power called *kāla* (time) whereas, śankara introduced the principle of *māyā*. Time, for Bhartṛhari is an ontological entity whereas the status of *māyā* is not clear.

[42]   Bhartṛhari says, *anarthakānāṁ saṁghātaḥ sārthako 'narthakas tathā* | *varṇānāṁ padam arthena yuktaṁ nāvayavāḥ pade* || VP 2.205 || *padānām arthayuktānāṁ saṁghā to bhidyate punaḥ* | *arthāntarāvabodhena saṁbandhavigamena ca* ||VP 2.206||

[43]   N. Soja (1987) points out that the results of the experiments conducted by Barbara, Smith and Susan (1988) provide evidence that, by age 3, a count noun referring to an object is projected on the basis of shape similarity to the referent, adjectives are projected on the basis of colour or texture similarity to the referent, and prepositions are projected on the basis of spatial relations between the referent and other objects.

[44]   Here, we are referring to the noun-verb division in the form of *nāma* and *ākhyāta* and not the Pāṇinian division as *subanta* and *tiṅanta*. Pāṇini's division of linguistic categories is for the sake of linguistic processing or for the sake of rule formation.

[45]   *Prakīrṇa-prakāśa* on VP 3.1.35 para 77.b.

[46]   PP on VP 3.1.1.

[47]   Four categories listed and discussed in PP on VP 3.1.1 are, *nāma, ākhyāta, upasarga* and *nipāta*.

[48]   By separating karmapravacanīyas from upasargas we get five categories *nāma, ākhyāta, upasarga, nipāta* and *karmapravacanīya*.

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❖❖❖

Anustaraṇi: The Myth and the Ritual

3

Ambarish Khare

INTRODUCTION

The *Anustarani* is a cow or she-goat associated with Yama. The origin of this concept can be traced through the myths and rituals described in the Vedic texts like *Saṁhitās, Brāhmaṇas* and different *Sūtras.* After the death of any person, especially the one performing the *haviryajnas (Ahitagni)*, there was a tradition of sacrificing the *Anustaraṇi* and covering the dead body with her body-parts before cremation.

As explained by commentators like Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara Miśra and Sāyaṇa, the *Anustaraṇi* was sacrificed for a dead person.[1] The word *Anustaraṇi* means "one who is laid down."

This might have been a very common ritual in the ancient times as we find the concept of *Anustaraṇi* being used as a simile for the cooked rice to be offered for Soma. The *TS* states that "(the priests) kill Soma by pressing him. Then the cooked rice is offered for Soma *(saumya caru)* in a similar way, as *Anustaraṇi* is offered for a dead person."[2] We also find similar references in the other Vedic texts.[3]

Sāyaṇa in his commentary on the *SB*[4] relates the offering of *Anustaraṇi* with the myth that a *preta* crosses the river called Vaitaraṇi with the help of a cow.[5] But this belief of crossing the Vaitaraṇī is of later origin.[6]

THE MYTH

The *TS* in relation with the *Trirātra* sacrifice, explains the myth of *Anustaraṇi*. The *dakṣinā* of the *Triraātra* sacrifice is

1000 cows. Once Indra and Soma got these one thousand cows and they told Yama to choose any one cow according to his wish. Yama chose the cow having the qualities equal to that of one thousand cows. Now Indra and Soma too wanted their share in this particular cow again. So, the three gods pushed that cow into water once each. She came out of the water each time in a different form and three hundred and thirty-three in number. In this way, Indra, Soma and Yama each got 333 cows. Thus 333 cows three times, plus the original cow, gave rise to the number 999+1=1000 cows. However, when the original cow came out for Yama she had the form of an aged and idiot cow.[7]

The colours of the cows coming out of the water that are mentioned in this myth are also found in other texts in relation with these gods. For example, the cow having two colours *(dvirūpā)* is related to Indra. If such a cow is used for purchasing the Soma plant, the country of the sacrificer *(Yajamāna)* becomes victorious. On the other hand, bartering a cow related to Yama, i.e. a red coloured cow with black eyes, tail and hoofs for the Soma plant, can cause the death of the sacrificer.

These references prove that an aged cow of black or red colour was thought to be associated with Yama, the god of death. It is possible that such a cow was kept to be used as the *Anustaraṇī* due to her peculiarities.

THE RITUAL

We find the description of the funerary rites of *āhitāgni* in the *brāhmaṇas* and the *Śrauta, Gṛhya* and *Paitṛmedhika sūtras.* We shall see the ritual in brief here. It is said that the *Anustaraṇī* (cow or she-goat) shall be of a single colour, preferably red or black.[9] She is brought to the place of cremation by tying her left forefoot.[10] She is killed by hitting her behind the ear.[11] *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* states that the sacrificial animals that are to be offered for gods are not killed in this way.[12]

Both the kidneys of the dying or dead *Anustaraṇī* are taken out[13] and placed in the right and left hands of the corpse respectively.[14] According to some texts, both the kidneys should be heated on the *gārhapatya* fire before placing them in the hands of the deceased person.[15] A piece of gold is put in the mouth of the corpse.[16] *Anustaraṇī* also covers the face with the mantra "agner varma pari gobhir vyayasva...[17] before keeping the heart of the *Anustaraṇī* on the heart of the corpse.[18]

Katyayana tells us that in the opinion of Jātūkarṇya, all the limbs of the *Anustaraṇī* shall be placed on the respective limbs of the corpse. But this is not practical because of one obvious problem. While collecting the bones *(asthisañcayana)* after cremation, it would become difficult to differentiate between the bones of *Anustaraṇī* and those of the dead person.[19] In the end, the skin of the *Anustaraṇī* is wrapped around the dead body before cremation.[20]

This rite is also recorded in the tradition of the *Atharvaveda. Kauśika Sūtra* mentions the sacrifice of a cow as well as of a goat.[21] But here Kauśika has not used the word *Anustaraṇī.*[22]

We find a different tradition in the *Taittirīya* school of the *Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda.* The *gṛhyasūtras* of this school offer the option of setting this cow free (instead of killing her).[23] *Āgniveśya Gṛhyasūtra* (3.5.8) also offers the option of donating this cow to a Brahmin.[24] Accordingly, Sāyaṇa in his commentary on

the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* tries to differentiate the mantras related to this rite in two groups, viz. the mantras to be recited in case of sacrifice and the mantras to be recited for setting the cow free. [25]

OTHER OBSERVATIONS

It seems that though a cow to be used as *Anustaraṇī* should preferably be an aged one, a young cow can also be used as the *Anustaraṇī*. The *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* uses the epithet *yuvati* for *Anustaraṇī* in one mantra, which suggests this possibility.[26] Sāyaṇa has recommended the employment of this mantra for setting her free. It is to be noted that Baudhāyana refers to the *Anustaraṇī* while explaining the *agnihotra* of Yāyāvara seers. He says that the milk of *Anustaraṇī* shall not be used for the *Agnihotra*.[27] If we assume the *Anustaraṇī* to be aged, which is killed afterwards, there is no question of getting her milk for offering in the *agnihotra*. Thus it seems that a young cow can also be used as the *Anustaraṇī*. It is also possible that the two options (of sacrifice and setting free) may have been derived according to the age of cow - sacrifice if the cow is aged; and set her free if young. However, these options are given only in the tradition of the *Taittirīya* school.[28]

We find the use of the words *sayāvarī* and *rājagavī* instead of *Anustaraṇī* in the texts of the *Taittirīya* school. The meaning of *sayāvarī* explained by the commentator does not provide any special information.[29] The word *rājagavī* would mean "a cow of a king" *(rājñaḥ gauḥ)* or "a main/chief cow" (feminine form of gavāṁ rājā). If this *Anustaraṇī* is an elderly cow, then it is correct to call her chief/main. However, if we assume this cow to be young, we can not call her chief. Also, the other meaning (cow of a king) needs some explanation. Due to the occurrence of a similar word *brahmagavī* elsewhere in the Vedic literature, the possibility of the word *rājagavī* meaning "king's cow" is higher.[30] The king with whom this cow (aged or young) can be related may be assumed to be the god of the dead, Yama. Thus, it is possible to take the meaning of *rājagavī* as "a cow of king Yama." Strangely, Monier-Williams (2002: 873, col. 1) identifies *rājagavī* with *Bos Grunnience* (Yak).

There is a myth in the *SB* which states: "The skin which now belongs to the cow was originally on the man... Having flayed the man, they [the gods] put that skin on the cow, and therewith she now endures rain and cold and heat...for this reason none but man wears a garment, which serves as his skin... Let him, then, not be naked in the presence of a cow. For, the cow knows that she wears his skin, and runs away for fear lest he should take the skin away from her. Hence too cows draw fondly towards one who is properly clad."[31]

This myth, though not related with *Anustaraṇī*, shows the importance of cow's skin in the minds of the Vedic people.

Hastings (1959: 429, col. 2) informs us: "In a comparatively early stage, domesticated animals are often the chief wealth. Such animals are slaughtered not merely as food, but to accompany their owner into the other world." We also find a description of covering the corpse of a hero (killed in battle) with the fat of oxen in some ancient civilizations.[32]

CONCLUDING REMARKS

In this way, we can evaluate the concept of *Anustaraṇī* with the myths and rituals associated with

her. It seems that sacrifice of domestic animals was a common practice in the early stage of civilization. The reason behind such a practice may have been the thought of providing food and accompaniment for the journey of the soul into the other world.

The custom arising from an old tradition changed its nature in the course of time and this *Anustaraṇī* became associated with Yama. In the Vedic times, this rite was carried out after the death of an *āhitāgni.* Some mantras as well as a myth found in the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* show the relationship of *Anustaraṇī* (red or black cow/she goat) with Yama and the ancestors. Then evolved an option of setting this cow free, instead of killing her, in some Vedic schools. This change might have been brought into vogue out of the concern that a young cow must not be killed.

Later on, this rite became almost extinct. The tradition of donating the cow, however, remained as a memory of this ancient rite denoting a relationship of the cow with the other world. It was thought that this cow enables the soul of the deceased to cross the river Vaitarani during its journey into the other world.

Colophon: I am grateful to Prof. Nirmala Kulkarni, CASS, University of Pune, for all the efforts she had taken for reading and improving my research work from time to time.

ABBREVIATIONS

AV	*Atharvaveda (Śaunaka) Saṁhitā*
AgGS	*Āgniveśya Gṛhyasūtra*
AsGS	*Āśvalaāyana Gṛhyasutra*
RV	*Ṛgveda Saṁhitā*
KSS	*Kātyāyana Śrautasūtra*
KS	*Kauśika Sūtra*
BauSS	*Baudhāyana Śrautasūtra*
BharPS	*Bhāradvāja Paitṛmedhikasūtra*
SB	*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*
SSS	*Śāṅkhāyana Śrautasūtra*
SB	*Ṣaḍviṁsa Brāhmaṇa*
SKS	*Satyāṣāḍha Kalpasūtra*
TA	*Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*
TS	*Taittirīya Saṁhitā*

Ambarish Khare

Notes and References

1 mṛtāya hanyate sānustaraṇi or anu maraṇāanataraṁ stīryate anayā iti etc.

2 ghnanti vā etat somaṁ yad abhiṣuṇvanti yat saumyo bhavati yathā mṛtāyānustaraṇirh ghnanti tadṛg eva.../- TS 6.6.7.1.

3 For example, see Aitareya Brāhmaṇa 3.32 and the Maitrāyaṇi Saṁhitā 4.7.2.

4 ghnanti va etat somaṁ rājānaṁ preva mīyate / yad enābhiṣuṇvanti tasyaitām anustaraṇirh kurvanti yat saumyaṁ carum / tasmāt puruṣāya puruṣāyānustaraṇi kriyate /- ṢB 1.7.1.

5 yasmād enaṁ somam abhiṣuṇvanti / tasyābhiṣutasya mṛtaprāyasya somasya etāṁ prasiddhām anustaraṇirh mṛtasya vaitaraṇinadyuttārikānustaraṇi tāṁ kurvanti / yat yasmāt saumyaṁ somadevatyaṁ caruṁ nirvapanti / tasmād ata eva loke puruṣāya puruṣāya sarvasmai mṛtāyānustaraṇi kriyate / vaitaraṇinadyuttārikā gauḥ dīyate /

6 We find a detailed description of this river in the Purāṇas. The river is like a boundary line between the dead and the living world. Yamadūta asks for the fees in return for helping a dead soul to cross this river. Here this cow helps the soul. We also find some other rites like Vṛṣotsarga in which a bull is set free for similar purpose. Even this rite is carried out by just using an image of bull instead of a real one, at many places now. See for details Filippi (2005).

7 See TS 7.1.6.4.

8 See Maitrāyaṇi Saṁhitā 3.7.4 and TS 6.7.6.1.

9 anustaraṇim gām ajāṁ vaikavarṇāṁ kṛṣṇām eke /- AśGS 4.2.5; dakṣiṇataḥ paścād vā gām anustaraṇim ajāṁ vā rohiṇiṁ dakṣiṇāmukhiṁ probhya /- ṢṢṢ 4.14.13.

10 savye bāhau baddhvānusaṁskārayanti /- AśGS 4.2.6; ānayanty etāṁ kṛṣṇāṁ kūṭāṁ jaratiṁ mūrkhāṁ tajjaghanyām anustaraṇiṁ pratibaddhām / savya(pra)tibaddhā bhavatīti vijñāyate /- ĀgGS 3.5.3.

11 anustaraṇi cet paścāt karmam āhatya.../- KŚS 25.7.34.

12 tan no'eva paścāt karmaṁ pitṛdevatyaṁ hi tad.../- ṢB 3.8.1.15.

13 jīvantyāḥ saṁjñaptāyā vā vṛkkau pṛṣṭhata uddhṛtya /- ṢṢṢ 4.14.14.

14 Probably these kidneys are kept in the hand of corpse for the dogs of Yama, viz. Śyāma and Śabala: dakṣiṇe haste dakṣiṇaṁ vṛkkyaṁ savye savyaṁ śyāmaśabalābhyāṁ tvā iti /- BharPS 1.6.23.

15 jīvantyāḥ vṛkkau pṛṣṭhata uddhṛtya saṁjñaptāyā vā dakṣiṇāgnau koṣṇau kṛtvā atidrava ity ṛgbhyāṁ pāṇyor ādhāya /- Kauṣītaki Gṛhyasūtra 5.3.3.

16 āsye hiraṇyam avadhāya.../- Lāṭayana Śrautasūtra 8.8.22.

17 ṚV 10.16.7; AV 18.2.58; TĀ 6.1.4.

18 See AśGS 4.2.15; KŚS 25.7.37.

19 aṅgeṣv aṅgān iti jātūkarṇyaḥ / na vā'sthisandehāt /- KŚS 2.5.7.35-36.

20 sarvaṁ yathāṅgaṁ vinikṣipya carmaṇā pretaṁ pracchādayet /- AśGS 4.3.20.

21 See KS 81.1-29 for details.

22 The word Anustaraṇi is not unknown to Kauśika. We find this word in an interesting rite of bringing a misfortune to a person (daurbhāgyakaraṇa). This rite is probably mentioned in the chapter named Strīkarmāṇi, because of its expected use by a woman against the other wife of her husband (sapatni). KS (36.15) reads: bhagam asyā varca iti mālāniṣpramandadantadhāvanakeśam iśānahatāyā anustaraṇyā vā kośam ulūkhaladaraṇe triśile nikhanati. Though the words like pramanda and triśila occurring in this sūtra are obscure, it can be translated in general as "a garland, used tooth-brush, hairs of a person shall be collected and put in the purse made up of a hide of the Anustaraṇi or of the cow died due to some disease. This purse shall then be buried in the broken mortar."

23 tāṁ ghnanty utsṛjanti vā /- BharPS 1.4.7; SKS 28.2.7.

24 atha yady anustaraṇiṁ nānustariṣyante bhavanty utsṛjed vainām / brāhmaṇebhyo vā dadyāt /

25 rājagavyā hananam utsargaś ceti dvau pakṣau tatra hananapakṣe mantrā pūrvam evoktāḥ / athotsargapakṣe mantrā ucyante /- Sāyaṇa's introduction of TĀ 6.12.1.

26 apaśyāma yuvatim ācarantiṁ mṛtāya jīvāṁ pariṇiyamānām /- TĀ 6.12.1.

27 BauŚS 24.31.7.

28 We find the epithet yuvatī also in the mantra present in the AV (18.3.3). This mantra is probably taken from the TĀ itself, but KS uses it for the purpose of immolation.

[29]   *saha yātuṁ gantuṁ śīlaṁ yasyā rājagavyā sā sayāvarī.*

[30]   The word *brahmagavī* (a cow of a Brahmin) is present in the famous *Brahmangavī* hymns of the *Atharvaveda.* See, for example, *AV* 5.18-19.

[31]   *ŚB* 3.1.2.13-17; translation of Eggeling, Vol. 26 (1994: 9).

[32]   See Hastings (1959: 473) for the funeral rites of Patroclus.

[33]   The verse from the *TĀ* and *AV* mentioning the *Anustaraṇī* as *yuvati,* has a mention of bringing a cow back from the other side (world of dead) to the former side (world of living beings). Though, as said earlier, *AV* tradition has not given the option of setting her free, we find in the next verse (*AV* 18.3.4) the word *aghnyā* (one who should not be killed). It is possible that the *AV* took the verses from the *Taittirīya* tradition but stuck to the ancient option of immolation, instead of the option of setting her free, that was adopted by *Taittirīya* school.

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❖❖❖

Water Management System at Kanheri

There were palace-like buildings,
images, houses, pillars, and water-cistern.
It was a city carved in rock that could hold seven thousand people.

Don-Joao-de-Castro. (1539 CE)

4

Suraj A. Pandit

A Portuguese traveller has expressed the visual impact of Kanheri in words quoted above. Kanheri (19^0 $13'$ N. and 72^0 $59'$ E.) is in the vicinity of Mumbai, the great metropolitan city and the economic capital of India, in the state of Maharashtra. It is situated hardly 8 km to the southeast of Borivali, a Western suburb of Mumbai.

Kanheri is one of the major cave complexes in India comprising more than 100 caves. This cave complex can be compared only with cave sites like Junnar and Karad in the Deccan. Kanheri had developed its own peculiarities like a well-developed water system, its own agricultural land, satellite settlements and resources for subsistence. This is the only cave site in India, which was inhabited for more than a millennium by Buddhist brotherhood.

Kanheri is referred to in the ancient inscriptions as 'Kṛṣṇagiri' (Sanskrit) and 'Kanhagiri' (Prakrit) after its black colour, which is a result of its volcanic origin. The modern name Kanheri is derived from its Prakrit form. The location of the monastic settlement at Kanheri is very significant. Kanheri is surrounded by various ancient sites like Sopara, Kalyan, Thane, Bassein, etc. Chaul, an ancient port, is also not far from Kanheri. On the periphery of Kanheri, we can see cave sites like Magathane, Jivadhan, Lonad, Ambivali, Elephanta and Kondivate (Mahakali). A few of these places are mentioned in the epigraphical data from the site itself. During this period, Sopara and Kalyan were the two major commercial centres. References to Sopara are in the inscriptions in caves 3, 7 & 86 and references to Kalyan are in the inscriptions in caves 32, 72, 74, 75 & 98 at the

site of Kanheri. The decline of Sopara as a commercial centre had already started around 2nd century CE because of the silting up of the Sopara port. Kalyan emerged as an option to Sopara.

These two major trade centres were linked by a trade route, which proceeded to Junnar, Nashik and from there to Paithan. There is another trade route from Sopara going towards the fertile lands of Ganga-Yamuna and thence to Central Asia via Bharuch.

The religion of the Buddha must have spread in the region, i.e. 'Aparānta', around the 3rd century BCE. Its first visual impression in the form of rock-cut architecture at the site was around 1st century BCE and it remained active here at least for a millennium. Though we do not have much evidence from archaeological excavations, enough epigraphical evidence for last few centuries is there to prove the existence of a Buddhist brotherhood till the 11th century CE. The glory of the site in the early centuries CE can be seen in the art and architecture at the site. There are about 101 caves, of which, around 75 belong to the first three centuries after the rise of monastic settlements. These caves are scattered on three hills and most of them are on either side of a stream, which flows between the northern and the southern hill.

Caves at the site are scattered on three different hills in the Borivali National Park (Sanjay Gandhi National Park) near Kanheri *pāḍā*, a small settlement of forest-dwellers. For our convenience, these hills are mentioned here as northern, southern and eastern hill.

There is a water stream that flows from the east to west between northern and southern hills. The stream collects water from all the three hills at the eastern end. Ancient engineers converted this catchment area of the stream into a small reservoir by constructing two small walls between northern and southern hills. Today these walls of the reservoir are in a very poor state of preservation. The reservoir area was occupied by some Śaivas who had constructed a temple and *maṭha* in the depression.

Most of the caves are located on the southern hill. Three different layers of the caves from the opposite hill can be noticed. These three rows of caves are well connected with rock cut steps. Most of the caves are north facing, though there are few facing south like cave nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 72, 85, 86, 87. On the top of the southern hill, which is the main hill, there are five water tanks that suggest a well-developed water system at the site.

Most of the cisterns and tanks at the site are well connected to each other with a network of small channels. Ancient hydraulic engineers had tried to utilize every drop of rainwater falling on the hills.

On the eastern hill, there is a place called Gomukh or Gaymukh where the natural spring water is collected in a small tank. It is quite possible that due to conservation work on the hill by the Archaeological Survey of India (A.S.I.) or due to natural phenomena springs in Northern and Southern hills are not active today.

The northern hill has comparatively fewer caves. These caves face south, are not on very high contours and have easy access to the stream flowing between the two hills. On the top of the northern

hill, one can see a few remains of the brick *stūpas.* On the eastern slope of the northern hill there is a water tank, which was once attached to a structural temple.

The eastern hill needs more scrutiny and exploration. There are a few scattered caves on this hill, which are chronologically earliest at the site. These caves were occupied and modified by a few Śaiva ascetics in the modern period (20th century CE). Caves on the northern scarp of the eastern hill are difficult to access. Only a few remains, architectural elements in modified natural caverns, can be seen here.

Apart from this, Kanheri has its own historical importance. It has developed its own peripheral centres like Kondivate and Magathane (Pandit S., 2003). The glorious past of this magnificent site can be placed in three chronological time brackets for the convenience of the study. We have labelled these phases after names of contemporary ruling dynasties that are known through epigraphical data from the site. These are as follows:

1. Sātavāhana phase (1st century BCE to 4th century CE)

2. Traikūṭaka phase (5th century CE and 6th century CE)

3. Rāṣṭrakūta- Śilāhāra phase (7th century C.E. onwards till the end of the site.)

Kanheri has its own unique water management system. This paper aims to study the features of this rainwater harvesting and water management system at the site. As Buddhist monks inhabited the site at least for a millennium, different chronological phases have developed different types of water structures as per the need. Here an attempt is made to understand these water structures in the light of inscriptions and literature and their role in the development of the monastery.

I

It was taken care of by ancient people that not a single drop of rain water fallen on Krishnagiri goes waste. Proper observations were made about rains and studies of the scholars like Varahamihira in his *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* (cantos XXI to XXVIII) tried to understand the rain cycle as well as different types of clouds and different phases in the rainfall.

In the basaltic hills like Krishnagiri, the major sources of potable water are either water-springs in the hills or stored rainwater. The *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* discusses many traditional methods to locate springs or underground water (Canto LIV).

Rainwater has been stored in tanks and cisterns at Kanheri. Most caves at the site have water cisterns (Table I). Of these very few have natural water source today in the form of water-springs. Locally such cisterns are known as 'live cisterns'. Apart from this there are huge water tanks. Most of them, except three, are on the top of the northern and southern hills. These are mainly used for the storage of rainwater.

Water cisterns in western Indian Buddhist caves are referred to by different names in inscriptions. One of the Naneghat inscriptions belonging to the reign of Chatarapana Satakani (c 1st half of 1st

century CE) refers to a 'living cistern' as *'Paniyapuva'* i.e. well (Lüder's List no. 1120). An inscription in cave no. 5 at Kanheri refers to a cistern as *'Paniyabhajanam'*, i.e. water container (Gokhale S., 1991: 62). Two more inscriptions at Kanheri in cave no. 2 and cave no. 64 respectively refer to the donation of the 'live cistern' as *'Paniyaka Deyadhamma'* i.e. 'the donation related to water' (Gokhale S., 1991: 47, 91). There are two tanks adjacent to each other and a shallow rectangular basin at the entrance of cave no. 2 at Kanheri. Largest among them is useful for collecting rainwater (and also perhaps from natural springs) and has been provided with a wooden lid to close it. The adjacent tank is larger and rectangular. This must be to wash hands and clothes or to fetch water for bathing. Surplus water from the biggest tank is flooded and collected in the second tank. A shallow basin collects the overflowed water from the second tank. This is most probably for animals to drink (Arunchandra S. Pathak: personal communication 2006). All other water cisterns at the site are referred to as *'podhi'*, i.e. 'the place to fetch water'. From late 2nd century CE onwards, this word *podhi* became very popular at the site in inscriptions. There are many such inscriptions referring to the donations of *podhi* recorded in Western Indian Buddhist caves.

There is one such inscription at Bhaja caves referring to the donation of *podhi* by Maharathi Vinhudata, the son of Kosiki (Lüder's List no. 1079). Karla caves reveal a fragmentary inscription referring to the donation of a cave and a *podhi* by some *antevasini* i.e. 'a female disciple' (nun) (Lüder's List no. 1107). One Govindadasa from Soparayaka has donated a *podhi* at Naneghat (Lüder's List no. 1119). A prince 'Kumara Kanhabhōa Vhenupalita' had donated a cave, a *caitya* and a *podhi* to the monastery at Mahad (Lüder's List no. 1072). Nashik cave inscription of Usabhadata refers to the donation of 'Ramatirtha' at Sopara and also talks about the donation of a cave and a *podhi* at Nashik (Lüder's List no. 1131). Another inscription from Nashik refers to a donation of a cave, *caitya* and *podhi* by Indragnidatta, son of Yavana Dhammadeva (Lüder's List no. 1140). Two other inscriptions mention the donation of a cave, two cisterns *(podhi)* and the other of a *podhi* by Saka Damacika Vudhika, who was a writer by profession (Lüder's List no. 1148, 1149).

Analysis of the above data reveals the fact that no common man (local *upāsaka*) has specified his donation of *podhi* though he / she must have given it. Many Buddhist caves donated by lay followers in western India evince water cistern but no specific reference is made of the same in inscriptions, though other donations are mentioned. All these donors discussed above are either members of royal families or nuns or foreigners / travellers. It was the duty of the royal class *(kshatriya)* to arrange for the water resources for people (*Arthasāstra* 2.1.20-21). Maintenance of the water source was considered a very pious work in ancient India. Donation of water was more beneficial than the donation of food, according to the Mahabharata (*Anusāsanaparva*, 66th canto). *Manusmṛti* also prescribes severe punishments for a person who spoils the fresh water source (*Manusmṛti* 9.279, 8.138 & 8.37). The absence of the commoners and local lay followers in this activity is noteworthy.

There are very few exceptions to this from Kuda, Junnar and Kanheri, which can be dated to 2nd century CE onwards. Among the four inscriptions referring to the donations of *podhi* from Kuda one is fragmentary (Lüder's List no. 1039), one is of nun (Lüder's List no. 1041) and the other two are of a gardener (Lüder's List no. 1061) and a banker (Lüder's List no. 1064), of which the nun and

the banker have donated a cave respectively along with the cistern. There are total eight inscriptions at Junnar, which refer to the donations of *poḍhi*. Two of them repeat the name of the donor as well as the donation given (Lüder's List no. 1152 & 1155). One inscription is fragmentary and the name of the donor is partially lost (Lüder's List no. 1150). One Yavana Irila from Gatas (Gatras) has donated two cisterns *(poḍhi)* at Junnar (Lüder's List no. 1154). A goldsmith from Kalyan named Saghaka has donated a *poḍhi* at Junnar (Lüder's List no. 1177). One of the inscriptions refers to the donation of a seven-celled hall and a *poḍhi* by the guild of corn-dealers (Lüder's List no. 1180). There is a donation of a *poḍhi* given by two women viz., Lacchinika and Nadabalika (Lüder's List no. 1176). Another refers to the donation of a *poḍhi* by Sivabhuti, who must be a lay follower (Lüder's List no. 1173).

There are a total of 21 inscriptions referring to the donations of water cisterns and tanks at Kanheri. Statistical data of the different terms used for donations of water cistern and tanks in inscriptions at Kanheri is as follows (Table II).

Table II

Sr. No.	Name	No. of Inscriptions.
1	*poḍhi*	09
2	*Pāniyapoḍhi*	07
3	*pāniyaka deyadhamma*	02
4	*pāniyaka bhājanam*	01
5	*Nhāṇa poḍhi*	01
6	*Talaga*	01
	TOTAL	**21**

It shows a mixed donor class (See Table III). This makes the epigraphical data from the site very unique. There are a few noteworthy observations:

1. These inscriptions at Kanheri are from Phase I of the chronology.

2. Most of them belong to the 2nd and 3rd century CE.

3. Inscriptions referring to the donations of *poḍhi* belong to the late 2nd and 3rd century CE.

Why are a majority of the early donors traders, foreigners or nuns in this case? Was it related to their socio-economic status? But no literary source suggests that donation of water is one of the tools for upward social mobility or to gain a special social credit. In case of Kanheri also there is no donor who stays in the nearby villages but hails from the cities like Sopara or Kalyan.

In the later caves at Kanheri, i.e. from Phase II onwards, one can see the donations of water cisterns but due to lack of epigraphical evidence one has no access to any information about the donors. Most of these inscriptions must have been in paint on plaster.

Southern hill evinces a great example of rainwater harvesting. The entire hill is covered with a network of small channels varying in depth from one inch to eight inches and 2 inches to 10 inches in breadth. It begins from smaller tanks on top of the southern hill and reaches the uppermost layer of the caves. These caves have water cisterns which store rainwater. They are provided with special water inlets, which are connected to the network of channels from their other end. These channels are spread mainly on the northern and western slopes of the southern hill. They collect rainwater on the hill surface and channelize it to the water cisterns in the caves of the uppermost layer in the rainy season. Almost every cistern in the two upper layers has a water outlet. When a cistern gets filled and overflows, these outlets divert the water to the network of channels on the lower level leading to the cisterns in second layer caves. In 3rd and 4th century CE water inlets were modified and also used as water outlets. It shows the advancement in the architectural techniques.

There are two types of cisterns in the early period.

Type I: Water cisterns in open courtyard.

Type II: Water cisterns in recesses along the wall of the courtyard.

Third century onwards most of the water cisterns are of Type II. All the cisterns of both the types have a provision for a wooden lid. This rainwater harvesting mechanism is still active. These cisterns are now used to fetch water or to store the water by forest dwellers as well as the staff of ASI at the site. Similar systems of collecting water through the water channels and giving an outlet to the water cisterns is followed in the middle and lower layers of the caves. From the cisterns in the lowest layer, the excess water was channelised to the water stream. More or less similar systems can be seen at Mahakali (Kondivate) caves though it is developed later than Kanheri.

This network of channels to collect rainwater is well planned and was part of the planning of the monastic establishment from a very early period at Kanheri, the date of which goes back at least to the late 2nd or early 3rd century CE. A group of caves numbering from 61 to 66 help us to fix the date of this above mentioned system. These caves are in the middle layer on the southern hill. Caves no. 65 and 66 are architecturally identical caves. Though both fall into the same chronological frame, cave 65 is slightly earlier than cave 66, as suggested by water cisterns in their courtyard. Firstly the cistern in cave no. 66 is slightly shifted to the right because of the cistern in cave 65 which existed earlier; secondly cave no. 66 cuts the main channel which links the inlet of the cistern of cave 65 and the network of the channels on the top of the hill. Adjustments made in the channel and the water leakage in the courtyard of cave 66 in the rainy season can be easily noticed. This evidence suggests that the network of channels was part of the original architectural planning of the monastery.

Ancient people also used these rainwater-harvesting channels very efficiently in summer. This mechanism helped them to refill the cisterns in summer. These channels are connected to the water tanks on top of the southern hill as mentioned above. When the stored water in these tanks was allowed to flow, most probably with the help of machines, the channel system got re-activated to fill the water cisterns.

II

On one of the boulders near cave no. 41, there is an inscription, paleographically dated to the late 2nd century CE or early 3rd century CE, mentioning a donation of *'Talaka'* at Kanheri (Gokhale S., 1991: 81). At present no reservoir can be seen at the site. But the remains of two stonewalls in the stream are not far from the boulder in its northern direction. Not only early caves but also the important caves in the later phase, such as cave 11 and 41 are along the stream. Rather, cave no. 41 with the image of the eleven-headed Avalokiteśvara is very close to the reservoir walls.

Construction of reservoirs was very well known to ancient Indians. Dr. Shobhana Gokhale says (1991: 84-86), "In ancient India, the Achamenian tradition made a deep impact on the Mauryan architecture, but so far as dam construction is concerned, it seems to have depended on indigenous skill. The famous dam at Junagadh was constructed during the reign of Candragupta Maurya. It was adorned with conduits during the reign of Asoka when Yavana Tusaspa was the governor of Saurashtra. One is tempted to grant the credit for that engineering feat to the Śaka governor who might have travelled over up to Kanheri. But it is to be noted that the principle of inletting and out-letting excess water and building of embankments was known even to the Indus people of Lothal. It can, therefore, be said that the engineering technique of dam construction was known in Maharashtra in early 2nd century AD."

In this connection, one should remember that from the excavations at Inamgaon, conducted by Deccan College, Pune, a chalcolithic period habitation has revealed the evidence of a fully developed irrigation system and the construction of bunds. Construction of reservoirs, tanks and *puṣkariṇis* was very well known to ancient Indian engineers. There are references to *puṣkariṇi* and *taḍāga* in ancient literature like *Gāhāsattasai, Mahābhārata, Bṛhatkathā,* etc. The Mathura stone slab inscription (Jain mound) dated to the Kuṣāṇa period talks about the donation of a *puṣkariṇi* and *udapāna* (reservior) (Lüder's List no. 82). Another inscription placed in the Mathura Museum refers to a *puṣkariṇi* (Lüder's List no. 149[b]). We know that the trade route which links Kanheri with Central Asia passes through Mathura (Pandit S., 2006: p.222-234). The best example of ancient water engineering is a water tank and the purification system unearthed from Shringaverpur near Allahabad by archaeologists, which can be dated to at least 2nd-3rd century CE.

The minister of Vasiṣṭhiputra Sātakarṇi's wife, the daughter of Mahākṣatrapa Rudra(daman), has donated a water cistern at Kanheri (inscription in cave no. 5). This is the same Rudradaman who repaired the Sudarśana dam and got engraved an inscription at Junagadh. King Khāravela, who is the subject of the eulogy in the Hathigumpha cave near Bhubaneswar, in his 5th year of rule, got repaired an aqueduct *(panadi)* (Lüder's List no. 1345).

After the fall of Sātavāhanas in early 3rd century CE, many small kingdoms emerged in the Deccan. One of them was of King Hariputa Viṇhukaḍa Cuṭukulānanda Sātakarṇi. Banavasi stone inscription of a lady from his family named Nāgamulanikā donated a *nāga* figure, a tank *(tadāga)* and a *vihāra.* She has also donated a cave and a cistern at Kanheri (Lüder's List no. 1021 & 1186).

Kanheri is not far from Sopara, a famous port and a trade centre in ancient India. In present day also this city has many tanks and the antiquity of many of those goes back to the Śilāhāra-Yādava period. Uṣabhadāta's Nashik cave inscription (V.V.Mirashi,1981: 110-111), dated to the 1st century CE, refers to a donation of a reservoir named 'Rāmatīrtha'. This has been mentioned as Cakreṣvaratīrtha in the Puranic tradition (R.S.Morvanchikar,2006: 68). This Uṣabhadāta was the son-in-law of Kṣatrapa king Nahapana of Gujarat. Our donor at Kanheri is from Sopara. There are many inscriptions and literary references to prove that the work done by Punaka at Kanheri was not an exception. What makes it unique is its nature and antique value. These are the oldest known structural archaeological remains in historical period of the dam in western India. This reservoir at Kanheri is created by constructing walls unlike Ramatirtha at Sopara, which was created by modifying a natural depression.

Stonewalls here are constructed on a small stream flowing between the northern and the southern hills. This has converted the catchment area of the stream into a reservoir. The highest hill among the three, that is, the eastern hill provides the major share of the water through non-perennial waterfalls. There are natural outlets to the reservoir from the southern and northern sides. On the edge of the southern and eastern hills, there is a small natural ravine, which leads to the nearby valley. This valley carries the excess water to Tulsi and Vihar lakes. Similarly a small natural ravine carries excess water from the northern side to the Dahisar river. The height of the walls is measured with reference to the height of this ravine.

These two walls, each measuring approximately 32m x 2.75m x 4m, are constructed in stone and rubble (Fig. 4.1, 4.2 and 4.3). These stones are cut from the slope of the northern and southern hills. Evidence of this activity can be seen near the path leading to cave no. 49 and 50 from the dam. It was considered a perfect structure of a dam as it was functioning till the 14th - 15th century CE.

Fig. 4.2 : 2nd wall of the Dam
Photo Courtesy Suraj Pandit

Fig. 4.3 : Section of the Dam
Photo Courtesy Suraj Pandit

There is a conduit excavated beneath the 1st wall in the bedrock of the dam measuring 1.7m x 1.75m x 1m. It actually functions like a window of the dam. This was covered with a stone slab, above which a wall was constructed. (Figure 4.4) A vertical stone block was used for blocking the outlet.
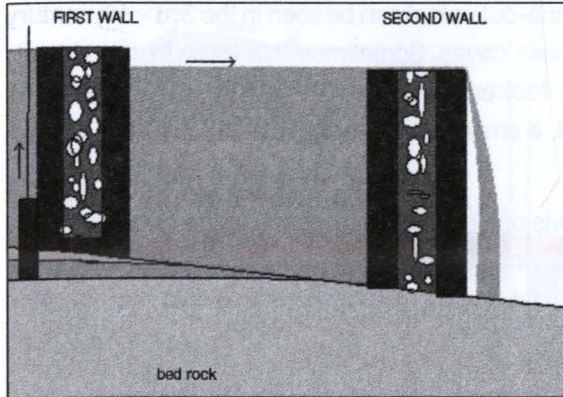
Hypothetical Reconstruction of the Dam
(Fig. 4.4)

Fig. 4.6 : Details of the joints of the Dam
Photo Courtesy Suraj Pandit

This water was stopped later at the second wall. This has converted a non-perennial water stream into a perennial one in the form of a reservoir.

Vasantagad inscription of Pūrṇāpala dated to 12th August 1042 CE talks about specifications for the stone masonry of a *prāsāda* for the Sun god and masonry for the dam. The inscription states (R.P.Kulkarni, 1998: p.28.):

1. The joints should be of the best quality. Joints in the masonry of a temple as well as dam are the weak elements in a stone-masonry. (Fig. 4.5 and 4.6)

2. The stone masonry should be constructed of properly dressed large stones.

3. It should look beautiful.

4. The stone used in masonry should be dressed to uniform size of approximately equal dimensions, similar to those of bricks.

5. Masonry should be stable.

6. The stones used should have uniform thickness throughout.

All these characteristics can be noticed in the reservoir walls at Kanheri. Though this inscription is of a later date, this is the only epigraphical evidence which provides such details of the architecture of reservoir wall.

The technique of construction and functioning makes the dam unique. A section of the second broken wall can be studied. Each wall comprises two stonewalls and the space in between was filled with rubble.

III

This part of the paper will shed light on a peculiar feature of the benches found in 3rd - 4th century CE caves and also on a tank which is referred to as *'nhaṇa podhi'* in the inscriptions at Kanheri.

Alongside the bench in the court, a basin-like stone-cut vessel can be seen in the 3rd - 4th century CE caves. This has become a unique feature of these caves. Sometimes this basin is prominently placed at the centre in front of the bench near the footrest in the courtyard. (Fig 4.7) In cave 99, although there is hardly any place in the courtyard, a small bench and this basin has been placed. There are many such examples at the site.

What can be the probable reason for such provisions? Though the bench in the courtyard is an early architectural feature, this basin is an additional one. This exercise shows some special efforts. Till date, no work of an earlier scholar has shed any light on this. Even epigraphical data has not given any particular name to this architectural feature.

Vinayapiṭaka gives details of the code of conduct for monks. The daily schedule of the monks has been described in very minute details. A section of *Mahākhaṇḍaka* of *Mahāvagga* in *Vinayapiṭaka* describes the duties of a good disciple. *Vinayapiṭaka* specifies the number of students under a particular teacher *(ācārya)*. There are certain rules given in a section of *Vinaya*, which talks about *'upasampadā'* (Sānkṛtyāyana R., 1994: p. 100-103). It says, 'A disciple of an *ācārya* should extend a vessel full of water before and after the meals, whenever the *ācārya* enters the *vihāra* or whenever he expects the same from the disciple.' The list goes on for many paragraphs.

We know that teacher's tradition has left a great impact on the art, architecture and inscriptions at Kanheri. Around 64 memorial *stūpas* and around 25 inscriptions in cave 87 witness the teacher's tradition at Kanheri.

This forces us to think about the applications of *Vinaya* rules. Most probably these stone vessels were made to store water for the teacher staying in a particular vihāra cave. This is just a hypothesis proposed on the basis of literary sources about the function of these rock-cut vessels.

There is an inscription at Kanheri in cave no. 75, paleographically dated to the 3rd century CE which refers to a donation of *'nhāṇa poḍhi'* made by Lavanika, wife of a lay follower *sethi* Acala. This tank is not far from the cave and was used for bathing purpose as mentioned in the inscription. There are two small steps made from one of the smaller sides of the tank. There is one more similar tank near cave no. 69. Architectural similarities in these two tanks suggest that they were used for bathing purpose. Both must be of the same period.

A provision is made near cave no 25 in the lowest layer of the caves to block the stream with wooden plaques and to fetch the water. This was most probably for bathing and washing clothes or vessels. The exact date of this feature can not be given due to lack of sufficient data. It can be placed more or less contemporary to the dam around the late 2nd century CE.

Today there is a bridge constructed by the Archaeological Survey of India to cross the water stream which is swamped in rainy season. Near cave no. 5, there is a flight of steps which can be seen leading to the shallow ravine made by the stream, near the waterfall. Provision of a wooden bridge was made here in ancient times. A flight of steps comes to the same place from the northern hill, which leads to the group of caves from 13 to 19. At the end of these two rock-cut-staircases, one can notice four square post
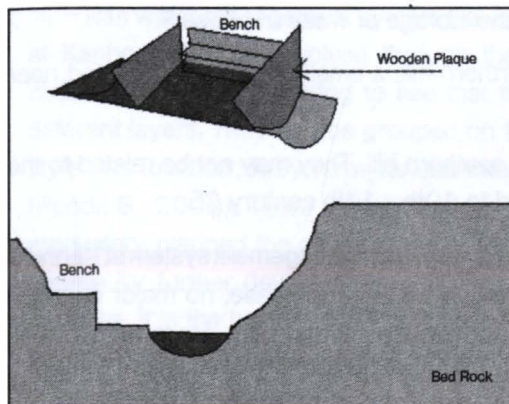
Hypothetical Reconstruction of Bathing Place

Fig 4.8
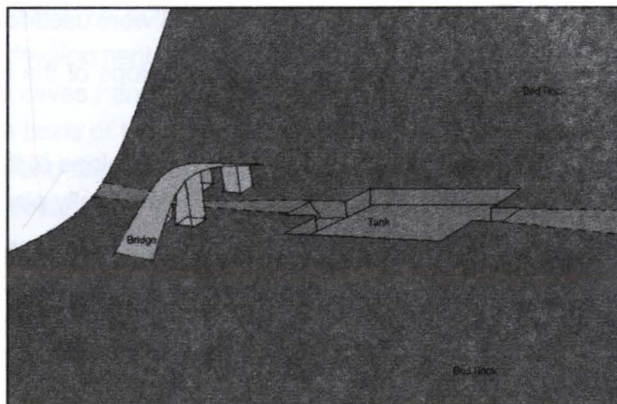
Hypothetical Reconstruction of Bridge

Fig 4.9

holes. Just before that in the stream, below the modern metal bridge, there is a small rock cut shallow tank. These four post holes indicate the provision for a temporary wooden bridge. *(See Fig. 4.10)*. The purpose of the shallow water tank before the bridge is to create an obstacle in the energetic flow of the water when the water was allowed to flow from the dam. This is the only place on the stream where any bridge can be constructed. There is also a flight of steps from the southern slope to the shallow tank to fetch the water. All these staircases were provided with wooden railings. (See Fig. 4.8, 4.9)

IV

This was an humble attempt to present the data related to the water management system at Kanheri. This data reveals a few interesting facts as follows:

1. No early caves in the eastern hill at the site, which can be dated to 1st century BCE and beginning of 1st century CE, have water cisterns.

2. All these caves are along the non-perennial water streams.

3. Water cisterns are introduced at the site only in the 2nd century CE.

4. Almost all the caves dated from 2nd century CE onwards have water cisterns.

5. Reservoir was constructed in late 2nd or early 3rd century CE.

6. Donations of fields were given in the 2nd century CE. (Gokhale S., 1991:p.75 and also see inscriptions in caves no. 16 and 21 at Kanheri).

7. In late 2nd century CE, a network of channels for rainwater harvesting was designed and applied.

8. In 2nd-3rd century CE smaller tanks on the top of the southern hill were excavated.

9. In early 3rd century CE, the first bathing tank was excavated.

10. Second phase caves follow the same tradition of hydraulic architecture of phase 1 caves.

11. A few unfinished caves like cave 28 were used for the storage of water in phase II.

12. In 10th century CE, on the eastern slope of the northern hill, a small tank was excavated near a temple.

13. There are four big tanks on the eastern slope of the southern hill. They may not be related to the monastic complex but can be chronologically placed to 10th - 11th century CE.

This is a brief chronological sketch of the development of the water management system at Kanheri. It shows that in the 2nd phase, no major changes were introduced in the system. More emphasis is given on the maintenance of the existing system. But in the third phase of chronology, a small tank was excavated near the temple. In this case, the location of this tank is very important.

Fig 4.11; Water Tank at Magathane
(Courtesy AIIS)

Caves at Magathane near Kanheri, for instance, reveal interesting evidence. There are no water cisterns near the cave site at Magathane, one of the satellite settlements of Kanheri. These caves are stylistically dated to early 6th century CE. In the vicinity of the caves, rather in the common open court of these caves, a big tank was excavated (Fig. 4.11, Photo Courtesy AIIS). Apart from this a smaller tank, having water springs within, was excavated in the main hall of the cave.

Kanheri was a major monastic centre which emerged in the 1st century BCE. The monastery at Sopara must have sown the seeds of the Buddhist faith in the remote areas of 'Kṛṣṇagiri' (Pandit S, 2006 A: 353-385). Early caves at the site do not have water cisterns; rather they are placed along the non-perennial water streams. It reminds us of a *Vinaya* rule about *Vassavāsa* (Sanskrityayana R., 1994: p.171-184). It specifies that in the first or the last three months of the rainy season, monks should stay in one place. This stay is known as *Vassavāsa*. Most probably these early caves were made for those monks who used to observe *Vassavāsa* i.e. they used to stay in one place only in the rainy seasons. It is possible that a few of them, may be elderly ones, stayed at Kanheri permanently from 2nd century onwards, and might have been caretakers of the site and the administrators of the *Sangha*. Fa-hsien also refers to travelling monks in his account (Giles H. A., 1959 (third impression):P.4.). It is quite possible that there were two groups of monks. One may have settled at one place and the other might be of wanderers. It is because of the settled monks that water cisterns were excavated at the site from 2nd century CE onwards.

Now it is suggested that the climatic changes in late 3rd century CE caused the fall of urbanisation worldwide. It has adversely affected the monasteries in Western India. It is the water management system which must have supported the site to survive and grow in this difficult phase.

This water management system played a vital role in the development of the monastic settlement at Kanheri. This has evolved through the development and contribution of various *nikāyas* and *ācāryakulas*. It is interesting to see that the caves here are spread over the southern hill in three different layers. They can be grouped on the basis of their chronological framework as well as their style and location. They form various interesting clusters mainly because of their *nikāya* affiliation. (Pandit S., 2008). There was a need for a better place to excavate caves in such clusters. So the monastery planned the caves in the upper two layers on the southern hill. It is vital to tap the water source for further development and in case of absence of natural resource, create artificial water storages. It is the brilliant water management which caused the monastery to spread and grow. The growth of these *nikāyas* ultimately resulted into the evolution of the monastery at Kanheri into a Buddhist educational centre.

Initially water was given utilitarian importance. Collection and storage of water was critical for survival. In the Indian tradition water is considered equivalent to life itself. Water symbolises sanctity. Early monastic establishment at Kanheri developed into an educational centre and then to a sacred place (Pandit S., 2005: 64-71).

A Nepalese manuscript dated to 1015 CE of *Aṣṭasahasrikaprajñāpāramita* illustrates two *stūpas* from Kanheri (Leese M., 1983, p.2 also p.10 - footnote 1). This is reflected in the water architecture. Water tanks at Magathane and near the temple remains on the northern hill of Kanheri suggest the same.

Water structures at Kanheri began from the non-perennial water source and ended into a sacred water resource, which was perennial.

It is believed that the large tanks on the top were a part of some fort. Kanheri played an important role in the political history of Śilāhāras. A text called *Kumārapālacarita* talks about a war between Cālukya (Gujarat) King named Kumārapāla and a Śilahāra King called Mallikārjuna (C1155-1170 CE). In *Prabandhaciñtamani* of Merutungācarya, details of this war are given which are not there in *Kumārapālacarita*. Though one can always challenge this legend as recorded in the later period, it cannot be overlooked, as it is one of the major literary sources of medieval history. Kumārapāla's commander Ambada was defeated by Mallikārjuna, and took shelter at Kṛṣṇagiri, i.e. Kanheri. After receiving help from Kumārapāla, he again attacked Mallikārjuna's territory and won the war. There is another reference to Kanheri as a political centre from the text called *Mahikavatichi Bakhar*, which gives us details of the political scenario of about 10th-11th century CE. This text talks about Raja Bimba who stayed at Kanheri and assigned duties to his officers (Rajwade V. K., 1924: 34 ff.).

We may thus conclude that the ancient people at Kanheri had understood that water is the source of life, as it is reflected in their water architecture, which reveals the changes in monastic structure, Buddhist faith and changing socio-economic and political scenario at the site.

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Table I

Caves and Cisterns.

Cave No.	Cisterns.	Cave No.	Cisterns.
1	--	51	01
2	03	52	01
3	02	53	01
4	--	54	01
5	01*	55	--
6	01	56	--
7	02	57	01
8	02*	58	01
9	01+ tank	59	01
10	01	60	01
11	01	61	--
12	01	62	01
13	--	63	--
14	--	64	01
15	--	65	01
16	--	66	01
17	02 small tanks	67	01
18	--	68	--
19	--	69	01
20	--	70	--
21	01	71	--
22	01	72	--
23	--	73	01
24	--	74	01
25	01	75	01

26	01		76	01
27	01		77	01
28	--		78	01
29	--		79	01
30	01		80	01
31	01		81	01
32	01		82	--
33	--		83	--
34	01		84	--
35	--		85	01
36	--		86	--
37	--		87	--
38	--		88	01
39	01		89	01
40	--		90	--
41	01		91	--
42	--		92	--
43	--		93	01
44	--		94	--
45	--		95	--
46	--		96	01
47	--		97	--
48	--		98	01
49	01		99	01
50	01		100	01
			101	01

• One large cistren with two mouths.

Table III

Inscriptions referring to the donations of cisterns and tanks from Kanheri.

No.	Cave No.	Date	Donor	Donation of	Notes
1.1	2	2nd century CE.	Samidatta	Cistern	•• The donor is the goldsmith from Kalyan. •• Meritorious gift together with the community of ascetic and lay brothers.
2.1	2	2nd century CE.	Punavasu	Cistern	•• Donor is the son of a trader Cita from Kalyan
3.1	3	2nd century CE.		Some addition in Kanheri Caitya with permanent endowment.	•• Three cells at Sopara. •• Caitya and cells at Ambalikavihara. •• Caitya & 13 cells at Paithan.
4.1	5	2nd century CE (Sanskrit)	Sateraka	Cistern	•• Amatya of queen of Vasisthiputra Satakarni. •• She is the daughter of Mahaksatrapa Rudra.
5.1	7	2nd century CE	Samika	Water-tank	•• Lay worshipper. •• Merchant of Sopara.
6.1	7	2nd century CE	Sulasadatta.	Water cistern	•• Son of goldsmith Rohinimitra. •• Resident of Chemula (Chaula).
7.1	22	2nd century CE		Cistern	•• Donation is by nun (pavajita).
8.1	32	2nd century CE.	Dharma	A cave, a cistern, benches for sitting, a chair and flight of stairs. Permanent endowment for clothes (16Ks.), almsbowl & shoes (1 Ks.). *Ks: -Karshapanas.	•• The son of Shivamitra, an inhabitant of Kalyan being associated with Budhaka and his whole family. •• Some amount has kept for •• repair in cave. Also records the donation of Gandharikabhami & dining hall at Kalyan. •• A permanent endowment has been given for dwelling house in the 'Mukudasivayiva'

9.1	Opposite 41.	2nd century CE (?)	Punaka.	Construction of reservoir.	•• Inhabitant of Sopara.
10.1	50	3rd century CE		Cave. & Cell	•• For sect Bhadrayanias. •• Merit gained by donor's mother Nandinika. •• A gift of a cell by his wife Damila •• A share of merit gained by his sons, nephew Aryaghosa, and daughter Sangha- devanika. and the whole community.
11.1	54	200 CE	Theri Ponakisana.	Cistern 200Kars-hapanas.	•• She is a pupil of Thera Ghosa. •• With her monk sister and brother. •• 1/16 share of permanent endowment (each month.) for Civaras. •• For happiness and welfare of the whole world.
12.1	59	200 CE	Kanhna.	A cave, a cistern, a hall. Also permanent endowment.	•• Refers to Thera Halaka. •• 12th share of endowment is for clothes.
13.1	64	2nd century CE		Cave & Cistern.	•• Donor is the daughter of Samaka.
14.1	65	2nd century CE	Sapa (Sarpa.)	Cave & Cistern. Permanent endowment.	•• She was a female ascetic. •• Pupil of Thera Bodhika. •• Kulapriya, daughter of inhabitant of Dhenukatak. With her sister Ratinika. •• 1/16 share of permanent endowment (each month.) for Chivaras. •• For the benefit of her parents.
15.1	73	200 CE.	Risipala.	A cave, a cistern. Perpetual endowment of a field in village Saphau (Saphale)	•• Donor is a merchant & also a son of merchant Golanaka, from Kalyan. •• Refers to the minor repairs in mandapa and pravada.

Photo 4.1: 1st Wall of the Dam

Photo 4.5: Details of the joints of the Dam

Photo 4.7 Bench with Stone Vessel, Cave 101

Fig 4.10 Post holes for ancient Bridge and rock-cut steps

Photo 5.4 Hemachandra Acharya compiling the grammar

Photo 5.5 : The Siddha-Hema grammar carried in a procession by Maharaja Jaisimha. Illustration from a thirteenth century Palm Leaf manuscript preserved at Hemachandra Gyana Bhandara, Patan.
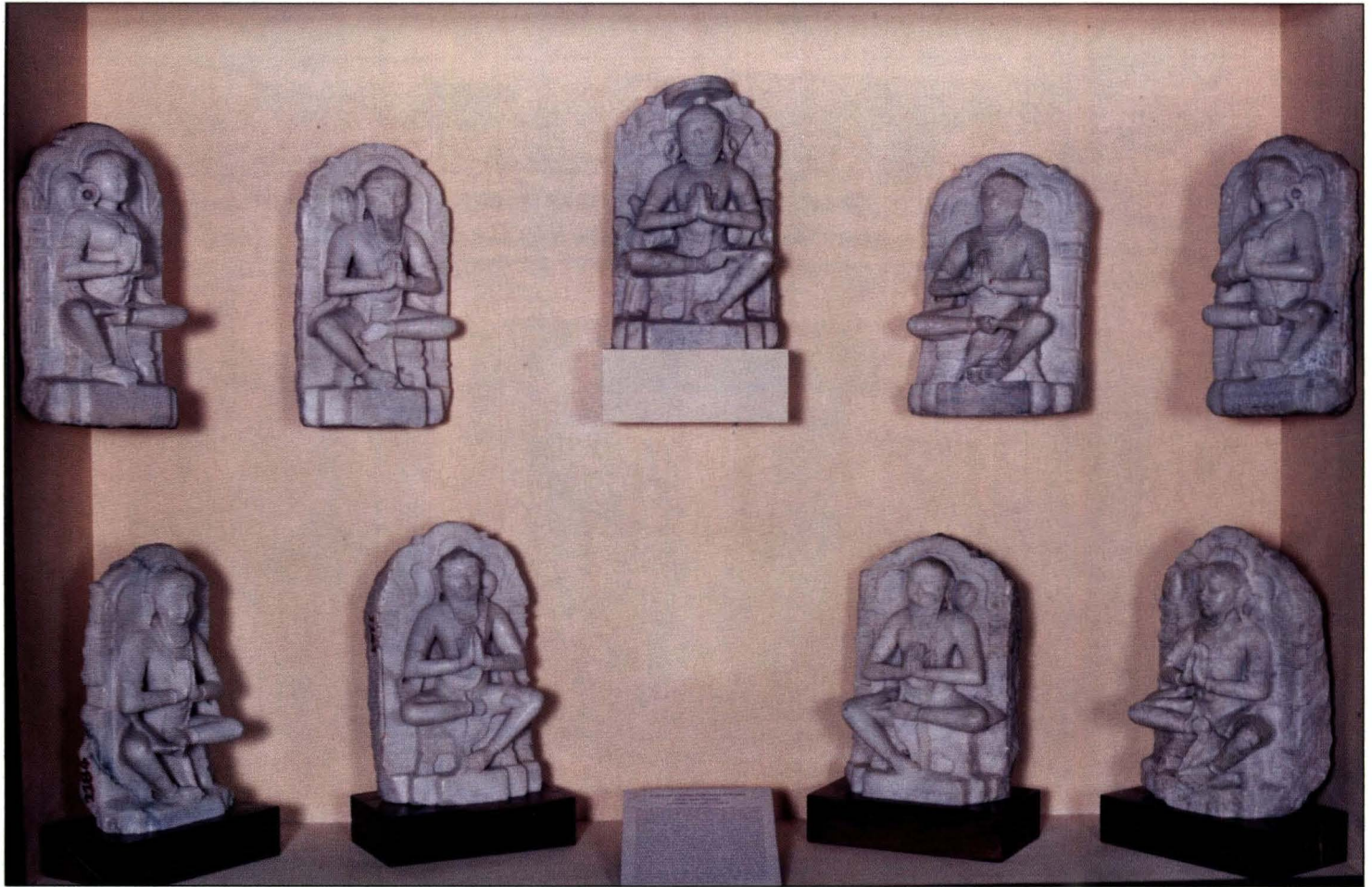
Photo 5.7 ; Group of portrait statues

Photo 8.3 ; Shiva Temple in the centre of Causatha Yogini Temple, Mitaoli

16.1	75	3rd century CE.	Lavani-ka.	Cave & Cistern & Tank for bath & 300 Karshpanas	•• Wife of upasaka sethi Acala, resident of Kalyan.
					•• Reference of Ambalika vihar, where permanent endowment was given for Civaras, by Lavanika.
17.1	81	200 CE	Pusamita.	Cave & cistern.	•• He is a sethi.
18.1	88	200 CE	Mitanakasa.	Cave, cistern & perpetual endowment.	•• He is a monk.
19.1	93	200 CE	Pavajita Jamadevika.	Cistern.	•• No reference of teacher's name.
					•• Her father is Sivatana.
20.1	98	200 CE	Damila	Cave & Cistern.	•• She is Bhojika of Konkan.
					•• Inhabitant of Kalyan.
21.1	98	200 CE	Damila	Cave & Cistern.	•• She is mentioned here as an ascetic.
					•• Inhabitant of Kalyan. (Records the same donation as mentioned in inscription no. 16).

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Patronage: Ministers, Intellectuals, Businessmen and Jaina Ācāryas

5

Ratan Parimoo

1: Bilhaṇa and Karna Deva Solanki

This chapter attempts to reconstruct the consistent involvement of Jaina *ācāryas*, minister-intellectuals, and businessmen-patrons with Sanskrit learning, manuscript writing and commissioning of paintings illustrating diverse range of thematic texts, in Gujarat from the eleventh to the fifteenth centuries. Significantly, this is the period of growth of Prakrit, *apabhraṁśa* and old *Gujarāti* languages. The immense support for temple architecture is extensively documented through numerous inscriptions. Nearly a dozen portrait statues of donors (including Vimala Shah, Vastupāla and others) are installed in the Mount Abu temples, representing an extra-ordinary three-dimensional record of patronage.[1] The patrons hailed from Gujarat and belonged to the Prāgvāt (Porvād) community. They were primarily businessmen and many of them were selected as ministers by Solanki and Vaghela Kings.[2]
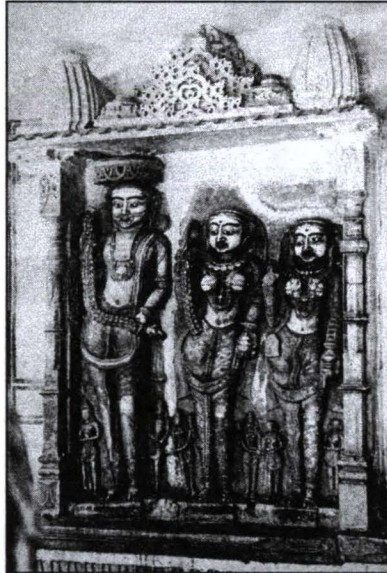
Photo 5.1 : Vastupāla and his two wives, Lalitā Devi and Vejala Devi, Hastiśālā. photo courtesy R.Parimoo

:

The *Caurapañcāsikā* paintings are located and preserved in the N.C. Mehta Collection in Gujarat. However, the vital information, that its author, the Kashmiri Sanskrit poet, Bilhaṇa had stayed in Patan (Gujarat) for some years during the second half of the eleventh century, has been missed out.[3] Bilhaṇa is chronicled in the life events of Śankuka (also called Sampatkar and Santu) who was a minister off Siddharāja Jaisimha, the most powerful ruler of the Solanki dynasty.[4] Santuka was appointed as a senior minister earlier during the reign of Karṇa Deva. This has been noted in the play *Karṇasundari*, compiled by Bilhaṇa, which he wrote while residing in Patan. He was also the author of *Vikramāṅkadevacarita* and *Caurapañcāsikā*, also titled *Bilhaṇapañcāsikā*.[5] *Karṇasundari* was performed on the occasion when the minister Sampatkar organized the Ādināth pilgrimage celebration in the Śrīśāntyutsavagraha at Patan.[6] In his preface to the play, Bilhana has compared the minister Shantu with the character of Yaugandharāyaṇa, who was the minister of Vatsarāja. Although Bilhaṇa was a Brahmin, in the *mangalācaraṇa* (opening prayer) he has composed a *stuti* for *'Jineśvara'* in deference to the patronage given to him by Santu. Santu is praised in many other historical and semi historical descriptions which signify his prestige and influence during his life time. Santu Mehta was born in Vadodara and according to an inscription, it was here that he, along with Sajjana, organised a *rathayātra*.[7]

Photo 5.2 Maharaja Jayasimhadeva 1228 AD
portrait statue ; photo courtesy R. Parimoo

Photo 5.3 Shantuka, 1228 AD
portrait statue ; photo courtesy R. Parimoo

Bilhaṇa composed the *Karṇasundari* during the second half of the 11th century, probably between 1070 and 1078 C.E. This play is based on the love story of Karṇa and Mayanallā to whom was born the great Siddharaja Jaisimha. Subsequently Bilhaṇa may have decided to leave Patan and go on a pilgrimage to Somnath. He took the sea route (perhaps via Khambhat) to Konkan in the south, travelling to several royal courts. Eventually he received patronage from the Raja of Kalyan, Tribhuvanamalla nee Vikramāditya. Bilhaṇa compiled a *kāvya* on the reign of his mentor, *Vikramāṅkadevacarita*, in which he has described his stay in Gujarat as well as his ancestors and birthplace in Kashmir. Bilhaṇa's *Caurapañcāśikā* was known in Gujarat during the fifteenth century when an old Gujarāti version of the poem and poet's life was compiled under the title *Śaśikalāvirahapratāpa.* A Jaina author, Jñāna Ācārya, rendered *Bilhaṇa Kāvya* and *Śaśikala Kāvya* into *Apabhraṁśa* language.[8]

2: Hemacandrācārya

Hemacandrācārya, the scholar par excellence, is associated with both the powerful rulers of Solanki dynasty, namely Siddharāja Jaisimha and his successor, Kumārapāla.[9] Influenced and inspired by Malwa rulers' patronage of the arts and learning, Siddharaja Jaisimha brought over to Patan the entire Malwa library which was based in Dhara. He engaged a team of three hundred calligraphers and assigned them to write and copy manuscripts of all canonicals, philosophical and literary treatises with the aim of setting up a royal library of palm-leaf manuscripts. The greatest scholar during the reigns of Siddharāja Jaisimha and his successor Kumārapāla, was Hemacandrācārya, who was the pivot, fervently devoted to literary activities and Sanskrit learning, along with his group of talented disciples. Siddharāja Jaisimha's wish that Gujarat should be able to have an independent grammar text parallel in scholarly stature to King Bhoja's treatise, *Sarasvati Kaṇṭhabharaṇa*, was fulfilled by Hemacandra which was titled *Siddhahaima Śabdānuśāsana*. It must have been completed earlier than V.S.1199 (1142 C.E.), that is some time before Siddharāja Jaisimha's death. In his *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*, Merutunga has described the significance that Mahārāja Jaisimha attached to this scholarly treatise that he himself carried it in a procession on an elephant's back to the Rāyavihara temple.[10] *Illustration of a) Hemacandra Ācārya compiling the grammar, b) The Siddha-Hema grammar carried in a procession by Mahārāja Jaisimha. Illustration from a thirteenth century Palm Leaf manuscript preserved at Hemachandra Gyana Bhaṇḍara, Patan.*

The ācārya had also accompanied the king for a pilgrimage to Somnath. It is significant to note that as many as eight Sanskrit grammars had been obtained from Kashmir for consultation. The king commissioned hundreds of manuscript copies of Hemacandrācārya's treatise on grammar which were distributed among students and sent as gifts to different countries. Hemacandra's Sanskrit grammar is still popular with Jaina scholars. Among other poets who received patronage were Rāmacandra, Śrīpāla (a childhood friend who also happened to be blind) and Vāgbhat, besides Jayamangal and Vardhamān Suri, both of whom wrote on literary criticism and *vyākaraṇa*. Hemacandra was accepted as his guru by Kumārapāla and undertook the responsibility as the chief planner and executor of his master's ambition of cultural and educational pursuits. In his epic poem *Kumārapāla Carita*, also known as *Dvyāśraya Kāvya*, which is written in two languages, Sanskrit and Prakrit, Hemacandrācārya has proved himself as a poet and a grammarian and as a historian

to an extent. The poem describes the history of Cālukyas of Anhilawada and more especially of Kumārapāla, his patron, but at the same time it is intended to illustrate the rules of his own Sanskrit and Prakrit grammars. His immense contribution to Prakrit language is his Prakrit *Vyākaraṇa* and *Deśīnāmamālā*. For the benefit of the young pundits he supplemented his grammatical guides with a treatise on the theory of *Alaṁkāras* and literary criticism based on the works of such authorities as Ānandavardhana, Mammaṭa and Rājaśekhara.

His magnum opus in his old age is *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita* written in response to Kumārapāla's plea to write a religious discourse for the benefit of persons like him. His Jaina compendium has been compared with the epic of *Mahābhārata*, applying to it the same metaphor which was coined for the Hindu epic. viz. 'what it does not contain is not found anywhere'.[11] Hemacandra is often referred to as *Kalikālasarvajña*, the most knowledgeable person in the Kaliyuga.

3: Vastupāla's Intellectual Circle

The period of the Vaghela dynasty rulers, including Bal Mulraj, Bhimdeva II, brother of Bal Mulraj, (last ruler of Solanki dynasty who died in V.S.1298 = 1231 C.E.), Lavana Prasad, Vir Dhaval and Visala Dev, son of Lavana Prasad, represents a continuation of the glorious era of Sanskrit learning in Gujarat.[12] Vastupāla and Tejpāla were Porwāl Vaniya by caste who were the principal ministers of Bhimdev II and emerged as the strong pillars of the subsequent Vaghela Kings, Lavana Prasad and Vir Dhaval.[13] Vastupāla died in V.S.1296. Like their Solanki predecessors Vir Dhaval and Visala Dev were emulating the worthy example of the famous Parmara kings of Malwa, Munj and Bhoja, who had associated many learned scholars and poets with their palace courts. The two ministers, Vastupāla and Tejpāla of Vir Dhaval, the eminent ruler of Dholka, were responsible for building up a sustained momentum for scholarly activities. Much of the credit for the literary flowering goes to the personal inspiration provided by Vastupāla. Due to his patronage the town of Dholka emerged as a true centre of knowledge and intellectual pursuits.

Vastupāla was a brave soldier and highly experienced political administrator. He was as much a connoisseur and critic of literature, as a poet himself in the tradition of classical Sanskrit. He composed a *Mahākāvya* entitled *Naranārāyaṇānanda*, recounting the friendship of Kṛṣṇa with Arjuna and their sojourn on the Revataka Hill (Mount Girnar), ending with Arjuna taking away Subhadra.[14] Vastupāla also compiled hymns extolling Ādinātha, lord of Śatruñjaya, and Neminātha, lord of Girnar. He is known to be the originator of many aphorisms *(Subhāsitas)* which are quoted in *Sārangadhara Paddhati*, in the chronicles of Merutunga, and Rājaśekhara, besides the *Prabandha* (chronicles) on Vastupāla compiled by Jinaharṣa.[15]

Vastupāla's poetic genius is typified in the linguistic structure of his aphorisms. Thus, his contemporary poets gave him the epithets; 'bearded Sarasvati' or 'son of Sarasvati'. For extending inspiring patronage to the poets he was appreciated as 'junior Bhojarāja' (after Bhoja of Parmara dynasty). In his literary circle he encouraged the royal priest Someśvara, Harihara and Nanaka Pandita, Madan, Subhat, Yasovir and Arising.[16] Many Jaina *ācāryas* were closely associated with him such as

Amarcand Suri, Udayaprabha Suri, Naracandra Suri and others. Vastupāla built the Nemināth temple on Mount Abu where his portrait statue with his two queens has been installed.[17]

Someśvara was the royal priest and a close friend of Vastupāla. He was a Brahmin whose ancestors belonged to Vadanagar. Generation after generation they served as royal priests to Solanki *rājās*. Someśvara was the author of many plays viz. *Kirtikaumudi*, *Ullāgharāghava* etc. He composed the text of the *Praśasti* (dedicatory inscription) for the Luna Vasāhi temple constructed to fulfil Vastupāla's religious vows and also the inscription recording his renovation of the temple on the Girnar hill. *Kirtikaumudi* is a tribute offered to his patron, Vastupāla, in which Someśvara also chronicles the history of the *rājās* of the Vaghela dynasty. The literary qualities of these plays reveal the influence of Kālidāsa's style of Sanskrit language. His *Ullāgharāghava* is based on the *Rāmāyana* story and is recorded to have been performed at the Jagatmandir at Dvarika on the day of *Prabodhini Ekādaśi*.

Harihara is associated with having brought *Naiṣadhīyacarita (Naisādh)* to Gujarat.[19] He was often called upon to recite verses from *Naisadh* in the literary sessions held by Vir Dhaval. Subhat was a close friend of Someśvara, whose play *Dutāngada* had been performed in Patan. He had paid tributes to his predecessors, Bhavabhuti and Rajasekhara. Nanak Pandit belonged to a Nāgara Brahmin family of Sanskrit scholars who set up a Sanskrit school at Prabhas in V.S.1328. Yaśovira was another close friend of Vastupāla who had met on the occasion of the dedication ceremony of Neminātha temple at Abu. Yaśovira was an authority on *Śilpaśāstra* and had pointed out some defects in a few images at Abu. Arisingh bestowed *Kāvya-Dīksā* (literary ordination) on the well-known Jaina scholar Amarācandra Suri who was proficient in Sanskrit and had written a treatise on *Alamkāras* and poetics. He wrote the *Padmānanda Kāvya* with descriptions of lives of Tirthankaras to fulfil the appeal of *Padma*, a *Vāyadā Vanika* (businessman) of Patan. Vijayasena Suri was the *kulaguru* of the Vastupāla-Tejapāla brothers. He recorded Vastupāla's name on the renovation of Girnar in V.S.1288. Udayaprabha Suri was the disciple of Vijayasena Suri. He described episodes of Jambhusvami, Neminātha and Ṛṣabha Deva, a copy of which, transcribed on palm leaf, is preserved in Patan. His own hand-written copy is in Khambhat, dated V.S.1290. In his second book he compiled verses on the kings of Anhilawada.[20]

Naracandra Suri had a close association with Vijayasena Suri and his disciples. On the request of Vastupāla he compiled a treatise of many religious stories. He also wrote a treatise on astronomy. He composed the *Prāsasti* concerning Vastupāla's renovation on Girnar.[21] Narendraprabha Suri had been asked to write a book called *Vasanta Vilāsa* for the benefit of Vastupāla's son Jayanta Singh, in which he gave an account of the Solanki and Vaghela dynasties. Jayasimha, who hailed from Bharuch, compiled the account of how Vir Dhaval and Vastupāla repulsed the attacks of Yadavas from southern Gujarat and Muslims from the North. The compilation was called *Hammiramadamardana*.[22]

Māṇṇikyachandra has an honourable place in Indian Sanskrit literature as the author of commentaries on the treatise of Mammaṭa's *Kāvya Prakāśa* in which references are given of other

authorities of Sanskrit poetics such as Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin, Abhinavagupta. Māṇikyacandra also wrote *Śāntinātha Charitra* and *Pārśvanātha Charitra* probably in V.S.1290.

4: Interest and support of Sanskrit in Gujarat: The case history of a Kāvya

The Puranic story of Nala-Damayanti is the subject matter of the great *kāvya* of *'Naiṣadhīyacarita'*, the author of which was Śrīharṣa. It is considered one of the five immortal *kāvyas* of Sanskrit literature. Śrīharṣa was supported by the king of Kanauj and Varanasi during the twelfth century. The author probably composed the book around V.S.1230 = 1174 C.E. Although it was the last of the five *kāvyas*, over the passage of time it gained much respect among students and scholars of Sanskrit literature. Within half a century commentaries and manuscript copies of *Naiṣadhīyacarita* began to be written in Gujarat.[23] Harihara, a descendent of *Śrīharṣa's* family, brought a hand-written manuscript to Gujarat. Soon after his arrival at Dholaka he became a member of the court of Vir Dhaval. The minister Vastupāla intervened so that a rapport was established between Harihara and the court poet Someśvara. Pleased with Harihara's understanding of literature, Vastupāla ordered copies of Śrīharṣa's manuscripts. This must have been carried out before the death of Vastupāla in V.S.1296 = 1239 C.E. A palm leaf manuscript of *Naiṣadha* is preserved in Sanghvi's *Pada Bhandāra* at Patan, written in V.S.1304 = 1247 C.E. during the rule of Visaladeva.   Under instructions of Jinakusala Suri a copy had been prepared in V.S.1378 = 1322 C.E. which is preserved in Jaiselmer, *Bada bhandāra*. The *Sanghvi Pada bhandāra* in Patan has one more manuscript dated V.S.1395 = 1339 C.E. and several undated manuscripts.

It is significant that some of the most authoritative, scholarly and analytical commentaries of *Naiṣadha* have been written in Gujarat. The earliest Gujarati commentators of *Naiṣadha* were Vidyadhara and Chandu Pandit. Vidyādhara's commentary *Shityavidyādhāri* has been mentioned by Chandu Pandit in his commentary dated V.S.1353 = 1297 C.E. Chandu hailed from Dholka, who has enumerated the names of his various gurus in his text. He was also a Vedic scholar and had attained mastery in *Nyāya* (logic) and grammar. In his commentary on *Naiṣadha*, he has given extensive references from various Sanskrit scholars as well as quoted from several treatises including *Nirukta* of Yāska, *Purānas* and works of Kālidāsa and Mammaṭa. His commentary is recognized as a priceless gem of Sanskrit literature in Gujarat. Caritravardhana was a Jaina commentator and pupil of Kharataragaccha Jinaprabha Suri's son Kalyanarāja. A dated (V.S.1511 = 1455 C.E.) copy of his commentary is in Bikaner. He was a scholar commentator of many Sanskrit *kāvyas*. Yet another commentary was written by a Jaina scholar, Jinaraja Suri in V. S.1675 who was a Kharataragaccha Ācārya.

Gīta Govinda in Gujarat

We began this section with the arrival of the author of Sanskrit *kāvyas*, Bilhaṇa, in Patan. We traced the course of *Naiṣadha* in the intellectual circle of Gujarat. We close this section with a reference to the arrival of Jayadeva's *Gīta Govinda* in Gujarat. An inscription of Maharaja Sarangadeva Vaghela of Anahilla Patan dated 1291 C.E. (V.S.1348) found at Anavada opens with Jayadeva's invocation in the forms of his ten incarnations. The *śloka* 16 of *Sarga* I, sums up in one long stanza, the

accomplishments of Kṛṣṇa's ten incarnations to which the devotee is offering his prayer.[25] Previous ten *ślokas* describe stanza by stanza the main event with his adversary in each of the incarnations. This inscription announces the levying of taxes on inhabitants of Palhanpura (Palanpur) for expenses of temple offerings to Kṛṣṇa. The person associated with this decision was Pethad, a businessman from Palanpur. (For more details see the separate note on Pethad Sheth). The town of Palanpur had been founded by Prahalādanadeva Parmara, who was a minister of Ajayapāla, the successor of the Solanki king, Kumārapāla.[26] While the ruler's uncle had favoured Jainism, Ajayapāla's minister Prahalādanadeva himself was a learned person, having authored a *kāvya* in Sanskrit, 'Pārtha Parākrama', describing Arjuna's recovery of the cows of king Virāṭa, in V.S.1220 (= 1164 C.E.). He was the younger brother of the Pāramara ruler of Candravati (Marwar) who was a feudatory of Solanki kings of Gujarat.

Going back to the additional details of the aforesaid inscription, it further explains that the expenses were to be provided for arranging the performances of the *Gīta Govinda*. The inscriptional reference to performances of *Gīta Govinda* is to be understood in terms of dance compositions which necessarily draw our attention to representation of dances so extensively in a number of Jaina manuscript paintings, *Bālagopāla stuti* paintings and the early *Gīta Govinda* of N.C. Mehta Collection.[27] In *Bālagopāla stuti* paintings many folios appear as if they are virtual representation of dancers actually offering prayers to Kṛṣṇa. That a treatise on dance and music (entitled Saṅgītopaniṣatsāroddhāra) should have been compiled during the fourteenth century in Gujarat has its own repercussions.[28] This establishes the importance that was given to Jayadeva's *kāvya* at that point of time in Gujarat. Further it is significant that as many as three handwritten manuscripts have been discovered in Gujarat which are illustrated.[29] Out of these the N.C. Mehta *Gīta Govinda* is the most profusely painted.[30] Unfortunately no historian of Sanskrit literature has explored the continued interest in *Gīta Govinda kāvya* among intellectual circles in Gujarat, parallel with the commentaries written on *Naiṣadhīyacarita*, until the extensive sets of illustrations of *Gīta Govinda* painted in the early sixteenth century.

5: Jaina acāryas and business-men patrons
Ācārya Devendra Suri and palm-leaf manuscript Bhandāras

Jaina chronicles have recorded the active role of several learned *ācāryas* especially from the thirteenth century onwards who are given the epithet of *prabhāvakas*, motivators, to take up sacred acts for the Jaina community. In this phase, we are particularly concerned with the phenomenon of setting up of libraries of hand written manuscripts on palm-leaf. The senior *ācārya* or pontiff, during the middle of the thirteenth century was Devendra Suri of Tapāgaccha and hailed from Khambhat.[31] He was ordained as *ācārya* in V.S.1285 and died in Malwa (or Marwar) in V.S.1327. In Khambhat his chief devotee was the rich businessman Soni Bhima Shah. Devendra Suri was a dynamic personality, learned and effective preacher and compiler of many treatises. In collaboration with another *ācārya*, Vijayachandra Suri, many businessmen families (locally called *seths*) had been motivated to set up *Sarasvati bhandāras* at Mahua, Patan, Vijapur, Khambhat and other towns. The objective was to preserve the Jaina Āgamas for posterity and facilitate access for study. Setting up such knowledge centres for

public utility was the first such initiative in the history of Jainism. Devendra Suri was in Malwa between V.S. 1306 and V.S. 1319, after which he returned to Khambhat. It is said that his *Vyākhyānas* were so impactful that even the minister Vastupāla would seek to listen to his preaching.

Seth Dhinak Porwal was the grandson of Seth Purnadeva, also called Purnasingh. He was a follower of Ācārya Devendra Suri. Inspired by his preaching he commissioned the writing of the manuscript of *Uttarajjayana Sūtta Laghuvritti* in V.S. 1269 and many copies of the text of Anuyogadvāra Sūtta in V.S. 1301. Another donor, Modha, the writing of the text of Amaradevasuri's *Ākhyānamanikosāvritti*, is considered an important treatise. These were deposited in the large *grantha bhandāra* founded by them at Patan. The Jaina community of Dayavata commissioned a wide range of manuscripts and donated to the *grantha bhandāra* of Patan. Simultaneously the Tapāgaccha Sangha established a large *grantha bhandāra* at Dayavata (Diyana) with numerous manuscripts. Among the interesting facts recorded by the Jaina chroniclers is a list of the members of the administrative committee of Jaina *grantha bhandāra*, viz., Paramśrāvaka Shah Ratanpāla, Paramśrāvaka Shah Vilhana, ever ready religious adorer Tha. Aspal and Shah Lahana, the expert in preservation of *Āgama* treatises. In V.S. 1292 they had a meeting at Vijapur along with other community elders.[32] Here it is worthwhile to note that the name of Shah Vilhana is derived from the name of the Kashmirian poet (Bilhaṇa) who had stayed in Gujarat. Shah Vilhana also donated a group of a portrait statues, including that of Maharaja Jayasimha in V.S. 1285 = 1228 C.E. *(See Fig. 5.7 Group of portrait statues)*

Ācārya Jinabhadra Suri

During the 15th century Ācārya Jinabhadra Suri of Kharataragaccha carried out the most significant work of setting up *bhandāras* (repositories) of hand written manuscripts (*granthas*) at different places (Jaisalmer, Devagiri, Sri Patan).[33] According to Jaina textual sources no single individual established so many *bhandāras* as accomplished by him. Innumerable palm-leaf and paper manuscripts for Jaina *Śrāvakas* and *Śrāvikās* have been written and illustrated between *Samvat* 1473 and 1514 in response to the sermonizing engagements of Jinabhadra Suri and his pupils. He was born in V.S. 1450 and ordained as a monk at Delwada in V.S. 1461 and was raised to

Photo 5.6 *Jinabhadra Suri, Colophon page. portrait statue ; photo courtesy R. Parimoo*

the level of ācārya in 1475. He died in V.S.1514 at Kumbhalmer.[34] In one of the characteristic examples dated V.S.1473 = 1416 C.E. and written on paper at Patan, *Ācarya* Jinabhadra Suri is represented seated on a golden lion throne with muhapatti in his right hand, which is a little raised. It illustrates that he is preaching. The subjectmatter of the sermon refers to preservation and upkeep of manuscripts. The pupil seated opposite him holds a palm-leaf in his hands. The fifth and six lines read श्रीप (ख) रतरगच्छेश श्री श्रीजिनभद्रसुरीश्वराणम्। This testifies that this illustration refers to Shri Jinabhadra Suri, at whose instance this manuscript has been written. It is surmised that similar pictures should have been placed at the end of all such manuscripts written under his sponsorship. (This manuscript is preserved at Jira, Panjab).[35]

Palm leaf was primarily used for writing manuscripts till the time of Jinabhadra Suri. A great change of adapting paper exclusively for copying and illustrating manuscripts took place around this period. It is likely that palm leaf material was abandoned due to its paucity and was replaced due to improvement in the technique of paper making at the same time. All the existing established canonical treatises and other texts which were written on palm leaf were now copied on paper. Thus massive renovation of manuscripts was possible in Jaina bhandaras in Gujarat and Rajasthan at the same time. The palm leaf manuscripts in Patan and Khambhat were copied in Gujarat under the initiative of *Tapāgaccha* तपागच्छ *ācārya* Sri Devasundara Suri and Sri Somasundara Suri. At Jaisalmer the copying projects were carried out under the leadership of Sri Jinabhadra Suri. Thus, during the 15th century lakhs of manuscripts were copied and re-edited under the guidance of these *ācāryas*. The Jaisalmer *bhandāra* was considered a safe haven for preservation of manuscripts against the threats of destruction by invaders.

Initiatives during the tenure of Somasundara Suri as pontiff

In the merchant family of Sajjana and his wife Malhanadevi who lived at Palanpur, a son was born in V.S.1430 who was named Soma. He was ordained as monk in his childhood and through diligent study turned into a great scholar so that the title of *Upādhyāya* was conferred on him in V.S.1450, at the age of 20 years. In V.S.1457 he arrived in Devakulapataka (Delwada) and was received with great pomp by Ramadeva and Chanda, the ministers of Lakha Raja. Narasimha Seth (of the Oswal community) organised the function when he was conferred the title *ācārya* by Sri Devasundara Suri. The years from the date of his installation as *ācārya* (pontiff) until his death (V.S.1457-1499 = 1400-1442 C.E.) are known as the period of his rule. He was highly respected and given the status of Gautama Ganadhara, the disciple of Mahāvira and preacher of Jainism after him. Due to his single-mindedness Somasundara Suri proved to be an effective motivator *(prabhāvaka)* of sacred acts. His services in the field of literature are vast. In collaboration with Sri Devendra Suri, he re-edited several palm-leaf manuscripts at Patan and Khambhat. He copied more than a lakh of manuscripts on paper. He cultivated good relations with Muslim rulers to ensure the preservation of places of Jaina pilgrimage and literature. Due to his services and scholarship his period is called *Somasundarayuga*. The implications of a long colophon dated V.S.1473 = 1416 C.E. with the name of the painter, Daiyāka (or Daiyā) inscribed on it (along with the scribe, Soma Simha), are that he represented a major painter from the Patan workshop during the first quarter of the 15th century as the contemporary

of the two great Jaina *ācāryas*. Though, the manuscript was written in Khambhat, the donor *śrāvikā* Demai, was inspired to commission the *Kalpasūtra* after listening to the preachings of Somasundara Suri at Patan.[37]

Historians have calculated that Ahmedabad city was established on *Vaiśākha Sudi* 5, in V.S.1468 that is 1411 C.E. It is implied that the King Ahmed Shah laid the foundation of the fort of Bhadra in that year. According to Jaina tradition, historical nagara praveśa, the auspicious ceremony of entering the town of Ahmedabad for the first time by Gyanasagar Suri and Somasundara Suri, was performed on *Vaiśākha Sudi* 7, Sunday (the date inscribed in a manuscript). The mediator was Sanghapati Gunaraja, who was Ahmed Shah's favourite Jaina community leader.[38] Subsequently many Jaina temples, monasteries (*upāśrāya*) and manuscript libraries (*grantha bhandāras*) were set up in Ahmedabad under their inspiration. Jaina *bhandāras* at Ahmedabad continued to be augmented under the guidance of subsequent *ācāryas* viz. Laksmisagar Suri, Somajaya Suri, Jinamandiragani and Jinamanikya Ganivara. The latter among them was himself, the author of certain texts. The name of the minister of Ahmedabad, Gada Shrimali, is associated with supporting the study of canonical texts in V.S.1528 and reorganization of the manuscript libraries.

Sheth Dharmashi Porvad of Hadala inspired by Somasundara Suri established the large *grantha bhandāra* in Patan. In V.S.1474 he ordered the writing of manuscripts of Jaina *Āgamas* totalling up to one lakh ślokas (verses) and up to the year V.S.1481 further manuscripts were written comprising two lakh verses. In V.S.1479 Govinda Shrimali also commissioned the entire range of *Āgamas* to be copied and preserved at Patan. In V.S.1479 Somasundara Suri led a pilgrimage to Satrunjaya, Girnar and Taranga.[38] At the latter temple an idol of Tirthankara Ajitanāth was undertaken by Govind Sādhu who was the son of multi-millionaire Vatsaraj of Idar. The latter was remembered for the services rendered during a famine.

Women Patrons during the period of Somasundara Suri:

Sādhu Vira belonging to Oswal community was resident of Patan (Sarasvati Patan). He was a large hearted donor who had five good natured and pious-minded sons. Deoo Devi was the wife of the fourth son, Sangram Sinha. Her parents Hira Oswal and Dhamini, were from Nagor. She was religious minded from her childhood. After her marriage she continued to be involved in sacred activities in Patan. She offered seven types of donations. Under the guidance of Somasundara Suri, she set up a *devakulikā* in the temple of Rshabhadeva at Delvada. She also ordered five copies of *Kalpasūtra* to be written on paper under the guidance of the same *ācārya*, for her own well-being. We mention another female donor, Rupal Sundari, belonging to the family of Sheth Vira Porvad of Patan. Inspired by Jnanasundara Suri, she commissioned the manuscript of 'Pauma Chariya' in V.S.1458 which was deposited in the *Sarasvati bhandāra*.

Somasundara Suri's disciple was Jayachandra Suri who was ordained as *ācārya* at Taranga under the tutelage of his guru in V.S.1479. He was a learned teacher of *Kāvya Prakāśa* etc. In V.S.1502 under the inspiration of Jayachandra Suri, Shah Parvata Shrimali established a large *grantha bhandāra* (library of manuscripts) at Patan. He commissioned Jaina and non-Jaina treatises

comprising of lakhs of verses. In V.S.1505 *śrāvikā* Varjani (wife of Vijayapala whose father was Sheth Virdeva Oswal) commissioned along with her father and brother, the writing of the manuscript of *Angavijja Payinnaya.*

Somasundara Suri's Impact outside Gujarat

While the great temple at Ranakapur (Ranpur) was under construction in Marwar, Sri Somasundara Suri was invited by Sanghapati Dharanāsa Porwad, to perform the *Pratiṣṭhā* ceremony of Tribhuvana Dipakavihar in V.S.1496. It is now known as Dharanāvihar. Dharanā's (also Dhanna) ancestors were Sarhadiya Porvad and hailed from Nandiya town in Marwar. Dharanā Shah saw the vision of the Jina *Vihāra* of Siddhapur in his dream and Sutradhāra Dipak of Mundava village was engaged to prepare the design. He in turn based his design on his own vision of the *Trailokyadipaka Prāsād* which was approved by Sheth Dharanashah. In V.S.1496, the four sided (चौमुख, caumukha) images of Rshabhadeva etc. were installed by Somasundara Suri. The temple of Cakreśvari (Śāsan Devi of Rshabhanāth) was also established by Dharanāshah. This decision was inspired by the fact that Vastupāla had ordered the setting up of Padmāvati (Śāsan Devi of Pārāśvanāth) temple at Mount Abu.

In V.S.1471 Sangrām Simha, a Jain millionaire of Mandavgarh (Mandu) commissioned many hand-written manuscripts of *Kalpasūtra* and *Kālakācārya Kathā* in golden and silver ink, which were also illustrated, for the study of monks. For this project he spent lacks of gold coins (*sonaiyano*). This is mentioned in 'Virvamsāvali'.[40] Sangrām Simha Soni carried out this act of merit under the initiation of Somasundara Suri who was invited to spend the monsoon of the year V.S.1470 (1413 C.E.) at Mandavagarh. An elaborate ritual was performed, viz. the recitation of *Bhagavati sūtra*, in which Sangrām Simha's mother and wife had participated. According to the Jaina chronicles, besides this important episode in Mandu, Somasundara Suri had travelled from Patan to Vadodara, Khambhat, Ahmedabad, Visnagar, Vadnagar, etc. In view of certain pictorial developments discernable in some illustrated manuscripts and ascribed to Mandu in 1439 C.E., we should in particular note the interconnectedness among several Jaina *grantha bhandāras* in Gujarat, and neighbouring regions in Rajasthan and Central India. The implications are that the Mandu innovations may not be specific to that region.

Pethad Sheth

The name of Pethad is recorded on the pillar of the *ranga mandapa* of Lunavasahi Temple at Abu. The inscription is dated V.S.1378 = 1321 C.E.[41] Both the Abu Jaina Temples, Vimlavasahi and Lunavasahi, had been destroyed by the armies of Alauddin Khilji around V.S.1366 = 1310 C.E. Pethad (the son of Chand Singh/ Chandra Simha) had donated the money required for the renovation of Neminath Temple (Lunavasahi), the patron of which was the minister Vastupāla. It is interesting to note that another source describes Pethad as the grandson of Vastupāla's elder brother, Malladeva, whose son was Purnasimha. The renovation of Vimalavasahi was supported by Pethad's cousins, Lalla and Vijad. The renovation work was supervised by and such undertakings were described by Jinaprabha Suri from V.S.1349 to V.S.1384 = 1292 C.E. to 1327 C.E. According to a Jaina inscription we have an important date about Pethad Sheth who in V.S.1360 = 1303 C.E., had lead a pilgrimage to

Palitana, Girnar and Prabhas, which is during the last year of the reign of Karnadeva. Pethad belonged to Porvad community and he was the eldest of seven brothers. He was born in Sander, a neighbouring village of Patan, where he constructed a temple of Kshetrapāla. He shifted from Sander and set up another village which may be the present day Vijapur where he installed an image of Mahāvira in his family shrine in V.S.1360. In V.S.1348, Pethad is referred to as head of the five membersá town committee, *Panchakula*, who took the decision of levying taxes on the inhabitants of Palanpura for the rituals and performances of Jayadeva's *Gīta Govinda* at the Kṛṣṇa temple.[42]

Pethad Sheth's fourth generation descendent, Mandlik is recorded to have renovated temples at Satrunjaya, Girnar and Abu and also constructed dharmaśālās. He distributed food among the people during the famine in V.S.1468 = 1411 C.E. One more activity organized by him was the pilgrimage to Satrunjaya in V.S.1477 = 1420 C.E., inspired by the teaching of Jayananda Suri. Mandlik also supported the writing of manuscripts. His two grand children, Parvat and Dungar, celebrated the setting up of a Jina image in V.S.1559 = 1502 C.E. They were at the Gāndhāra port and commissioned the writing of Kalpasūtra manuscripts which were donated to every *upāśraya* (residence of Jaina *ācārya* and place of worship) under the inspiration of Āgamagacchiya Vivekaratna Suri. In V.S.1571 = 1514 C.E., again inspired by Āgamagacchiya Vivekaratna Suri, Parvat and his nephew, Kanha, financed the writing of the entire Jaina *Āgamas* and their names are inscribed in the colophons of the manuscripts.

The above information is compiled by Bhogilal Sandesara.[43] According to Mohanlal Dalichand Desai, Pethad Kumar was the son of a businessman named Deda Shah from Nanduri in Avanti region. He became a successful businessman in Mandapadurga (Mandu) and also turned to Jainism under the preaching of Dhamaghosha Suri in V.S.1330.[44] Motivated by his *ācārya*, Pethad bore the entire expenditure for construction of several Jaina temples in Ujjain and Devagiri. He also set up *grantha bhandāras*. One generation older than the other Pethad Sheth, this Pethad is also known to have been minister of Jaisingh Parmar, the Maharaja of Mandavagarh.[45]

Mantri Vāchāka of Patan

As far as the circumstances of Patan as the centre of Jaina painting are concerned, the name of Mantri Vāchāka occurring in the manuscript colophons as the scribe, through a period of more than three decades, has its own significance. We have already proposed that the painter Daiyā belonged to the Patan workshop during the early 15th century. Vāchāka was a resident of Patan and his name is inscribed for the first time in a *Kālakācārya Kathā* illustrated manuscript in V.S.1509 = 1452 C.E. The epithet *Mantri* is written before his name as the writer of the manuscript. It was written for patrons such as Kharataragacha, Ghannamanna, Bhoja, Malhana and his son.[46] In the same year he inscribed another manuscript of *Kālakācārya Kathā*, which mentions the name of the donor. Next he wrote the manuscript of *Kalpasūtra* and *Kālakācārya Kathā* in V.S.1513 = 1456 C.E., which had beautiful illustrations according to its one time owner, Sarabhai Nawab.[47] It does not give any donor's name. Each time his name is prefixed with *Mantri*. In V.S.1516 = 1459 C.E. Mantri Vāchāka wrote the *Kalpasūtra* for *śrāvikā* Punai, the sister of śrī Padmananda Suri, mentioning Śrīpattana as the place

of writing for the first time. In V.S.1519 = 1462 C.E. a *Kalpasūtra* manuscript written by *Mantri* Vāchāka was deposited at Jaiselmer in the Thakurūshah's *bhandāra*.[48] Five years later, in V.S.1524 (1467 C.E.), he inscribed a *Kalpasūtra*, which is also illustrated, mentioning donor's name *śrāvaka* Sidhara and compiled under the orders of Jinachadra Suri. It was written during the reign of Sultan Mohamud Shah of Patan; however, it is now deposited at Jaiselmer.[49] A different light is thrown on the activities of *Mantri* Vāchhāka, who inscribed the *Uttarādhyayanasūtra* in V.S.1529 (1472 C.E.), in which it is clearly stated that he is *Śripattana nivāsi*, i.e., resident of Patan, but the donors were from Mandapadurga, Mandu, who may have gone there on a pilgrimage. The manuscript was written on the orders of Jinachandra Suri, the disciple of Jinabhadra Suri.[50] The *Kalpasūtra Mantri* Vāchāka, inscribed in V.S.1547 (1490 C.E.), clearly states that he lives in Patan, *(Śripattanivāstavya)*.[51] Thus, *Mantri* Vāchāka emerges as the most active scribe during the second half of the 15th century in Gujarat. He belonged to a prestigious family and was a contemporary of Jinachandra Suri, who was Jinabhadra Suri's successor as *ācārya*. What we are surmising is that a group of painters in Patan during his decades of activity (spanning 1452-1490 C.E.), should have been associated with the scribe. The painter Sārang, who illustrated the *Kalpasūtra*, which was donated at Gandhara in 1459, might also be Patan based.[52] Sārang should be considered a major painter of the Patan workshop during the third quarter of the fifteenth century when Mantri Vāchhāka was a much respected scribe.

6:   Interaction between the Jaina Community and the Sultanate Rulers

It is known that the Delhi Sultans had sought co-operation of members of Jaina community in their administrative structure. There is evidence that Jaina scholars had made attempts to read and understand Persian. They wrote guide books, manuals in Sanskrit and Prakrit, which could be used for learning Persian language, such as *Yavananāmamālā/ Farsināmamālā*. Such information was not known when Norman Brown was shown the now well known *Kalpasūtra* and *Kālakācārya Kathā* illustrated manuscript, then preserved at Devāsanā Pādo *bhandāra* in Ahmedabad. Writing in 1937, Norman Brown reflected the excitement of that period of the discovery of this profusely decorated illustrated manuscript in which some pages had Persian type figures. That Persian influence was profuse in it and that imparted a special significance to it, was a conclusion possible because until then the entire wealth of Jaina paintings was neither surveyed nor available. No attention has been paid to the continued Jain and Hindu patronage of cultural projects during both the Solanki-Vaghela period and the Islamic rule i.e. from twelfth to sixteenth centuries in Gujarat region.

Thakkura Pheru

Thakkura Pheru is a significant example of a Jaina personality representing the contact between Jaina community and Islamic rulers. He is considered a mediator between Sanskrit/ Prakrit on one hand with Persian, and between Indian religions and Islam on the other. Thakkura Pheru was a multifaceted scholar and high level administrator of his time in India. He was a Jaina of Dhandhiya Gotra. He was born in Kannan, not far from Delhi.[53] His father's name was Candu. He wrote his seven treatises on the basis of his vast experience in different capacities in the ministerial council during the rule of Sultan Alauddin Khilji. With the experience gained from the royal treasury he wrote

Ratna Parīkṣā while serving as the master of the Delhi mint. His knowledge of a wide range of old and prevalent coins resulted in the treatise *Divya Parīkṣā*.[54] These were written for the knowledge of his brother and son in V.S.1375 = 1318 C.E., according to a verse in the manuscript. This implies that his family and presumably his ancestors were involved with gem trade. The oldest copy of the manuscripts of his books was transcribed in V.S.1403 and was deposited in Patan. He wrote his first book in V.S.1347, *Yugapradhāna Catuṣpadikā,* listing the Jaina *ācāryas* of Kharataragaccha from the time of the founder of Jainaism, Mahāvīra onwards. While this book was written in *Apabhraṁśa* language, the other treatises were written in Prakrit, which was the popular and people's language of his time. In V.S.1375 is also recorded his association with Jaina *ācārya* Sri Jinachandra during the reign of Sultan Qutubuddin.

The importance of Kannan town is implied through the fact that Muhammad Tughlaq had ordered the construction of a Mahāvīra temple and a Sarai *(dharmaśālā)* in which was installed the image of Mahāvīra. Sri Jinaprabha Suri was associated with this undertaking. His treatise on architecture *Vāstusūra,* testifies to the fact that he was a patron of Jain temple architecture. Besides iconography of Jina images he also explained calculation of volumes of domes and arches. These aspects are linked with his treatise on Mathematics, *Gaṇitasūra Kaumudini* (before 1318 C.E.). In it he explained systems of proportion as part of solid geometry, besides information useful for businessmen and bankers.

Samarasimha

Samarasimha was an Oswal Jaina, whose ancestor was Salaksana and who lived in Palhanapur. The latter's grandson Desala shifted to Patan, who had three sons: Sahajapala, Sahana and Samarasimha. According to *Samara Rāso* of Ambadeva Suri (V.S.1371) Sahajapala set up a Jaina temple of 24 Tirthankaras with Pārśvanāth as *Mulanāyaka* at Devagiri (Daulatabad).[55] Sahana settled in Khambhat, whereas Samarasimha lived at Patan along with his father. Samarasimha was appointed a senior official in the administration of the first Muslim governor of Gujarat, Alap Khan installed by the Khilji Sultan. Samarasimha had requested Alap Khan to give permission to carry out repairs of the temples at Satrunjaya. Samarasimha commissioned an image of Ādiśvara (Ādināth) carved out of a special stone block from the quarries at Arasana. A pilgrimage was organized in V.S.1371 under the leadership *(sanghapati)* of his father Desala from Patan when the idol was consecrated by *ācārya* Siddha Suri. Samarasimha went to Delhi on the invitation of Qutubuddin Khilji. The former approached the Sultan's son, Gyasudin, requesting him to release Viravalla who had been taken as prisoner. Samarasimha went on a pilgrimage to Mathura and Hastinapur with Jinaprabha Suri. Subsequently he became an official of the ruler of Tailang (in Deccan), Ullak Khan, who was the son of Gyasudin. He obtained permission for the release of many prisoners. He may have died before V.S.1393.

Jinaprabha Suri

Sri Jinaprabha Suri was an extra-ordinary intellectual and author of many treatises including the *Vividhātirthakalpa* compiled during V.S.1327-V.S.1389. He was ordained as monk in V.S.1326

by *Ācārya* Jina Simha Suri at Hilavadi where he was born in the family of Seth Ratnapala. In 1341, when he was designated the *ācārya*, he was given the name of Jinaprabha Suri.[56] He was held in high esteem by Mohammad Tughlaq, the emperor of Delhi (V.S.1381-1407), but also the epithet स्वाङ्कपर्यङ्क ललित *(svāṇkaparyaṅka lālita)*, indicates that the Sultan was one of his favourite and principal pupils. Mohammad Tughlaq held a reception in honour of Sri Jinaprabha Suri in V.S.1385 (1328 C.E.) when he and Sri Jinadeva Suri were seated on the elephants. Paying due weightage to the wishes of the emperor, Sri Jinaprabhasuri asked Sri Jinadeva Suri and fourteen monks to stay there when he left Delhi for Maharashtra. It was again in V.S.1389 that Sri Jinaprabhadeva Suri was invited to Delhi by the emperor from Devagiri. *En route*, he and his colleagues were molested by ruffians at Attavapur Durga and as a result Sri Jinadeva Suri requested court authorities to move into the matter, which was immediately attended to. Sarabhai Nawab concludes that this indicates that he held a place of high esteem and honour at the court of the emperor of Delhi and thus urged the emperor to erect Jaina temples and *upāśrayas*.[57]

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[16] *ibid.*

[17] Shri Daulatsinh Lodha, 1953, *op.cit.*

[18] B.J. Sandesara, 1948, *op.cit.*

19   *ibid.*

20   *ibid.*

21   Shri Daulatsinh Lodha, 1953, op.cit.

22   C.D. Dalal, *Hammiramadamardana* (Ed.), G.O.S., Baroda, 1920.

23   B.J. Sandesara, Gujarat ma *Naishadhiyacarita no Prachār*...(in Gujarati) (popularity of *Naishadhiyacarita* in Gujarat), as in footnote no. 8.

24   *ibid.*

25   G.V. Acharaya (Ed.) *Historical inscriptions of Gujarat,* Vol. I, II, III, Mumbai, 1933, 35, 42.

26   R. B. Jote, 1945, *op.cit.*

27   Sarabhai Nawab had drawn attention to extensive dancing figures in *Devāsanā pādo Gyāna Bhandar Kalpasūtra* and another set of manuscript paintings which belonged to him. See his, *Jaina Chitrakalpadruma,* Ahmedabad, 1936.

28   Umakant P. Shah, *Sudhākalaśa Gani, Sangītopaṇ isatsāroddhāra,* a work on Indian music and dancing, G. O. S. No. 133, Baroda, 1961.

29   Manjulal R. Majmudar,

      (a) A *15th century Gitagovinda Manuscript with Gujarātī Paintings,* Journal of the University of Bombay, Vol. 6, May -1938.

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30   N.C. Mehta, *A New Document of Gujarati Painting,* Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art, Vol. XIII, 1945.

31   Jaina Parampara no Itihas (in Gujarati), Part III, Editor Muni Shri Darshanavijaya ji, Muni Shri Gyanavijaya ji and Muni Shri Nyayavijaya ji (Tirupati), Shri Charitra Smaraka Granthamala, Ahmedabad, 1964.

32   *ibid.*

33   Mohanlal Dalichand Desai, *Jain Sahityano Sanskrutik Itihas,* Mumbai, 1933.

34   Jaina Parampara no Itihas, 1964, *op.cit.*

35   Sarabhai Nawab, *Jainchitra Kalpadruma,* Ahmedabad, 1935-36.

36   S.M. Nawab and R.S. Nawab, Jaina Paintings, Vol.II, Ahmedabad, 1985.

37   The long colophon is translated in Hindi by Sarabhai M. Nawab, *Aitihasik Mahatva Ki Ek Praśasti,* in Premi Abhinandana, Grantha, Tilamgarh, 1946.

38   *Jaina Parampara no Itihas,*1964, *op.cit.*

39   M.D. Desai, *op.cit.* S.M. Nawab and R.S. Nawab, Jaina Paintings, Vol.II, Ahmedabad, 1985.

40   Sarabhai Nawab, 1935-36, *op.cit.*

41   B.J. Sandesara, Sander: Uttar Gujarat nu ek Aitihāsik gāmdu, as in footnote no. 8. A long narrative of genealogy of Pethad's family in the *Anuyogdvāra Sūtravritti,* now deposited at Shri Pratapavijayji *Jñāna bhandār,* Lavarni Pol, Ahmedabad.

42   G.V. Acharya, *op.cit.*

43   B.J. Sandesara, *Sander: Uttar Gujarat nu ek Aitihasik gamdu, op.cit.*

44   M.D. Desai, *op.cit.*

45   *Jaina Parampara no Itihas,*1964, *op.cit.*

46   Sarabhai M. Nawab, Rajendra S. Nawab, Jain Paintings, Vol.II, Ahmedabad, 1985.

47   *ibid.*

[48]   Catalogue of Manuscript, Jaiselmer Collection, 1972.

[49]   *ibid.*

[50]   S. Nawab, R. Nawab, 1985, *op.cit.*

[51]   The illustrated manuscript is in the collection of Lalbhai Dalpatbhai Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad, no.456.

[52]   S. Nawab, R. Nawab, 1985, *op.cit.*

[53]   Bhanvarlal Nahta, *Thakkura Pheru* (ठक्कुर फेरू), Vaishali, 1976.

[54]   Thakkura Pheru, *op.cit.*

[55]   M.D. Desai, *op.cit.*

[56]   *Jaina Parampara no Itihas,* 1964, *op.cit.*

[57]   A 15th century hand written manuscript in the possession of Sarabhai Nawab. See his *Kālaka Kathā,* Ahmedabad, 1958.

❖❖❖

Nāṭyalocanam of Trilocanāditya - An Introduction

6

A. S. Pathak

1. Introduction

Citations from *Nāṭyalocanam* in the commentaries of Rāghava Bhaṭṭa, Vāsudeva, Raṅganātha and Dinakara on respectively *Śākuntalam, Karpūrmañjari, Vikramorvaśīyam* and *Raghuvaṁśam* indicate its wide spread popularity. These citations also indicate that *Nāṭyalocanam* was favoured particularly for its coverage of Āhārya - Abhinaya that deals with make-up, dress, stage props etc. Thus Rāghava Bhaṭṭa writes -

तत्र मषीवेषस्वरूपं : नाट्यलोचने

And quotes extensively the lines on make-up and dress. Vasudeva quotes lines on

प्रतिशीर्षकाणि नाट्यलोचने – अमात्यकञ्चुकिश्रेष्ठिविदूषकपुरोधसाम् वेष्टनाबद्धपट्टानि प्रतिशीर्षाणि कारयेत् ।

Raṅganātha's *tīkā* on *Vikramorvaśīyam* quotes lines on Nāndī from *Nāṭyalocanam*

आशीर्यत्र नमस्क्रिया च शशिनः संकीर्तनं वस्तुनो निर्देशः
गुरुसंस्तुतिर्मधुलिहां मोदाय पुष्पाञ्जलिः ।
श्रव्यैर्द्वादिशभिः पदैरथ समैर्यद्व्द्वाष्टभिर्निर्मिता
सद्वृत्तेन सुसन्धिना च कथिता नान्दीति सर्वागमे ।।

Thě author of *Nāṭyalocanam* had in fact abridged the chapters of Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* which dealt with theatrical presentations and its related aspects. Thus he says -

नाट्यलोचनमत्रैकं द्वितीयो भरतोदयः ।
नर्तकप्रेक्षकप्रीत्यै निर्मितं नाट्यलोचनम् ।।

Triloconāditya had also written a commentary on his work *Nāṭyalocanam* called *Locana Vyākhyāñjana*. Oppert had reported this in his 'collection of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the private collections of South India' - VoL-I (2695) Madras 1880. This was said to be there in the personal collection of His Highness, the Ciria Anujan Raja of Patiññare, Kovilakam - Kolikkatu-Calicut.

2.   Nāṭyalocanam

The brief account of the contents of Natyalocanam is given hereunder -

Chapter - 1 - *Nāṭya -Prayojana* :

After benediction to lord Shiva the presiding deity of actors and dancers the author dwells upon the reasons for abridging Bharata's monumental work on Indian dramaturgy in two parts namely *Nāṭyalocanam* and *Bharatodaya*. (*Bharatodaya deals with construction of the plot of a play and its ingredients etc.*)

द्वितीयं नाटकं कर्म कवेरेवोपयुज्यते । सन्धिवृत्त्यादिभागस्तु दर्शितो भरतोदये ।।

He had also written a play called Rāmacaritam.

Chapter - 2 - Nāndī, Prastāvana, Praveśaka, Viṣkambhaka :

He takes up the preliminaries of a theatrical presentation - Nāndī. He discusses the controversy relating to the expression नान्द्यन्तेसूत्रधारः that appears in a play; whether the same actor introduces the play after reciting the Nandi or another actor called Sutradhāra enters after the recitation of Nāndī is over. He also discusses the issue of required number of verses in the Nandi.

Chapter - 3 - Maṣi - Veṣa :

In this chapter the author condenses the chapter on dress and make-up of Bharata's Nāṭya Sāstra. Thus crowns, turbans, hair styles of various characters in a play have been discussed in details.

Chapter - 4 - Sthāna :

The fourth chapter deals with the conventions of Sthana-ways of creating six types of Sthana for men to carry out different actions on the stage and three types of Sthanas for women. The actors and actress will go through these conventional steps and postures to carry out desired actions as per the play. Special mention for Sthanas for mighty characters like Rāvaṇa, Indrajit, & Aśvatthāmā have also been made.

Chapter - 5 - Pātra Praveśana :

The five types of Dhruvā music which are played at the time of entrance of characters on the stage, the merits and demerits of music, musical notes, various beats, Mṛdaṅga drum and other musical instruments that are played accompanying dance postures feet movements etc. have been hurriedly covered in this chapter.

The closing portion of this chapter and the opening lines of the next chapter on Gati & Cārī are missing.

Chapter - 6 - Gati & Cārī :

Single foot movements (Cārī), movements with both feet (Karaṇa) combinations of Karaṇas (Khaṇḍa) and Khaṇḍas forming Maṇḍala have been explained. Following this sixteen earthly caris and sixteen aerial caris and their usages as per Bharata have been explained in this chapters.

This chapter is more or less complete but for the missing opening lines.

Chapter - 7 - Rasas & Bhāvas :

The most important discussion on the aesthetic experience is propounded under "Rasa" doctrine. This chapter discusses the types of Rasas, their underlying dominant emotions called - Sthāyibhāvas, the various flickering emotions called Sancāribhāvas, that embellish and help develop the Rasa experience, and the role of expressions of deep seated emotions in physical changes like - breaking in sweat, voice creaking, horripilation etc. under Sāttvikabhāvas.

Chapter - 8 - Abhinayas :

This chapter deals with four types of acting viz. Āharya, Vācika, Āṅgika, and Sāttvika. As, much of Āhārya has been covered in the third chapter on Maṣi-Veśa the author quickly passes on to Vācika and Sāttvika types of acting. After briefly covering these he takes up Āṅgika acting. Āṅgika deals with actions through various limbs and their usages for conveying various actions, emotions and objects. An idea of the elaborate details of such movements of various limbs and the conventions of their usages can be had from the following list of actions.

Actions of head - 13	Actions of face - 4
Actions of eyes - 30	Actions of neck - 9
Actions of cornea - 9	Actions of hand - 64
Actions of eyebrows - 7	Actions of chest - 5
Actions of glances - 7	Actions of sides - 5
Actions of nose - 6	Actions of waist - 5
Actions of cheek - 6	Actions of thigh - 5

Actions of lips - 6	Actions of knees - 5
Actions of chin - 7	Actions of legs - 5

Chapter - 9 - Nāyaka - Nāyikā :

In this chapter male and female lead characters of a play and other supporting characters have been discussed. The four types of male lead characters viz. Dhīroddhata, Dhīralalita, Dhīrodatta and Dhīraprasānta, three support characters - Vita. Vidūṣaka and Pīṭhamarda, four types of female lead characters Viz. celestial woman, the queen, a housewife, and a courtesan have been covered. Besides these the well known Aṣṭa - Nāyikās - depicting ladies in various states of longings for their paramours have been discussed. Of particular interest is the special attention given to Khandita and Abhisārikā Nāyikās by the author.

Chapter - 10 - Smarāvasthā :

This chapter deals with the ten love-lorn states of Nāyikās recognized by dramaturgists, poeticians and writers on erotics. The author has drawn upon Sanskrit classics to illustrate these states.

Chapter - 11 - Havas :

Havas are the range of coquettish behaviour of Nāyikās in love. Bharata had dealt with these under Ceṣṭālaṃkāras. In addition to the ten Svabhāvaja types, recognized by Bharata the author had discussed six more such Ceṣṭālaṃkāras thereby incorporating the innovations made by Buddhist writers on erotics and dramaturgy namely - Rāhula and Padmaśrī. Besides Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* the author had made use of *Nāgara-Sarvasva* of Padmaśrī.

Chapter - 12 - Śabdārtha - Niścaya :

Various addresses for characters in a play, exclamations of joy, disgust, approval, disapproval, etc. have been listed in this chapter. The author has drawn upon Sāgaranandin's *Nāṭaka Lakṣaṇa, Ratna-Koṣa*, in this chapter.

The last colophon of the manuscript appears after this chapter. However, there are indications scattered in the text which prompt us to think that there should have been one more chapter on Bhangopabhanga. Thus in the opening lines the author had said

भंगोपभंगौ सलयौ अन्यच्च प्रक्रमागतम् ।

Again in the fifth chapter on Pātra Praveśana he had recorded -

आक्षिप्सिकादिगीतबन्धास्तु भंगोपभंगप्रस्तावे दर्शयिष्यामः / +++
तद्विशेषास्तु शेषे वक्तव्यः ।

This chapter on Bhaṅgopabhaṅ ga does not appear in the available manuscripts. Obviously this chapters dealt with rhythm and beats of music and their usages in entrances of characters, as stated by the author -

'भंगोपभंगौ सलयौ.....' 'आक्षिप्सिकादिगीतबन्धास्तु भंगोपभंगप्रस्तावे.....'।

3. Critical Apparatus

Aufrecht had recorded the manuscript of *Nāṭyalocanan* at "1284b.III 61a". There are two manuscripts available (known so far) - one at Saraswati Bhavan Library - Varanasi and the other with Asiatic Society of Bengal, Kolkata - at Ms. No. 42963 & 111.E 158 respectively. The Manuscript of Saraswati Bhavan library is in Devanagari script, whereas the one at Asiatic society of Bengal is in Bengali script. Both are incomplete and the collation of these manuscripts does not lead to recovery of the complete text. These obviously represent two different recensions. J.K. Balbir had presented a paper on Nāṭylocana at International congress of orientalists at Paris - July 1948.

The Asiatic Society copy does not have the first fifteen verses that are there in Saraswati Bhavan copy; also it misses out the closing portion of the first chapter. It breaks off after the incomplete account of Ragas. Usually the first and the last pages of a manuscript, cloth bound and tied with strings get damaged because of frequent use. That probably might have happened to this manuscript. The scribe of Bengali version seems to be careful and there are not many mistakes in the text. However the text is truncated at many places. May be the text before him was corrupt. The Saraswati Bhavan copy is more or less complete.

The Saraswati Bhavan copy is almost complete but for the portions on पात्रप्रवेश and गतिश्चारी that are missing. Its starts with स्मृत्वा महानटं देवं etc and runs till the last colophon -

उपाध्यायत्रिलोचनादित्यविरचितं नाट्यलोचनं समाप्तम् ।

The copy of the manuscript records that only six pages are missing -

अष्टममारभ्यत्रयोदशपर्यन्तपत्राणि न सन्ति ।

Against this the Asiatic Society copy covers only the first part - i.e. from page 1 to page 7 of SB copy and breaks off abruptly. Restoration of the text with the help of *Nāṭyaśāstra* and *Nāṭaka Lakṣaṇa Ratna Kośa* was possible as these have already been published. The portion on Ragas that does not appear in Saraswati Bhavana copy may be partly recovered from Asiatic Society copy. Speaking of पात्रप्रवेश both the manuscripts deal with 5 ध्रुवास्स्वरसमक their usages and merits and demerits of as propounded राहुल by and close the topic by saying उक्तं गीतम्. Thereafter Saraswati Bhavana Copy mentions

वादित्रमपि चतुर्विधमुदाहरन्ति ।

Asiatic Society copy continues with

षट्चत्वारिंशदिमे रागा नर्तनादौ लयादिभि

However, the account breaks off after 28 Ragas, and the author takes up the topic of राजलेखक.

'एवमादिगुणैर्युक्तः स एव राजलेखकः'।

This leads us to think

- that both these manuscripts had a common source which is not available to us now,

- that one in Devanagari script and the other in Bengali script denotes regional spread leading to two recensions of the work,

- that there was loss of a few pages from the middle and the end of the work in both locations.

- that there occurred major interpolation in copying in Bengali Script which sought to incorporate account of Ragas,

- that there was a mix-up in the Bengali script when it took up the topic of Rajalekhaka after verses on Ragas.

The author had heavily drawn upon Bharata's *Nātyaśāstra*, a fact he had acknowledged. His borrowing from *Nāṭaka Lakṣaṇa Ratna koṣa* also have been acknowledged - 'अस्यैवार्थस्य रत्नकोषे प्रपन्चः'।

In fact, he had followed the treatment & layout of Nāṭakalakṣaṇa Ratnakośa. It is closer to Abhinayadarpaṇa on account of its coverage of Āṇgika Abhinaya in full details. Abhinayadarpaṇa however, confines itself to Āṇgika Abhinaya relevant for dance recital whereas Nāṭylocana covers the whole gamut as given in Bharata's Nātyaśāstra. Further Nāṭyalocana has carved out two chapters on Smarāvasthā and Hāva by giving focused attention to love lorn states and Ceṣṭālaṇkāras. The illustrations drawn from Sanskrit classes add to its value. There are quotations from

कुमारसम्भवम्, नागर–सर्वस्व, अनर्घराघव, रत्नावली, वेणीसंहारम्, रामचरितम्, बाल रामायण, रामानन्द, पुष्पदूतिका गाथा (सप्तशंती) कुलवीथी, उन्मत्तमाधव चौरिकाविव, कुम्भांक, कर्पूरमञ्जरी, नाटकलक्षणरत्नकोष ।

He mentioned following authors also.

पाणिनी, भृगुस्वामी, भारद्वाज, राहुल, भरत, माघ, मातृगुप्त, भवभूति, मल्लनाग (वात्स्यायन)

4. Date of the Author

Regarding the date of the author S.K.De opines as follows -

"As Dinakara's (the commentary writer of Raghuvaṇśa) date is 1385AD this (Nātyalocana) can not be placed later than the middle or the third quarter of 14th century AD"

Taking this as the lower limit the upper limit can be fixed by relating Trilocanāditya to the date of Sāgara-nandin the author of *Nāṭaka Lakṣaṇa Ratna Koṣa* about whom V. Raghavan had stated "...... Sāgara Nandin came after Bhoja and Abhinavagupta and before Śāradātanaya, not earlier than the 13th Century AD"

This reduces the gap in placing Trilocanāditya. We can therefore, place him in the last quarter of 13th Century AD.

There is a quotation from Allaraja's Rasa-Ratna-Dīpikā (of 14th Century AD) appearing in Bhāva Prakāśana which mentions both the works of Trilocanaditya vide.

नाट्यलोचनमानन्दवर्धनं भरतोदयम् ।

भावप्रकाशनञ्चैव तथा श्रृङ्गाररसागरम् ।।

Śubhankara, the author of *Sangīta Dāmodara* who lived sometime in the 15th Century AD had also mentioned *Nātyalocana* in the opening verses of his work.

संगीतकल्पवल्यां संगीतशेखरनाट्यलोचनयोः

संगीतकलावृक्षे दशरूपे नाट्यदर्पणे यच्च

संगीतचूडामणिरत्नकोषसंगीतरत्नाकरसारदासु

यद् यच्च सारं भरतोदितेषु तत् तत् समाकृष्य रसाङ्कुरामम् ...

These underline the popularity of *Nātayalocana* among later writers.

5. Conclusion

Besides the missing portions of Pātrapravesa, Gatiscārī and the chapter on Bhaṇgopabhaṇga this work is more or less complete and it promises to be of considerable interest for the study of Sanskrit dramaturgic literatures.

◆◆◆

The Four Guṇa-pâramitâs according to Ratnagotravibhâgo Mahâyânottara-tantra-śâstram: An Exegetical Analysis

7

C. D. Sebastian

1. Introduction

The Prajñāpāramitā literature revolutionized Buddhism in general and Mahāyāna in particular, with a novel interpretation of śūnyatā. Along with the Prajñāpāramitā literature there developed the tathāgata-garbha literature. Ratna-gotra-vibhāgo-mahāyānottara-tantra-śāstra (or popularly known as the Uttaratantra) is the foremost example of the tathāgata-garbha literature. And in the Uttaratantra, we find a stance complementary to the Mādhyamika and the Yogācāra.

One of the basic tenets of Mahāyāna[1] Buddhism is that all living beings have got the inherent potentiality to attain Buddha-hood. According to Mahāyāna Buddhism, unlike the Theravāda, every individual potentially carries the germ of Buddha-hood (dhātu or tathāgata-garbha). The dynamics of the tathāgata-garbha, though non-thematic and implicit, is at the heart of Zen praxis, and a significant articulation in Kegon[2], Tendai[3] and Shingon[4] thought[5]. The Uttaratantra is the most comprehensive treatment of the subject 'tathāgatha-garbha' within Mahāyāna Buddhism. There is, thus, a metaphysical presupposition of the tathāgata-garbha and its corresponding soteriological cum epistemological explanation implied in it. The tathāgata-garbha theory gives basis to the metaphysical contention that all sentient beings are potential Buddhas.

In this paper, we make an exegetical exposition of the four Guṇa-pāramitās highlighted in the celebrated Ratna-gotra-vibhāgo-

mahāyānottara tantra-śāstra, (hereafter we refer to this text as *Uttaratantra,* as it is prevalently known) composed in the fifth century AD. In order to situate the *Guṇa-pāramitās,* we give a brief exposition on the *Uttaratantra,* and the subject matter of the text, namely, the seven *vajra* points, of which *tathāgata-garbha* is the fourth *vajra.* According to the text, *tathāgata-garbha* has ten characteristics, and the third one is termed as *phala* (result/fruit) and in *phala* the four *Guṇa-pāramitās* are explained. The results of the purification of the *tathāgata-garbha* are the four *Guṇa-pāramitās,* namely, *Śubha* (purity), *Ātmā* (self), *Sukha* (bliss), and *Nitya* (eternity). Purification of the defilement will enable the sentient being to the realisation of the Buddha-nature within.

2. The *Ratna-gotra-vibhāgo-mahāyānottara-tantra-śāstra*

The *Ratna-gotra-vibhāgo-mahāyānottara-tantra-śāstra,* popularly known as the *Uttaratantra,* is the foremost example of the *tathāgata-garbha* literature. There are different opinions among the scholars with regard to the authorship of the *Uttaratantra.* Some scholars opine that the *Uttaratantra* is one of the five works attributed to Maitreya[6], while others are of the opinion that it is Asanga who authored the *Uttaratantra* with the inspiration from the Bodhisattva Maitreya[7]. The *Uttaratantra* is ascribed to Asanga[8], the great Indian Buddhist scholar, who was the elder brother of the greatest *Yogācārin* Vasubandhu. But still some others, like E.H. Johnston, are of the opinion that either Maitreya or Asanga "has nothing to do with the *Ratna-gotra-vibhāga* (the *Uttaratantra*), and that, following the Chinese tradition, it should be attributed to a certain Sthiramati, the author of a commentary on the *Kāśyapa-parivarta*[9]." The Tibetan tradition attributes the verses to Maitreya and the prose commentary to Asanga, and it is held in high regard as one of the five treatises composed by Maitreya[10]. However, the Chinese tradition attributes the whole work to Saramati[11]. Here it should be mentioned that the identity of Saramati raises many problems. Some scholars have identified him with Sthiramati and others have distinguished two Saramatis. There are also many disparities in the Chinese traditions concerning the translator of the Chinese version. Chinese catalogues mention two translations, one by Ratnamati and the other by Bodhiruci[12].

There was a time in the past when scholars thought that Maitreya was a legendary figure[13], because the tradition held that the five works, ascribed to Maitreya, were revealed to Asanga by Maitreya in the Tuṣita heaven[14]. However, now scholars are of the opinion that Maitreya or Maitreyanātha was a historical person, teacher of Asanga, and the real founder of the Yogācāra School[15]. According to the Tibetan tradition, the foundation of all the exegetical literature connected with the Buddhist scriptures of the Yogācāra-Vijñānavāda, and also partly of the Mādhyamika is contained in the five works ascribed to Maitreya. We are not in a position to state categorically with regard to the authorship of the *Uttaratantra.* But with the evidence available and taking into consideration the expert opinion of such renowned scholars in the field as E. Obermiller[16], J. Takasaki[17], Rāhula Sāmkṛtyāyana, T.R.V. Murti and A.K. Chatterjee, we are prompted to give credit to Asanga as the actual author of this treatise. And it would have been written some time between the fourth and fifth centuries AD. Asanga is a very interesting and dominating figure in the development of Mahāyāna philosophy.

The text, "*Ratna-gotra-vibhāga*, seems almost the only treatise extant that has attempted a systematization of the theory of *Tathāgata-garbha*[18]." J. Takasaki maintains that the *Uttaratantra* aims at the criticism of the *Prajñā-pāramitā*[19]. We do not accept this position of J. Takasaki, because *śūnyatā* theory is complementary to the *tathāgata-garbha* theory. Without the former it is not possible to establish the latter[20]. Even in the *Uttaratantra* a considerable part is devoted to establish the relationship between *tathāgata-garbha* and *śūnyatā*. It is said in the *Uttaratantra*, "*Tathāgata-garbha-jñāna-meva tathāgatānām śūnyatā-jñānam*[21]". Thus, we submit that the *Uttaratantra* is a complementary text of both the Mādhyamika and the Yogācāra schools[22].

3. The *Tathāgata-garbha* Theory

The *tathāgata-garbha* theory upholds that all beings have Buddha-nature and all are potential Buddhas. This Buddha-nature is being covered with adventitious defilement (*āgantuka-kleśa*). When the adventitious defilement has been removed, the true nature becomes apparent, and this is called *āśraya-parāvṛtti*. All living beings live and exist in the world of the absolute called *Tathatā* or *śūnyatā*. Just as the birds fly in the air so freely, so all sentient beings breathe in the Buddha nature. Just as all things are filled with air, so also all things are filled with Buddha nature. It is because all living beings store the Buddha-nature within themselves that they are regarded as the germ (*dhātu*) that brings forth Buddha. Hence, every living being is said to be a *tathāgata-garbha* (or matrix of *tathāgata*)[23]. The meaning of the term *tathāgata-garbha* is that, it is the womb (*garbha*) where the *Tathāgatas* are conceived and matured, and all sentient beings are potential *tathāgatas*[24].

The *tathāgata-garbha-sūtra* is one of the most important sources for the *tathāgata-garbha* doctrine in the texts *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* and the *Uttaratantra*. The fundamental idea of the *tathāgata-garbha-sūtra* is expressed in the formula, "*sarvasattvas-tathāgata-garbhāḥ*" which could be translated as "all beings possess the *tathāgata-garbha*[25]." Seyfort Ruegg has pointed out that in the texts the compound *tathāgata-garbha* is understood mostly as a *tatpuruṣa*, but sometimes also as a *bahuvrīhi*[26]. J. Takasaki remarks that in the *Uttaratantra*, *tathāgata-garbha* is analyzed as a *tatpuruṣa*, that is, *tathāgatasyeme garbhāḥ sarvasattvāḥ*; a *karmadhāraya*, that is, *tathāgatas tathataiṣām garbhāḥ sarvasattvānām*; and as a *bahuvrīhi*, that is, *tathāgatadhātur eṣām garbhāḥ sarvasattvānām*[27]. J.W. de Jong agrees with Ruegg and states that it is to be taken as *bahuvrīhi*[28]. Thus, the *tathāgata-garbha* theory states that all have got Buddha-nature embedded in.

4. The Seven *Vajra* Points

The entire corpus of the *Uttaratantra* could be condensed into seven *vajra* points or adamantine subjects, namely, the Buddha, the *dharma* (doctrine), the *samgha* (congregation), the *dhātu* or the *tathāgata-garbha* (the germ or essence of Buddha-hood), the *bodhi* (the supreme enlightenment), the *guṇa* (the attributes or qualities of Buddha), and the *karma* or the *kriyā* (the activities or acts of Buddha)[29]. Buddha himself has taught these *vajra* points in the *Sūtras*, and we find in the text that the *Uttaratantra* heavily depends on the *Dharaṇisvarā-rāja - sūtra*[30]. The first three *vajra* points of the *Uttaratantra* relate to *Buddha*, *dharma* and *samgha*, because these three lead to the goal of

enlightenment. These three are external causes, where as the latter four are the internal causes of the goal of enlightenment and Buddha-hood[31].

They are called *vajra*, because they are to be intuited or revealed by introspection[32], and they are of an inexpressible and unutterable character. As a diamond (*vajra*) is very hard and impenetrable, so also are these seven points, because they cannot be pierced by ordinary knowledge, which is attained by study (*śruti-cintāmaya-jañāna*). Only an enlightened person, a *Bodhisattva*, can cognize these points. These seven points are a teaching device that acts like a *vajra*, a thunderbolt, to destroy the ignorance of the living beings. It is hard, but not impossible, to penetrate with the *prajñā* of listening and reflection[33].

5. The Fourth *Vajra* Point

In the *Uttaratantra*, verse 1: 26 it is said that *tathāgata-garbha* is the cause (*hetu*) and the remaining three *vajra* points, namely, *bodhi* (enlightenment), *guṇa* (attributes of Buddha), and *karma* (*kṛtya-kriyā*) (Buddha activities) are conditions (*pratyaya*) of Buddha-hood[34]. Though *tathāgata-garbha* is not, in fact, a real producing cause (because it is an immutable element or *asaṃskṛta*), it is the object of Bodhisattva's concentrated transcendental wisdom, which is the main cause of the origination of wisdom of Buddha. Hence, it is metaphorically called a cause[35].

Tathāgata-garbha is the cause of the three jewels (*Buddha, dharma* and *saṃgha*). In the commentary on the verse 1: 26, it is stated that *tathāgata-garbha* is the seed of the transcendental elements (*lokottara-dharma*), and therefore it is the cause of the three jewels (the first three *vajra* points)[36]. The other remaining three *vajra* points (the fact of attaining enlightenment - *bodhi*, the fact of becoming possessed of the attributes of Buddha - *guṇa*, and the manifestation of the sublime activity - *karma* or the *kṛtya-kriyā*) are conditions of the three jewels[37]. In this way, *tathāgata-garbha* becomes the centre of these *vajra* points, for it is the cause of the first three *vajra* points (three jewels) and the latter three *vajra* points are conditions for them (three jewels or the first three *vajra* points). This is the significant aspect why a major portion of the text *Uttaratantra*, 1: 23 - 167 (147 verses), is devoted to expound the fourth *vajra* point, namely, the *tathāgata-garbha*, and also the first chapter of the *Uttaratantra* is entitled *"Tathāgata-garbhādhikāra"*.[38]

6. The Ten Characteristics of the *Tathāgata-garbha*

There are ten characteristics of the *Tathāgata-garbha* as explained in the first chapter of the *Uttaratantra*. It shall be taken into consideration that in the text, instead of *garbha*, *dhātu* is used which is a synonymous term for *garbha*[39]. In the text we see also the interchangeable employment of *gotra, dhātu*, and *garbha* for Samalā Tathatā. The ten characteristics form the content of the verses from 1: 29 to 93 in the text. It is a systematic analysis of the "Absolute Reality mingled with (hidden by) defilement", from a tenfold perspective[40]. These are the ten different aspects from which one can approach the *Tathāgata-garbha*. They are Nature *(Svabhāva)*[41], Cause *(Hetu)*[42], Result *(Phala)*[43], Function *(Karma)*, Union or Relations *(Yoga)*, Manifestations *(Vṛtti)*, Various Phases *(Avasthā-prabheda)*[44], All-pervasiveness *(Sarvatraga)*, Inalterability *(Avikāra)*, and Indivisibility *(Abheda)*.

7. The *Guṇa-pāramitās* and their Import

In the text *Uttaratantra*, in verses 1: 35 - 39 and their commentary thereafter, we have the results (or result) of the purification of the *Tathāgata-garbha* explained. This third characteristic of the *Tathāgata-garbha*, namely the result *(phala)*, occurs when *Tathāgata-garbha* is completely manifested. Even the fourth characteristic of the *Tathāgata-garbha* called "function" or "influence" also happens only when the manifestation of *Tathāgata-garbha* is complete. These two characteristics are dealt with together in the text because both are similar by being 'result', the ultimate goal and 'function' ('influence'), the immediate goal. The results of the purification of the *Tathāgata-garbha* are the four *guṇa-pāramitās*, namely, *śubha* (Purity), *ātmā*[45] (Self), *sukha* (Bliss), and *Nitya* (Eternity)[46].

These four are the four *guṇa-pāramitās*, the transcendental characteristics. Going with other scholars' use, "Transcendental" is the translation of the Sanskrit word *'pāramitā'*. In the commentary it is stated that it is wrong to think that these four remedial concepts apply to the *Dharma-kāya*. To remedy the misapplication of those concepts, the four transcendental characteristics are taught. Again in the commentary 1: 36, it is explained that the four *guṇa-pāramitās* are the fruit *(phala)* of the four qualities of the previous verses where faith, *Prajñā*, *Samādhi*, and compassion are mentioned.

There are four obscurations or impediments *(āvaraṇa)* which defile the *Tathāgata-garbha*, which are given in the *Uttaratantra* 1: 32. They are 1) hostility or natural dislike to *Māhayāna-dharma* (*Mahāyāna-dharmapratigha* or *dharma-vidviṣa*); 2) the strong belief in the reality of self (*ātma-darśana*); 3) the fear of suffering in *saṃsāra* (*duḥkha-bhīrutva*); and 4) the indifference to the welfare of living beings (*Sattvārtha-nirapekṣatā*).

The four *Guṇa-pāramitās* are the resultant antidotes (*prati-pakṣa*) to those four defilements (obscurations) in the four classes of beings mentioned in the cause of the purification of the *Tathāgata-garbha*. In a concordant manner the text coordinates *śubha* (Purity) as the *phala* (result) of the Bodhisattvas' practice of faith in the *Mahāyāna-dharma*, and as *prati-pakṣa* (antidote) to the Icchantikas' impurity of hostility to the Dharma; and likewise *ātma* (meaning here as 'Unity') as the result of the *Prajñā-pāramitā*, *Sukha* (Bliss) as the result of the practice of *samādhi* and finally *nityatā* (Eternity) as the result of *Mahā-karuṇā*.

A thorough analysis of the text and the manifold nuances implied in it will make us understand that these four *guṇa-pāramitās* are brought in to unravel a special position of the author of the text, and thus to ward off the doubts in the reader. This is how it is:

7.1. *Ātma-pāramitā* is "suggestively defined as the consummate realization of the universal non-substantiality of all beings *(pudgalas)* and material phenomena *(dharmas)*[47]". The *ātma-pāramitā* is explained in the verse 1: 37 that "the conceptual construction of self and non-self have completely ceased, so it is the supreme Self[48]." Further, in the commentary of 1: 36, it is explained that knowledge of non-self is the knowledge of true self.

7.2. *Nitya-pāramitā* is implicated as the *mahā-karuṇā* of Buddha to all beings, without any spatial and temporal limitation. It is explained in 1: 38, as "because it realizes the equality of *saṃsāra*

and *nirvāṇa*, it is *permanent*[49]." It should be said here that in the Commentary, we see the explanation that the Buddhas rest in the non-abiding *nirvāṇa (apratiṣṭhita -nirvāṇa)*, because of their equanimity. They have this equanimity because they have given up the desire and are not attached to *samsara*, and at the same time their compassion for all the sentient beings prevents them abandoning the beings and passing into the *nirvāṇa* of the *Arhats* and *Pratyeka-buddhas*. Thus, this is another way of saying that they are permanent.

7.3. *Sukha-pāramitā* (Bliss), explained in 1: 38, is the all-embracing power of the highest truth. It is said, "because of the *skandhas* of mental nature and their causes have gone, it is Bliss[50]." It is said in the commentary that freedom from all traces of suffering is Bliss.

7.4. *Śubha-pāramitā* is the loftiest state of the *Tathāgata-garbha*. And it is explained in verse 1: 37, as "because it is pure by nature and because the tendencies have been given up, it is purity[51]."

There are four things that contradict these conditions of the *Dharma-kāya* which are just opposite to the *guṇa-pāramitās*. They are impurity, absence of true transcendental unity, suffering, and impermanence. When one dwells in *samsāra*, one interprets things incorrectly, then one believes what is impure as pure, self-less as self, suffering as bliss, and impermanence as permanence. These are the features of *samsāric* illusion. In the relative level *(samvṛti)* they are impure, selfless, suffering and impermanent, whereas in the ultimate level (*paramārtha*) of reality they are irrelevant. The ultimate reality transcends the four aspects and their opposites and goes beyond pure and impure, non-self and self, bliss and suffering, and permanence and impermanence.

8. Conclusion

So far we have been making a textual/exegetical analysis on the four *guṇa-pāramitās* highlighted in the *Uttaratantra*. As a result of these *guṇa-pāramitās*, one will be able to realize her/his Buddha nature. When these four *transcendental* characteristics or the *guṇa-pāramitās* are achieved, one would be free from the extremes of *samsāra* and *nirvāṇa*, and would not fall back into *samsāra* or enter into the one-sided *nirvāṇa* of self-liberation. Thus this *phala* (fruition or result) is the achievement of liberation of the two extremes, *Prajñā* preventing one from falling into *samsāra*, and *mahā-karuṇā* preventing one from liberating just oneself, but enabling and impelling one to look and work for the liberation of all sentient beings, as this is the *leitmotiv* for a Bodhisattva. Through *Prajñā* the highest form of spiritual intelligence, one can cut the roots of all the misconceptions and become free of all defilements (*jñeyāvaraṇa*). With *mahā-karuṇā* one looks beyond one's own personal interest and satisfaction, and gets rid of all moral defilements (*kleśāvaraṇa*). This is the import of the verse 1: 39 in *Uttaratantra* as it goes: *"Chittvā sneham prajñāyātmanyaśeṣam sattva-snehān naiti śāntim kṛpāvān, Nihśrityaivam dhīkṛpe bodhyupāyau nopaityāryaḥ samvṛtim nirvṛtim vā."*

Notes and References

[1] Traditionally Buddhism is divided into Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna. The origin of the term Mahāyāna may be traceable to an earlier school known as *Mahāsanghikas*. In the Council of Vaiśāli, a hundred years after the *mahā-parinirvāṇa* of Buddha, the *Saṃgha* was divided into two opposing camps, the *sthāviras* (Pali -*Thera*)or the order of elders and the *Mahāsanghikas* or the order of the majority. The elders *(sthāviras)* denounced the *Mahāsanghikas* as *pāpa-bhikṣus* (sinful monks) and *adharmavādins* (propagators of untruth). In turn, the *Mahāsanghikas* called themselves as Mahāyāna (the Greater Vehicle) and others as Hīnayāna (the Lesser

vehicle). The word "Mahāyāna" is to be found in the *Mahāyaānośraddhotpāda-śāstra* (Awakening of faith) of Aśvaghoṣa. Aśvaghoṣa calls himself as a Mahayanist and he is known as the systematic expounder of the Mahāyāna School (For further details see C.D. Sebastian, 'Buddhist Philosophy: Its Three Distinct Phases and the Basic Thematic Unity", *The Indian International Journal of Buddhist Studies*, 6(2005), pp.1-3). See also R.K. Mishra, *Levels of Mādhyamika Thought*, Varanasi, Sharada Peeth, 2001, pp. 2-16. Mahāyāna comprises of the two main schools of Buddhism, namely, the Mādhyamika and the Yogācāra- Vijñānavāda. From Mahāyāna, later developed Tantrayāna. This branch of Buddhism was first sub-divided into *Pāramitā-yāna* and *Mantra-yāna*, and then into *Vajra-yāna*, *Kāla-cakra-yāna*, and Sahaja-yāna. See for more details S. B. Dasgupta, *An Introduction to Tantric Buddhism*, Calcutta, Calcutta University Press, 1974, Pp. 5- 77.

2   Kegon is one of the oldest schools of Buddhism in Japan. The name represents the Japanese pronunciation of the Chinese "Hua-yen", and this school saw itself as the inheritor of the Chinese Hua-yen tradition and its transmitter to future generations of Japanese Buddhists. Based on the Sanskrit Mahayana scripture/text *Avatamsaka Sūtra*, this school taught that the Buddha Mahāvirocana was himself the centre and goround of universe, and all phenomena emanated from his own being.

3   Tendai is one of the two major schools of Japanese Buddhism. Tendai is the Japanese pronunciation of T'ien-t'ai. T'ien-t'ai is known for three innovative features: (1) its system of doctrinal classification, (2) its highly articulated system of meditation, and (3) its doctrine of the Three Truths (of the Mādhyamika teachings).

4   Shingon is the esoteric school of Japanese Buddhism which advocates the inherent Buddha-hood of each and every sentient being.

5   Edward Brian Brown, *The Buddha Nature: A Study of the Tathāgatgarbha and Ālayavijñāna*, Delhi, Motilal Banrsidass Pvt. Ltd., 1991, p. xiii

6   H.S. Prasad, The Uttaratantra of Maitreya, Delhi, Sri Satguru Publications, 1997, p.1

7   Clark Johnson, "Foreword" in *The Uttaratantra: A Treatise on Buddha Nature*, by Thrangu Rinpoche, Delhi, Sri Satguru Publications, 2001,p.x

8   T.R.V. Murti states in his *The Central Philosophy of Buddhism*,(Delhi, Harper Collins, 1998) that the *Uttaratantra* is a work by Asanga from the Prāsangika Mādhyamika standpoint (p.257). Rahula Samkṛtyayana, in his *Bauddha Darshan* (Allahabad, Pustak Mahal, 1977, p.90) writes that it is a work by Asanga.

9   E. H. Johnston, *The Ratnagotravibhāga Mahāyānottaratantraśāstra*, Patna, The Bihar Research Society, 1950, p. x-xi. He further argues, "In general however this text knows nothing of the doctrines peculiar to Asanga and his school, thus not a word about *vijñaptimātratā* or the three *svabhāvas* or the *ālayavijñāna*, no use made of the *Samādhi-nirmocana-sūtra* etc" (p. xi).

10   J.W. de Jong, *Buddhist Studies*, Gregory Schopen (Ed), Berkeley, CL, Asian Humanities Press, 1979, p.564

11   Bhikshu Sangharakshita, *A Survey of Buddhism*, Bangalore, Indian Institute of World Culture, 1976, p. 404

12   P. Demieville, "Sur l'authenticite du Ta tch'ng k' i sin louen", *Bulletin de la Maison Franco-Japaonaise*, II (2), Tokyo, 1929, pp.30-31

13   Edward J. Thomas, *The History of Buddhist Thought*, New Delhi, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd., 1997, See note 1, in pp. 237-38

14   Bu-ston, *History of Buddhism*, E. Obermiller (Tr), Heidelberg, Vol.II,1931, p.139

15   A. K. Chatterjee, The *Yogācāra Idealism*, Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, 1987, p.31. Professor A.K. Chatterjee gives in a note the following references: Harprasad Satri in *IHQ*, I, 1925, p.465ff, where he places Maitreya between 150 and 265 AD. H. Ui , *Maitreya as a Historical Personage*, Lanman Studies; and G. Tucci, *On Some Aspects of the Doctrines of Maitreya(nātha) and Asanga, Calcutta*, 1930.

16   E. Obermiller very strongly holds that the *Uttaratantra* is a work by Asanga. He gives valid reasons for his claim. He says that the *Uttaratantra* and the commentary to it must be by the same author. Because, we have in the first chapter, the fundamental element, the Essence of Buddha-hood investigated from 10 points of view. The main text does not contain a direct indication of these points and they are clear only when we have the commentary. Again, it is only the first chapter, which is commented on in detail, forming almost three-quarters of the entire work. The other four chapters contain exclusively the verses of the main text. "If the commentary had been composed by a writer other than the author of the main work, one could hardly understand the sense of his having merely copied the verses of the *Uttaratantra* in 4 chapters, after having given a detailed and brilliant exposition of the first." (*The Sublime Science of the Great Vehicle...*", p. 93-94.

17   Jikido Takasaki, *A Study of Ratnagotravibhaga (Uttaratantra) Being a Treatise on the Tathāgatagarbha Theory of Mahayana Buddhism*, Rome, Serie Orientale Roma- XXXIII, 1966. It should be mentioned here that as to the date and authorship of the *Uttaratantra*, J. Takasaki arrives at the following conclusions: 1. The original verses were composed before Asanga and most

probably they are to be attributed to Maitreya. 2. The present form of the text dates from the early fifth century AD and after Asanga and Vasubandhu. 3. Saramati is the author of the Commentary and the systematizer of the *garbha* theory.

[18] Gadjin M. Nagao, *Mādhyamika and Yogācāra*, Leslie S. Kawamura (Tr), Delhi, Sri Satguru Publications, 1992, p. 118

[19] Jikikido Takasaki, *A Study on the Ratnagotravibhāga (Uttaratantyra): Being a treatise on the Tathāgatagarbha Theory of Mahāyāna Buddhism*, Rome, Is.M.E.O.,1966,pp.54-60

[20] H.S Prasad (Ed), *The Uttaratantra of Maitreya*, p.6

[21] The *Uttaratantra* 1: 154-156. In the commentary of 1:155 it is mentioned *Tathāgata-garbha-jñāna-meva tathāgatānām śūnyatā-jñānam.* It is translated by E. Obermiller in this manner: "The transcendental wisdom cognising the Essence of the Buddha is the knowledge about the Relativity of the Buddhas" (see E. Obermiller, " The Sublime science of the Great Vehicle to salvation being a Manual of Buddhist Monism", in *Acta Orientalia*, IX, 1931, p.236.

[22] C. D. Sebastian, Metaphysics and Mysticism in Mahāyāna Buddhism, Delhi, Sri Satguru Publications, 2005, pp. 47-50

[23] Gadjin M. Nagao, *Mādhyamika and Yogācāra*, pp.115-122

[24] Daisetz Teitaro Suzuki, *Studies in the Lankāvatāra Sūtra*, Boulder, Prajñā Press, 1981, p.177

[25] J.W. de Jong, *Buddhist Studies*, p. 585

[26] D. Seyfort Ruegg, *La Theorie du Tathāgatgarbha et du Gotra*, Paris, Ecole d'Extreme Orient, 1969, pp.507-513

[27] Jikido Takasaki, Nyoraizo shiso no keisei *(The Formation of the Tathāgatagarbha Theory)*, Tokyo, Shunjusha, 1974, p.21

[28] J.W. de Jong, *Buddhist Studies*, p. 585.

[29] *Buddhasca dharmasca ganasca dhaturbodhirgunah karma ca bauddhamantyam; Krtsnasya sastrasya sarirametat samasato vajrapadani sapta. Uttaratantra* 1:1

[30] As for example see the *Uttaratantra* 1: 2 and its commentary. E. Obermiller writes that the *Dharaṇiśvara-rāja-sūtra* is called in the Tibetan *Kangyur* as the *Tathāgata-Mahākaruṇā-nirdeśa-sūtra*. See note 4 in E. Obermiller, *The Sublime Science of the Great Vehicle...*, p.115 . Buddha taught these seven *vajra* points, according to the *Dharaṇiśvara-rāja-sūtra*, at the request of King Iśvara. In the introductory chapter of this *sūtra* there is teaching on the three jewels, *Buddha, Dharma* and *Samgha* and their inter-connection. Later the other vajra points are dealt with. Buddha taught this subject in seven *vajra* points because there is an inner connection in these points and their intrinsic characteristics.

[31] Thrangu Rinpoche, *The Uttara Tantra: A Treatise on Buddha Nature*, Clark Johnson (Ed), Delhi, Sri Satguru Publications, 2001, pp.12-13

[32] The commentary of the *Uttaratantra* 1:1 begins like this: *"Vajropamasyadhigamarthasya padam sthanamiti vajrapadam. Tatra sruti-cintamaya-jnana-dusprativedhadanabhilapya-svabhavah pratyatma vedaniyo'rtho vajravadveditavyah."* (Here note the bolded last part.)

[33] S.K. Hookham, *The Buddha Within*, Delhi, Sri Satguru Publications, 1992, p. 183

[34] *Bodhyam bodhistadangāni bodhaneti yathākramam; Heturekam padam trīṇi pratyayas-tad-viśuddhaye.* - *Uttaratantra* 1: 26

[35] E. Obermiller, *The Sublime Science of the Great Vehicle...*, Note 1 in p. 155.

[36] *"atraiṣām caturṇām padānām prathamam lokottara-dharma-bījatvāt pratyātmayonisomanasikāra-samniśrayeṇa tad-viśuddhim-upādāya tri-ratnotpatti-hetur-anugantavyaḥ."* -The Commentary on the Uttaratantra 1:26

[37] *"Ityevam-ekam padam hetuḥ. Katham trīṇi pratyayaḥ. Tathāgato' nuttarām samyak-sambodhim-abhi-sambudhya daśa-balādibhir-buddha-dharmair-dvātrimśadākāram tathāgata-karma kurvan parato-ghoṣa-samniśrayeṇa tad-viśuddhim-upādāya tri-ratnotpatti-pratyayo' nugantavyaḥ. Ityevam trīṇi pratyayaḥ."* - The Commentary on the *Uttaratantra* 1: 26

[38] The first chapter of the *Uttaratantra* concludes like this: *"Iti ratna-gotra-vibhage mahāyānottara-tantra-śāstre tathāgata-garbhādhikāraḥ prathamaḥ paricchedaḥ..."*

[39] *"Samāsato daśa-vidham-artham-abhisamdhāya parama-tattva-jñāna-viṣayasya tathāgata-dhātor-vyavasthānam-anugantavyam."* - The Commentary on the *Uttaratantra* 1:29

[40] Brian Edward Brown, The Buddha nature: *A Study of the Tathāgatagarbha and Ālayavijñāna*, p. 69

[41] E. Obermiller translates it as 'the Essence of Germ', in his *Sublime Science of the Great Vehecle...*, p.158

[42] E. Obermiller translates it as "causes of its purification", in his *Sublime Science of the Great Vehicle...*, p.158

[43] E. Obermiller translates it as "results of its purification", in his *Sublime Science of the Great Vehicle...*, p.158

[44] E. Obermiller translates it as "Varieties of the Germ in correspondence with the different states", in his *Sublime Science of the Great Vehicle...*, p. 158

45 Ātma should be understood in the sense of the unique essence of the Universe (E. Obermiller, *The Sublime Science of the Great Vehicle.*, Note 5, in p. 164). This is not the substantialist conception *(Vedāntic)* of the Absolute. *Śūnyatā* is the true nature of the *Tathāgata-garbha*, which will be dealt with later on in the text. The term *ātma* is more indicative than concrete. The four *guṇa-pāramitās* as definitive of the *Dharma-kāya* does demand a qualification.

46 *"Śubhātma-sukha-nityatva-guṇa-pāramitā phalam." - Uttaratantra* 1: 35(a)

47 Brian Edward Brown, The Buddha Nature: *A Study of the Tathāgatagarbha and Ālayavijñāna*, p. 74.

48 *"Paramātmātma-nairāṭmya-prapañca-kṣaya-śāntitaḥ." - Uttaratantra* 1: 37 (b)

49 *"Nityaḥ samsāra-nirvāṇa-samatā-prativedhataḥ."- Uttaratantra* 1: 38 (b)

50 *"Sukho manomaya-skandha-taddhetu vinivṛttitaḥ". Uttaratantra* 1: 38 (a)

51 *"Sa hi prakṛti-śuddhatvād-vāsanāpagamācchuciḥ". - Uttaratantra* 1: 37 (a)

❖❖❖

The Riddle of the Circular Temple of Mitaoli

8

A. K. Singh

Mitaoli (26°26′, 78°18′) is a village situated about 3 km east of Padhavali, in Morena district of Madhya Pradesh, India. Three temple remains and a life-size sculpture of a bull are noticed in the environs of the village. At the foot of the hill, close to the west of the village, ruins of a temple and some sculptures are observed. This temple faces east and the plan consists of the *garbhagrha* and the *maṇḍapa*. It stands on a simple *jagati*. The *lalāṭa-bimba* bears the figure of a garuḍa while the *uttaranga* depicts the figures of navagrahas. An inscription of a later date (VS 1536) is engraved on the western wall of *garbhagrha*. To the north side of the hill, there is a life-size statue of a bull. The length of the bull is 2.04m, the height is 1.53m (without the hump) and the height of the leg is 0.84m. The hump is 0.26m in height. On a nearby hillock of Mitaoli, about 31m above the surrounding plains, is one of India's most magnificent circular temples. The third temple is situated to the east of the circular temple, on a high hill and faces east. It has only the *garbhagrha* in a plan of 1.58x1.63x2.11m. In the *garbhagrha* measuring 1.20x1.40m, a broken piece of a *yogini* sculpture is now preserved. The *jangha* is provided with sculptures and the temple has a flat *vitāna* (ceiling). The entrance of this temple measures 1.04mx0.50m, and comprises the *campaka-chadi* and the *rupa-śākhā* while the lintel presents the sculptures of Viṣṇu on either side of Brahma and Śiva.

The circular temple of Mitaoli was constructed in VS 1380 (AD 1323) according to the inscription[1]. Though it has been heavily
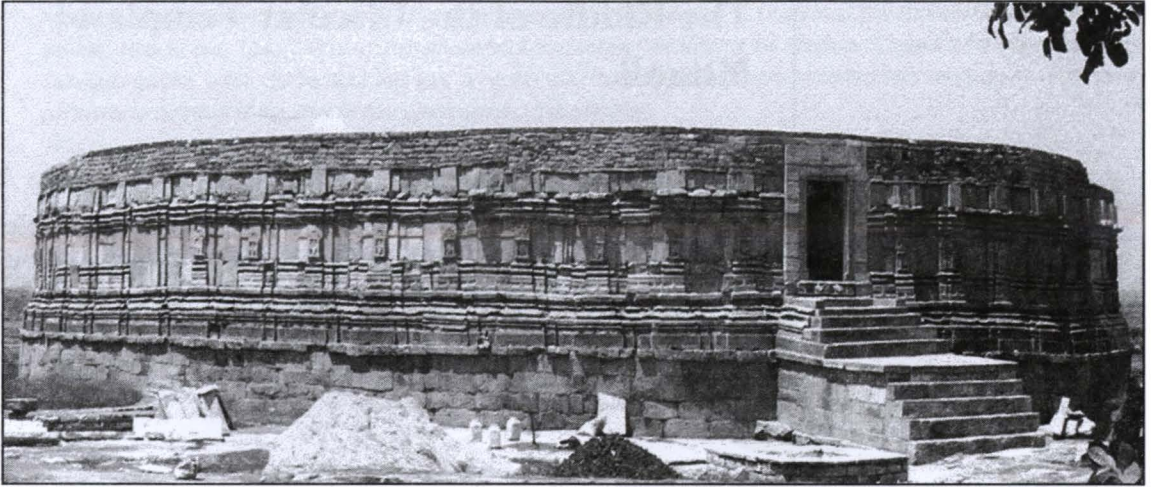
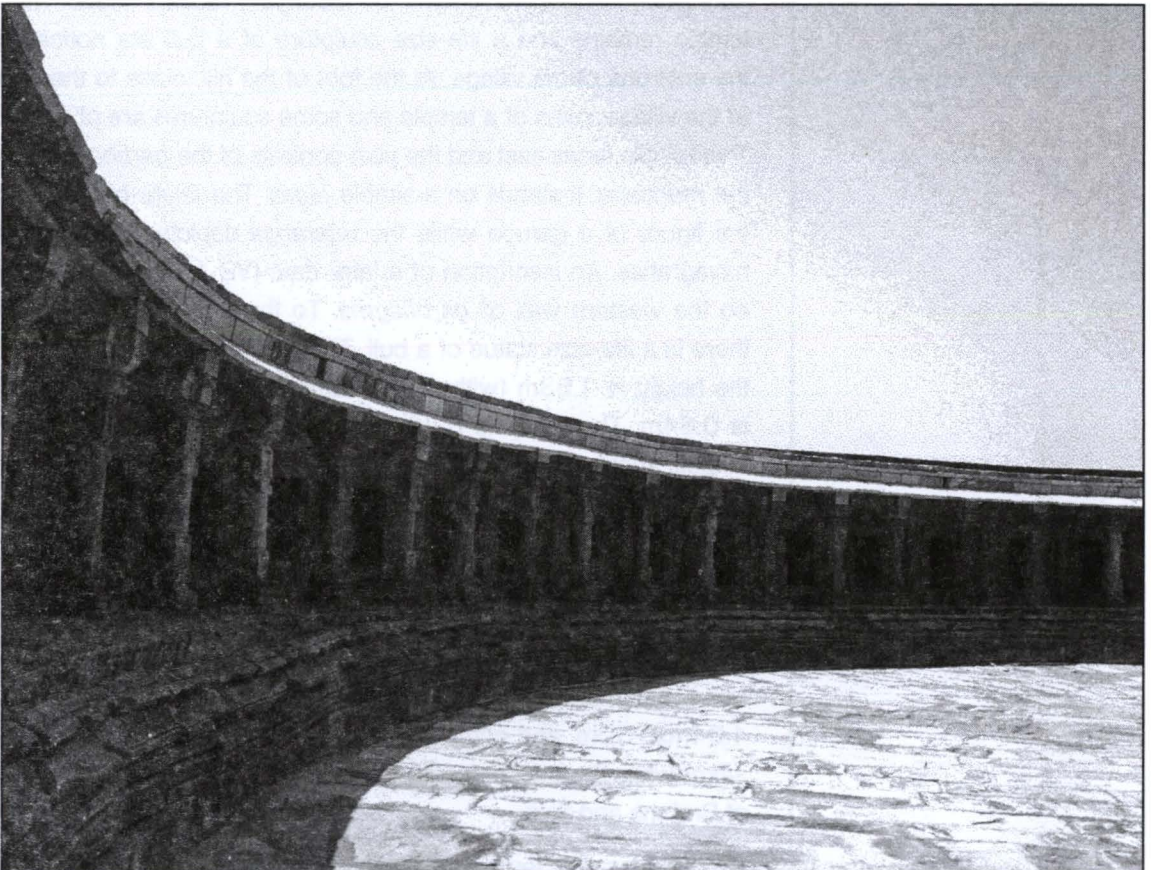*Photo 8.1 Causaṭha Yoginī Temple, Mitaoli ; Photo Courtesy A. K. Singh*

Photo 8.2 Cells and Verandah, Causaṭha Yoginī Temple, Mitaoli ; Photo Courtesy A. K. Singh

Photo 8.4 Śiva and Pārvatī, Causaṭha Yoginī Temple, Mitaoli
Photo Courtesy A. K. Singh

Photo 8.5 Pedestal with Inscription, Causaṭha Yoginī Temple, Mitaoli ; Photo Courtesy A. K. Singh

renovated, its original form can still be distinguished. The outer walls are provided with offsets, each carrying a small niche and pediment. The *jangha* is plain while the *bhadrarathas* are displayed with the sculptures and ornamented by the diamond-shaped pastilles (*ratna-puṣpa* designs) in general. A few samples of diamond-shaped pastilles indicate the process of work wherein the design was initially sketched on stone and then carved accordingly. The continuous base below the niches consists of a *vedibandha* (podium) and *pītha* (plinth). The mouldings are particularly sharp and compressed. A continuous *varandika* (entablature) lies above the wall and its niches. Enough is preserved above the entablature to show that the temple was once ringed with small Latina-shaped spires.[2] The spires at Mitaoli originally crowned small cells which faced inwards to a cloistered court.

On plan the circular temple is quite peculiar, a typical to be found elsewhere, consisting of a central circular shrine, facing east, placed on a circular elevated plinth in the centre of an open and circular courtyard enclosed by a range of small cells of 1.22x1.53m against a 1.78m spacious verandah supported by 139 pillars, each 1.45m in height, facing the court inside. An entrance of 1.83x1.06 m to the court is present in the east. This temple is built like a huge 105.16m wide chariot wheel (Photo 8.1) and is full of sixty-four smaller inward facing shrines (Photo 8.2); at present each containing a Śivaliṅga.[3] The overall structure comprises a series of concentric circles with the outer part having a few rock carvings of goddesses. The central shrine, with its evenly spaced out, uniformly shaped pillars in a circular pattern[4], lies in the middle of a courtyard and looking onto it is a circle of inward-facing shrines. In the centre of the court is a shrine to the god Śiva, also rebuilt in parts, built on a circular plan and having an open *verandah* around the sanctum *(garbhagṛha)* (Photo 8.3). The circular *garbhagṛha* of 7.78m is made of 11 curved pillars and 10 slabs. The lower portion shows a moulded plinth and an open circular ambulatory supported by 17 inner, and 34 outer paired columns. Each pillar with a height of 2.04m has a base and double capitals, without floral ornament of any kind. The inner circumambulatory *(pradakṣiṇā)* is of 0.80m wide while the outer one is 1.45m wide, and 2.30m high.

Although scholars have provided a fairly detailed account of the temple, the question regarding its dedication or attribution, presiding deity, identification of the sculptures and some other points still remain unsolved. There is the riddle of its nomenclature. In view of these issues, this paper attempts to re-examine the circular temple of Mitaoli and to offer suggestions with regard to the questions raised.

We first take up the question of identification of the sculptures. The architecture of the temple is unique but there are few sculptures. In the opinion of Misra, originally sixty-four *vyūhāntara* forms of Viṣṇu (major and minor) were installed *(pratiṣṭhā)* in the sixty-four cells *(prakoṣṭha)* which became a part of adoration *(upāsanā)*[5]. In the opinion of Willis the niches flanking the rebuilt entrance contain figures of Śiva and Pārvatī[6] while Misra identifies images on the outer wall of the temple with Balarāma and Revatī[7]. However, we have observed eight such sculptures in which the male figure seems to be four armed and bears in the right upper hand a *khatvanga* and in the lower right hand possibly a *kamaṇḍala*, which support the view that they are Śiva and Pārvatī (Photo 8.4). The sculpture of *khatvanga* bearing Śiva with Nandi may be seen in the *raṅga-maṇḍapa* of nearby Padhavali temple.

Photo 8.6 Pedestal with Inscription, Causaṭha Yoginī Temple, Mitaoli ; Photo Courtesy A. K. Singh

Photo 8.7 Sculpture with Inscription, Causaṭha Yoginī Temple, Mitaoli
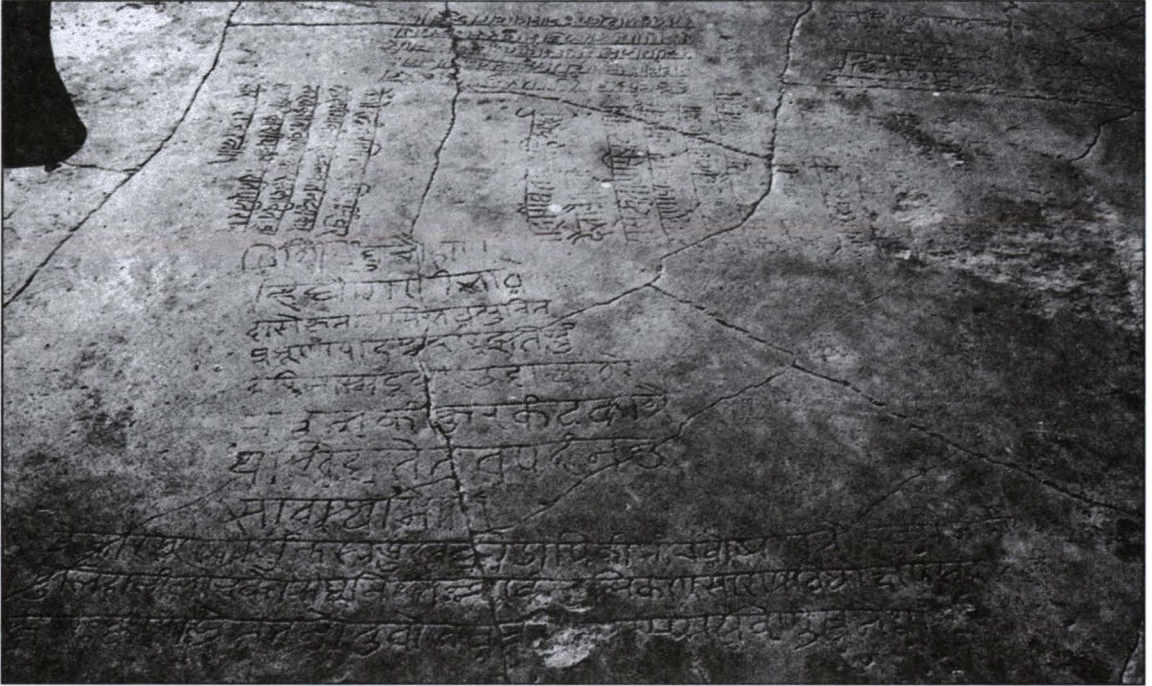*Photo Courtesy A. K. Singh.*

Photo 8.8 Rock Inscriptions, Causaṭha Yoginī Temple, Mitaoli ; Photo Courtesy A. K. Singh
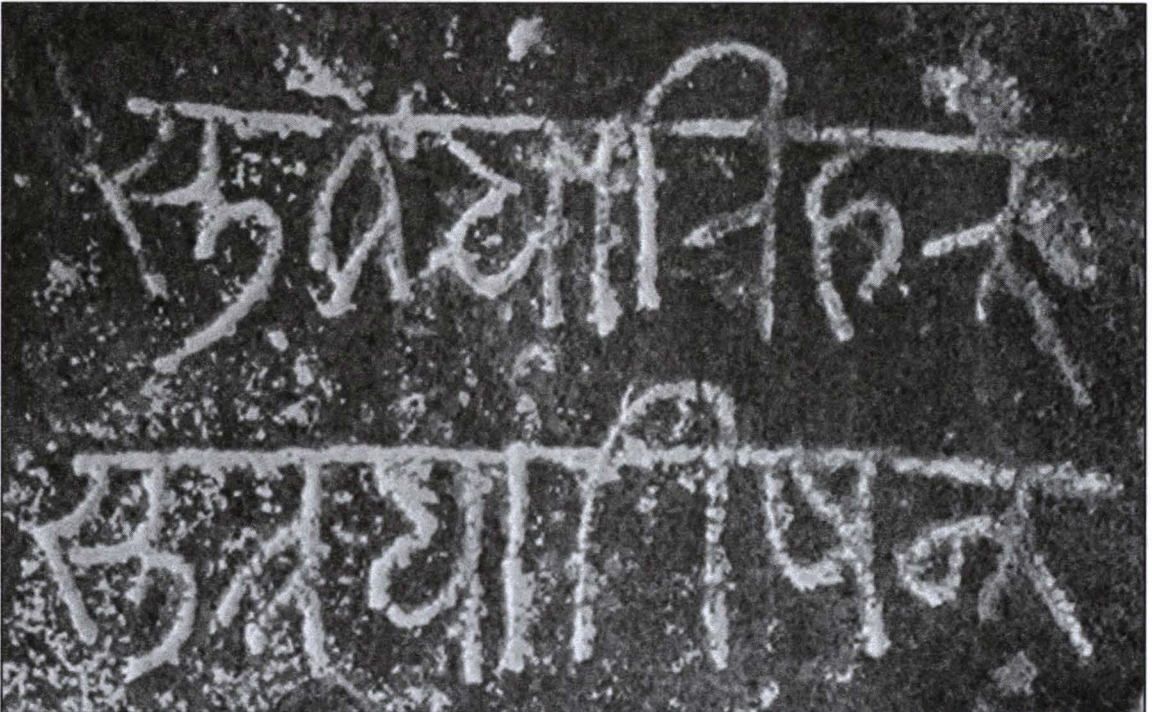

Photo 8.9. Inscriptions of Sūtradhāras, Mitaoli ; Photo Courtesy A. K. Singh

On the door of one cell the image of yogis with a *yogāsana* figure on *lalāṭa-bimba* is carved, which is identified by Misra as yogāsana Viṣṇu.[8] On both sides of the door-jamb of the entrance of the temple there are the small images of Gaṇeśa and Kubera with *kirtimukhas* in the centre. In addition, there are two images of Gaṇeśa, of which, one is carved on the *lalāṭa-bimba* of a broken lintel lying loose and the other on a lintel placed in the outer wall of the circular temple.

As for its nomenclature, there are three different opinions regarding the dedication of the temple either to Śiva, or Viṣṇu, or Yogini. The structure is locally known as the 'Ekottarso Mahadeva Mandir' (temple of Mahadeva with 101 *lingas*); and in each cell the linga is enshrined[9]. However, they number less than a hundred which would not justify the popular name of the temple. According to Misra[10] the available material indicates that this temple seems to be Vaiṣnava. According to him there are eight major *vyūhāntara* forms of Viṣṇu, each of which has eight minor *vyūhāntaras*, so we arrive at the figure sixty-four (8 x 8=64), the number of idols that were installed in the sixty-four cells and became part of the adoration. Misra further observes that on the door of one cell with yogis there is the image of *yogāsana* Viṣṇu which is evidence that the temple was dedicated to Viṣṇu.[11] Willis[12] suggests that the empty cells lining the courtyard probably contained *yogini* images as in the well-known temple at *Bheraghat*,[13] but he did not substantiate it. After visiting the site several times and comparing the circular temple with Causatha Yogini temple of Hirapur, Bheraghat and other places, we are also of the opinion that the temple was devoted to Causatha Yogini, for which we have at present inscriptional evidence. The *yogini* sculptures of Mitaoli temple bear the name of the deity, as is seen in the sculptures of other Causatha Yogini temples. In the debris of the temple we have noticed two pedestals of sculptures bearing the names of *yogini* Trailokyamāyā (Photo 8.5) and Lamvini (Photo 8. 6), while a third broken sculpture of a *yogini* bearing the name Vabhravi on the pedestal (Photo 8.7) is found installed in the *garbhagrha* of a temple situated on the hill to the east of the circular temple. More such pedestals or images may be found in the debris. Thus, on the basis of inscriptions, architecture and sculpture we can infer that sixty-four cells of the temple originally contained images of *yoginis*.

Between the ninth and the fourteenth centuries, there was an active cult of *yogini*, also called dakini, *śakti* or *bhairavi*. In one view the cult had origins in the animistic traditions of *Adivasi* (aboriginal) peoples and/or the folk traditions of *grama devi* (female nature deities) and that around the late 7th century, these philosophies combined with the cult of *Śakti* and Tantrism. The word *yogini* is used to refer to advanced female yoga practitioners, and in the mythological context, it may designate a female who is an associate or attendant of Durgā or in several tantric cults, the term refers to an initiated female sexual partner, who may take part in tantric rituals. In general, a *yogini* is a woman who may possess supernatural powers, including the ability to surpass the normal aging process via internalisation of the reproductive power known as *ūrdhva-retas* (upward refinement of the seed-force) and even death, attaining *divya śarira* (immortal divine body). Temples of Causatha Yogini are known from Hirapur in Khurda District and Ranipur-Jhariyal in Balangir District of Orissa; and from Khajuraho in Chhatarpur District and Bheraghat in Jabalpur district of Madhya Pradesh. In one opinion, there are eight major forms of *Devi*, the Goddess, and the origin of *matṛkās* Brāhmi, Maheśvari, Kaumāri, Vaiṣṇavi, Varāhi, Indrāṇi, Camuṇḍā and Yogeśvari is related to the assassination of Andhakāsura.[14]

They are known as the *Aṣṭa Mātṛkās* (eight mothers). Each of these goddesses has eight attendants and so we arrive at the number 64. In later texts, the number of *yogini* increased to sixty-four. All *yoginis* are worshipped collectively and together, each one is enshrined in an individual position in a circular temple open to the sky.

The details suggest that the sixty-four shrines of the circular temple of Mitaoli originally consisted of *yogini* images which were later on replaced by *Śiva-liṅga*, and in the light of new findings of the inscriptions, the circular temple may be called Causatha Yogini temple.

The inscriptions of Mitaoli are very important, not only to solve the problems of the nomenclature and attribution but also because they provide valuable information regarding its builder and show the popularity of the temple that was visited by several persons, as evident from pilgrims' and other records. Hence it needs a brief description here.

Inscriptions:

Inscriptions of Mitaoli are not edited so far but reported by some earlier scholars. Three inscriptions mentioning the name of *yogini* are reported here for the first time which is significant for the identification of the circular temple. Two broken pieces of stone, bearing the name of maharaja Sri Kirttisimhadeva are also noticed in the debris. Other rulers known from the inscriptions are *maharaja* Devapaladeva, possibly the builder of the circular temple. Others are Thanasimgha Cauhana, Prthvisimha Cauhana, Sri Hamiradeva Cauhana, and Raisimha (Photo 8.8). The name of *sūtradhāra* Haru, *sūtradhāra* Ñanu (Photo 8.9), *sūtradhāra* Prasu, besides several masons' marks and masons' names[15] are crucial for knowing about the builders of the Causatha Yogini temple.

I. Inscription of VS 1560

It is engraved in two lines on rock, outside the circular temple, in dotted form, in Nagari characters and Hindi language[16]. Only two words and the date are given.

TEXT

1. *Samvat 1560 pattadavaloyama su..*

II. Rock Inscription of VS 1588

It is carved in dotted form, outside the circular temple[17]. It records that the inscription was written by *vadhaka (silpi)* Harasimgha which was engraved by Jaju, Maguli and Hamadaipati on the 12th day of the bright fortnight of *caitra in Ramasri samvat 1588*.

TEXT

1. *Ramasaya(sri) Samvat 1588 vrase caitra sudi 12 lisata Harasimgha vadhaka...*

2. *sakarau ghaptau Jaju Maguli Hamadaipati*

III.   Inscription of VS 162x

On the door-jamb of the entrance of the circular temple inscription of VS 162 (the last numeral is not engraved) asadha sudi 12 is written in five lines, Nagari characters and Hindi language.[18]

TEXT

1.   *Samvat 162x vra-*

2.   *she asadha su*

3.   *12 ayam tutha-*

4.   *yamu Sunaru-*

5.   *gham ganetekau*

IV.   Inscription of Thanasingha Cauhana

One of the rock inscriptions, outside the circular temple, written in six lines and in Nagari characters, Sanskrit language, mentions Thanasimha Cauhana and contains a portion of Sanskrit verse commencing lavanyamrta etc.[19]

TEXT

1.   *Thanasimghu Cauhanu pa...ma*

2.   *la silaccai*

3.   *lavanyamrta pamkeloca-*

4.   *na jugalam pramadita pati-*

5.   *tam / ceto gata mulha ta dapi*

6.   *cahutra sandhi sakaye magnam*

V.   Inscription of Pṛthvisimgha Cauhāna

Another rock inscription, outside the circular temple, written in eight lines and in Nagari characters and Sanskrit language, praises Pṛthvisimha Cauhāna and contains a verse beginning with the phrase: *dase krtagasi* etc.[20] Below this inscription the verse beginning with *kremkarasmarakarmuka* etc. is engraved in three lines.[21]

TEXT

1.   *Prthvisimghu Cauhana*

2.   *highau ganibhave*

3.   *däse krtagasi bhavatyucita*

4. *prabhunam padapaharaiti sum-*

5. *darinasma duye // udyatkage-*

6. *na pulakamkura kantakagrai*

7. *yasvidyate tava padam nanu*

8. *savathami // 1*

9. *Kremkarasmara karmukasya sukha kridapi kiram urvaurakarau navanayamam...*

10. *dhulihali locako saghnunih tannvakamculikayasa ranavidho ksephasu khelakam*

11. *kanahtkrinah prematano tuvonavatra..lasyaya venusvanah //*

VI. Inscription of Räisimgha

Another rock inscription outside the circular temple, written in 14 lines, Nagari characters and Sanskrit language praises Raisimha and contains a verse beginning with the phrase: dase krtagasi etc.[22] Below this inscription the verse beginning with: kremkarasmarakarmuka etc. is engraved.

TEXT

1. *Raisimghato dahahi apurva*

2. *daibhavai // ssam*

3. *dase krtagasi bhavatyuci-*

4. *ta prabhunam padapaharaiti sundari-*

5. *nasmaduye // udyatkage pulakam-*

6. *kura kantakagre yasvidyate tava pa-*

7. *dam nanusavathami //*

8. *kremkarasmara karmukasya sukha*

9. *kridapi kiram [urvaurakarau] na-*

10. *[vanayamam] dhulihali loca-*

11. *[ko saghnunih tannvakam] culika-*

12. *[ya sarana vidho]ksephasu khelakam*

13. *[kanahtkrinah pre] matano*

14. *[tuvonavatra...] lasyaya venusvanah //*

VII. Another Inscription of the time of Raisimgha

On the entrance to the sanctum of central shrine, Siva temple, an inscription in 15 lines, Nagari characters and Sanskrit language is written. It mentions *maharaja* Raisimha and gives a verse of a Surya hymn.[23]

TEXT

1. *Sukvantum*
2. *ucvavisa*
3. *vivuhscanda*
4. *rucih pum-*
5. *darika va*
6. *na vandhomam*
7. *dalamudi-*
8. *tam vande kum-*
9. *dalama*
10. *khandala*
11. *sayasa*
12. *mahara[ja] Sri*
13. *Raisimgha*
14. *deva kauna*
15. *maram kau*

VIII. Inscription of Siva temple

On the southern pillar of the door of the Śiva temple, there is an inscription of seven lines written in Nagari script and Sanskrit language, contains a Sanskrit verse commencing with *kim idam kalmia bale* and mention is made of a *vapi*.[24]

TEXT

1. *Kimidam ka-*
2. *limavale*
3. *madhye vimvaya*
4. *reta vapi ca*
5. *dharamamrtah eke*

6. *me Vallabhau mu-*

7. *drikam dadau //*

IX. Rock Inscription

One of the rock inscriptions, outside the circular temple, written in five lines, Nagari characters and Sanskrit language, records a verse in *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre beginning with *drstvaikam pracuram*[25] and mentions the small circular temple.

TEXT

1. *Dṛṣṭvaikam pracuram punaisgunairapuritam*

2. *panthakau pasyartham getatamsatatramarpitau*

3. *punnyamganasvairgunai samketav-vandavadubhari*

4. *ramanam vrtta-laghurmandire samvaram naga-*

5. *rantadeva pathikau praptam katham tadgrhe //*

X. Another Rock Inscription

One of the rock inscriptions, outside the circular temple, written in five lines Nagari characters and Sanskrit language, records the glory of Kasi its ruler in a verse in *Mandākrānta* metre beginning with the word: tejoratnam.[26]

TEXT

1. *Tejoratnam taranitamanih Sindhura-*

2. *tnahi Ganga kantasane Janaka-tanaya ka-*

3. *laratnam vasatah vaniratnam sarasa-kavita va-*

4. *saratnamhi Kasi dhanviratnam ratipatirahye*

5. *virarase rajaratnam // 1*

XI. Inscription of Hamiradeva Cauhāna

On the entrance door-frame of the circular temple there is three lines inscription in Nagari script and Hindi language. It mentions Hamiradeva Cauhāna.[27]

TEXT

1. *Hara Sri Hami-*

2. *radeva Cau-*

3. *hana*

XII. Inscription of Sūtradhāras

On the entrance door-frame of the circular temple there is two-line inscription written in Nagari script and Hindi language contains the names of *sūtradhāra* Haru and *sūtradhāra* Khanu[28].

TEXT

1. *Sutradhäri Harü*
2. *Sutradhäri Ñanü*

XIII. Another Inscription of Sūtradhāra

On the entrance door-frame of the circular temple there is a one-line inscription written in Nagari script and Hindi language contains the names of *sūtradhāra* Prasu[29].

TEXT

1. *Sutradhari Prasu*

XIV. Pilgrims and other Inscriptions

(i) On a pillar between cells 39-40 (clockwise) a pilgrim record mentioning the name of Gangadata, son of Hota is engraved in two lines.

TEXT

1. *Jaljalu Hotasya putra Gaṅgädata jäträ ä-*
2. *gatyaḍ*

(ii) On an outer pillar, before cell 38, a pilgrim record mentioning the name of Manaditya, son of Janardana is engraved in two lines.

TEXT

1. *Sulathayi Janardana tasya [putra]*
2. *Manaditya devu jatra a[gatyan]*

(iii) On an outer pillar, before cell 20, a pilgrim record mentioning the name of *sadhu* Guli is engraved in three lines.

TEXT

1. *...jayatava rajavi-*
2. *ghnanu sadhu Guli jatra a-*
3. *gatyan Devadhisu*

(iv) On the rock, outside the circular temple, there is a two-line inscription written in Nagari script. This is a pilgrim's record mentioning *jogi* Pavaramu [30].

TEXT

1.   *Ahan dasanadasu*

2.   *jogi Pavaramu*

(v) On the rock, outside the circular temple, there is a five-line inscription written in Nagari script and local dialect. This is a *pilgrim's* record [31].

TEXT

1.   *Ahan dasanidasu*

2.   *jogi*

3.   *satasai varasakau*

4.   *Dete suta Vasa.. raja*

5.   *rira..tarera*

(vi) On the rock outside of the circular temple an inscription in two lines is engraved.

TEXT

1.   *Sidhu ddasiddasu*

2.   *rautausai cavala*

(vii) Two lines on the rock outside of the circular temple, record the name of a sage.

TEXT

1.   *Asuvacandra munina*

2.   *Āgulaniyan hitam /*

(viii) On a pillar of Siva temple an inscription is engraved in three lines.

TEXT

1.   *Rakandhuha*

2.   *rakandhudagikai*

3.   *[sa]desu*

(ix) Three lines in the pillared *verandah* record the name of Devadasa.

TEXT

1.   *Om // sidhiu*

2. *Devadasa*

3. *kasravya*

(x) One line on the pedestal mentions the name of *yogini* Vabhravi.

(xi) One line on the pedestal, mentions the name of *yogini* Lanvini.

(xii) One line on the pedestal, mentions the name of *yogini* Trailokyamāyā.

(xiii) On the *Cauki* (entrance) of Śiva temple there is an inscription written in Nagari characters, which refers to Saptami, Srikáñëa... and Akáñöinatha[32]. However, I am unable to notice this inscription.

(xiv) On the entrance of the circular temple there is a two-line inscription written in Nagari script and Hindi language, which mentions Vasu, son of Deü. The earlier reading by Garde was Vataraja, son of (?) deva. The record is assigned to Viramadeva Tomar.[33] But I am unable to notice this inscription.

(xv) On a slab found while digging at the pedestal of the temple, there is a two-line inscription, in Nagari characters and Sanskrit language, which seems to refer to the reign of the king Kirttisinghadeva and Raisinghadeva[34] but now only the name of first king is found on two broken pieces of stone. Line 1 refers to the name of *maharaja* Sri Kirttisinghadeva.

Notes and References

[1] *Annual Administration Report Archaeological Department Gwalior State* (GAR) (VS 1998-2002/1942-46), no. 15; Harihar Niwas Dwivedi, *Gwalior Rajya ke Abhilekh (GRA)*, Banaras, VS 2004, no. 190; Michael D. Willis, *Inscriptions of Gopaksetra: Materials for the History of Central India (IG)*, London, 1996, p. 23. It is reported that an inscription of VS 1380 jyaiñöha çudi 10 is engraved in Nagari characters and Sanskrit language, in 21 lines, on a slab in the temple, which is damaged. Being obliterated it is mostly illegible. Its purport is therefore, not clearly understood. The names of *maharaja* Devapaladeva and his queen are mentioned in the record and a reference is also made to the construction of the temple. So it is quite probable that this temple was constructed at the instance and orders of *maharaja* Devapaladeva. The name of Bhojadeva also occurs in the record, who, it seems, must be the writer of the record. Unfortunately, we are unable to locate this inscription. According to Michael D. Willis ("Architecture in Central India under the Kachchhapaghäta Rulers", *South Asian Studies*, 12 (1996), p. 28) this building probably is also from the time of Ratnapala.

[2] Michael D. Willis "Architecture in Central India under the Kachchhapaghäta Rulers", *South Asian Studies*, 12 (1996), p. 28.

[3] D. R. Patil, *The Cultural Heritage of Madhya Bharat*, Gwalior, 1952, p. 87.

[4] It is believed that the central shrine, with its evenly spaced out, uniformly shaped pillars in a circular pattern could easily have been the prototype of Herbert Baker's world famous design of the Indian Parliament.

[5] Ramanath Misra, *Bharatiya Murttikala ka Itihasa*, Delhi, 2002, p. 289.

[6] Michael D. Willis "Architecture in Central India under the Kachchhapaghata Rulers", South Asian Studies, 12 (1996), p. 28.

[7] Ramanath Misra, *Bharatiya Murttikala ka Itihasa*, Delhi, 2002, p. 289.

[8] *Ibid.*

[9] A. M. Sinha, *Madhya Pradesh District Gazetteers: Morena*, Bhopal, 1996.

[10] Ramanath Misra, *Bharatiya Murttikala ka Itihasa*, Delhi, 2002, p. 289.

[11] *Ibid.*

[12] Michael D. Willis "Architecture in Central India under the Kachchhapaghata Rulers", *South Asian Studies*, 12 (1996): p. 28. The temple is illustrated in Vidya Dehejia, Yogini Cult and Temples: A Tantric Tradition, New Delhi, 1986, pp. 122-124.

[13] R.K. Sharma, *The Temple of Chusatha-Yogini at Bheraghar*, Delhi, 1978.

[14] Varaha Purana, 17, 33-37; T. A. Gopinath Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, vol. I- part II, New Delhi, 1968, pp. 379-383.

[15] For detail please see Arvind K. Singh, "Masons' Marks from Morena and Gwalior", *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Mumbai*, vol. 79 (2005), pp.205-225.

[16] *GAR* (VS 1998-2002/1942-46), no. 12; *GAR*, no. 352. In *Annual Report of Indian Epigraphy (ARE)* 1975-76: no. C 4152, and *IG*, p. 43: an inscription of VS 1565 is referred which records after the date seem to read: 'dasaloyo sapta'. But it is more probable that both the inscriptions of VS 1560 and 1565 are same and the date is mistakenly recorded as 1565.

[17] *GAR* (VS 1972/1915-16), no. 51; *ARE* 1961-62, no. C 1551; IG, p. 44. The date is mentioned by earlier scholars as 15[83].

[18] *GAR* (VS 1972/1915-16), no. 54; *GAR*, no. 390, *ARE* 1961-62, no. C 1541; *IG,*p. 47.

[19] *GAR* (VS 1972/1915-16), no. 47; *GAR*, no. 693, *ARE* 1961-62, no. C 1539; *IG,*p.114.

[20] *GAR* (VS 1972/1915-16), no. 50; *GAR*, no. 692, *ARE* 1961-62, no. C 1550; *IG*, p.115.

[21] *GAR* (VS 1972/1915-16), no. 48; *ARE* 1961-62, no. C 1548: 'kreåkära Samara- kämuka'; *IG*, p. 115.

[22] This inscription is listed in *GAR* (VS 1972/1915-16), no. 46 and *GAR*, no. 697 as mentioning Rayasimha and a Surya hymn. Dwivedi mention the name of the ruler as Ramasinha. In the view of Willis (*IG*, p. 115), but it is likely that this is the same record which is engraved on the pillar of the entrance of Mahadeva temple while the record under discussion is separate and engraved on the rock outside the circular temple. For the date, Vikrama year 1654, of this ruler see Arvind K. Singh "Gangola Tank of Gwalior Fort and its Inscriptions", *Pragdhara*, No. 15 (2004-05), p. 278, no. XII

[23] *GAR* (VS 1998-2002/1942-46), no. 14; *GAR*, no. 696; *ARE* 1961-62, no. C 1547; *IG*, p. 115. Dvivedi has given wrong year of *GAR*.

[24] *GAR* (VS 1972/1915-16), no. 45; *ARE* 1961-62, no. C 1546; *IG*, p. 115.

[25] *GAR* (VS 1972/1915-16), no. 52; *ARE* 1961-62, no. C 1552; *IG*, p. 115: record 'dåiövaikaå in place of dåishövaikaå'.

[26] *GAR* (VS 1972/1915-16), no. 49; *ARE* 1961-62, no. C 1549; *IG*. p. 115.

[27] *GAR* (VS 1998-2002/1942-46), no. 7: *Hamira Deva Chaun*; *GAR*, no. 694, *ARE* 1961-62, no. C 1545; *IG*. p. 114.

[28] *GAR* (VS 1998-2002/1942-46), no. 10: Names of two artisans Haru and Khanu are written. *ARE* 1961-62, no. C 1540; *IG*, p. 114.

[29] *ARE* 1970-71, C 3036: 'sutadhä paprasü'.

[30] *GAR* (VS 1972/1915-16), no. 55; *ARE* 1961-62, no. C 1542, *IG*, p. 115: *'jogi Panerama'*.

[31] *GAR* (VS 1972/1915-16), no. 56; *ARE* 1961-62, no. C 1543, *IG*, p. 115: reads '(1) au dasinidasu (2) jogi (3) satasai varasakai'.

[32] *GAR* (VS 1998-2002/1942-46), no. 9; *ARE* 1975-76, no. C 4151; *IG*, p. 114.

[33] *GAR* (VS 1972/1915-16), no. 57; *GAR*, no. 698; *ARE* 1961-62, no. C 1544; *IG*, p.115.

[34] *GAR* (VS 1972/1915-16), no. 57; *GAR*, no. 698; *ARE* 1961-62, no. C 1544; *IG*, p.115.

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Manufacturing Activities In The Punjab During The Late Eighteenth Century (1750-1799)

9

Satnam Singh
Raghubir Singh

Manufacturing activities determine the economic viability of towns and cities, which absorb a large number of artisans and manufacturers in their fold. The administration provides the opportunities for these working classes to manufacture articles of various kinds. Whether the manufacturing activity is big or small depends upon on the utility of the items and the availability of the raw material. It is equally true that the proportion of consumed items in the domestic or foreign markets deeply influences the interests of both the manufacturers and the traders.

Foreign invasions had a great impact on the manufacturing activity in the Punjab.[1] The artisans and manufacturers living not only in towns and cities but even in villages could not fully devote their energies to peacefully pursue their vocation. Moreover, they were often directed by their political masters in whose territories they lived and had to work to supply items that were immediately needed at the time. These demands consisted of swords, spears, guns and such other objects required for warfare, and caused them to neglect the production of diverse varieties of objects required for daily use as well as for exports. This compulsion and constraint created in their minds a feeling of resentment which often resulted in their migration to places which they considered safe and where they could build up their lives anew. They often did not return to their original homes even after the menace had passed. On the one hand the exit of artisans and manufacturers created a vacuum which hampered the growth in local production while on the other;

it dealt a severe blow to the economies of such urban centres as Lahore, Sialkot, Multan and Batala, where manufacturing activities thrived before the Afghan invasions. These towns and cities were utterly ruined due to the continuous invasions of Ahmad Shah Abdali.[2]

In the 1760s when various rulers established their own independent rule in the Punjab, the fortunes of artisans and manufacturers took a turn for the better. Almost all the new rulers of Punjab were conscious of the importance of these working classes. After the establishment of peace and order, they invited not only traders and merchants but also artisans and manufacturers to settle down in their respective territories. In this process, every chief tried to ensure success for himself by adopting a favourable policy which suited the interests of the artisans and the manufacturing class, as well as the chiefs themselves. Under this deal, the manufacturing activity of Punjab progressed rapidly and in the last decade of the eighteenth century it started reflecting a visible sign of revival and growth.[3]

A large number of towns and cities of the Mughal times such as Lahore, Multan, Sialkot, Batala and Jalandhar showed significant continuity in the process of manufacturing activity in the period under study.[4] The status of these cities became important when they were adopted as the administrative headquarters by the new rulers of Punjab. These urban centres manufactured a range of articles in response to the demand from both domestic and foreign markets. Many became famous for woollen, cotton and silk textiles while others came to be known for metal work, leather work, paper, pottery, wood-work, saddles, salt and iron.[5]

In the upper Bari Doab, the city of Lahore was the most important centre of manufacture and trade during the Mughal period, known for the production of fine calico, striped silk, shawls, satin, embroidery, coarse woollen items, turbans, carpets, swords, leather goods, shoes, boats, bows and arrows, indigo and sugar. It was well connected with the markets of Delhi, Kabul, Kashmir and Multan.[6]

During the late eighteenth century, the position of Lahore as a major centre of manufacture can easily be assessed when we go through the observations of the contemporary European travellers. According to James Browne, the principal items manufactured at Lahore consisted of fine textiles and weapons which in his opinion were the best in quality as compared to the rest of Hindustan.[7] John Griffiths also refers to the manufacture of blankets, shawls and white cloth at Lahore.[8]

In this context, the revival of Lahore was noteworthy, which also coincided with the establishment of peace and security and the incoming of traders and craftsmen into the city which provided the basis for further stimulation and increase in the manufacturing activity. In this established environment, manufacturers could presumably concentrate fully on their respective manufacturing activities. But the position of Lahore as a major centre of manufacture and trade declined during the last decades of the eighteenth century, as Amritasar rose as a rival to take this position at this time.

Amritsar was developed during the late eighteenth century and in a short time it had emerged as a leading centre of manufacture and trade. Besides being recognised as the grand emporium of trade in shawls and saffron, the inhabitants of Amritsar also manufactured certain kinds of coarse cloth and inferior quality silks.[9] *Dusalas*, quilts, quilted cloaks, colours and dyes also were manufactured here.[10]

The manufacture of *pasmina* work was first introduced in Amritsar when Ranjit Singh established his rule over the Punjab. It was mainly conducted by Kashmiri Muslims but later Punjabi Muslims also took to *pasmina* weaving.[11] The average wages for apprentices was probably Rs2 to Rs4 per month and for master workers Rs5 to Rs6 per month. Shawls were made from the *pasmina* wool which was brought from Kashmir and Tibet.[12] Raw silk was imported from Bokhara and cleaned, sorted, corded and dyed in Amritsar and was then exported to different locations in India.[13]

Multan was another centre of manufacture during the late eighteenth century. During the Mughal period, the manufactured items included woollen and cotton carpets, chintz, calico and bows.[14] In the late eighteenth century, John Griffiths counts white textiles and chintzes among items manufactured at Multan.[15] Besides this, silk and cotton articles, particularly the richer varieties of *lungis, lacha, khes, gulbadan,* brocades, tissues, woollen carpets, shoes, pottery, ivory stuffs and saddles were manufactured.[16] The adjacent regions too, according to Griffiths, produced various kinds of grain, cotton and indigo and fruits for the local markets.[17]

Batala was another city in the upper Bari Doab where manufacturing activities not only continued but flourished during the late eighteenth century. It was a very big city and the headquarters of Sada Kaur, mother-in-law of Ranjit Singh in the opening decade of the nineteenth century. In contemporary accounts we have a clear indication of its being an important city in the previous century.[18] Batala served as a market for the agricultural produce of the surrounding countryside and it was connected with the markets of smaller towns on all sides. It was famous for its jaggery which came from the rich countryside, eminently suitable for the cultivation of sugarcane. The *susi* and *lungi* cloth was woven by the deft hands of workmen from Batala and was exported to several markets within India. Batala was famous also for its leather work, particularly saddles and shoes, coarse quality *pasmina* and shawls which were consumed in the markets nearer home. The carpenters took to wood-carving. Oil pressers, dyers and goldsmiths were also added to the population of Batala.[19] An officer of the Bengal Army who visited Batala in 1808 mentions that this town was surrounded by mango groves and tanks of water and was considered the healthiest place in the Punjab. Excellent quality plums were produced here; the apples had a better flavour than any in Hindustan. Mulberries and *bers* were also found in ample quantities[20] around Batala which could meet the demand from the inhabitants of the city.

The towns of Dinanagar, Pathankot, Sujanpur, Dera Baba Nanak and Sri Hargobindpur also harboured considerable manufacturing activity. The articles manufactured by these towns were of substandard quality but were accepted as the best by local markets. The items that were manufactured and traded in these towns included *lois,* woven shawls, coarse *pasmina* work, leather work, carved wood and dyed fabrics.[21]

Blankets of good quality were made at Malka Hans whereas Qasur was known for its leather work, particularly for shoes and harness. *Lungis* and *Dohars* were manufactured at Pakpattan while Qabula was famous for its ghee.[22]

Our sources speak well of the manufacturing activities of the towns and cities of the Jalandhar doab. For instance, Nakodar was famous for the *chandeli* and other similar kinds of textiles.[23] In Phagwara, several kinds of coarse textiles were manufactured. Wheat, barley, gram, *moth, mung, jowar, urad* and sugarcane were cultivated on a large scale here. Jaggery was considered the specialty of this area.[24] Bajwara and Rahon were famous for their textiles.[25] An officer of the Bengal Army reports on a very large number of mango groves to the east and south of Jalandhar; both are said to have produced excellent fruit.[26] We have numerous references regarding the manufacture of coarse cloth and chintzes at Sultanpur. In fact, this was not a new development because Sultanpur was famous for its chintzes and quilts even during the Mughal times. Similarly, the manufacture of sugar in Kapurthala and Jalandhar was not a new development because the Jalandhar doab as a whole was known for its manufacture of sugar during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The other agricultural produce of the Jalandhar doab which entered the market included rice, oil, tobacco and fruits. Our sources refer to several non-agricultural products in the Jalandhar doab, such as brass, copper and bell metal utensils in Phagwara, bows and arrows, silver wire and laces in Jalandhar.[27]

In the Rachna doab, Sialkot maintained its former status as the centre of manufacture with slight changes in the form of manufactured goods. In the early eighteenth century, it was well known for its paper industry, *chikan* work and for the manufacture of *Jamdar, Katar and Barchi*.[28] And during the late eighteenth century, it was famous for its paper, embroidered muslin, quilts, brocades, daggers and spears.[29]

Ganesh Das refers to four categories of fine quality paper manufactured in the settlements of Rangpura, Raipura and Jhathapura situated to the east of Sialkot. Actually, these were the suburbs of Sialkot. The houses of the paper manufacturers were in Rangpura. They made fine quality paper like *Man Singhi, Damhuri, Hariri* and *Jahangiri*. The paper made by them was not only well manufactured but was also white, clean and durable.[30] Later sources testify that much of the Sialkot paper during the Mughal times was exported. Its manufacture declined during the late eighteenth century.[31] The statement made by Ganesh Das does indicate, however, that the manufacture of paper in Sialkot survived political change. This city was also known for its embroidery work. The Bhabra women used coloured silken threads on white cloth to embroider floral patterns of excellent artistic quality.[32]

The weavers of Sialkot were quite adept at making fine *susi* cloth of all varieties in green and blue colours. They manufactured fine *lachas* and *lungis* too. Among its agricultural products, mango and sugarcane were extremely delicious while its cheese was unrivalled.[33]

The village of Kotli Loharan in the neighbourhood of Sialkot was famous for its manufacture of fine matchlocks.[34] Gujranwala was known for its brass vessels, jewellery, shawl edgings and silk and cotton scarves. Wazirabad which was famous for its boat building activity during the Mughal period retained its name for boat building in the nineteenth century in addition to the manufacture of a variety of hardware, metal wares and knives.[35] The small town of Nizamabad, near Wazirabad, was famous for its manufacture of weapons and other implements used in warfare.[36] Chiniot was known for its bow makers, wood carvers, painters and masons.[37] Ghee was manufactured in Kamalia.[38] Good cloth

was made in Sayyadwala.[39] Jhang and Maghiana on the eastern bank of the Chenab were known for white cotton cloth.[40]

In the Chaj doab there were only three towns, namely Gujrat, Bhera and Sahiwal which were famous for their manufacturing and trade. Gujrat during the Mughal period was famous for its swords, daggers and embroidered muslin.[41] In the late eighteenth century, the items manufactured here were swords, matchlocks and daggers.[42] Ganesh Das refers to the artisans of Gujrat who were skilled in all kinds of crafts. The blacksmiths, for instance, used to make swords of a very high quality.[43] Gujrat was also well known for its shawls, embroidery, brass vessels, wood-work and shoes.[44]

Bhera had acquired fame for its excellent stone cutters and its manufacture of arms, cutlery and belts. Some of the other items of trade and manufacture in Bhera were cotton cloth, iron, rice and sugar.[45] Gypsum was also mined near Bhera.[46]

Sahiwal was the city where *salus* were dyed in very fine colours. It was a piece of a dyed red cloth, generally used by brides to cover their heads. The coppersmiths of this place made fine vessels of copper and brass.[47] It was also known for its turners in ivory and wood works.[48]

In the upper Sindh Sagar doab, Rawalpindi was the most important centre of trade and manufacture, for items of brass and copper. Some of the other places known for their manufacture in the upper Sindh Sagar doab were Pindi Gheb, Fatehjang and Dangli. The items manufactured included textiles, blankets, packing bags, saddles, lacquered legs for bedsteads and low chairs.[49] *Lungis, gulbadan* and chintzes were manufactured in Mankera.[50] Karangli was a village near Makhiala where antimony was extracted in large quantities.[51]

Salt was an important product of the Punjab, quarried mainly from the hills extending from the Jehlam to the Indus. The hills provided an inexhaustible supply of salt. Being the major staple of internal trade,[52] it was consumed not only in the Punjab but was also exported to different countries. There were salt mines at Kheora, Makhiala and Khoorg situated in the upper Sindh Sagar doab.[53]

Places situated near these salt mines probably grew in importance owing to the trade in salt. Pind Dadan Khan,[54] Kusak,[55] Miani[56] and Ram Nagar[57] served as a market for salt extracted from the Salt Range. According to Irfan Habib, gypsum was also mined near Kheora, Makhiala and Khoorg in the north-west.[58]

In the animal life of the Punjab, horses stand first. Foreign travellers observed that the provinces of Lahore and Multan were noted for the best breed of horses in Hindustan. There was a great demand for horses in the Punjab as well as outside of it.[59] The horse breed of the Lakhi Jungle was reputed for its strength, temper and activity.[60] In James Browne's opinion the main cause of producing the best breed of horses in the Punjab was the use of Arabian and Persian stallions. In addition to it, the climate of Punjab was quite conducive for it.[61] For the Sikhs, fine horses were essential because the Sikh army was mainly composed of cavalry. So they took good care of their horses.

Coming to the hills, our sources provide meagre but sound information relating to the manufacturing activity. The first noteworthy name in this respect is that of Sansar Chand, the ruler of Kangra. This

ruler realised the importance of manufacturing and not only encouraged arts and crafts but also invited goldsmiths, blacksmiths, carpenters and weavers from places outside his kingdom to settle and work at Sujanpur Tira and Nadaun.[62] This step presumably provided the stimulation that resulted in an increase in manufacturing to some extent. He also established a factory of small arms by way of modernising his army.[63] C. Grey refers to the manufacture of 'arms, ordnance and accoutrements of all descriptions' but these were got made under the expert guidance of a European, William O' Brien, an officer in the employment of Sansar Chand.[64] Rice of a very good quality was grown in large quantities in the area around the Kangra fort.[65] Kashmiri immigrants who settled in Nurpur manufactured shawls and other woollen items.[66]

There were natural mines of some minerals in the hills. Lead and silver mines were located in the Kullu hills.[67] Suket and Mandi were known for copper and iron mines respectively.[68] The mines of Komadh and Dirang in the territory of Mandi were famous for the extraction of salt and copper.[69] Lime was made from pebbles collected from the Tavi River at Jammu and was reputed for its whiteness, cementing quality and durability.[70] Zinc was extracted in the Kishtwar range near the Bhaga river and gold mines were found in the west of Rajauri.[71]

While analyzing the political, social and economic set up of the Punjab, one sees that the new rulers realised the indispensability of trade and manufacturing activities for the prosperity and progress of their domains. A majority of the towns and cities suffered either a decline or destruction during Ahmad Shah Abdali's successive invasions. After recapturing these territories, the Sikh rulers focused their attention on the revival and growth of those territories. For this purpose, they took some significant steps to ensure stability which ensured not only the growth of towns and cities but also presented opportunities of competition and collaboration among various rulers to show their skills and abilities in the management of the affairs of the towns and cities under their respective rules. They took care to first provide peace and security to pacify the feelings of the inhabitants. They constructed new forts and repaired the old ones. As they realized the importance of the trading community, they began to invite traders and craftsmen from outside to settle in their respective kingdoms.

There were two types of towns and cities whose fortunes were affected by this process of revival and growth. In the first category were the towns and cities that were governed by the Mughals and enjoyed some sort of political and administrative status, such as Lahore, Multan, Gujrat, Sialkot, Batala, Jalandhar, Dipalpur, Wazirabad, Bhera, Satghara, Jalalpur, Jhang, Kahnuwan, Jammu and Basohli. On the other hand, some of the places which grew up all afresh during the late eighteenth century included Amritsar, Gujranwala, Rawalpindi, Dera Baba Nanak, Kapurthala, Sujanpur, Hallowal, Fatehgarh Churian, Fatehabad, Phillaur, Sayyadwala, Nur Mahal, Pathankot and Tira-Sujanpur.[72]

The towns, cities and even the villages had maintained their capacity for the manufacturing of articles in demand from the domestic as well as foreign markets. Some of the towns acquired expertise in the manufacture of certain specific items. Manufactured goods included not only agricultural items used in daily life such as fine textiles, blankets, shawls, white cloth, coarse cloth, silk, *pasmina*, white cotton cloth, chintzes, *lungis*, *lachas*, *khes*, *gulbadan*, brocades, tissues, woollen carpets, paper, susi

cloth, embroidered muslin, quilts, scarves, *salus*, shoes, packing bags, low chairs, salt, spirit, jaggery, ghee and sugar; but also items of warfare such as arms, matchlocks, swords, daggers, bows and arrows, knives and other warlike implements. Non-agricultural items such as vessels of brass, copper and iron, bells, silver wire, laces, metal ware, jewellery and cutlery were also manufactured.

Lastly, the Punjab of the late eighteenth century was a conglomeration of sovereign chiefs who were generally at war with one another. This fluid political situation had a direct bearing on the economic scenario of the Punjab: it created fluctuating loyalties of the subjects. This situation continued till the Punjab was unified into one political unit under the rule of Ranjit Singh in the early part of the nineteenth century.

Notes and References

[1] For the purpose of this paper the Punjab refers to the area between the rivers Sutlej and Indus covering all the five *doabs* or inter-fluvials area between any two rivers. A further delimitation of the study is that only those parts of the Himalayas are covered which fell within the jurisdiction of the Mughal province of Lahore and the vassal principalities attached to it. This equates the Punjab of our study with the former Mughal province of Lahore. Similarly, only those areas of the Mughal province of Multan are taken which lay between the rivers Sutlej and Indus.

[2] Surjit Singh Gandhi, *Sikhs in the Eighteenth Century: Their Struggle for Survival and Supremacy*, Singh Bros., Amritsar, 1999, pp. 310, 313-314.

[3] Satnam Singh, *Economy of the Punjab (1765-1799): Late Eighteenth Century*, M. Phil. Dissertation, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 2001, pp. 48-49.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 36-38 & 41.

[5] Veena Sachdeva, 'Urban Economy: Late 18th Century Punjab', *Proceedings Indian History Congress*, 46th Session, Amritsar, 1985, p. 346.

[6] Abul Fazl, A'in-i-Akbari (tr. H. Blochmann), Vol. I, Bib. Ind., Calcutta, 1873, p. 98; W.H. Moreland, India at the *Death of Akbar: An Economic Study*, Macmillan & Co. Limited, London, 1920, pp. 147, 164 & 166; Irfan Habib, *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire: Political and Economic Maps with Detailed Notes, Bibliography and Index*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1982, p. 13; Hameeda Khatoon Naqvi, *Urban Centres and Industries in Upper India, 1556-1803*, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1968, pp. 23, 46-47, 70-71.

[7] James Browne, 'History of the Origin and Progress of the Sikhs,' *Early European Accounts of the Sikhs* (ed. Ganda Singh), Indian Studies: Past & Present, Vol. II, No. 1, Calcutta, 1960, p. 557.

[8] John Griffiths,'A Memorandum on the Panjab and Kandahar: A Letter from Mr. John Griffiths to Alexander Adamson dated Surat, 17th February, 1794,' *Early European Accounts of the Sikhs* (ed. Ganda Singh), Indian Studies: Past & Present, Vol. III, No. 2, Calcutta, 1962, pp. 223-232.

[9] *The Asiatic Annual Register or, A View of the History of Hindustan and of the Politics, Commerce and Literature of Asia for the Year 1809*, T. Cadell and W. Davies, London, 1811, p. 430.

[10] Ram Sukh Rao, *Sri Fateh Singh Partap Prabhakar*, (ed. Joginder Kaur), The Editor, Patiala, 1980, p. 56.

[11] V.N. Data, *Amritsar: Past and Present*, The Municipal Committee, Amritsar, p. 137.

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 138.

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 141.

[14] Irfan Habib, *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire*, Sheet 4B.

[15] John Griffiths,'A Memorandum on the Panjab and Kandahar: A Letter from Mr. John Griffiths to Alexander Adamson dated Surat, 17th February, 1794,' *Early European Accounts of the Sikhs* (ed. Ganda Singh), pp. 223-232.

[16] Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh* (tr. Amarwant Singh, eds. J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga), Daftar II (Punjabi tr.), Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 1985, pp. 64, 164, 178, 199, 202 & 224; Mountstuart Elphinston, *An Account of the Kingdom of Caubul, Vol. I,* Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, Brown and Murray, London, 1815, p. 28; *Gazetteer of the Mooltan District 1883-84,* pp. 106-108; Ram Sukh Rao, *Sri Fateh Singh Partap Prabhakar,* (ed. Joginder Kaur), p. 56.

[17] John Griffiths,'A Memorandum on the Panjab and Kandahar: A Letter from Mr. John Griffiths to Alexander Adamson dated Surat, 17th February, 1794,' *Early European Accounts of the Sikhs* (ed. Ganda Singh), pp. 223-232.

[18] *The Asiatic Annual Register for the Year 1809,* p. 429.

[19] J.S. Grewal, 'Medieval Batala', *Proceedings Punjab History Conference,* 5th session, Patiala, 1970, pp. 42-51.

[20] *The Asiatic Annual Register for the Year 1809,* p. 429.

[21] *Gazetteer of the Gurdaspur District 1883-84,* pp. 59, 74, 100 & 103; Reeta Grewal, Polity, Economy and *Urbanization: Early Nineteenth Century Punjab,* M. Phil. Dissertation, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 1983, p. 65.

[22] *Gazetteer of the Montgomery District 1883-84,* p. 143; *Gazetteer of the Lahore District 1883-84,* p. 197. Ghee was definitely a part of the daily diet of the urban as well as rural poor in the Punjab. On this basis one can assume manufacture and consumption of ghee, as a whole.

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[24] *The Asiatic Annual Register for the Year 1809,* p. 427.

[25] Raghubir Singh, Critical Editing of *Khushwaqt Rai's Ahwal-i- Firqa-i-Sikhan,* Ph.D. Thesis, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 1993, p. 156.

[26] *The Asiatic Annual Register for the Year 1809,* p. 427.

[27] *Gazetteer of the Jalandhar District 1883-84,* p. 46.

[28] Muzaffar Alam, *The Crisis of Empire in Mughal North India: Awadh and the Punjab 1707-1748,* Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1986, p. 151.

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[30] J.S. Grewal & Indu Banga (tr. & eds.), *Early Nineteenth Century Panjab* (from Ganesh Das's Char Bagh-i-Panjab), Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 1975, pp. 84-85.

[31] *Gazetteer of the Sialkot District 1895,* p. 167.

[32] This was generally called *bagh* which refers to a piece of cloth embroidered in silk with several colours: J.S. Grewal & Indu Banga (tr. & eds.); *Early Nineteenth Century Panjab,* p. 85.

[33] *Ibid.,* 85.

[34] Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh* (tr. Amarwant Singh, eds. J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga), *Daftar II* (Punjabi tr.), p. 19; J.S. Grewal, *The Reign of Maharaja Ranjit Singh: Structure of Power, Economy and Society,* Punjabi University, Patiala, 1981, p. 2; .S. Grewal & Indu Banga (tr. & eds.), *Early Nineteenth Century Panjab,* p.88.

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[37] Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh* (tr. Amarwant Singh, eds. J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga), *Daftar II* (Punjabi tr.), p. 19.

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[42] A.C. Elliot, *The Chronicles of Gujrat,* Languages Department Punjab, Patiala, 1970 (reprint- first pub. in 1902), p. 18.

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[45] G. Ouseley & W.G. Davies, *Report on the Revised Settlement of the Shahpoor District in the Rawalpindi Division,* pp. 47-48; David Ross, Land of the Five Rivers and Sindh, p. 155.

[46] Irfan Habib, *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire,* Sheet 4B.

[47] J.S. Grewal & Indu Banga (tr. & eds.), *Early Nineteenth Century Panjab,* p. 73.

[48] G. Ouseley & W.G. Davies, *Report on the Revised Settlement of the Shahpoor District in the Rawalpindi Division,* p. 48.

[49] Gazetteer of the Rawalpindi District 1895, pp. 191-192.

[50] Sohan Lal Suri *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh* (tr. Amarwant Singh, eds. J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga), *Daftar II* (Punjabi tr.), p. 239.

[51] J.S. Grewal & Indu Banga (tr. & eds.), *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab,* p. 47.

[52] Tapan Raichaudhuri & Irfan Habib (eds.), *The Cambridge Economic History of India,* Vol. I: c. 1206-1750, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1982, p. 176.

[53] Irfan Habib, *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire,* Sheet 4B.

[54] Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh* (tr. Amarwant Singh, eds. J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga), *Daftar II* (Punjabi tr.), p. 11.

[55] *Ibid.,* p. 118.

[56] Miani was a town on the bank of the river Jehlam. Formerly salt was brought out of the mines to be sold at Miani. Custom on salt used to be collected here. That was why it was come to be known as Lun Miani: J.S. Grewal & Indu Banga (tr. & eds.), *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab,* p. 72.

[57] When Charhat Singh Sukerchakia occupied Ram Nagar it became a centre of salt trade and thus trade of salt was carried out here: Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh* (tr. Amarwant Singh, eds. J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga), *Daftar II* (Punjabi tr.), p. 11.

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[60] John Malcolm, *Sketch of the Sikhs: A Singular Nation, who Inhabit the Provinces of the Punjab Situated between the Rivers Jamna and Indus,* John Murray, London, 1812, p. 113.

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64 C. Grey, *European Adventures of Northern India 1785 to 1849* (ed. H.L.O. Garrett), Government Press, Lahore, 1929, p. 64.

65 Raghubir Singh, *Critical Editing of Khushwaqt Rai's Ahwal-i- Firqa-i-Sikhan*, Ph.D. Thesis, pp. 156-157; Irfan Habib, An Atlas of the Mughal Empire, Sheet 4B.

66 *Gazetteer of the Kangra District 1883-84*, pp. 252-253.

67 Irfan Habib, *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire*, Sheet 4B.

68 *Loc.cit.*

69 J.B. Lyall, *Report of the Land Revenue Settlement of the Kangra District, Panjab (1865-72)*, Central Jail Press, Lahore, 1874, p. 111; Irfan Habib, *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire*, Sheet 4B.

70 Irfan Habib, *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire*, Sheet 4B.

71 *Loc.cit.*

72 For the revival and growth of towns and cities of the Punjab during the late eighteenth century see Satnam Singh, *Economy of the Punjab (1765-1799): Late Eighteenth Century, M. Phil.* Dissertation, pp. 48-72.

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Parsi Chalk

10

Nayana M. Tadvalkar

The Parsis in India have a long tradition of making *rangolis* which they call 'Chalks'. They make them not only in front of their homes and hearths (literally, as we shall see later) but also in the fire temples and, on certain occasions, in front of water bodies like wells, rivers and seas. In fact the ritual of making the Chalks is followed so religiously that it would not be an exaggeration to say that they exceed the Hindus in this respect. A Parsi home is easily distinguishable by the *toraṇa* which is hung over the entrance door and the distinctive Chalk which adorns the threshold. The Parsis believe that making a Chalk is a *shagun*, a forbearer of all things good and pure.

The name Chalk adopted by the Parsis for *rangoli* refers to the material used for making it. Chalk is soft, porous, pure white limestone.

The Parsis have their typical and specialised Chalk boxes, unlike any other community, with their own traditional designs etched in the form of dots. Chalk powder is placed inside this metallic box and stamped onto the damp floor creating artistic patterns. Sometimes the patterns are made at the threshold of every doorway inside the house. The fire temples or the *agiaries* too have Chalks made everyday.

Considering the importance of this ritual in the Parsi culture, it would be worthwhile to peep into their history and learn as to how and when they started practising this ritual.

It is believed that in order to escape religious persecution, and for the sake of their faith, the Parsis left their own country Persia and landed on the shores of India some time between the 7th and the 10th centuries. Through force of circumstances they had to merge with the people of the country of their adoption and though cherishing the faith, for which they underwent such hardships, had perforce to introduce some of the Hindu rituals into their original Zoroastrian form of worship, obviously to placate the Hindu rulers who had given them refuge and allowed them other privileges.[1]

These Hindu rituals are still evident in their ceremonies and customs, especially the placing of the *kumkum* on the foreheads of the bride and bridegroom at the time of marriage and those of the concerned persons on various auspicious occasions. The chanting of some of their prayers in Sanskrit and the drawing of Chalks are believed to be some of the Hindu influences on their customs.

It is indeed difficult to say when exactly the Parsis started making Chalks and whether it was purely a Hindu custom adopted by them or they already knew and practised this art before coming to India. The history of the Parsis in India gives us insights on this issue.

Iran is the ancient motherland of the ancestors of Indian Parsis. It is believed that the Iranians and Hindus were not two different people but one Aryan race and that they lived together, followed the same religion and spoke the same language. They followed the Indo-Iranian religion and stayed long in Iran, where it is believed, some of the ancient hymns of the *Ṛgveda* were actually composed.[2] If this is to be believed, then one can assume that the Parsis probably knew about the practice of drawing *rangoli* as the *Ṛgveda* mentions the drawing of *mandalas* for worshipping the Sun and for other Vedic rituals like *yajñas*. Studies by scholars have revealed great affinity between the *Veda* and the *Avesta*. Dr. Sindhu Dange in one of her articles concludes that the traditions of *Avesta* and *Ṛgveda* have emerged from a single common source.[3] Though there is no mention of drawing the *mandalas* in the *Avesta*, the tradition must have nevertheless continued.

Dr. A. P. Jamkhedkar writes that the two religions had common origins; an in-depth study of the religious precepts and ritual practices will serve to further establish the points of similarities and differences between the two ancient faiths.[4] As far as the rituals are concerned, one ritual common to both the religions is the creation of a sacred place in which high rituals like *yajñas* or sacrifices and fire worship were performed. This consecrated place, called *'pavi'* or 'pure place' (similar to the Hindu word *'pavitra'*) by the Zoroastrians was very simply made. It consisted merely of a small level piece of rectangular ground, marked off by a furrow ritually drawn with prayers, to ward off all evil influences.[5] This enclosed area was then sprinkled with pure water to cleanse it and was consecrated with more prayers. This practice has a parallel in Hindu religious rituals. It is probable that the elaborate purification rites followed by both the Zoroastrians and the Hindu Brahmins have their origin in similar rituals already practised by their ancestors. The importance of purity in the service of the gods and as a guard against evil was very great for the Indo-Iranians, hence the need to purify the ground.[6] It is not known whether, like the Hindus, cow-dung was used by the Parsis for purification but nevertheless, one can say that this practice must have preceded the practice of purifying the ground and drawing

rangoli. In Indian terminology the rim of the *cakra* or wheel is also known as *pavi.*[7] Thus *pavi* also means border or boundary.

Going back to history, it is believed that the followers of Indo-Iranian religion had differences of opinion on certain questions like polytheism, consumption of the *soma* juice and the sacrifice of animals in worship[8] and thus a large number of them left Iran for India where they came to be known as Hindus. Those of them who stayed back were subsequently called Parsis, after the Iranian province of Pars.

These Parsis later arrived in India via the sea route and landed on the coast of Gujarat. The King Jaadi Rana, before allowing the Parsis to settle in his land, wanted them to accept a few conditions which included adapting the language and the dress of the land. Having been left with no choice, the Parsi refugees had to accept the conditions, thus beginning the mingling of Hindu and Parsi cultures. The customs and rituals which they saw around them were absorbed in their daily rituals and practices of worship. Associated closely with the *banias,* they, ostensibly at least, adopted all their customs.[9] If the Parsis have adopted the Hindu ritual of drawing *rangolis,* then it also highlights the fact that drawing of *rangoli* was a common practice in Gujarat in those days.

The Parsis began migrating to Mumbai (then Bombay) in the early 17th century for the purpose of trade. Today a majority of the Parsis live in Maharashtra mainly in the city of Mumbai.

The earliest literary evidence mentioning this art as practised by the Parsis is of the year 1884, in which the *agharni* ceremony, i.e. the seventh month ceremony for a mother-to-be is thus described: "In the afternoon the ground floor of a room facing the east is ornamented with *chunam* (lime) and various coloured powders with the patterns of fish, peacocks and other birds or animals and variegated flowers. The mother-to-be is made to stand on a small stool, two to three inches high and placed on the ground, ornamented in the way described."[10]

This throws light on three facts: one is the material used in those days which is lime. Lime which acted as a disinfectant when the roads were not finished with tar, served scientific as well as decorative purposes.

Secondly, though the Parsis have adopted this Hindu custom, they have not copied it blindly as far as the motifs are concerned. They have brought into use their own motifs, thus maintaining their distinct style as always. In a photograph of early 20th century showing the drawing of a Chalk design on the threshold of a new home by a Parsi lady, a white rooster is drawn in the centre.[11] The drawing of a white rooster in *rangoli* is very unusual and is drawn only by the Parsis.

The third point to be noted is the use of some device to make the Chalk. Exactly when such devices (tin *dabbas*) came into use is difficult to say. The Hindus probably adopted the concept of making devices like 'thase' to stamp out the *rangolis,* from the Parsis.

Records from the Bombay Gazetteers mention the "lucky marks" of Chalks made by the Parsi women on different occasions. Apart from marking the Chalks on and in front of the threshold in the morning, they are also recorded as made on auspicious occasions like the *Agharni* ceremony or

the *Besna* ceremony of a child who enters its seventh month. One such interesting ritual takes place during the wedding. Three days before the wedding, the bride and the groom are seated in front of their respective houses and given baths. They are then made to sit on a wooden stool and lifted into the house by four married and unwidowed girls and carried seven times around the lucky Chalk-marks in the centre of the hall. If the bride and the groom are grown up, the groom's turban or the bride's sari is laid on the wooden stool and carried round the Chalk.[12]

Chalks are also made on the sixth night after child-birth at the head of the mother's bed. A tray containing coconut, rice, betel and a blank paper, an inkstand and a reed pen for the goddess *Sasthi* to write the child's destiny, is placed on the Chalk.

Parsi women decorating the entrance of their home with Chalk patterns.
Photograph by : Homai Vyarawala. Photo courtesy: Ms. Pheroza Godrej.

M. M. Murzban in his book *The Parsis* writes: "True to her ancient faith, the housewife in Udwada, as in Naosari, is out before the break of dawn, after having performed her devotions and her ablutions, opening the front door to let in fresh air, and then proceeds to the particular ceremony of perfuming the house with fumes of sandalwood and *loban* (resin of *Boswellia Serrata*). She sweeps the floor, scours the door front, Chalking it for good-luck, that is, sprinkling in various figures, through small-sized sieved trays - powdered Chalk and lime by way of disinfection. Thus she sets in all readiness to begin work with the rise of the sun."

Current Status

It is seen that even today the Parsis make the Chalks in front of their doors. They call it *'Chalk Puravna'*. It is only when death occurs in the family that they do not make it for some days which may range from four days to about a year as per the customs followed by that particular family. Every day the entrance is swept and swabbed to be decorated with the Chalk.

Two methods of making Chalks are followed. In the first method the designs are stamped out of tin moulds or *'dabbas'* as they call them. Even the filling of the colour is done by using small tin *'dabbis'* with holes which is used to stamp or sprinkle colour on the white designs. The material used is a very fine powder of nylon chalk, much softer, finer and smoother than the *rangoli* powder otherwise used in Maharashtra. This powder produces very fine and clear designs. The designs in the tin moulds are small and convenient for daily use. However, on special occasions they make an elaborate design by repeating the small motif and creating patterns. Red powder is often placed in the eye of a fish motif. Separate compartments are present within the tray for such details.

The second method is by using paper stencils for the design. In this method the Chalk powder is filled over the cut portions of the stencils with a sieve. Thus the powder falls only on the cut portion of the design. In this method one has to be very careful while lifting the stencil, otherwise the powder gets smudged and spoils the design. The stencils are used for bigger designs on special occasions like the Navroze, Pateti, Navjote, weddings, Christmas, New Year, birthdays, wedding anniversaries, on the purchase of a new car, a new house etc. Even the gates of wedding or Navjote venues are decorated with large colourful designs. In fact the bigger the occasion, the bigger and more colourful is the Chalk. Usually, readymade machine cut stencils are bought for domestic use. However, some ladies with an artistic bent of mind may cut their own stencils.[15]

Motifs

For the Chalks made on any ordinary day, usually an arrangement of floral designs is made but on special days or occasions, the *'Sagan nu Chalk'* is made. The *Sagan* is usually performed by the senior most lady of the house. Five or seven Chalk marks are stamped on the floor. On top of it a low stool or *patlo* is placed. It is also decorated with Chalk designs stamped in an odd number, usually five or seven, which is considered auspicious. The person for whom the *Sagan* is being performed steps onto the stool with the right foot forward. Many times rose water from the *Gulabaz* is sprinkled lightly over the Chalk marks to prevent it from smudging and to spread a delicate fragrance in the room.

For the *'Sagan nu Chalk'* auspicious motifs such as the fish, swastika, coconut, horse-shoe sign and the *'Ses'* are used. Many times these are accompanied by written messages, such as Happy Birthday, *Shubh Labh*, Good Fortune, Welcome, *Shaadi Mubarak*, Happy Anniversary, *Saal Mubarak* and so on, either in Gujarati or in English. On *Hamkara* days such as *Hormazd* or *Behram*, Chalk designs are made with the words *'Dadar Hormazd ni madad hojoji'* - May *Hormazd* the Creator help us or *'Behram Yazad ni madad hojoji'* - May *Behram Yazad* help us. On the full moon day messages such as *'Chand Raat'* are stamped. In fact it appears that the Parsis only need a reason to celebrate. For instance, on Christmas they make a Chalk of a Christmas tree and when a family member or a close friend or a relative is to travel abroad, they may put a Chalk of an anchor with the message 'Bon Voyage'.

Chalks are also made on festivals in honour of fire and water. On the day of *'Adar Ruz Adar Mah'* or the birthday of fire, the wall behind the kitchen stove is decorated with various religious symbols like the fire altar (*afarganyu*) with tongs (*chippyo*) and ladle (*chamach*) at the sides. A geometric pattern consisting of a square with intersecting diagonals having four dots in each of the triangular sections thus formed, is drawn. It is an ancient Iranian symbol representing the four directions and the boundaries of the house. These are symbols of the fire service i.e. *boi* ceremony. These symbols are made with a paste of turmeric and vermillion powder and wheat or rice flour paste. The Chalk made around the stove or fire place usually consists of the auspicious fish symbol. Either seven or nine impressions of the fish are made, seven representing the seven *Amesha Spentas* (divine beings) and nine representing the *Ahura Mazda* and *Zarathustra* as well.

The symbol of the square with diagonal lines is also made for the *'Mandav Saro'* ritual which is performed four days prior to the marriage ceremony. A pot with a mango sapling planted in it is kept in the house. The pot is placed above a Chalk design. Then the square symbol is drawn on the wall with turmeric and vermillion paste. Elaborate ritual follows which is in a way a prayer for peaceful completion of the marriage ceremony.

On the birthday of waters or *'Ava Ruh Ava Mah'*, the house is decorated with *torans* and Chalks. Devout Parsis gather along the water bodies like sea-shore or wells to offer their respect to the waters. Chalks are marked near these water bodies.

Another observation is that on some special occasions, the lady of the house may go to the fire temple and make a Chalk there and seek blessings for the family.

Nowadays the Parsis hire the services of a professional Chalk maker to make Chalks on occasions like a wedding. These professional artists offer a wide variety of designs in stencil form to select from. These designs are usually big and meant for public viewing and are put at the main entrance of the residential building of the bride and the groom and also at the wedding halls. For weddings, motifs like wedding bells are popular. Other designs comprise butterflies, flowers etc. Sometimes custom-made stencils are used which display the design matching the one printed on the wedding invitation card along with the initials of the bride and the bride-groom.

Colours

Other than the white Chalk powder, wide range of colours such as shades of red, orange, yellow, blue, green, violet etc are used. However, red is considered to be very auspicious and is indispensable in the *'Sagan nu Chalk'*.

Significance of the motifs used:

Fish

It is a symbol of plenty and forms an important part of the diet. Among the Parsis, cooked fish, motifs of fish, replicas of fish, and sweetmeats made in the shape of fish are widely used on several auspicious occasions. The use of the fish motif for *rangoli* is common in Bengal. However, the use of fish as a motif among the Parsis can be traced back to more than 2,500 years in ancient Iran. In a bas relief of Cyrus the Great at Pasargadae, not only is his crown adorned with fish, but there is also a relief depicting the lower half of the torso of a person, whose one leg is fish and the other of a goat.[16] Fish is buoyant, so it is the symbol of buoyancy and sprightliness.[17] In the earlier days, at the time of a marriage procession, a fisherwoman held a fish near the bridegroom for good luck and got paid for her services.[18]

Ses

It is a wonderful collection of auspicious symbols kept in a tray, similar to an *aarti thali* of the Hindus. It is an indispensable part of any auspicious occasion. It contains the following main items:-

Paro: It is a conical metallic container (generally silver) representing the mountain of sweetness. It represents the allegorical Mount Hara from which noble spirits are believed to descend.[19] The present day metallic *Paro* is a remembrance of the sweet (*khadi sakar*) in the shape of *Paro*, wrapped in green papers and used on auspicious occasions in Iran even today. *Khadi sakar* and kharak (dried date) is placed inside it. The *'Agharni no larvo'* prepared in the seventh or ninth month of pregnancy, is also a cone-shaped sweetmeat with sheets of beaten silver decorating it, to welcome the new child into the world with a *Paro* of sweets.

Pigani: It contains *kumkum* (vermilion) for the *tili* (red mark/ *tika*) to be put on the forehead. The Parsis generally put a vertical mark on the forehead of the man and a round one on the forehead of the woman. The former signifies rays of the sun and hence energy, the latter signifies the moon and hence beauty. It also signifies the gravitational force (friendship) between the sun and the moon, an important requirement for keeping life active, alive and in order. Also, the sun is seen as a fructifying agent, giving life, whereas the moon is seen as a conceiving agent receiving the rays of the sun. Rice is placed on to the *tili* as a sign of prosperity.

Gulabaz: Rose water is kept in it. It symbolises the spread of fragrance and happiness. In Iran it was sprinkled on guests while welcoming them by chanting the words *'khush amadid'*. Even the shape of the *Gulabaz* is typically Persian and containers of similar shape are found in Arab countries even today.

Fish: Usually a replica in metal or *mava nee macchi* or a sweet set in a fish mould is used in the *Ses.*

Divo: If it is not possible to keep a fire alive for 24 hours of the day, the Parsis adopt a substitute custom of having a *divo* (oil lamp) burning for 24 hours. A *divo* is generally referred to as a *dikro* or a son. As the son looks after the safety and security of the house and also brings in good things, so also an oil lamp (as a substitute of fire) prevents any evil from entering the house and attracts goodness and bounties to the house.

Coconut: It is a sign of plenty coming from the tree known as *'Kalpavṛkṣa'* in Sanskrit. None of its parts goes waste. A coconut reminds a person to be resourceful and useful in all walks of life. Since the edible part of a coconut is unseen and untouched, it becomes symbolic of purity.

Pomegranate: The use of pomegranate on auspicious occasions is a remnant of the Iranian influence on the Parsi ceremonies and eating habits. The fruit stands for fertility as it is likened to the womb of nature with its hundreds of seeds. Its ruby colour is considered auspicious. The pomegranate being an evergreen plant is considered to be an emblem of immortality of the soul. It is also held as the symbol of prosperity, from the fact that it contains a large number of grains within itself. On the initiation ceremony of *Navroze*, a pomegranate leaf is chewed and spat out as a part of ritual. The fruit being a symbol for wisdom, the pomegranate leaf is supposed to imbibe wisdom. When benedictions are recited upon a child during its investiture with the sacred shirt and thread, grains of pomegranate mixed with grains of rice and cocoa-kernels are sprinkled over it. It represents vegetal creation, especially the fruit-growing trees.

On auspicious occasions, betel leaves (*paan*), betel nut (*sopari*), rice, dates and other dry fruits, turmeric sticks, a small container of curds and garlands of flowers are some of the symbols of prosperity and fertility which are also kept in the *Ses.* Sometimes a small container of salt is included.

Fire altar with tongs and ladle

Zoroastrians worship all the natural elements but the most important one is fire. Fire as a symbolic representation of the all pervasive energy is a symbol of Ahura Mazda. It is a natural object, to remind the Parsis of Him. Thus it is understandable that it plays a very important role in the religious lives of Zoroastrians. It symbolizes self-sacrifice and immortality of the soul, by its flames shooting upwards, destroying darkness of all kinds. The respect and reverence given to fire, often referred to as the son of Ahura Mazda, is evident in many Gujarati songs and *Monajats* composed in honour of fire. In the pattern depicting the holy fire or the altar with fire, the ritual ladle and tongs are invariably present at the sides. These are used by the priests who attend to the holy fire.

Swastika

Like the Hindus, the Parsis also use the *swastika* pattern in their Chalks. The *swastika* is an ancient Aryan symbol of the sun, and Zoroastrians revere the sun as a form of fire energy.

Horse-shoe

One of the motifs commonly used in the Parsi Chalk is the horseshoe. Horseshoes are considered a good luck charm in many cultures. The shape, fabrication, placement, and manner of sourcing are all important. A common tradition is to hang or nail a horseshoe on a door at the entrance of the house with the two ends pointing up or down. Traditions differ as to the direction of the horseshoe. In some cultures, the horseshoe is hung pointing down (so the luck pours onto you); in others, it is hung pointing up (so the luck doesn't fall out); in still others it doesn't matter so long as the horseshoe has been used (not new), was found (not purchased), and can be touched. But it is commonly believed in all the traditions around the world that luck is contained in the horseshoe and can pour out through the ends.

Rooster

A white rooster in a Chalk is the protective bird associated with the *Yazata Srosh.* The crowing of the rooster is said to frighten away the evil spirit.[21] The cock is held sacred to *Yazata Srosh* and is never killed or eaten after it has begun to crow. Orthodox Zoroastrian would never kill a cock of any colour since he is the bird of Srosh, who crows to put an end to the demon-haunted night and to bring in God's new day; and white being the Zoroastrian colour, a white cock was especially holy.[22] Parsi children were made to wear *jhablas* with rooster motifs embroidered on them to ward off evil. Even today, some Parsi ladies put a Chalk of white cock on the day holy to the *Yazata Srosh.*

Notes and References

(This forms a part of the research project "Rangoli in Maharashtra" under the "Justice K.T. Telang Fellowship" of the Asiatic Society of Mumbai awarded to the author for the year 2008-2009.)

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Photo 10.2 Horse-shoe

Photo 10.3 Fire altar with tongs and ladle

Photo 10.4 Chalk for engagement ceremony

Photo 10.5 Chalk for wedding ceremony

Photo 10.6 Ses

Photo 10.7 Saal Mubarak

Photo 10.8 Chalk on patlo

Photo 10. 9 Fish

Photo 11. 1 Krishna temple gopura - war frieze

Photo 11.4   A part of the 1000 pillar hall at Tiruvannamala

Kṛṣṇadevarāya's Grants and Constructional Activities Related to His Kalinga War (A.D. 1 5 1 3 - 1 5 1 7)

1 1

Anila Verghese

Introduction

Kṛṣṇadevarāya (A.D. 1510-1530) was not only the greatest monarch of the Vijayanagara Empire but can also be ranked among the outstanding rulers of mediaeval Indian history. He was brilliantly successful both in the arts of war and of peace. Under him the Vijayanagara armies won a series of spectacular victories; he was a generous patron of the arts and literature and was also a successful administrator. As a sponsor of religion and culture, the emperor made generous grants to temples in his capital city and elsewhere in his empire. He made additions to temples and even built entirely new ones, such as the Kṛṣṇa temple in Vijayanagara city. What is significant is that the vast majority of these benefactions to temples were connected with his long drawn-out war against Pratapārudra, the Gajapati ruler of Kalinga (Orissa).

The condition of the Vijayanagara Empire was far from satisfactory at the time of the Kṛṣṇadevarāya's accession: the chief of Ummattur was in rebellion and had laid claim to sovereignty over the present Mysore territory. The empire was threatened by attacks both from the north-east and north. For, the Gajapatis of Orissa were still in occupation of the north-eastern districts of the Vijayanagara kingdom and king Pratāparudra was showing distinct indications of hostility. Besides this, although the Bahmani kingdom had virtually ceased to exist by the beginning of the sixteenth century, the pressure from the north had lost none of its vigour, for, Yusuf Adil Shah, the founder of the state of Bijapur,

adopted an aggressive policy towards the rāya. The Portuguese, who had recently established their presence on the west coast, were generally well-disposed towards the rulers of Vijayanagara, but they occasionally gave trouble. Therefore, almost from the day of his succession, Kṛṣṇadevarāya was forced to be at war.

Soon after his accession, Kṛṣṇadevarāya not only successfully repulsed a Bahmani invasion into Vijayanagara but carried the war into the enemy territory, even capturing the fort of Raichur. Next, the emperor suppressed the rebellion of the Ummattur chief in the south-western part of his kingdom. Following these early military successes, he was ready to turn his attention to the east coast, where the Gajapati ruler of Orissa was not only in possession of the districts of Udayagiri and Kondavidu, formerly part of the Vijayanagara empire, but was also a dangerous and hostile neighbour. The war against the Gajapati was spread over a period of approximately five years, from A.D. 1513 to 1517. Numerous benefactions to temple deities are directly or indirectly connected with this war. In contrast, to the best of our knowledge, there is no such temple endowing or building activities by the emperor in relation to his other military exploits.

Kṛṣṇadevarāya's Telugu classic, *Amuktamalyada*, marks out five distinct stages in the Kalinga war: the first stage ended with the capture of Udayagiri, the second with the fall of Kondavidu, the third with the storming of Kondapalli, the fourth with the setting up of a pillar of victory at Simhadri-Potnur (the present-day Simhachalam in the Vishakhapatanam district), and the fifth with the attack upon Cuttack, the capital of Gajapati.[1] The various stages of the war, especially the completion of the first, second and fourth phases were marked by lavish gifts to temple divinities.

Grants related to the first stage of the war: The Udayagiri campaign

The Udayagiri campaign, the most difficult in this war, commenced at the beginning of A.D. 1513, probably in the month of January. The siege of the Udayagiri hill-fort dragged on for a year and a half and this impregnable, strong fort fell by the end of June 1514.[2] A copper-plate record, dated January 12, 1513, mentions the king's gift of a village and gold coins for offerings to deities in a *maṭha* located near the main *gopura* of the Tiruvannamalai temple and for offerings in the temple itself during one service in the day.[3] Although this record does not specifically mention it, perhaps, this endowment was made by the emperor at the commencement of the Orissan war.

While his armies were engaged in this siege, the emperor paid visits to his troops from his capital, the city of Vijayanagara. Soon after the siege had begun, the emperor made his way to Udayagiri in February 1513. En route to Udayagiri, he proceeded first to Tirumalai-Tirupati, to invoke the blessing of the god Veṅkaṭeśvara who was his favourite deity. This was the king's first visit to Tirumalai. On this occasion, on February 10, 1513, the monarch presented the deity with a crown set with nine kinds of precious stones, a three-stringed necklace, a pendant, and 25 silver plates for *ārati*.[4] He was accompanied by his two queens, Tirumala-devī and Chinna-devī, who each gave a gold cup to the divinity, while Tirumala-devī also gifted a gold plate.[5]

From Tirumalai-Tirupati, the emperor went to the nearby Śaiva temple of Kalahasti, in order to seek blessing of Kāḷahasteśvara for success in his campaign. The emperor made gifts to this deity

of a pearl necklace, a necklace of precious stones, a gold cup inlaid with gems, a gold plate and 25 silver plates for offering *ārati*.[6]

The monarch was, evidently, back at Vijayanagara city in early March 1513. For, on the occasion of a solar eclipse that occurred on the March 7, 1513,[7] he gave very liberal donations to the principal temples in the capital: those of Virūpākṣa, Viṭṭhala, Rāmacandra and Prasanna Virūpākṣa. It is interesting to note that two of these were Śaiva and two were of Vaiṣṇava affiliation. These endowments of the monarch, dated March 12, 1513, are prominently inscribed in each of these temples. To the Virūpākṣa temple, Kṛṣṇadevarāya donated eight villages, some gardens and a share of land as a tax-free grant. He also gave golden and silver articles, including platters for *ārati*.[8] To the Viṭṭhala temple the sovereign gifted three villages and one area of wet-land as a tax-free grant, while the two queens constructed the *gopuras* in the temple and gave a golden plate, a number of silver plates for *arati* as well as several silver lamps and 200 cows.[9] The Ramacandra temple received six villages,[10] while the Prasanna Virupaksa temple secured four villages, three gardens and other pieces of land.[11]

The question arises as to what was so special about the solar eclipse of A.D. 1513 that made the emperor eager to give such lavish grants to the main temples at Vijayanagara at its occurrence. For, this solar eclipse, as visible from Vijayanagara, was a rather modest one. By contrast, the solar eclipse that took place later in the career of Kṛṣṇadevarāya, in April A.D. 1521, had 99% coverage at Vijayanagara and was total at a short distance north.[12] Yet, the latter occasion merited no such lavish grants by the king. The answer to this lies in the fact that, in A.D. 1513 the emperor had just commenced a very difficult military campaign, while by April 1521 he and his empire were in little danger. In March 1513 he evidently felt it necessary to propitiate the gods in order to avert the dangerous influences of the eclipse on himself and his empire.[13]

A record at Srisailam refers to Kṛṣṇadevarāya's grant of two villages in April 1513, for offerings to the god Mallikārjuna. He also remitted certain tolls.[14]

The emperor paid two more visits to Tirumalai before the end of the Udayagiri campaign. In view of the proximity of Tirumalai to Udayagiri, he snatched a few days from the scene of warfare to have a *darśana* of Veṅkaṭeśvara. On his second visit to Tirumalai, on May 2, 1513, the king presented the god with ornaments and two swords, as well as three crowns set with precious stones for the processional deities.[15]

On the very same day as the second visit to Tirumalai, the king also visited Kalahasti; he presented Kāḷahasteśvara with a golden aureole and some villages.[16] Another record, on May 11, 1513, mentions the emperor's gift of a pendant consisting of various precious stones to god Kāḷahastesvara.[17] A little over a month later, he paid his third visit to Tirumalai on June 13, A.D. 1513. On this occasion he did not go to Kalahasti. He presented Veṅkateśvara with precious objects and three villages.[18]

Udayagiri fort fell to the Vijayanagara arms after a protracted siege of about 18 months. The king celebrated his success with generous gifts to his patron deity and with the construction of a

new temple in his capital. The lavishness of these benefactions is an indicator of the tremendous military significance of the capture of Udayagiri.

Again Kṛṣṇadevarāya went to Tirumalai (on his fourth visit) on July 6, 1514. He expressed his gratitude to the deity by performing the ceremony of ritually bathing the god with 30,000 gold coins. Besides this, the king also granted valuable ornaments and one village.[19] On this memorable visit at the completion of the Udayagiri campaign, as on his first visit to the temple when he had gone there to invoke the blessing of Veṅkaṭeśvara at the commencement of the Kalinga war, the monarch was accompanied by his queens. On this occasion, Chinna-devi presented a costly necklace and a village,[20] while Tirumala-devī donated a pendant and a village.[21]

Kṛṣṇadevarāya thence returned to his capital, bringing with him a *mūrti* of *Kṛṣṇa* from Udayagiri. This *mūrti* was installed in a splendid temple built by him within a new suburb of the capital. Besides donations to his favourite deity and the erection of the Kṛṣṇa temple in his capital, the successful completion of the first stage in the Kalinga war was commemorated by the emperor's gift of a village each to three divinities in and around Udayagiri. The inscriptions noting these benefactions specifically mention the monarch's capture of Udayagiri fort.[22]

The Kṛṣṇa temple at Vijayanagara is unique in the annals of temple construction in India as being, perhaps, the only large temple built specifically in commemoration of a spectacular military victory and housing a deity brought from the conquered territory, to the capital of the victorious monarch, as a war trophy. This aspect is highlighted in two features, peculiar to the Kṛṣṇa temple: a stucco frieze of a war scene and the presence in this Vaiṣṇava temple of a shrine to the Śaivite deity 'Kārttikeya', the god of war.

On the principal east *gopura* of the temple, on the west side of the now badly dilapidated brick and mortar superstructure, is prominently displayed an array of warriors, with swords and shields, horses and elephants, and led by a noble personage, possibly the emperor himself. All these figures are executed in stucco. This war-like scene is the only one of its kind in any Vijayanagara temple. Most probably it symbolizes a scene of the Udayagiri campaign (Photo 11.1).

Around the principal shrine of the Kṛṣṇa temple complex there are a number of sub-shrines. One of these, to the south-west of the main shrine, has on its brick and mortar superstructure, three stucco figures of a deity on a peacock. These images are damaged and therefore the iconographic details are not extant. However, since Kārttikeya, the son of Śiva, rides on a peacock, these sculptures could be presumed to be representations of him. Possibly, the shrine itself, on which Kārttikeya is so prominently portrayed, was dedicated to him. If so, it would appear that by setting up a shrine to the god of war in his commemorative monument, Kṛṣṇadevarāya was proclaiming his gratitude to Kārttikeya for the military success at Udayagiri. The consecration of a śaiva shrine in an otherwise entirely Vaiṣṇava temple complex is a departure from the traditional practice in large Saiva and Vaiṣṇava temples in south India, where the main shrine of the principal deity is often surrounded by minor shrines to the *parivāra devatās* (family deities) connected with that god.

The splendid temple built to house the statue of Kṛṣṇa brought by Kṛṣṇadevarāya from Udayagiri was situated in the new quarter of the city named Kṛṣṇapura.[23] An inscription, dated A.D. 1543, reveals that Kṛṣṇapura was an *agrahāra*[24] (village donated to brahmins). In it was a bazaar, Kṛṣṇapura-*peṭhe*,[25] which had a grain market *(davasada-aṅgadi)*.[26]

The Kṛṣṇa temple complex is one of the largest in the city. It has two courtyards, each surrounded by high enclosure walls. Within the inner courtyard are the main shrine (Photo 11. 2) and subsidiary shrines. The main, east facing shrine consists of a sanctum, two antechambers, and an enclosed hall which has porches on the north and south sides, and an open pillared hall with a four-pillared porch-like projection in front. Along the inner enclosure wall there is a pillared gallery. In the north-east and south-east corners of this galley there is an enclosed pillared structure; possibly these were either store-rooms or kitchens. There is a *gopura* in the middle of the east, north and south walls. The east *gopura* is the largest.

The outer enclosure has simple gateways, without superstructures. In the north-west corner of this courtyard is a sixteen-pillared open pavilion and a small tank. On the south-west side is a unique six-domed monument, the only example of an 'Islamic style' building within the temple complex in the city. This building has a small, arched entrance positioned in the middle of its eastern side; steps lead up to the roof from the west. The lack of openings in this building and the holes in three of the domes suggest that this was some sort of a storehouse, probably a granary.[27]

On the eastern side of the outer courtyard there are some small structures. From this courtyard steps led down to the long chariot-street. The Kṛṣṇa temple is one of the four temple complexes at
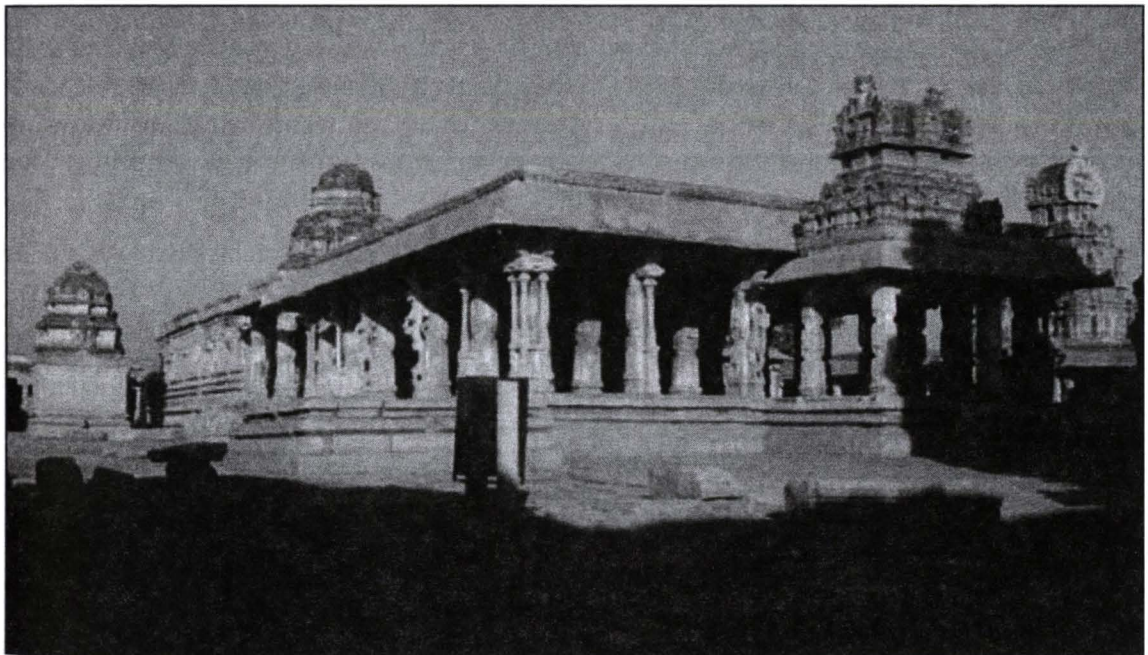

Photo 11. 2 Krishna temple main shrine, Side view. Photo Courtesy A. Verghese.

Vijayanagara that have a chariot-street. About half-way down the north side of the street is a small gateway into the large temple tank. The tank, too, is surrounded by pillared galleries; in the centre of the tank is a small four-pillared pavilion and on its western side a pillared hall.

Kṛṣṇadevarāya's foundational epigraphs are prominently displayed in the temple. One is inscribed on a slab positioned in front of the principal shrine.[28] The second is engraved on the outer walls of the small shrine to the south-east of the principal shrine.[29] Both are in Kannada script; however, the records are partly in Sanskrit and partly in Kannada. They are both dated February 16, 1515. They begin with verses praising Kṛṣṇadevarāya and his brilliant military exploits. The two epigraphs give the same information, varying only in minor details. They mention not only the construction of the temple and the installation of the deity brought from Udayagiri in it by the king, but also his munificent gifts and endowments made on the occasion of the consecration. Kṛṣṇadevarāya offered the deity valuable ornaments set with gems, golden and silver articles for the temple services, eleven villages to meet the expenses of the different food offering and festivals and additional lands for the maintenance of the temple brahmins. Thirty-seven brahmins, individually named in the epigraphs, were appointed for the various services in the Kṛṣṇa temple.

These two inscriptions make clear that this was a royal temple: the emperor not only built it and installed the deity therein, but also made elaborate arrangements for the conduct in perpetuity of the rituals and festivals in it with full pomp and splendour. To no other temple at Vijayanagara did Kṛṣṇadevarāya make such an extensive endowment on one single occasion. These epigraphs point to the importance for Krsnadevaraya of this temple and of his military success at Udayagiri which it commemorates.

Besides serving as a place of worship and piety, the Kṛṣṇa temple also served as a political statement. It was a war-memorial, commemorating a significant military success of the Vijayanagara state. Other conquerors, in ancient as well as medieval times, had resorted to commemorating victories through elaborate monuments such as triumphal arches or gateways, pillars of victory and so on.

Kṛṣṇadevarāya had the novel idea of constructing an entire temple complex in his capital to celebrate his victory and to house in it a deity brought from the conquered territory as a trophy of war. The capture of the Udayagiri hill-fort, after a protracted siege, was no doubt considered such a great achievement by Kṛṣṇadevarāya that he thought that this success needed a special memorial.

The Kṛṣṇa temple was also a symbol of Kṛṣṇadevarāya's power and wealth. On the occasion of his coronation, this emperor had made additions of a pillared hall and a *gopura* to the great Virūpākṣa temple at Vijayanagara.[30] In A.D.1513 his two queens had built the *gopuras* in the Viṭṭhala temple in the capital. But, the Kṛṣṇa temple was the first and the greatest temple that was entirely built by Kṛṣṇadevarāya. Thus, this temple served as a statement of the monarch's wealth, power and glory after he had repelled an invasion from the north, crushed a serious rebellion in the south-west and launched a successful war against the enemy to the north-east.

Prior to the building of the Kṛṣṇa temple, Vijayanagara city already had temples to a variety of deities, both Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava. However, although there might have been a couple of small shrines dedicated to Kṛṣṇa, there was no sizeable temple to this deity in the city prior to Kṛṣṇadevarāya's construction.[31] The monarch was himself named after the god Kṛṣṇa. Thus, as a thanksgiving to the deity whose name he bore, Kṛṣṇadevarāya signalled his Udayagiri victory by boosting the Kṛṣṇa cult in his capital in a big way by the erection of a temple complex to this god. If the ruler, thereby, was honouring the deity whose name he proudly claimed, he was the same time also glorifying himself indirectly; for the monarch could be considered as the earthly counterpart of the god. A deliberate homology was often drawn between the Vijayanagara rulers and the gods. For example, in the annual spring-festival of Virūpākṣa, in which the ruler played a key role, there was both the conscious divinising of the monarch and the royalising of the god.[32] Similarly, a parallel was drawn between the god Rāma, the ideal king in the Indian tradition, and the Vijayanagara rulers.[33] The area in and around Vijayanagara city has a pre-Vijayanagara association with the Śaiva deity Virūpākṣa and with certain exploits of god Rāma of the great epic *Rāmāyaṇa*.[34] The Vijayanagara rulers deliberately drew a parallel between these gods and, themselves, thereby securing both legitimacy and sanctity for their rule. Possibly, in a similar fashion to the homology already drawn between the monarchs and the gods Virūpākṣa and Rāma, Kṛṣṇadevarāya could have been establishing a parallel between himself and the god Kṛṣṇa.

Lastly, if Kṛṣṇadevarāya was celebrating one significant victory by building the Kṛṣṇa temple, this act of piety and generosity was, perhaps, also insurance towards the continuing of divine assistance in the remaining stages of the Orissan war. One great victory had been won, but much still remained to be done before the Gajapatis could be driven out of the territory in dispute between the two kingdoms. Benefactions to the gods at the end of the Udayagiri campaign, at Tirumalai and Vijayanagara, could thus be seen both as an act of thanksgiving as well as insurance towards the continuance of divine blessings for the rest of the war against Orissa.

Grants related to the second stage of the Kalinga war

After the capture of Udayagiri, the next phase of the Kalinga war was the Kondavidu campaign. It is believed that Kondavidu fell to the Vijayanagara armies on June 23, 1515.[35] After this victory, Kṛṣṇadevarāya visited some of the important temples in Andhra region. He went to the Amareśvara temple at Amaravati and performed the *tulāpuruṣa-dāna* (being weighed against precious items which were then given away in charity) and gave many villages as *agraharas* (villages to brahmins).[36] The king was accompanied by Chinna-devī and Tirumala-devī. He next visited Srisailam, where he gave orders for the construction of stone *maṇḍapas* in the car-street of the temple of god Mallikarjuna.[37] This happened on July 25, 1515.

Grants related to the third and fourth Stages of the Kalinga war

After the conquest of Kondavidu, Kṛṣṇadevarāya did not remain long at Vijayanagara. He soon started off once again to join the army in the east. En route, he visited the Narasimhasvāmi temple at Ahobalam. An inscription there, dated December 21, 1515, refers to his conquests in the east and states that he visited Ahobalam and presented a necklace, a pendant set with diamonds and

an emerald wristlet set with rubies, a golden plate and 1000 gold coins to the god. A village was also granted by the king for providing offerings to the deity. One of his queens gave one pendant to the divinity.[38]

Kondapalli fell after a siege of a couple of months. Its capture was a prelude to the conquest of Telingana, which at this time acknowledged the suzerainty of the Gajapati. The emperor captured a number of forts in this region and the territory dependent upon them.[39] The fourth stage of the war, namely, the Simhadri expedition, was very probably a continuation of the Telingana campaign.[40] In A.D. 1516 Simhadri-Potnur was captured and a pillar of victory was erected there. In commemoration of this success, the emperor, in the company of his queens, made a gift of jewels to the Narasimha temple at Simhachalam.[41]

After this, Kṛṣṇadevarāya, desiring to have the *mahādanas* performed, returned to his capital.[42] The emperor was back at Vijayanagara on November 9, 1516.[43] While he was at Vijayanagara the monarch gave orders for the construction of a hundred pillared *maṇḍapa* in the Viṭṭhala temple. This is inscribed in Kannada, Telugu and Tamil, the three principal languages of the kingdom, on the above mentioned hall. The inscriptions are of 1516-1517.[44]

From Vijayanagara the monarch started on a pilgrimage to the holy shrines in the south, giving generous grants to Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava temples en route. His triumphant victory tour-cum-pilgrimage through his Empire possibly began towards the end of A.D. 1516. He was to return to the capital some time before June 19, 1517.[45]

In the course of this tour, the sovereign visited Tirumalai (his fifth visit to this holy place) on January 2, 1517. He presented the deity with one necklace, one pendant and 30,000 *varāhas* for gilding the *vimāna* of the temple; he also granted certain taxes of neighbouring villages for specified offerings to the god.[46] It was during this visit that the metal statues of the prince and his two queens, all three in the standing pose with hands joined in adoration, were set up at Tirumalai. The magnificent endowments as well as the erection of the statues were evidently tokens of the monarch's immense gratitude to his favourite deity for his spectacular success in the Kalinga war.

Kṛṣṇadevarāya visited Kalahasti once again, three days after his fifth visit to Tirumalai. On this occasion, he gave a donation for the building of a hundred pillared *mandapa* and a big *gopura*
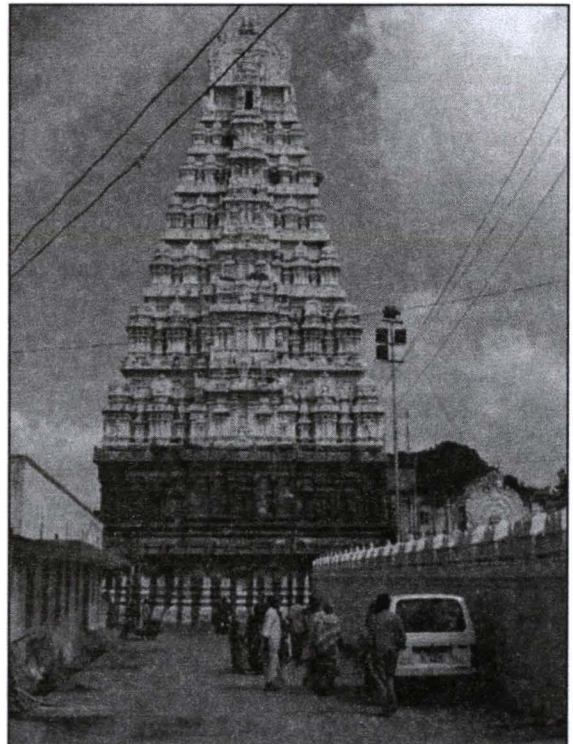

Photo 11.3 Kalahasti gopura - front view.
Photo Courtesy A. Verghese

there.[47] This *gopura* (Photo 11.3) is one of the largest gateways of its times and still stands as a witness to Kṛṣṇadevarāya's munificence.

He then proceeded further southwards. On January 14, 1517, he was at Kanchipuram, where he visited the Vaiṣṇava temple of Varadarāja and gifted to it 1000 gold coins, five villages and had its *vimāna* gilded with gold.[48] The sovereign also visited the famous Śaiva temples at Tiruvannamalai and Chidambaram. According to epigraphical evidence, he built for the Aruṇācaleśvara temple at Tiruvannamalai a 1000 pillared hall (Photo 11.4), two tanks, a *gopura* of 11 storeys, another *maṇḍapa*, a car, a temple-street and a well; he also covered certain portions of the temple with gold and granted ornaments, vessels and other endowments.[49] Similarly, he built[50] the northern *gopura* of the Naṭarāja temple at Chidambaram.[51]

The emperor also went to the Raṅganātha temple at Srirangam and gifted to it five villages, various jewels and precious stones.[52] During the course of this southern tour, Kṛṣṇadevarāya was at Kumbhakonam at the beginning of February 1517 to attend the great *Mahāmakham* festival.[53] While in the Tamil territory, the king remitted certain taxes in the villages owned by a number of Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva temples in Chola-mandalam. This is inscribed in several places; these epigraphs also mention the king's victories in the eastern area.[54]

A number of records in the Tamil country also register the aggregate of 10,000 *varāhas* (gold coins) that the Emperor gave to several Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava temples that are mentioned by name. As in the previous group, these records, too, give a long list of the king's recent conquests. They are all of the Śaka year 1439, that is, A.D. 1517-18.[55]

On his return journey from the far south back to his capital, Kṛṣṇadevarāya once again visited Kanchipuram. There he granted two villages for the float festival of Ekambaranātha, that is, the deity of the great Śaiva temple of this place. He pleased Śaivas and Vaiṣṇavas by presenting two chariots for Vināyaka in the Ekambaranātha temple and Kṛṣṇa in the Varadarāja temple. The emperor also initiated an agreement between the trustees of the Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava temples, fixing the routes to be followed by the temple chariots and the *vāhanas* of the two temples on festival occasions.[56]

Kṛṣṇadevarāya returned, from his triumphant victory tour of his southern territories, to his capital by June A.D. 1517, where he made a grant of land, on June 20, 1517, to god Tiruveṅgalanātha (Veṅkaṭeśvara) at Vijayanagara.[57] Probably, this was the last of *mahādānas* connected with the Kalinga war. If so, both the beginning and the close of the war were marked by the emperor's gifts to his favourite deity, first made at Tirumalai and other at Vijayanagara.

The fifth and final stage of the Kalinga war

In the meantime, while Kṛṣṇadevarāya was on his tour of the south, the army which he had left at Simhadri was not idle. Under the command of one of the officers, an expedition proceeded towards Orissa itself. An epigraph at Kommuru in the Guntur district, dated March 12, 1517, refers to his conquests as far as Katakam.[58] It is, therefore, evident that, after his return from Simhadri, the Vijayanagara army advanced into Orissa and successfully attacked Cuttack, its capital. The

Gajapati, who had been defeated in every battle and who had lost a large part of his territory, had to sue for peace. According to tradition, he gave his daughter to Kṛṣṇadevarāya in marriage and obtained in return all the territory to the north of the river Kṛṣṇa which the *rāya* had captured from him during the course of the war. With this ended the most brilliant chapter in the martial career of Kṛṣṇadevarāya. However, no benefactions by the *raya* commemorate the attack on Cuttack and the conclusion of peace with the Gajapati. It would appear that his war aims had been achieved by the completion of the fourth stage in the war; the invasion of Orissa proper was merely an epilogue to this magnificent chapter in his military history.

Besides Kṛṣṇadevarāya's very generous benefactions made to temples, both in the capital and throughout the Andhra and Tamil regions, during the course of the Kalinga war, his literary masterpiece in Telugu, *Amuktamalyada*, is also connected with this war and the re-conquest of the Telugu territories in the south-east. It is recorded in this work itself that during the course of the war, while he was on a visit to the temple of Andhramadhusūdana at Srikakula, the emperor had a dream in which he was commanded by the god of that temple that he should write a poem in Telugu. The subject set for the purpose was the wedding of Andal, the women *alvar*. This literary work was dedicated by Kṛṣṇadevarāya to god Venkaṭeśvara of Tirumalai-Tirupati.[59]

Conclusion

A careful study of Kṛṣṇadevarāya's grants to temples during the years A.D. 1513-1517 reveals that they are mainly connected either with the Udayagiri and Kondavidu campaigns or were embarked upon at the completion of the fourth stage of the war, that is, the planting of the pillar of victory at Simhadri-Potnur. This is not surprising, for Udayagiri and Kondavidu were the two provinces, formerly part of the Vijayanagara empire, which had been conquered by the Gajapatis in the late fifteenth century. The re-conquest of these two provinces would have been the principal goal of the emperor in embarking on the war against the Gajapati; hence, these two campaigns would, naturally, have been the occasion of numerous benefactions. For him, the planting of the pillar of victory at Simhadri obviously signified the successful rounding off of the war begun in early A.D. 1513. Therefore, it was followed by the religious endowments made by him at Simhachalam, Vijayanagara and during his southern tour of his kingdom.

Certain features are noticeable about the nature of Kṛṣṇadevarāya's benefactions to temple deities during the Kalinga war. They are of diverse type: there are the constructional activities such as the building of the entirely new temple to Kṛṣṇa in the capital, as well as the additions to existing temples at Vijayanagara and elsewhere of *gopuras*, *maṇḍapas* and so on; there are the endowments to temples of villages and the gifts of jewels, golden and silver items, the granting of the remission of taxes, the gifts of cash, the gilding of the *vimāna* or other parts of the shrine with gold, and in one case the performance of *tulāpuruṣa-dāna*. The majority of the benefactions were made by the Emperor alone; but in some important ones he was joined by his two consorts, who also presented costly gifts.

The donations were made to deities of the capital city and in the Andhra and Tamil regions; that is, to all the principal gods of the kingdom so as to ensure the continued divine blessings on the remaining phases of the war. The number of benefactions was at their maximum at the close of the principal stages of the war, signified by the planting of the pillar of victory. This was but natural: the Emperor wished to express his gratitude to the gods for his spectacular success.

By his generosity to temples, not only was Kṛṣṇadevarāya ensuring the blessings of the gods on his military venture, but he was also securing the good-will and support of the powerful, local sectarian leaders. For although royal figures conducted extensive and elaborate relationships with temples by building new ones and enriching and extending old ones, the day-to-day management of temples remained in the hands of local notables.

His gifts and donations related to the Kalinga War reveal that the emperor was a shrewd statesman and diplomat: himself a Vaiṣṇava, he was very careful to give grants equally to both Vaiṣṇava as well as Śaiva temples, though the temple that received the maximum number of benefactions was that of the Vaiṣṇava god Venkaṭeśvara of Tirumalai, Kṛṣṇadevarāya's favourite deity.

Besides ensuring the favour of the gods and of the sectarian leaders through these gifts, especially of land and money, to religious centres, the ruler was also giving a boost to the economy. For, money endowments were generally invested by the temple authorities in extending irrigational facilities within the temple lands or in bringing fresh land under the plough. As a result, agricultural production went up and employment opportunities were enhanced in the concerned areas. Constructional activities and the fabrication of exquisite ornaments and other items of precious stones and metals also gave work to many people.

Royal endowments to temples, as during the Kalinga war, were major means for the redistributive activities of Vijayanagara sovereigns, which played an important role in agrarian development in this period. At the same time, temple endowment was a major technique for the extension of royal control into new areas; transactions involving both material resources and temple 'honours' permitted the absorption of new local constituencies into Vijayanagara rule. In relation to temples during this period the distinctive function of royalty was the combination of generous endowment with the task of 'protection', for example, dispute arbitration.[60]

While serving these religious and economic purposes, Kṛṣṇadevarāya's benefactions and his tour of pilgrimage also secured his political ends. They were a form of publicity and advertisements of his achievements. A study of the inscriptions makes this evident. The gifts of the emperor to temples at Vijayanagara during the period A.D. 1513-1517, except for the foundational epigraphs in the Kṛṣṇa temple, make no mention of the Kalinga war. This was not necessary, for in his capital the successful exploits of the ruler would be common knowledge. However, in the numerous epigraphs of the same period found in the temples of the Andhra and Tamil zones the monarch's victories in the east, up to the date of that particular epigraph, are usually inscribed at great length. Again, these inscriptions, for example at Tirumalai, are often in two or even three languages, so that

they could be read by the literate population speaking any of the three principal languages of the realm, namely Telugu, Kannada and Tamil. Kṛṣṇadevarāya's tour of pilgrimage of A.D.1517 was also a victory celebration, a triumphant procession through his Empire, making a political statement of his prowess and might.

The Kalinga war, A.D. 1513-1517, was undoubtedly an exceedingly important military venture for Kṛṣṇadevarāya as is revealed by the numerous benefactions to temples that marked the distinct phases in it and the final success of the Vijayanagara arms against the Gajapati. No other of his military ventures is marked by so many grants and donations by the sovereign. Kṛṣṇadevarāya was remarkable as a conqueror, statesman and patron of religion and culture. His success in the Kalinga war and the charitable and religious activities connected with it bear ample witness to this.

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51 The above mentioned inscriptions mention the monarch's construction of these structures. Stylistically, the 1000 pillared hall at Tiruvannamalai appears to be of this period. However, stylistically the big *gopura* at Tiruvannamalai should be assigned to a later date. Again, the base of the northern *gopura* at Chidambaram is pre-Vijayanagara, while its brick and mortar superstructure has been modified in the post-Vijayanagara times. Hence, it is not clear exactly what Kṛṣṇdevaraya built in these places.

52 *ARSIE* for 1938-39, No. 88.

53 *Ibid* for 1905, Paragraph 33.

54 e.g. *Ibid* for 1904, No.125; Report for 1907, No. 355; Report for 1925, Nos. 167,184, 223, 235, 251.

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The Goan Historian José Gerson Da Cunha at the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (1870-1900)

Representing What Was "Portuguese" At the British India Institution of Knowledge

12

Filipa Vincent

José Gerson da Cunha became a member of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1873, a moment that coincided, not by chance, with his growing interest in historical research, in detriment of the medical publications where he wrote in his early career as a doctor.[1] By analysing all the issues of the institution's journal published in the last three decades of the 19th century, one can see how Gerson da Cunha's name became more frequent from the 1870s onwards--from an occasional contributor to a regular one--who, apart from writing in the journal, began to assume a role in the institution's administration itself. By 1891, he appears as the joint-honorary secretary for the department of numismatics and archaeology, while in the 1893 journal, apart from publishing two articles, he is identified as one of the vice-presidents of the Society.[2] A few years later, when the British Sanskritist Dr. Peter Peterson was the president, Gerson da Cunha still retained his position of vice-president along with another Indian member, and two British ones.[3] The fact that by the end of the 19th century, amongst the four vice-presidents of the Society there were two Indian scholars, reflects an increasing Indian participation within the Society, which was also visible through their written production. The last issue of the *Journal* before the turn of the century witnesses this change: all the articles were written by non-British fellows, something which, when compared with earlier decades, reveals a profound change of intellectual production on India, within the institution. Apart from Gerson da Cunha's link to the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, the more prestigious institution in Mumbai with which he

was associated was the Anthropological Society of Bombay, where his name appears amongst the first members. [4] In 1887, he was elected vice-president of this Society - along with three other men, two of British origin, and another of Indian origin - later becoming the general-secretary and the treasurer, posts he occupied until his death in 1900.[5]

At the turn of the century, the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* reveals the self-consciousness of its own history as an institution, by publishing a list of all its members and their year of entry in the Society, from 1862 onwards.[6] Already in 1869, four years before Gerson da Cunha became a member, there appears another doctor with a Portuguese name, Dr. L. P. de Rozario, while the Society's journal announces that the Goan public servant and head of the National Press of Goa, Francisco João Xavier, had become a new member in 1877; Pascal António Fernandes, barrister in Goa, in 1879; and Dr. D. A. de Monte in 1887. Beyond the obvious scarcity of Goan members, there is a clear division between those who were residents in Mumbai and those who were classified as "non-residents" (which in practice, meant they lived in Goa) as was the case of the Goan doctor and botanist José Camilo Lisboa (Bardez, 1823-Bombay, 1897), the Goan lawyer and journalist Sertório Coelho (Bardez 1845-Goa 1914) and Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha Rivara (Arraiolos, Portugal 1809 - évora, Portugal 1879). Cunha Rivara, the Portuguese secretary of government, who also used his long stay in Goa to produce vast historical work on the Portuguese empire of Asia and to publish many archival sources, appears as an honorary member as early as in 1866.[7] The relationship between the Mumbai (then Bombay) branch of the Society and Goa seems to have been scarce, not to say non-existent. Very occasionally the Society's library would receive a book published in Goa or in Portugal, an event invariably announced in the journal with a misspelled name: J.A de Menezes, for example, sent the *Almanach Recreativo* for 1883 he had just published through the intermediary role of Dr. da Gama, father-in-law of Gerson da Cunha, while the Notas e Documentos inéditos para a Biographia de J.P. Ribeiro, was presented by F. Meirelles de Canto.[8]

In a speech on the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Richard Temple, the Mumbai Governor, highlighted the three names amongst the Society's foreign members that had accomplished "some distinction in our Anglo-Literary world", and, amongst them he included both Gerson da Cunha and José Camilo Lisboa.[9] In the same way, when he refers to what had been written on the history of India, he mentions "two special histories written by foreigners regarding the ancient Portuguese possessions on the coast of India", one being the *An Historical and Archaeological Sketch of the City of Goa* by José Nicolau da Fonseca. A Goan who lived in Mumbai, and who centred most of his historical research on the Portuguese presence in India, Gerson da Cunha soon came to assume the role of representing the Portuguese view point of the history of India. However, he also played the role of the specialist in European culture within the Society's intellectual community. This became evident on the two different moments when he demonstrated his knowledge of European literature: on the first occasion, Gerson da Cunha digressed on the "vast and rich" Portuguese literature in front of the other members, responding to a current event - when the University of Bombay decided to suspend the teaching of the Portuguese language.[11] By means of innumerable quotations, comparisons and references, he also proved how he was knowledgeable about the canon of European literature much

beyond the Portuguese case, while also showing his dominion of different chronological periods and geographical spaces, from classical Greece to contemporary Italian criminal anthropology.

The other moment when Gerson da Cunha showed that his intellectual background could be inscribed in a wider idea of European culture that went beyond what was "Portuguese", took place in one of the Society's meetings, in 1891. The issue discussed was the possible sale of one of the manuscripts belonging to the Society's library that had been donated by the late historian and Governor of Mumbai, Mountstuart Elphinstone. It was the *Divina Commedia* by Dante Alighieri, the 14th century Florentine writer.[12] After a lecture on the manuscript given by W.R. Macdonell, and when the members were considering the advantages of selling it, Gerson da Cunha made a statement against the sale. Emphasising the worth of the manuscript as a valuable and rare item of European culture, he revealed his bibliographic knowledge on the many manuscripts and printed versions of Dante's major work. To reinforce his submission he also reminded the other members of how two Italian scholars - the anthropologist Paolo Mantegazza and the Indianist Angelo De Gubernatis - had seen Dante's manuscript on their visit to the Bombay Society and had not been over-impressed by it.[13] The large circulation of manuscript versions of the *Divina Commedia*, as early as the 14th century, came to question the rarity that had been attributed to the Society's copy, which did not have any distinctive features to justify a high price. The meeting ended with another member supporting Gerson da Cunha's opinion and suggesting that the Society start a collection of works on Dante.[14] Another way Gerson da Cunha had of being a representative of a wider aspect of European culture was through the role of intermediary between European scholars and the Bombay Society. When in 1883 the well-known Italian anthropologist Paolo Mantegazza came to India, the Goan historian, who had met him in Florence a few years before, introduced him to the Society. In 1885, the Italian Indianist and Sanskrit professor Angelo de Gubernatis was honoured at the Bombay Branch of the Asiatic Society in a formal ceremony where Gerson da Cunha, his friend, was the main host.[15]

Edward Rehatsek (Ilok, Austrian Empire 1819-Bombay, 1891) was the person who could better relate to Gerson da Cunha within the Society: none was a native of British India or of Britain; both had lived in Mumbai for a long time, and both came to be identified as the "foreigners", in a membership mainly composed of British subjects and Anglo-Indians, the name given to Indians born under the British government.[16] A Hungarian who had specialised in Islamic subjects, Rehatsek was also an expert on the Arabic and Persian languages who, like Gerson da Cunha, often contributed both to the Society's journal and to the Indian Antiquary, the two most important scholarly journals on Indian themes published in Mumbai.[17] If the Goan was seen as the expert on the Portuguese colonial past in India, on Catholicism, the Portuguese language, and anything related to Portuguese India, Rehatsek came to represent Muslim culture and history. The main difference was that while in Gerson da Cunha's case his knowledge was intertwined with his own biography, because he was of Goan origin, Portuguese nationality and Catholic religion, Rehatsek on the other hand had no Arabic or Persian origin, nor was he a Muslim. His interests were more likely to be related to a German orientalist tradition that had been incorporated by the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Occasionally, the two "foreign" members of the Society collaborated on the same text or referred to each other's work: when

Rehatsek gave notice of two unknown Arabic manuscripts for the history of Yemen, it was Gerson da Cunha who added the notes on the Portuguese sources related to the subject.[18] On the other hand, when writing on some of the talismanic Muslim vases he collected, Gerson da Cunha recommended the reading of Rehatsek's articles.[19]

Gerson da Cunha's close relationship to the Royal Asiatic Society, based in his city, and the fact that his audience was English-speaking and outside Portuguese India, reinforced his role as the intermediary between the "Portuguese world" and the "British world".[20] He possessed the linguistic and bibliographic knowledge of the two distinct Indian geographies to which he belonged and where he circulated throughout his life, favouring the double historiographical gaze that is present in all his writings.

Gerson Da Cunha's Writings In The Journal Of The Bombay Branch Of The Royal Asiatic Society

Most of Gerson da Cunha's articles were published in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* although he also contributed to *The Indian Antiquary*, where his Portuguese name also contrasted with the majority of British and Indian contributors. According to him, of all the journals published on Asia, that published by the Bombay Asiatic Society was the one which had most articles and sources on the history and archaeology of the Portuguese in the East.[21] What he does not mention is that this was due mainly, to his own frequent contributions. Indeed, "Portuguese India", or any other matter related to the Portuguese presence in Asia, was a rare subject among the written instruments of knowledge published in British India throughout the second half of the 19th century, and when it did appear it was usually by the hand of Gerson da Cunha.[22] Always attentive to what was being translated from Portuguese into English (from editions of Camões' Lusíadas to sixteenth century historical sources on India) and to what was being written and published on Portugal or Portuguese India in the English language, he frequently also gave this kind of information to his English-speaking readers.[23]

Beyond his growing protagonism in the life of the Society, what becomes clear when analysing Gerson da Cunha's articles in the Journal is his specialisation on everything that was "Portuguese" outside Portugal. And if, most of the time, this meant India, it could also involve other geographical zones. When in 1875, the general consul and British political agent in Zanzibar, Major Charles Euan Smith, discovered some Portuguese inscriptions at the Fort of Mombassa, he sent them to Gerson da Cunha through the Bombay Society, so that he could transcribe and translate them for the files of the "Foreign Department of the Government of India". Again in 1891, the Goan historian was asked to give his verdict on what was happening in Mombassa. Comparing the situation in 1875 and in 1891, Gerson da Cunha reflected on the changing map of European colonialism in Africa, where, "younger and more vigorous" European countries were actively and successfully "questioning the Portuguese right to control those African regions".[24] The extant weaknesses of Portuguese colonialism, in contrast with its own past and in contrast with the contemporary experiences of other colonial nations, was a constant theme in his work.

Therefore, it was frequent to see Gerson da Cunha's name as the author of the notes that added the Portuguese perspective within a subject analysed by another writer, or as the translator, from

the Portuguese language, in the *Journal*. When the *Journal* published the facsimile of a Portuguese inscription sent by Mr. Falle, from the *Marine Survey*, Gerson da Cunha not only translated it into English but also contributed to a long note on the historical context of the material object.[25] Found amongst the ruins of Chaul, on which he had already published an article in the *Journal*, the inscription was read as proof of the decline of Portuguese epigraphy in the second half of the seventeenth century, a fact that, according to him, did nothing but reflect the general decline of the Portuguese government in India. This departing from a specific material object found in the present - usually in or amongst ruins - to a general appreciation of the past Portuguese empire in India, was a leit-motif present in many of Gerson da Cunha's historical writings.

Already in 1875, in one of his first articles, Gerson da Cunha exemplified an historical approach that he would rehearse throughout his career: to analyse, in multiple ways, a particular Indian region that had been, in the past, particularly influenced by the Portuguese presence.[26] "An Historical and Archaeological Sketch of the Island of Angediva" began with a geographical description, moving on to a etymological approach to the word Angediva, from its past uses up to its contemporary ones. Using different kinds of sources written in various languages, from travel accounts, to legends and historical texts, written in different periods, Gerson da Cunha inevitably went through distinct colonial presences within the island. This kind of approach to a specific geographical space throughout a long period of time enabled him to use his knowledge of different national historiographies, mainly the Portuguese and British ones in their relationships to India.

The writing of a history of the Portuguese empire in the East - an ambition he confessed to the pages of the Journal - was, in fact, only achieved through a fragmented approach, centred on specific Indian territories, from Chaul, Bassain or Mumbai or on events that were related to Portuguese colonialism of the past.[27] Usually inscribing these territories within the comparative discourse of past glory and present decadence that had already become the repeated metaphor of the historicisation of Portuguese India, maybe it was not by chance that Goa, Daman or Diu, the sites of contemporary Portuguese colonialism, were never subjected to this kind of in-depth historical analysis. Doing so could become a conscious or unconscious criticism of the Portuguese government. Therefore, it is clear from Gerson da Cunha's textual itinerary, that he usually preferred to analyse the past of the Portuguese in India, where he could more safely criticise some of its aspects (from the Jesuits' flaws to the methods of religious conversion), rather than concentrating on its contemporary politics.

By the end of the 1870s and beginning of the 1880s, *The Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* published his various works on Indo-Portuguese numismatics.[28] Departing from the study of coins and medals, he established a relationship between historical writing and the material remains of the past which, in this case, were also the main object of his collecting interests. However, during the same period, apart from his research work more centred on Portuguese subjects, even if always using British or British-Indian sources, Gerson da Cunha's research started to explore historical events that involved both the Portuguese and the British in India. This was the case of an article on "The English and their Monuments at Goa" where he combined his knowledge of both Portuguese and British sources and historiography. With an equivocal title, the essay explored the ways in which

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Anglo-Portuguese, as well as Anglo-French relationships in and outside Europe, dominated by the Napoleonic invasions in the early 19th century, reverberated in India, and especially in Goa.[29] By "monuments" he meant the material remains that proved British presence in the Portuguese territories of India during the French threat, mainly the British cemetery of Goa and some tomb inscriptions. This episode, with its transnational perspectives, could only have been studied by someone who knew and could read the different sources on the various sides.

The same could be said in relation to his article on the wedding treaty between the Portuguese princess D. Catarina and the British king Charles II, in 1661, the founding moment of the "greatest Empire a European nation ever acquired in the East".[30] From this symbolic interstice between the history of both empires, somehow representing the end of one and the beginning of another, Gerson da Cunha could also research the history of his city - Mumbai - in what became his less fragmented work and his only book published by the Society immediately upon his death in 1900. His growing authority on Portuguese traces in Mumbai, also went beyond the *Journal's* pages, and appeared in a variety of other publications.[31]

Conclusion

Historiography on the British Empire in India during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that looks at the production of knowledge tends to concentrate on Bengal: from the intellectual community linked to the Asiatic Society, to the role of the Indian literary elites on the emerging nationalist movements. More recently, however, many historians have multiplied these geographies, agents and instruments of knowledge, while theorising on new ways of looking at the relationships between colonisers and colonised, or even questioning such limiting categories. There is, thus, an overall tendency towards a more fragmented and plural way of apprehending the production of knowledge on India. Mumbai, however, for many years more associated with commerce than with knowledge or forms of colonial resistance, still tends to be absent from a more cultural and intellectual history of the nineteenth century.

Through Gerson da Cunha's links to the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, and its wide and varied community of learned men, another side of Mumbai comes across. The Society and its journal came to occupy the role of congregating the growing number of men who, based in Mumbai, were researching and writing on different aspects of Indian history, culture, natural history, languages or anthropology, the disciplines that were configuring knowledge in what was identified as a European classification. This article tries to demonstrate how the study of the production of knowledge in India can be enriched by the analysis of the situation in Mumbai. Its identification as a cosmopolitan site, enjoying a great ethnic, religious and national diversity, should be taken into account in order to understand the diversity of knowledge and those who produced it. Far from a division between the British as colonisers and the Indians, writing from the place of the colonised, what the Mumbai case reveals, is a more heterogeneous group of men (not yet women), writing, publishing, and taking part in the process of transforming India into a subject, who in their diversity come to problematise any dichotomy.

Gerson da Cunha embodies this instability. Like many others in his social and intellectual circle he challenges any classification: in his multiple itineraries, geographical as much as historical, biographical and bibliographical; in his capacity to confront different histories and voices, in his intellectual cosmopolitanism. Both in his life and in his transnational or transcolonial historical writings Gerson da Cunha embodied the role of cultural-broker, an in-between agent of different worlds. His intellectual and cultural references were not only European or Indian, but belonged to different Europes and different Indias. He read and wrote Portuguese as well as English, but also other European languages, and some Indian languages. He worked at the archives in Goa and Mumbai, but also Rome and Paris. He read the inscriptions on tombstones in Catholic churches but also Sanskrit inscriptions in Hindu temples. If his present was made of frequent geographical displacements between Mumbai - the city where he lived - and Goa - the place to which he and his family travelled frequently - his past was also made of continuous incursions, transitions, crossings "between empires", the Portuguese and the British.[32] It was precisely this geographical and identity mobility, his foreignness in relation to the dominant contexts where he moved, that enabled him to produce knowledge on India that went beyond national, colonial or local historiographies.

Gerson da Cunha does not fit into the characterisation of the "colonised" who has no voice, or is even dispossessed of access to writing and to history and appropriates himself of the language and instruments of the colonisers in order to inscribe his voice within the mainstream narratives. Being Goan, the language of the colonisers - that is, the culture and the paradigms of European historical writing - were part of his culture. With the self consciousness inherent to the processes of distinction, he presented himself as a historian "in the European way" but in his case, we cannot say, there is an appropriation of a way of producing knowledge, as it is so often said in the context of recent scholarly approaches to British-Indian 19th century native elites appropriating European ideas with different ends. For the Goan Catholic literary elites, Portuguese culture was embedded by centuries of imposition and presence, it was part of them, not an outsider culture that they could contradict, deny, or use in various ways. Analysing cases such as that of Gerson da Cunha, and his relationship with the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society - a major intellectual product of British colonialism that was growingly being appropriated by the Indian scholars as an instrument for their own knowledge production - has the usefulness of enriching the historical discussions that tend to concentrate on the 19th century context of British India, while ignoring other colonial formations and the multiplicity of producers of knowledge that were based in a city like Mumbai.

Notes and References

[1] In Thacker's Indian Directory for the year 1886 Gerson da Cunha's name does not appear in the entry assigned to "Doctors". He appears, however, identified as one of the members of the Committee of Management of the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society. The other member was Javerilal *Umiashankar* Yajnik: Thacker's Indian Directory 1886 (Calcutta: Thacker, Spink and Co., 1886), p. 1020. On José Gerson da Cunha see: Inocêncio F. da Silva, Dicionário Bibliográfico Português (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional Casa da Moeda, 1973, 1st edition 1884), pp. 344-345. Inocêncio based his text on two sources: Miguel Vicente de Abreu, Notícias de alguns filhos distintos da Índia Portuguesa que se ilustraram fora da pátria (Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1874), p. 26; Angelo De Gubernatis, ed., Dizionario Biografico degli scrittori contemporanei ornato di oltre 300 ritratti (Florence: Le Monnier, 1879): "Cunha, José Gerson" [with a litographical portrait], pp. 330, 331; Francisco Caetano da Cunha e sua família (Nova Goa, 1925).

[2] The Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. 1891, n² XLVIII, vol. XVIII (Bombay: Society's Library, 1891), p. xii; José Gerson da Cunha, "The Diary of a French Missionary in Bombay, from November 8th, 1827 to May 12th, 1828" and

"Madame Dupleix and the Marquise de Falaiseau", The Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. 1891-1894, vol. XVIII (Bombay: Society's Library, 1894), pp. 350-369 e pp. 370-401.

[3] The other Vice-Presidents were James MacDonald, K. R. Cama and the Honorable Mr. Justice Candy. The Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, n² LV, vol. XX (Bombay: Society's Library, 1899).

[4] The Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay (Bombay: Education Society's Press, 1886), Vol. I, n² 1, p. 7.

[5] "During the year under report were held (Å) and one special General Meeting (on July 11th) to record the deep sense of the loss the Society had sustained by the death of their late Honorary General Secretary and treasurer, Dr. John [sic] Gerson da Cunha", The Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay (Bombay: Education Society's Press, 1902), Vol. VI, n² 1, p. 2.

[6] The Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. 1896, n² LII, vol. XIX (Bombay: Society's Library, 1896).

[7] These names - José Camilo Lisboa, Sertório Coelho, and Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha Rivara - deserve a history in their own right, something I cannot do here: for a first biographical essay on the three of them see the very useful work by Aleixo Manuel da Costa, Dicionário de Literatura Goesa, 3 vols., (Macau: Instituto Cultural de Macau; Fundação Oriente, 1999).

[8] The Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. 1883, n² XLII, vol. XVI (Bombay: Society's Library, 1884), p. ix, xii.

[9] Proceedings of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (January to December 1879)", in The Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. 1879 (Bombay: Society's Library, 1880), p. xxiv.

[10] Proceedings of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (January to December 1879)", in The Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. 1879 (Bombay: Society's Library, 1880), p. xxxi; José Nicolau da Fonseca, An Historical and Archaeological Sketch of the City of Goa preceded by a short Statistical Account of the Territory of Goa, written by the authorization of Government, by José Nicolau da Fonseca, Pres. of the Sociedade dos Amigos das Letras (Bombay: Thacker & Co., 1878).

[11] José Gerson da Cunha, "A Brief Sketch of the Portuguese and their Language in the East", The Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. 1892, n2 XLIX, Vol. XVIII (Bombay: Society's Library, 1893), pp. 168-191, p. 188, 189.

[12] Abstract of the Society's Proceedings, official, literary and scientific", The Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. 1891, n² XLVIII, vol. XVIII (Bombay: Society's Library, 1891), pp. xii-xv; For another example on the place of "European literature" at the Bombay Society and the role of Gerson da Cunha in its legitimisation see another issue of the Journal where there is a reference to the talk given at the Society by Mr. Karkaria on the Carlyle conferences that were still to be published. These conferences on the different periods of European culture were part of the "Anstey manuscript" that was kept at the Society's library. At the Society's meeting, Gerson da Cunha manifests his support of the Society's publication of Carlyle's conferences, in "Proceedings of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society", The Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. 1892, n² XLIX, vol. XVIII (Bombay: Society's Library, 1893), pp. xxix, xxx.

[13] Angelo De Gubernatis established a relationship between Dante and India in one of his articles: "Le type indien du Lucifer chez le Dante", in Actes du Dixième Congrès International des Orientalistes. Session de Genève-1894, Part II - Sections I: Inde; I bis: Linguistique et langues aryennes, vol. II (de 4 vols.) (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1895), pp. 75- 87.

[14] In another Society's meeting, one year after (26th February 1892), Jivanji J. Modi gave a talk on "The Divine Comedy of Dante, and the Viraf-nameh of Ardai Viraf". Gerson da Cunha intervened to say how he had considered it a worthy contribution to the literature on Dante and defended its publication in the Journal: "Proceedings of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society", The Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. 1892, vol. XVIII, n² XLIX (Bombay: Society's Library, 1893), p. xxxi.

[15] On the relationship between Angelo De Gubernatis and José Gerson da Cunha see my book Outros Orientalismos. A Índia entre Florença e Bombaim (1860-1900) (Lisbon: Imprensa de Ciências Sociais, 2009).

[16] Edward Rehatsek arrived in India in 1847 and for many years was a professor of Mathematics and Latin at the Wilson College. Only after retiring in 1871 could he dedicate himself entirely to his Arabic and Persian literary, historical and linguistic studies. As he died in Bombay, his body was cremated in the Hindu tradition, being considered the first European to have been cremated in India. The Bombay Society dedicated a session in honour of his memory, where his specialised knowledge was praised, and his "eccentric" character used to explain his distance from the society in the last years before his death, in "Proceedings of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society", The Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. 1892, N² XLIX, Vol. XVIII (Bombay: Society's Library, 1893), p. xxxviii. Some examples of Reharsek's works are: Essays, Prize Essay on the reciprocal influence of European and Muhammadan civilization during the period of the Khalifs and at the Present time (Bombay: Education Society's Press, 1877); Translations, Ibn Ishaq, The Life of Muhammad, Apostole of Allah, ed. Michael Edwardes (London: The Folio Society, 1964); Sa''di, The Gulistan, or Rose-Garden of (Benares: Printed by the Kama Shastra Society for private subscribers only, 1888); Cataloguing of manuscripts, Catalogue raisonné of the Arabic, Hindostani, Persian and Turkish MSS in the Mulla Firuz Library, etc (Bombay, 1873).

[17] Indian Antiquary, a Journal of Oriental research in archaeology, history, literature, languages, philosophy, religion, folklore, ed. James Burgess, III (Bombaim: Education Society's Press.

[18] E. Rehatsek, "Brief notice of two Arabic Manuscripts on the History of Yemen. With Notes from Portuguese sources by J. Gerson da Cunha", The Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. 1877, n² XXXV, vol. XIII (Bombay: Society's Library, 1878), pp. 317-324.

[19] Dr. J. Gerson da Cunha, "An address on amulets and talismans", in The Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay (Bombay: Education Society's Press, 1886), pp. 378-391, p. 389.

[20] Rochelle Pinto, Between Empires. Print and Politics in Goa (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 185.

[21] José Gerson da Cunha, "A Brief Sketch of the Portuguese and their Language in the East", The Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.1892, N2 XLIX, Vol. XVIII (Bombay: Society's Library, 1893), pp. 168-191, p. 171.

[22] For example: An article at the Indian Antiquary reflected on what had been published by the "Asiatic Societies" in the year of 1874. It refers to the article by T. W. H. Tolbort on Authorities for the History of the Portuguese in India published by the Bombay Society's journal, in "Asiatic Societies", Indian Antiquary, vol. III, May 1874, pp. 144-149, p. 144.

[23] E. Rehatsek, "Brief notice of two Arabic Manuscripts on the History of Yemen. With Notes from Portuguese sources by J. Gerson da Cunha", The Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. 1877, n² XXXV, vol. XIII (Bombay: Society's Library, 1878), pp. 317-324, p. 324.

[24] José Gerson da Cunha, "A Brief Sketch of the Portuguese and their Language in the East", The Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.1892, N² XLIX, Vol. XVIII (Bombay: Society's Library, 1893), pp. 168-191, p. 169.

[25] "Proceedings of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (January to December 1879)", in The Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. 1879 (Bombay: Society's Library, 1880), p. xxxvii-xxxix.

[26] José Gerson da Cunha, "An Historical and Archaeological Sketch of the Island of Angediva", The Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. 1875, n² XXXII, vol. XI (Bombay: Society's Library, 1876), pp. 288-310.

[27] José Gerson da Cunha, "A Brief Sketch of the Portuguese and their Language in the East", The Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.1892, N2 XLIX, Vol. XVIII (Bombay: Society's Library, 1893), pp. 168-191, p. 173.

[28] José Gerson da Cunha, "Contributions to the Study of Indo-Portuguese Numismatics (Part First)", "Contributions to the Study of Indo-Portuguese Numismatics (Part Second)", The Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. 1880, n² XXXVIII, vol. XIV (Bombay: Society's Library, 1880), pp. 267-273; pp. 402-417; "Contributions to the Study of Indo-Portuguese Numismatics (Part Third), The Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.1881-1882, n2 XL, vol. XV (Bombay: Society's Library, 1883), pp. 169-202. By the end of the 20th century all the issues were published together in a facsimile volume: J. Gerson da Cunha, Contributions to the Study of Indo-Portuguese Numismatics (New Delhi; Madras: Asian Educational Services, 1995); From what I could enquire, this seems to be the only work by Gerson da Cunha translated into Portuguese and published in Portugal: J. Gerson da Cunha, Contribuiçoes para o estudo da numismática indo-portuguesa. Tradução, prefácio e algumas notas de Luís Pinto Garcia ([Lisboa]: Agência Geral do Ultramar, 1955).

[29] José Gerson da Cunha, "The English and their Monuments at Goa", in The Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. 1877 (Bombay: Society's Library, 1878), pp. 109-130.

[30] José Gerson da Cunha, "On the Marriage of Infanta D. Catarina of Portugal with Charles II of Great Britain, her Medals and Portraits", The Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. 1887, n² XLVI, vol. XVII (Bombay: Society's Library, 1887), pp. 137-146.

[31] [On the bell of Bombay Castle]: "The bell is thus, it appears, not a Protestant, but a Roman Catholic one, i.e., Portuguese one. What its history has been we know not. Probably Dr. Da Cunha, or some one versed in these matters, will be able to furnish us with it", in James Douglas, Round About Bombay (Bombay: Bombay Gazette Steam Press, 1886), p. 59, 60, 80; James Mackenzie Maclean, A Guide to Bombay: Historical, statistical, and descriptive, 11th edition (Bombaim: at the "Bombay Gazette" Steam Press, 1886), p. 337.

[32] I am using Rochelle Pinto's title; Between Empires. Print and Politics in Goa (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2007).

[33] Manuela Ribeiro Sanches, "Introdução", in Portugal Não Î um País Pequeno: Contar o Império na Pós-Colonialidadeç ed. Manuela Ribeiro Sanches (Lisbon: Ediçoes Cotovia, 2006), 18; Dipesh Chakrabarty, Provincializing Europe. Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 2000).

[34] See Rochelle Pinto's book: Between Empires. Print and Politics in Goa (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2007).

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REVIEWS

THE TOUCH OF ŚAKTI: A STUDY IN NON-DUALISTIC TRIKA ŚAIVISM OF KASHMIR,
ERNST FURLINGER, D. K. Printworld (P) Ltd., New Delhi, pp. xix + 288, 8 photographs in black and white. Rs. 690; US $ 34.50.

The touch or the *sparśa* of the goddess as experienced by the acolyte in his body, though not always in this medium, is the subject of Furlinger's study. He introduces the subject, explaining the historical development of the *Trika* - non-dualistic - *Śaivism* of Kashmir, dwelling on Abhinavagupta, and listing his works which covered a wide variety of subjects. He traces the further development of this philosophy at the hands of a few well known disciples and followers of Abhinavagupta.

The *Trika* form of *Śaivism* was opposed to the dualistic *Siddhānta Śaivism*, laying stress on two things: that release from bondage is possible while in the embodied state, and that rituals are not necessary to attain this goal. The *Trika* school of philosophy had a triad of goddesses, and later elevated the goddess Kālī, and integrated her worship into the *Trika*. Abhinavagupta laid a solid foundation of a philosophical base to the system, transforming rituals into internalized yogic practices. He refuted the dualism of the *Siddhāntins*, the illusionism of the Vedāntins, and the absence of the concept 'of the non - dualistic synthesis' of the *Yogācāra* Buddhism.

In the 2nd chapter, he expresses the hermeneutical difficulties encountered by the interpreter of *Tantric* texts, and cautions scholars to understand the work from its author's standpoint, and not interpret it from the reader's own vocabulary of religious views. It is well nigh impossible for a modern scholar from a modern secular background to interpret a work of mystical Indian theology of the middle ages. The author points out that even a great scholar like Woodroffe (Arthur Avalon) who tried to make the Tantras understood and appreciated by the West, sanitised most of the terminology of these texts. Taking up the multi-layered meanings in Abhinavagupta's works, Furlinger avers that it only highlights the multi-faceted scholarship of the author, a result of the 'experience of the multidimensionality of reality from a yogic perspective'(p.58). Words, for example like *sparśa*, *'vimarśa'*, etc. in a particular context (sentence) may not lead to an isolated single meaning, but instead have levels of meanings, not just overlapping, but pervading one another. As an example, he points out the word *samvit* in *Tantraloka* 1.134b - 135, where if it is taken to refer to *cit*, it would then stand for an insentient thing, which is absurd. Here it stands for the 'innermost pulsating, vibrating, shining core of reality, the true highest nature of everything' (pp. 93 - 94, fn. 44). Similarly, *vimarśa* is translated as 'inner perception', whereas it is a self-recognition of the essence of light, beyond the limited cognition of subject / object. The word *hrdaya*, Jayadeva Singh explains in his comments on Sūtra 18 of the *Pratyabijñāhrdayam* (p. 95, fn.), as standing for the deepest consciousness, the centre of reality, the light of consciousness in which the entire universe is rooted. Furlinger adds a stronger meaning that it connotes the *yoni*. Another shortcoming seen among scholars is that they decide that Abhinavagupta lacks clarity in the text, so they feel it is their bounden duty to reinterpret the text to their own satisfaction. Wilhelm Halbfass had done a pioneering job in warning scholars against similar pitfalls in interpreting eastern cultures, religions and philosophies from a myopic view point.

In the third and weightiest chapter Furlinger goes into an elaborate discussion covering all aspects of the term *Śaktisparśa*. Why is the word *sparśa* chosen to denote the contact with the highest *Śakti*? *Sparśa* is the only *tanmatra* which has dual effectiveness - of touching and being touched. Abhinavagupta makes clear that asceticism need not be the only way to attain *mokṣa*, but by interiorising the sexual act, one can attain the same goal. In this context he brings forth the opposing functions of *sparśa* which denotes sexual union as well as the touch of the highest spiritual joy. Sexuality is not opposed, suppressed or declaimed but is a means to realize the Self. The ritualized sex act in encoded language is mentioned in the ancient texts like the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, the *Chāndogya* and *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* Upaniṣads as an interiorised act, which was expanded and explained later by the Tantras. In the higher level of perception, touching, being touched and tactile power are all different modes of the Supreme Being, the vitality or beauty which is the core of everything. The author draws parallels with Western philosophers from Plotinus, Eckart to Nicolus of Cusa while discussing this experience by 'touch' with the Nameless.

In the *Śivastotrāvalī* 8.9, Utpaladeva states that once one experiences the touch of Śakti, one turns one's face away from worldly pleasures which are flat in comparison. Kṣemarāja on the other hand says that one faces the world (instead of turning away from it) with equanimity, the touch altering one's perception forever, since spiritual joy and worldly joy have the same source and are permeated by its essence. In Abhinavagupta's *Tantrāoka*, there is an overlap of spiritual and sexual meanings. Utpaladeva describes *sparśa* as the highest spiritual experience, but there is no mention of kulayāga. Abhinavagupta was initiated by Śambhunātha into *Kula Tantrism*. The transformation of Trika Śaivism is evidenced in his treatment of the subject.

In passing one may mention Furlinger's comment that Abhinavagupta identified himself as a *bhakta* in his *Śivastotrāvalī*, whereas in his *Īśvaraprātyabhijñakārika*, he argues using logic like a philosopher. This difference in attitudes, to quote the author, 'should not mislead one to cleave too sharp a division between the philosopher and the mystic' (p. 74). This argument can be used to similar criticisms about the *Advaitic ācārya* Śaṅkara that he could not have composed the *stutis* where *bhakti* permeates the verses.

The author concludes his study by trying to show the relevance of this philosophy in all aspects of modern life. Anything esoteric can be misused for power or sensual gratification. The sexual layers in the encoded language of religious texts are best left for the initiated few; the superficial meanings should suffice for the uninitiated, rituals being sufficiently attractive to satisfy his needs.

In India, it is observed that every philosophy here is a religion, and every religion has its philosophy. Attainment of the goal results from following a rigorous and disciplined spiritual path. This was translated into a set of rules for a practitioner which became codified as a set of rules to follow. Finally rituals rigidified into an uncompromising end in itself, obfuscating the true significance of the path.

Fulinger's book makes absorbing reading. The clear presentation and lucid style makes the perusal of the book a delight. This is an indispensable book for any student of Indian philosophy.

Indira Aiyar

THE WAR THAT WASN'T: THE SUFI AND THE SULTAN, FATIMA HUSSAIN, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd, New Delhi, 2009. Pp 245.

'Hanuz Dilli door ast.'

'Dilli is yet far away' is Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya's sardonic retort to Sultan Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq's order for him to leave the city before he returned from an expedition to Bengal. This well-known remark is symptomatic of the interaction between the Sufis and the Delhi Sultanate. Its legend has sustained due to the perception of the common people during that time, who strongly believed the Sultan's fatal accident before reaching Dilli was the result of the Sufi Shaikh's curse. This anecdote, and several other incidents, events and stories culled from court histories and *malfuzat* or biographies are the basis for Fatima Hussain's book, *The War That Wasn't: The Sufi and the Sultan,* which delves into the intricate and tricky relationships between the mystics and their rulers.

Sufism is the inward, mystical dimension of Islam based on an intense devotion to Allah. Unlike the Ulema, who administered Islamic law and dealt with the practical requirements of social and political life, the Sufis penetrated the very essence of Islam through lives of asceticism and poverty. Over time, Sufism evolved into an organized system of *silsilas* or Orders, each with its *Shaikh* -- a preceptor and guide for disciples or *murids*. A *khanqah* (hospice) became the center of the Shaikh's activity and the place of the Sufi rituals such as *samaa* and *qawwaali* -- devotional singing leading to spiritual ecstasy.

In India, the Sufis had an initial presence in Sind and Punjab. The establishment of influential centres of their Orders coincided with the arrival of the Turki conquerors in Delhi. The trajectory of the two most prolific Orders- the Suhrawardis and the Chistiyas coincides with that of the fledgling Muslim Sultanate gaining a political foothold in North and Central India. Five successive sultanates ruled from Delhi between 1206 and 1526 before the Mughals, and established a state whose Muslim rulers had a majority Hindu population. During this time, many popular Sufi Orders proliferated. Several Shaikhs were highly respected in their life time and venerated as saints in their tombs after death. Indeed, it is believed that the influence of the Sufis played a role in native conversions to Islam.

Fatima Hussain's book is based on her doctoral thesis. She presents a study of two parallel power structures: the Muslim State represented by the Sultan and the inclusive spirituality of the Sufi Shaikhs. The Sultans derived power through the apparatus of the state while the Sufi derived theirs through renunciation, chastity, and morality. In the common wisdom of the people, a Sufi, who had given up all, presented an alternative to the Sultan due to his wisdom to guide and his ability to heal and protect. Sufi *khanqahs* were open to all; subsisting on gifts by the people and supporting the poor by redistributing them. They were set up at strategic locations near power centers and provided impetus to urban expansions. The author vividly portrays how the *khanqahs* maintained social and moral equilibrium in society which in turn helped in the smooth functioning of the government machinery. According to Hussain, they provided articulation for public opinion and expressions of dissent - a sort of 'safety valve'.

The author has given an elaborate introduction to lay out her thesis, the sources, the rationale of her approach to the subject and how she has treated it. The first two chapters explain Sufism as a philosophy and practice, and its advent and development in India. The next two chapters deal with the dynamics of Sufi power and the *khanqahs* as power centres. This is followed by a detailed chapter each on the relationship of the compatibility and incompatibility between the Sufis and the Sultanate. Hussain's text is lucid and extensively referenced, although, in chapter 4, the numbering of the footnotes seem mixed up. The bibliography separately presents primary sources, the *malfuzat* (biographies) and secondary sources. Descriptive notes in the case of the first two are valuable additions for further research. It is felt that an inclusion of chronologies, both of the Sultans and the Sufi Shaikhs, would have helped to better understand the historical context.

Hussain's thesis is that the relationship between the Sufis and the Sultanate was richly complex and dynamic rather than cast in a mould. Previous scholarship presents this as a binary of conflict or open supplication. Hussain argues that these positions were never exclusive but nuanced. In her view, the dynamics between the Sufis and the state were based on 'co-operation', 'incompatibility' and 'distance'- the degree of any one of these varied from Order to Order, from regime to regime and most importantly, from personality to personality. This viewpoint allows for a fresh look into the history of the Sultanates and of Sufism.

The essential concerns of the rulers were survival and continuation, and they constantly sought validation for their authority. The Sufis (particularly the Chistis) held a moral upper hand by maintaining their distance and remaining assiduously independent. This resulted in seeming conflicts. Hussain questions the notion of such antagonism to suggest that they were autonomous, yet mutually interacting, even inter-dependent institutions. The sultans variously tried to derive legitimacy by seeking blessings and associating with the Shaikhs. The Shaikhs in turn both spurned their overtures and gave tacit support.

The book takes a wider view of what constitutes history. A large part of the arguments in support of her theory are derived from anecdotes or oral traditions. Hussain analyses various shades of Sufi/Sultanate dynamics and gives fresh interpretations. We come to know of many instances when the Sultans issued directives, summons and banishments or showered gifts upon the Shaikhs, who rejected them, disobeyed directives and ignored summons. On other occasions, nobles or officials of the court showed an allegiance to the Shaikh in preference to the Sultans. The most colourful episodes involve Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya in whose lifetime as many as thirteen Sultans occupied the Delhi throne. A famous anecdote involves Sultan Alauddin Khalji, whose repeated requests for an audience with the Shaikh were turned down, sometimes on the pretext of being in prayer. 'There is no need for the Sultan to come as I am busy in prayer, which is more effective (than actual meeting).' The Sultan insisted on arriving nonetheless. Upon which, the Shaikh said, 'This old man has two doors in his house; if the Sultan comes by one, I would go away by the other.' The author analyses this episode as reflecting all three aspects of the Sufi/Sultan relationship--the former quote indicates both a maintenance of distance and tacit support, while the latter indicates incompatibility.

Abida Hussain suggests multiple significations for the actions of the Sufis - that they can simultaneously mean incompatibility and cooperation with the state. The instances of dissent/defiance by the Shaikhs signified incompatibility on the issues at hand but did not amount to questioning the existence of the state itself. Though, one can question an overt reliance on oral traditions or anecdotes - a few of these are no more than popular stories without historical evidence. While Hussain acknowledges this herself, her thesis and the analysis of the sources are very interesting. The significance of this work lies in providing a different perspective of the Sultanate history by shedding new light on the Sufi/Sultan relationship, and hence the title of the book.

Smita Dalvi

KAṆṬAKĀÑJALIḤ, KAṆṬAKĀRJUNA (K.S. ARJUNWADKAR), Revised, reprinted and published by the author, Pune, 2008, Pp. 142+38. Rs. 150.

The book under review was first published in 1965 and the present one is the revised edition. This is a collection of verses in Sanskrit composed by the author, with some verses having the author's commentary in Sanskrit. All the verses are translated by the author in English followed by their translation in Marathi by him. The revised edition has the author's preface in Marathi. The book also incorporates the matter in the beginning, from the first edition - Introduction in English by N G Suru; *parihāsa āṇi upahāsa* - Introductory remarks in Marathi by Prof Arvind Mangrulkar - and the preface in Sanskrit by the author Kaṇṭakārjuna.

The verses in the book are classified under 12 headings (11+1), the last one being Añjalibandhaḥ 'with folded hands'. He calls the seven headings *'paddhatis'* ('the ways', obviously of the world). Except for three or four verses, the remaining ones are in *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre. For easily understanding the verses, the words therein are given with the *sandhis* dissolved. Again with conventional punctuation marks, even the modern ones like comma and semi colon are used. The sign of *avagraha* is used at places as per convenience.

The present work which goes under the *Muktaka* type poetry is a master-piece of satire. The poet (author) himself says that it is an anthology of satirical Sanskrit verses on contemporary life. The poet calls this satirical anthology 'a decoction of thorns'. He says to the goddess of speech that she must have lost her appetite after chewing for a long time the food of (i.e. reading about) deer, lotuses, bees and elephants, sentiments of love and peace, demons, nymphs, kings, dalliance and war, swans and the Mānasa Lake. To cure her of this ailment, the poet has prepared this new decoction of 'thorns' (Muktabandha I.5). In fact, every 'thorn' with its prick makes one think of the degenerated state to which one has arrived in all spheres. To take only one example from these 'thorns'- Rāmarājyapaddhati (II.14)- a minister reprimands a thief for robbing people of their hard-earned wealth by breaking into their houses. The thief entreatingly says to the minister to teach that art to him by which the minister manages to grab people's wealth without breaking into their houses and moreover, escapes punishment.

The book *Kaṇṭakāñjaliḥ* is full of such 'thorns' (kaṇṭakas), which the poet has picked up in the journey of his life. These 'thorns' are gathered by him from various spheres such as political, social, religious, economic and even domestic, which are under great turmoil in the present era. With their pungent satire they prick one's mind and while recreating, they make one ponder over the dismal state of things. There has been one such work--Mahiṣaśataka--(hundred verses in glorification of a he-buffalo), which is a satire against a king, who denied patronage to the poet of that *kāvya.* But it is too personal a satirical attack, while the work *Kaṇṭakāñjaliḥ* has a far wider canvas to wield its weapon of satire.

However, in spite of the scorching satire, *Kaṇṭakāñjaliḥ* does display some green soft spots, when one comes to the section - *Gārhasthyapaddhati* (X). Here one finds the poet in a different role, that of a loving and caring father, and an ideal husband, expecting his wife to be ideal.

The book, right from its cover design to its end is an excellent publication. In its new revised form, it has become all the more praiseworthy in the sphere of modern day creative Sanskrit writing and hence a welcome addition to libraries.

Sindhu Dange

KĀMA-SAMŪHA, TEXT WITH ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS WITH CRITICAL INTRODUCTION, AMAL SHIB PATHAK, Chowkhamba Publication, New Delhi. Pp 265. Rs 395.

Kāmasamūha, A Critical Edition with English Translation and Critical Introduction, written by Dr. Amal Shib Pathak is based on a 15th century work on *Kāmaśāstra.* The original text is ascribed to one Shri Ananta Kavi, about whom enough information can be gathered from the colophons at the end of the each section of the text.

It seems that *Kāmasamūha* was a popular text of the 15th century CE as the author has gathered many manuscripts of it from various manuscript libraries in the country. Of these the manuscript of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute (BORI) and Gaekwad Oriental Institute (GOS) were found to be complete.

On learning that the work was hitherto unexplored, the author selected a few from the available manuscripts and taking BORI and GOS as the base, he published the present edition. The present work is the second endeavour of the author of bringing valuable, old works to light, the first being the publication of a 14th century Sanskrit manuscript on *Nāṭyaśāstra* viz *Nāṭyalocanam* of Trilocanāditya.

The text is preceded by a forty five-page critical introduction by the author, proceeding along chronological lines which is very useful for understanding the history of *Kāmaśāstra* and treats erotics in a comprehensive manner.

In Indian tradition *kāma* or the enjoyment of pleasure is rightly regarded as an aim and objective of life *(puruṣārtha)* along with *dharma* and *artha.* Lord Krishna says in the *Bhagavadgītā'dharmavimuddho bhūteṣu kāmo'smi bharataṛṣabha'* and Vātsyāyana begins his magnum opus *Kāmasūtra* with the *sūtra* - *'namo dharmārtha-kāmebhyaḥ'.* It is said that the creator himself composed the first treatise on *Kāmaśāstra* along with *dharma* and *arthaśāstra.* Having such a divine origin, no wonder many poets of Sanskrit literature have contributed to this *śāstra* over the centuries, though only a few are available to us now.

In his introduction the author has taken due notice of the history of *Kāmaśāstra* - beginning from the beliefs and rituals in the prehistoric period up to the present text, thus covering a wide time-span.

While giving information about the early writers, the author gives due credit to Babhravya who has made use of the mass of erotic literature available during his time and from whose *kārikā* Vātsyāyana (2nd century CE) has also drawn a lot. The author has dedicated almost twelve pages to describe the pre-eminent position of Vātsyāyana amongst the writers on erotics. The author briefly mentions early writers such as Padmaśrī, Kalyāṇamalla, Ruyyaka, Jyotiṇṣa Kaviśekhara, Kṣemendra, Prauḍha Deva Rājā, Virabhadra and Ananta. For a general and causal reader this introduction is very useful as it gives a graphic description of the development from primitive beliefs and rituals up to the systematic study of sexology.

Coincidently enough, like Vātsyāyana, the present poet Ananta to whom the text is ascribed, is also recorded to have been a noted physician.

This branch of literature has greatly influenced and inspired the Sanskrit poets, particularly the dramatists. So we are not surprised to find that half the verses of *Kāmasamūha* have been taken from other popular Sanskrit works which the poet has duly acknowledged. This would qualify this text as an anthology but for its focus on erotics. Dr. Pathak has enlisted eighteen such books from where the verses are borrowed. The text begins with a description of the six seasons, which is a unique trend in this branch of literature. Another distinguishing feature of the text is the incorporation of a 'feeling of detachment' *(vairāgya)* where the poet Ananta quotes the beautiful verse of Bhartīhari- *bhoga na bhūka vayameva bhuktah.* 'The author very rightly comments what' the poet Ananta has put *sṛṅgāra śataka* and *vairāgya śataka* of Bhartṛhari together in his *Kāmasamūha.*' Among the other topics of *Kāmaśāstra,* the poet Ananta describes every detail of the female body, initiations of a young girl in love, pangs of separation from the beloved, lovers' quarrels, erogenous parts of the female body, chaste women, wanton women etc.

Dr. Pathak in his introduction observes that such a poetic description of the female body might have influenced the poets of Hindi literature during *Riti kala* and that some verses which remind the readers of Amir Khusro (13th century A. D.) seem to take their origin from the then taste of the royalty and the elite.

The book has done justice to the unexplored manuscripts of *Kāmasamūha* and made it available to Sanskrit readers. The present endeavour will give impetus to manuscript studies and the English translation will help even a non-Sanskritist who wants to know the contents of the text. Though the get up of the book is excellent, some typographical errors should have been avoided.

Parineeta Deshpande

THE TORAṆA IN INDIAN AND SOUTHEAST ASIAN ARCHITECTURE, PARUL PANDYA DHAR, D. K. Printworld (P) Ltd., New Delhi, 2010. Pp xviii + pages 317. Rs 4200/ US $140.00

Parul Dhar has achieved the rare feat of writing a scholarly book that is a visual treat and at the same time is replete with meticulous references and extensive documentation. It is a massive attempt without being overbearing. The book is dedicated to her mentor, Prof. M. A. Dhaky and Parul Dhar's scholarly approach and formidable depth of enquiry bears the indelible mark of his influence.

The book comprises five chapters. After a brief introduction, the first two chapters discuss the early examples and descriptions in literary sources. The next three chapters cover the southern Indian, northern Indian and south-east Asian regions. Each chapter in turn deals with differences seen chronologically over the centuries in that region.

Full fifteen pages are devoted to four appendices: 1. Inscriptional notices 2. Literary sources 3. References in treatises 4. Variants in treatises. Each appendix has important source material which makes the book even more valuable to scholars.

Ms. Dhar has avoided excessive application of Indian textual terminology, and yet has clearly defined each term before proceeding to use simpler terms which make reading smoother and the meaning clear. Focusing on a single architectural entity, the *toraṇa,* she manages to convey to the reader the sense of wonder she has felt about the intricate relationship between form and function, symbol and significance, structure and ornament.

The first chapter has beautiful illustrations of rare artefacts such as Begram ivories in the Kabul museum, relief sculpture on shrine of the double-headed eagle at Sirkap in the Gandhara region along with those from Pitalkhora, Amaravati, Kausambi and Mathura, spanning the early eras, first century BCE to the first century.

In the second chapter, she explores the treatises for a deeper understanding of the *toraṇa*--the meaning of the term, its role as an architectural element and its purpose. The notes at the end of the chapter provide interesting information such as the fact that the *illika-toraṇa* is so called because *illika* literally means caterpillar; the *illika-toraṇa* seems to copy the arc-like gait of the caterpillar.

Her eye for detail and beauty is remarkable. When discussing the southern representations, she has illustrated the better known early examples in Ajanta, Kanheri and Jogeshvari in Maharashtra, but it is the small Buddhist cave at Magathana which captures her imagination. She calls it 'perhaps the most elegant and intricately carved sixth century *toraṇa* from the Deccan region'.

Few would have noticed the *illika-toraṇa* above the well known *yakṣa* in the Indra Sabha sculpture at Ellora. Ms. Dhar places on record her admiration for fluidity of the rendering of this *toraṇa.*

She appreciates the *toraṇa* at Belur Cennakesava temple with the added observation that 'the Hoysaḷa style revelled not so much in the grandiose as in the intricate, the opulent and the ornate.'

She illustrates the different types of *toraṇas* such as Citra-, Ratna-, Patra-, in the Tamilnadu region and notes that very few *patra toraṇas* are seen. The texts also say that a *patra toraṇa* is apt for the dwelling of the *sūdra* whereas *citra* and *makara toraṇas* are fit for gods and nobles. Ms. Dhar traces this to the plausible rationale that *toraṇa-mālās* (garlands) of leaves would be considered the humblest.

The study of styles and details allows her to question whether one *illika-toraṇa* pieced together from fragments in the Nehru Gallery of Art at the VAM in London is more likely to be from Kiradu than Palitana, as stated in the museum records.

The northern Indian documentation continues upto later developments seen in medieval Islamic architecture. She notes that although the *toraṇa* is not a utilitarian device like a pillar or a doorframe, its potential to embellish led local sculptors to device ingenious ways of using it in the Indo-Islamic structures.

In the fifth chapter, she looks at the Southeast and South Asian parallels with profusely illustrated and carefully studied details. The conclusion is that the form of *toraṇa* took on newer shades of meaning and fresher expressions from region to region.

In the overview, Ms. Dhar has pointed out how the central and western Indian *toraṇas* are different from their southern counterpart and attributes this partly to the differences in the exterior wall definitions of the two regions. She notes that the original intent and significance of the *toraṇa* underwent many changes in keeping with the regional context.

The glossary and bibliography are extensive and very useful.

The book is an excellent source of information and analysis. The chapters dealing with the main regions (Southern Indian, northern Indian and Southeast and South Asian) have hundreds of magnificent photographs and drawings. The book would be a very valuable addition to any library.

Kumud Kanitkar

METRE IN SANSKRIT : A STUDY WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO VṚTTAVĀRTIKA OF RĀMAPĀṆIVĀDA. DR. K. K. GEETHAKUMARY, Calicut University Sanskrit Series 30, Publication Division, University of Calicut, 2008. Pages 168. Price not given. ISBN : 81-7748-122-3.

Study of prosody literature in Sanskrit is an area that has attracted many branches including linguistics. Further, Kerala's contribution to various branches of Sanskrit learning is universally acknowledged. With this background it is very interesting to study the volume under review.

There is a foreword by Dr.C.Rajendran, Professor and Head, Department of Sanskrit, Calicut University, which informs us that this volume is the 13th book being published in the series. It is a revised version of the Ph.D. thesis submitted by the author to the University of Calicut.

The book contains five chapters. The first chapter entitled 'Metre in Sanskrit - Nature and Function' deals with the understanding of metres as available from classical Sanskrit texts. There is also the discussion on the classification of metres, the *yati*, the comparison between Greek and Sanskrit metres.

The second chapter entitled 'Vedic Metres: A general Study' deals with general feature of Vedic metres. The important finding of this study is that 'In Vedic prosody, a syllable is considered a unit irrespective of whether it is *hrasva* or *dīrgha*. The time for uttering syllables - one *mātrā* for *hrasva* and two *mātrās* for *dīrgha* - was not regarded as a determining element of metre. But the three sound modulations, *udātta, anudātta* and *svarita* were accepted while chanting the stanza. So it can be concluded that Vedic metres are based on the *svarasaṅgīta* of music and the time element has no important role to play in the production of the metrical music.' (p.33)

The third chapter is entitled, 'Classical metres: a critical analysis'. This chapter records various methods of evolution of classical Sanskrit metres like extension, compounding, anaclasis, substitution, resolution, acephaly, anacrùsis, syncopation, catalexis and doubling. This chapter also deals with the development of *Anuṣṭubh* metre. It says- 'The evolution of octosyllabic quatrain metre, śloka, is a remarkable feature in the epic and post-epic period. This is a standard metre in Sanskrit and it developed out of the Vedic *Anuṣṭubh* which had no rigidity in the sequence of long and short vowels in lines.'(p.52-3)

The fourth chapter entitled '*Vṛttavārtika*: A critical study' deals with the contribution of *Vṛttavārtika* to the field of Sanskrit prosody. In this chapter we get some information about the text *Vṛttavārtika* and its composer Rāmapāṇivāda. It is stated here that Rāmapāṇivāda was a famous scholar poet of Kerala who composed more than 30 works in Sanskrit and Prakrit which comprises all branches of learning like *Kāvya, Nāṭaka* etc. He was also proficient in instrumental music. He belonged to the Nambiar community whose profession was to play special musical instruments.

The text in *Vṛttavārtika*, as the book under review tells us, is divided into two sections. In the first section, there is a detailed exposition of 72 metres used in the classical Sanskrit literature. In this section the main focus of the work is on *Anuṣṭubh* metre. The book informs us that only 19 *prastāras* of *Anuṣṭubh* are in known use. The second section of the text is a poem named *Rāsakriḍā* containing 272 verses out of which 256 verses are devoted for composition in 256 possible *prastāras* of *Anustubh*. This is an amazing feat on the part of the author of the text.

This small volume brings out the aspect of treating the *chandas* from a musical point of view as depicted in *Vṛttavārtika* effectively. It also brings out the historical development of *chandas* in general with the focus on the special metre *Anuṣṭubh* and how its variations can still be used for composing poems, in particular. It would have been better had the author explained the need for writing a dissertation on this text, since another dissertation on the same text was earlier submitted to the University of Kerala in 1997 (as the author informs us in the bibliography).

Malhar Kulkarni

ŚRINGĀRAKĀVYA OF SHANKARA KAVI, AMAL SHIB PATHAK, Chowkhamba Publications, HB-P.73, Rs. 95.

Śringārakāvya is a small work on art of love in Sanskrit, written by Shankar Kavi. It's a minor work on Erotics, not quoted by other poets. Amal Pathak found the manuscript along with another work on Erotics, *Kāma Samūha* by Ananta. Pathak had to reconstruct the text of the manuscript before translating it in English.

Original Sanskrit work consists of 95 verses (not necessarily metrically composed), describing female body, especially female breasts.

Imagery of sacrifice, sacrificial ingredients etc. is stretched too much by the author to female private parts. Perhaps it is an outcome of the decadent society of the author's time. Shankar Kavi is supposed to be after 15th century, after Ananta and before 17th century when in Hindi literature rlitkal began, which indulged in the top to toe description of female body. Perhaps it was the base taste of the then royal class or elite people. Shankara Kavi was perhaps drawn in that tide and was forgotten by posterity. He is not enlisted in the book on Sanskrit writers by S.B. Warnekar nor is his work mentioned anywhere. His predecessor Ananta's work *Kāma Samūha*, however appears on P.358, Vol. III of New Catalogus Catalogorum.

Amal Pathak has edited this minor text, giving a critical introduction, text with English translation, select Bibliography, Alphabetical list of verses in *Śringārakāvya* (SK) and an appendix of 80 verses from *Kāma Samūha*, describing female breasts. He has taken an overview of eroticism in ancient India, starting with the early Vedic references. However, the example he has quoted from Chāndogya (2.12.1&2) can be interpreted differently. He has taken the expressed literary sense without taking into consideration the context of the second Prapāthaka of Chāndogya. It is devoted to the meditation upon various Sāmans, like Rathāntara Sāman and Vāmadevya Sāman. Chāndogya (2.12. 1&2) deals with Vāmadevya which is produced from the union of air and water; hence it is woven in a couple. Two fire sticks are also called a couple. Every time couple need not mean man and woman.˙ Word Sexology in the introduction is placed wrongly and is likely to misguide a reader.

Pathak claims that he has reconstructed the text; but it appears to be incorrect at places. V.4 is not clearly understood. English translation too lacks perfection.

In the translation of very first verse, there is a mistake. In verse 5, the translation 'two Lord Śankaras' needs explanation. Etymological approach can be of help at times.

At times the English renderings of Sanskrit words appear incomplete. Diacritical marks are given half heartedly. Giving alphabetical list of verses is a good gesture but the alphabetical order is not followed strictly. It needs rearrangement.

Appendix of 80 verses from *Kāma Samūha* is more poetic and relishable than the *Śringārakāvya*.

Overall impression is that *Śṛṅgārkāvya* is a substandard work and as such can not survive the taste of readers.

The cover is aesthetically designed with a sculpture of Yakshini with plump round breasts. Somehow its pocket size degrades it and places it in the cluster of cheap yellow covered books on Erotics.

Gauri Mahulikar

BRAHMASUTRA SWAMINARAYAN BHASHYAM, SADHU BHADRESHADASA, Swaminarayan Aksharpith, Ahmedabad, 2009, pp.xxviii + 46, 5 photographs, Rs. 550. ISBN 81-7526-118-8

Twenty-first century Sanskrit literature abounds in works of poetry, prose and translations. The scholarly world would surely welcome a new interpretation of the *Brahmasūtras* in the light of the philosophy of Swaminarayan, which is also known as *Navyaviśiṣṭādvaita*. The commentary by Bhadreshadas, is an ideal illustration of continuity as well as change in the deliberations on the nature of *paramātman, jīvātman* and *mokṣa*.

Interpretative commentaries on the *prasthānatrayam* are regarded as the pre-requisites for an Indian philosophical system to evolve into a Vedānta school. The publication of *Brahmasūtra Swaminarayan Bhashyam* is an important step taken up by the BAPS in this light. Swaminarayan Bhashya is the commentary on the *Bādarāyaṇasūtras*, also known as *Brahmasūtras*, the fundamental text of Vedānta.

The author Sadhu Bhadreshadas has strictly followed the traditional procedure of classifying the *sūtras* into *adhikaraṇas*. The author has duly discussed the subject matter of the *adhikaraṇas*, raised doubts, given room to the opinion of the opponent, proposed the *Navyaviśiṣṭādvaita* viewpoint and has drawn appropriate and logical conclusions. This traditional method of argumentation is the strength of this book. The author has given an independent thought to the classification of *adhikaraṇas*. The *Śāṅkarabhāṣya* on the *Brahmasūtra* (II.2) has refuted the Vaiśeṣika philosophy in two separate *adhikaraṇas*. But the present commentary has merged the two *adhikaraṇas* into one and has pursued the refutation of *Vaiśeṣika* school.

The *bhāṣya* i.e. commentary opens with a poetic benediction in ten verses. The *jignṣsādhikarana* has an introduction giving an overview of the *Navyaviśiṣṭādvaita* philosophy. The commentary on the *sūtra* unfolds itself word by word. The *Navyaviśiṣṭādvaita* school upholds the existence of the five eternal realities, namely: *jīva, isvara, māyā, brahman* and *parabrahman*. The interpretation of *brahmajijñāsā* is understood as twofold viz; the desire to know *parabrahman* and *akṣarabrahman*. Interestingly, the author has derived support for this argument by citing references from the *Mahābhārata*.

A commentary on any philosophical text needs to draw supportive evidence for its arguments from the *Śrutis* and the *Smṛtis*. The entire *bhāṣya* is strewn with such references from the *Upaniṣads, Bhagavadgītā, Mahābhārata* and also *Vacanāmṛta*, a fundamental text of the *Navyaviśiṣṭādvaita* school. Following the *śāstric* tradition of philosophical texts, the commentator gives *anubandhacatuṣṭaya* i.e. fourfold requirements of learning a *śāstra*. The author has established a firm foundation of the philosophy of *Navyaviśiṣṭādvaita* in the first *sutra* itself.

The third chapter mentions the fate of the *jīvātmans* who have only followed the path of *karma* with the intention to obtain mundane pleasures. Such *jīvātmans* become food for the gods. This concept is novel as compared with other systems of Vedanta. The commentary on the fourth chapter agrees

with the other systems of Vedanta regarding repetitive exercises to be undertaken by the aspirant for understanding the nature of Brahman. It also mentions different meditative practices to be explored by an aspirant. The commentary on the last *sūtra* concludes with the aspirant attaining *Akṣarabrahman*. The commentary ends with poetic veneration to the founders of the Swaminarayan sect.

The text furnishes an alphabetical index of the *adhikaraṇas* as well as *sūtras*. The introductory portion of the text includes blessings of Shastri Narayanswarupdas in Gujrati, followed by its English translation. The foreword by Sadhu Shrutiprakashdas is an eye-opener to the commentary. It is followed by a *bhūmikā* in Sanskrit by the author himself. A detailed English introduction for the commentary will be useful for the students of Vedanta. The style of the author is befitting a commentator of *Brahmasūtras*, which is lucid and unambiguous, yet employs compounds, passive sentences and ablative usages generously. The hardbound copy will surely protect the book form *śithilabandham*. The font of the letters and the print quality is superb. However, certain portions in the commentary are overloaded with excessive quotations, which veil the original thought expressed in it (e.g. III. 3. 9). As far as Roman transliteration of Sanskrit words is concerned, the publishers need to follow a uniform policy. This commentary needs to be studied by the followers of the sect as well as students of Vedanta. It is an ideal example to understand the timeless nature of *Brahmasūtras* of Bādarāyaṇa, which continue to lure many a scholar to write extensive and exhaustive commentary on it, even in the twenty-first century. Students of Sanskrit literature need to study this commentary to understand the stylistic peculiarities of *śāstric* writings of modern Sanskrit.

The efforts of Sadhu Bhadreshdas need to be applauded. As per the *bhāṣya* traditions of Vedānta, commentaries on the *Upaniṣads* and the *Bhagavadgītā* are awaited and would be welcomed by researchers and followers of this school of Vedānta.

Madhavi Narasalaye

THEORIES OF LANGUAGE, KORADA SUBRAHMANYAN, D. K. Printworld (P) Ltd., New Delhi, 2008. Pp 172. Rs 350.

Linguistics or the science of languages is comparatively a recent discipline, having its ancestry in philology. Philology simply means love of learning and literature. It developed as a science of language in its historic and comparative aspects and was more concerned with a scientific study of languages and their structures. In India, however, a language and its grammar have a long history with its links in the Vedic literature.

The author of the volume under review was advantageously placed in that he had a traditional training in a *gurukula* where he studied grammar and the Vedas. Later, he studied modern linguistics and has been teaching this subject at the Centre of Applied Linguistics, University of Hyderabad for the last 22 years. The book, therefore, has a strong oriental base and discusses modern linguistic theories and analyses modern concepts of linguistics.

The book contains seven chapters and opens with a chapter on ancient theories of language. Here the author discusses the grammar of Vedic and classical words, and embarks on a linguistic discourse leading to the theory of *kāraka*. He reveals that modern terminological words have their parallels in the ancient Vedic and classical literature and their study enables one to comprehend the recent concepts in linguistics. The *kāraka* theory is discussed in its entirety. This chapter is followed by a brief one dealing with the connection of *vyākarana* with philosophy and the theory of *sphoṭa*.

The third chapter titled 'The Origin and Development of Western Linguistics' is equally an important component of this synthesizing book. The author has lucidly explained the concepts in modern linguistics.

Chapter 4 is titled 'Oriental vs. Occidental.' It runs for about 20 pages and analyses the basic concepts in eastern and western studies on language and its components. Chapter 5 is titled Discourse Analysis. Here the author defines discourse as any stretch of a language beyond a sentence. He cites Kumārila from Tantra Vartikā.

Svārthabodhe samāptānām aṅgāṅgitvavyapekṣaya vākyanām ekavākyatvam punahsārthatya jāyate.

Meaning, one sentence among (sub) sentences which are full with their own meaning would be born due to mutual expectancy based on the relation of constitute and constituent. The author further states, Since, a single purpose is served by all the Upaniṣads, they can be treated as a single mahāvākya. The arguments put forward in this chapter are interesting and exciting. The last two chapters are very brief and deal respectively with discourse analysis and inference, syllogism and logical discourse. The book concludes with a few paragraphs on purism of language.

The reading of the entire book is rewarding and would give one a good grounding in the science of linguistics. The book includes bibliographical references, a glossary and an index.

N.B. Patil

VAIDYAJEEVANAM, ED. and TR. DR. G.K. PAI, Ananthacharya Indological Research Institute, Mumbai. Price not given.

Lolimbarāja, the author of this lucid book on Ayurveda was a 16th century writer who lived somewhere near Nashik in Maharashtra. He received patronage of King Hari, a contemporary of King Bhoja. His father's name was Divākara, but he was cared for by his brother. He could not show progress in his studies over which his sister-in-law treated him harshly. He left home and went to Saptasṛṅgi to appease goddess Aṣṭabhujā. Legend has it that the goddess blessed him and he became empowered to compose poetry.

This manual of Ayurveda is a poetic work running into over 206 stanzas and is arranged in five chapters titled as *vilāsas* of various lengths. The first chapter is the longest, consisting of 75 stanzas and deals with *jvara pratikāra*. The subsequent chapters are *grahaṇī, pratikāra, vilāsinī roga pratikāra, rājayakṣmā* and *sakala roga pratikāra*.

Although the author is a physician he prides over his achievements as a poet. He embellishes his study of Ayurveda with such artistic devices *(śabdālaṅkāras)* as *upamā* and *rūpaka*. Some of the remedies suggested by him go beyond the domain of Ayurveda. While prescribing medicine for *pittajvara* he regards as futile, decoctions such as *phāṇṭa*, or *kaṣāya* and instead advances the efficacy of a kiss from the beloved. Further he advises a close embrace with the beloved to neutralise the heat of the *pittajvara*.

The treatments prescribed by him in various illnesses are mingled with citations that would better suit a book on Kāmaśāstra. But whatever medical advice he has given is indeed valuable and this indicates his study of the healing science. The last verse of his work consists of his advice to remember Nārāyaṇa, the almighty, who is the panacea for all the ills and illnesses in the world.

Dr G.K.Pai has critically edited this work after going through five manuscripts from Kerala and after consulting two printed books in Malayalam and two translations, one in Marathi and the other in Hindi. But surprisingly there is no mention of the manuscript which is in possession of the Asiatic Society of Mumbai. The elaborate introduction running into over 20 pages by Dr. Pai is of great help in appreciating this work of the 16th century. The book is a valuable addition to the current Ayurvedic literature.

N.B.Patil

The book is a collection of papers presented at a two day conference titled **'Revisioning Mumbai - Conceiving a Manifesto for Sustainable Development'**. The occasion was the bicentennial celebration of the Asiatic Society of Mumbai.

Historically, the Asiatic Society of Bombay (Mumbai) has provided an interface for public participation in the city's issues. The seminar has continued this role by reintroducing Mumbai through its various socio-economic patterns and changes and alternative histories and geographies and several cultures. The participants have deliberated on the urban conservation process dealing with the reordering and regeneration of the urban fabric, physical as well as metaphysical.

Participants are from far ranging fields and thus provide a wide perspective. The sub-topics include Global Urban Crisis, Changing Landscapes of Mumbai, City Cultures in Mumbai, Media and Arts in Mumbai, Planning and Governance in Mumbai and most importantly, a three page step by step manifesto for re-visioning Mumbai.

The keynote address by Professor Arjun Appadurai, (Provost, New School University, New York) gives an in-depth analysis of Mumbai's urban fabric. Urban History and Geography of Mumbai includes presentations by three stalwarts, Dr Aroon Tikekar, Professor B. Arunachalam and Neera Adarkar. Dr. Tikekar focuses on Intellectual Heritage, Prof. Arunachalam gives a detailed analysis of the changing geographic environment and Neera Adarkar adds an important aspect, Labour History.

Changing landscapes of Mumbai are discussed by V.K. Pathak, G.S. Pantbalekundri and Sunjoy Monga. V.K. Pathak, as former planning chief, MMRDA, makes suggestions for constructive changes in planning while keeping in view the changing economic profile. G.S. Pantbalekundri appeals for restructuring land use to take into account the changes in urban fabric. Sunjoy Monga exhorts the concerned authorities to protect nature, even the smallest part.

Different perspectives of the City Cultures are presented by Amrit Gangar, Vimal Shah and Ashok Ranade. They include such interesting and diverse topics as Cinema, Music, Clubs, Horse racing and so on.

The chapter on Media and Arts in Mumbai includes a very visual history of the city in paintings and in films. Paintings by various artists include those by the presenter, an artist who is also a medical practitioner, Dr Sudhir Patwardhan. His muse has been the changing city. Anjali Monteiro and K.P. Jayashankaran, both renowned film makers, have made films that break away from the stereotype depiction of poverty and slums.

Planning and Governance in Mumbai is discussed by V. Ranganathan, Shirish Patel and Navtej Kaur Bhutani. V. Ranganathan, the retired Chief Secretary of the Maharashtra government gives detailed data regarding municipal administration. The sheer magnitude of the scope of MCGM is overwhelming. Shirish Patel, the renowned engineer and planner, makes valuable suggestions about intervening in Mumbai. Navtej Kaur Bhutani, an urban researcher and activist, stresses the reality that 55% of the city lives in poverty and that the slum dwellers are a part of Mumbai and are here to stay.

The collection of diverse papers is thought provoking. It brings to fore the institutional decline, (a world-wide phenomenon) 'about which something can be and should be done'. It points out that Mumbai always had its poor, people who struggled but the 'social contract' seemed to work better then than now. There is a broad shift from production to consumption, shopping, buying. The mechanism for taking care of people who provide the services is, however, not in place as before.

The book is very informative and forces the reader to think again, through a perspective modified by the thoughts expressed in the book. It has made valuable observations such as better dialogue between urban and rural development is required, or that planning for the people ideally should also be by the people and while planning, politics must be kept at a distance.

In a lighter vein, It is peppered with nuggets about the Asiatic Society of Mumbai and the town hall where David Livingston, the famous explorer lectured in 1865. Beautiful pictures illustrate the treasures in the Asiatic Society of Mumbai. Amongst manuscript collection, the proudest possessions illustrated are 'Divina Commedia' by Dante Aleghieri and a 1495 CE illustrated manuscript of Firdausi's Shahnamah. There are hundreds of maps, priceless coins, Sopara relics and antique books.

Historically, the Asiatic Society of Bombay (Mumbai) has provided an interface for public participation in the city's issues. The book truly represents the spirit of the Asiatic Society of Mumbai in providing readers with a vision statement so that a collective vision could lead to the sustainable development of Mumbai.

Kumud Kanitkar

ARCHAEOLOGY AND TEXT: THE TEMPLE IN SOUTH ASIA, HIMANSHU PRABHA RAY (ED), Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2010. Pages 311 + 87 B&W illustrations. Rs. 795. ISBN-13 : 978-0-19-806096-3

Archaeology and Text: the Temple in South Asia is a collection of thirteen papers that provide an interesting dialogue, involving art, architecture and archaeology, sacred texts and traditions, in the study of the temple in South Asia. The papers, written by eminent scholars on Indian religious traditions and temple art drawn from all over the world, are divided into two themes: the first relates to the archaeology of the temple and the second to asceticism and the *bhakti* tradition.

Section I, 'Archaeology of the Temple', has papers by Himanshu Prabha Ray, Parul Pandya Dhar, Devangana Desai, Kumud Kanitkar, Lisa N. Owen, Sandrine Gill, Sanjay Garg and Indra Sengupta. These provide not just an overview of religious structures but also an analysis of the location of religious architecture and sculpture within the social domain and they highlight the interaction between diverse groups in the construction, maintenance and, in some cases, even the re-establishment of worship in neglected temples. The following topics are included in this section: patronage as related to *Calukyan* temples of the Malaprabha river valley; the injunctions regarding worship in a temple when the main image is lost or damaged; the *śāstric* traditions at work in the temple art at Khajuraho; rituals from temple architectural texts that are represented in the sculpted panels of the Ambarnath temple; temples of Bengal built by Hindu *zamindars* under Mughal hegemony; the light thrown by religious tokens on cultural and religious aspects of social life; the negotiation of sacred space between colonial archaeology and various indigenous people in colonial Orissa.

Section II of this book, devoted to 'Asceticism and the Bhakti Tradition', has papers by Patrick Olivelle, Natalia R. Lidova, John Stratton Hawley, John E. Cort and T.S. Rukmini. These explore several aspects of devotional and ascetic practices in the domain of temple worship. The first essay in this group examines what Sanskrit legal literature of the early centuries of the Common Era mentions about temples. The second one studies two important religious rituals, namely *yajña* and *pūja*. Another one highlights, through examples cited of the active role played by the *advaitin sanyāsins* of the Śaṅkara tradition in temples, how the theoretical conflict in Hinduism between *sanyāsa* and temple rituals is not reflected in real life. Other papers demonstrate that temple construction and worship were actively promoted by religious groups and movements that one would generally not associate with such activities, namely the *bhakti* movement and Jainism. With reference to the latter, one paper in this group examines how mendicancy and temples are, paradoxically, integrally intertwined for the majority of Jains. This takes up a similar theme in an essay on Jainism from the first section which addresses the issue, by citing examples from Ellora, of Jain worship of liberated beings who are technically inaccessible.

Suitable illustrations accompany many of the papers in this volume. In some cases, however, when showing paintings, for example Figure 5.8 (a painting of dancing Indra, Ellora)

and Fig. 11.10 (Biman Behari Mukherjee, 'Medieval Saints') it would have been preferable to have printed colour pictures, as the black and white prints do not bring out the details adequately.

Archaeology and Text: the Temple in South Asia adopts an inter-disciplinary approach for it seeks to understand the temple through history and archaeology; it analyses both hard, material aspects of the temple and the cultural practices that went on in and around them. It is based on sound theoretical framework. Books on South Asian temples are generally written either from the art, architectural and archaeological perspectives or from the point of view of texts and rituals.

Hence the interdisciplinary nature of this volume fills in a significant gap in the scholarship on South Asian temples. It provides the reader with new ways of approaching and understanding temples. It is a valuable addition to the corpus of writings on temples of South Asia and will be of much interest both, to the specialist as well as to the general reader.

Anila Verghese

DR. V. M. KULKARNI | 22-11-1917 to 26-12-2009

Dr. V. M. Kulkarni, Hon. Fellow of the Asiatic Society of Mumbai, and distinguished scholar of Sanskrit and Prakrit studies, passed away on 26th December, 2009. He was 92. He was Hon. Director, MM Dr. P. V. Kane Research Institute of the Asiatic Society of Bombay (1976-1981) and again from 1987-1989. He was Editor of the Society's Journal for more than 25 years. Dr. Kulkarni was honoured by the President of India in 1992 as Eminent Sanskrit Scholar.

Born on 22 November, 1917 in Ajra (Kolhapur district), he did his college education in Kolhapur. He obtained first class in B.A., specialising in Prakrit (Ardhamagadhi) in 1940, took an M.A. degree from Bombay University in Sanskrit in 1942, and again from Banaras Hindu University in 1951, getting first class first. He then acquired a Ph.D. degree from Bombay University in 1952.

Dr. Kulkarni had taught at many universities. He was Professor and Head of the Department of Sanskrit at the Gujarat College, Ahmedabad (1942-1961), at Nagpur Mahavidyalaya (1961-1962), Rajaram College, Kolhapur (1942-1967), Vidarbha Mahavidyalaya, Amaravati (1967-1968), Ismail Yusuf College, Jogeshwari (1968-72), and at the Elphinstone College, Bombay, (1972-1973). He was invited by the Government to take up the post of Director of Languages, Maharashtra State, Bombay (1973-1975). He was Director of B. L. Institute of Indology, Patan in Gujarat (1981-1984).

Dr. Kulkarni has restored many lost texts of Sanskrit and Prakrit works including *Abhinavabhāratī*, and has a large number of publications, which include works on the Rasa Theory, Abhinavagupta's aesthetics, a comprehensive study of the story of Rāma in Jaina Literature, and *Kāvyānuśāsana* of Ācārya Hemacandra. He researched on the lost text of *Harivijaya* of Sarvasena, referred to by Ānandavardhana and Abhinavagupta. He has brought out a critical edition of *Sāhityaratnakośe Jainasangrahaḥ*, containing a selection from the poems, plays and *subhāṣitas*, dealing with āgama, logic, metaphysics, and Puranic literature on the Tīrthaṅkaras.

Dr. Kulkarni has also edited Jayadeva's *Gītagovinda* with the commentary of king Mananka. Reviewing his work *Prakrit Verses in Sanskrit Works on Poetics* Dr. H. C. Bhayani says: "Here we have the mature product of several years' stupendous scholarly labour and patient exemplary diligence in the area of classical Prakrit studies."Dr. Kulkarni was awarded Ācārya Hemacandra Puraskar for this enormous work.

Dr. Kulkarni was Editor of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Mumbai from 1977, with two short breaks. From 1992, we jointly edited the Journal. We used to have difficulty in getting a good printing press, as the Journal has Sanskrit words and diacritical marks. It is Dr. Kulkarni who recommended Vedavidya Mudranalaya of Pune for printing our Journal, after meeting the managers of several printing presses.

I spoke to Dr. Kulkarni about inscribed Prakrit Śatakas on Kūrma, attributed to Paramāra king Bhojadeva and requested him to translate for me just 4-5 verses, so that I could include these in my

work on Kūrma symbolism. To my amazement Dr. Kulkarni contacted me in some time and gave me a neatly hand-written translation of both the Śatakas - consisting of 218 verses! He also suggested that we should publish this work and that I write an Introduction to it. We contacted Dr. Jitendra Shah, Director of the L. D. Institute, Ahmedabad, who has printed the monograph with the text, Dr. Kulkarni's translation, restoration of *gāthās*, and glossary. I went with a shawl to felicitate Dr. Kulkarni, when the *Kūrmaśatakadvayam* was published in 2003. But he did not accept any gift from me.

Dr. Kulkarni was like a father-figure and I had the honour of meeting him on many occasions at his home. It was always a pleasure to hear his past stories and experiences. He wore his scholarship lightly without pride. It is difficult to find such a gentle and soft-spoken scholar. Despite his failing eyesight, he was immersed in academic pursuits till he lived. The Asiatic Society misses this eminent scholar who was so closely associated with it.

Devangana Desai

MS. NALINI PANDIT | 19-5-1927 to 26-7-2009

Ms. Nalini Pandit was an eminent scholar with a profound and life-long commitment to the cause of the downtrodden. With all the intellectual power at her command, she campaigned tirelessly to voice the concerns of the dispossessed, lending a uniquely deep, pervasive and long-term perspective of her own to this endeavour. While engaging the scholarly community and the leaders of mass movements alike in her discourses, she remained firmly on the side of those marginalised by the establishment.

Inspired in her early life by Gandhian thought, she took part in prabhat pheris to make people aware of the national cause. Later she also came under the influence of Prof. G.B. Sardar, a prominent scholar who studied the works of Marathi saint-poets, Gandhi and Karl Marx, and Annabhau Sahasrabuddhe, a staunch Gandhian. These made a deep impact on her and imbibed in her the belief that it was the bounden duty of the privileged to strengthen and empower the underprivileged to fight for their rights. This conviction was reflected in her work throughout her life.

She finished her schooling in Malvan-Konkan and moved on to Fergusson College at Pune. She taught economics at M.L. Dahanukar College of Economics for some time and later became head of the economics department at R.A. Podar College. The history of social reform movements in Maharashtra was a subject of special interest to her, and she felt deeply about the injustices done to the dalits. She was also vehemently opposed to the burgeoning consumerism propagated by the market economy, and registered her protest against these trends in her books and speeches. Though soft spoken and gentle in her manner, she minced no words in criticising the state for not doing enough to protect the interests of the poor and the disadvantaged. Through her well-researched and hard hitting speeches and writings on caste politics, economic disparities and inequalities, dangers of globalisation and public policy matters, she relentlessly exposed the wrongs of the system.

Her academic pursuits produced seven books in Marathi, including those on Lokmanya Tilak, Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar and Mahatma Gandhi, the last having been translated into Hindi. She was a disciplined reader and made no compromise on academic quality. Her articles on such subjects as caste and class in Maharashtra and the impact of globalisation on India were regularly published in the prestigious Economic and Political Weekly (EPW). Her thoughts also reached the Marathi speaking people through the several articles she wrote in Marathi periodicals.

An academician with a social conscience, Ms Pandit was an undisputed authority on the role of Rajarshi Shahu Maharaj, Mahatma Jotiba Phule and Babasaheb Ambedkar, in the shaping of the destiny of the masses. Presiding over the Vichar-Vedh Sammelan, she steered the gathering to a new, holistic understanding of the global setting in which the poor are being pushed more and more to the brink.

Her books:

1. Māhāraṣṭrātil Rāṣṭravādācā Vikās

2. Jāgatikīkaraṇ āṇi Bhārat

3. Dharma, shasan ani samaj

4. Ambedkar

5. Gandhi

6. Jātivād, Ugravād

7. Svātantryottar Kālātil Dalitānca Praṣṇa

EPW Articles (Selective):

1. Change among Indian Harijans

2. Ambedkar and Bhagavadgita

3. Narayan Meghaji Lokhande, father of trade unions in India

She was on the managing committee of the Asiatic Society of Mumbai for several years and also on various sub-committees, making valuable contribution to their task. She became vice president of the Society in 1973 and actively participated in the affairs of the Society. As vice president she also chaired important seminars and debates. Unassuming and humble, she carried her scholarship well and was generously helpful to young and enthusiastic scholars. She was fond of music and drama. With her dedication, spirit and zeal she became a great source of inspiration to the members of the Society.

She was married to Mr. Madhukar Pandit, a stock-broker with a deep sense of social responsibility. She fully supported him in his efforts to assist Baba Amte. Alzheimer's disease, which had afflicted her since 1995, finally claimed her at the age of 82. She leaves behind a son and a daughter.

It was rewarding to listen to her as in any conversation, however casual, she used to bring in a new point of view, founded on her immense erudition as well as her humane temperament, which made even a complex problem look simple. We at the Society greatly miss her scholarship and her ever-smiling, charming personality.

Sanjeevani Kher

DR. K. N. RAJ | 13-5-1924 to 10-2-2010

In the passing away of Dr. Kakkadan Nandanath Raj on February 10, 2010 at the age of 86, the country has lost a remarkable person of rare brilliance. Spanning six decades of relentless crusade against poverty, he has left an indelible impression as a brilliant economist, professor with an uncanny eye for spotting talent and encouraging them to pursue research, an institution builder and, most important, as the conscience keeper of the nation.

Born in Thrissur on May 13, 1924, Raj completed his early education in Thrissur and proceeded to Chennai and joined Madras Christian College. Here he came under the influence of Dr. Malcolm Adiseshaiah, the renowned economist, who encouraged him to pursue further studies after graduation. As advised, Raj joined the London School of Economics. His study of India's monetary policy vis-a-vis the Reserve Bank of India was perhaps one of the earliest studies on the subject and Raj acquired the coveted Ph.D. degree for this treatise at the young age of 26.

During his stay in London, he met Dr. Manmohan Singh and Dr. K.R. Narayanan. Dr. Raj also became a frequent visitor to V. K. Krishna Menon's office and often accompanied him to meetings of the India League and those organised to further the cause of India's independence.

Dr. Raj returned to India and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru invited him to help him prepare the First Five Year Plan. Raj co-authored the Plan document with Nehru and even wrote the Foreword for it. This was truly a herculean task, as he later remarked, as there was no statistical data to fall back upon. Dr. Raj proved equal to the challenges before him and earned in the process a reputation as the 'architect' of the Five Year Plan.

Dr. Raj quit the Planning Commission and joined the Delhi University as a Professor of Economics. Later in 1969, he became the Vice Chancellor of the University. This was perhaps the most challenging time as communal disharmony and politics on the campus made work and life difficult. Instead of concentrating on academics Raj had to spend much time in maintaining law and order on the campus. This saddened him immensely. However, during this period, he set up the Delhi School of Economics and encouraged researchers to take up projects, which also he monitored carefully. He identified talent and nurtured young scholars with care and concern. His students too, not just respected him but revered him. It would not be an exaggeration to say that they worshipped the very ground on which he walked.

He returned to Kerala at the behest of the Kerala Chief Minister Achyuta Menon, who requested him to help him with a development plan for the State. Dr. Raj set up an academic and research institution and aptly named 'Centre for Development Studies.' Soon this place became a hub for scholars and the focus of international attention and his students too received attention for their research skills and earned name and fame. Dr. Jagdish Bhagwati, K.N. Krishna Raj (who later became the editor of Economics and Political Weekly) and Prof. I.S. Gulati, came under his wings.

Dr. Raj was a leftist and believed in the welfare of the poor and the downtrodden. He was strongly opposed to communalism and once remarked "Neither religion nor ideology can take human being very much closer to a visionary state of perfection."

Dr. Raj was economic adviser to Pandit Nehru and he continued in the same role up to P.V. Narasimha Rao's regime, perhaps the unique distinction that recognised his straightforward and candid advice.

Dr. Raj received many honours and awards during his lifetime. He was Emeritus Fellow in Economics at the University Grants Commission. Dr. Raj had also held the Corresponding Fellowship of the British Academy, an Honorary Fellowship of the American Economics Association, and of the London School of Economics. In 1986, Dr. Raj was awarded the Jawaharlal Nehru Fellowship for his research project on 'Jawaharlal Nehru and the planned development of India.' He had been a Member of the Prime Minister's Economic Advisory Council. He had headed the Commission on Taxation of Agricultural Wealth and Income, the Working Group on Savings, and the committee on the pricing of steel. He was honoured with Padmavibhushan award in the year 2000. He wrote, researched, lectured and travelled to propagate his economic theory. His books and research articles serve as beacon of light to students of economics even today.

Dr. K. N. Raj has gone away from our midst but the Asiatic Society will always cherish his memory. The Society conferred on him an Honorary Fellowship in 1991. He received the honour in person and a few months later delivered a brilliant lecture at the Asiatic Society of Mumbai on economics. Her emerged as a soft spoken, highly cultured person carrying all his achievements with utmost modesty.

The Asiatic Society of Mumbai pays its tribute to this great man of letters and prays for his soul to rest in eternal peace.

Vimal Shah

TRANSLITERATION OF THE
SANSKRIT AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

अ	...... a	औ	...... au	ठ	...... tha	भ	...... bha
आ	...... ā	क	...... ka	ड	...... ḍa	म	...... ma
इ	 i	ख	...... kha	ढ	...... ḍha	य	...... ya
ई	...... ī	ग	...... ga	ण	...... ṇa	र	...... ra
उ	...... u	घ	...... gha	त	...... ta	ल	...... la
ऊ	...... ū	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) ...... m̐ | ≍ (Upadhmānīya) ...... ẖ

: (Visarga) ...... ḥ | s (Avagraha) ...... ,

TRANSLITERATION OF ARABIC AND
ALLIED ALPHABETS

ARABIC

ا	...... a	ز	...... z	ق	...... q	ـِ	.... i or e
ب	...... b	س	...... s	ك	...... k	ـُ	.... u or o
ت	...... t	ش	...... sh	ل	 l	ـَ	ā
ث	...... th	ص	...... ṣ	م	...... m	ـِي	.... ī, e
ج	...... j	ض	...... ḍ	ن	...... n	ـو	.... ū, ō
ح	...... ḥ	ط	...... ṭ	و	...... w	ـيْ	... ai, ay
خ	...... kh	ظ	...... ẓ	۲	...... h	ـوْ	... au, aw
د	...... d	ع	...... `	ي	...... y	silent t	.... h
ذ	...... dh	غ	...... gh		'		
ر	...... r	ف	...... f	ـَ	...... a		

PERSIAN

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

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

FORM IV

(See rule 8)

1.	Place of Publication	Mumbai
2.	Periodicity of Publication	Annual
3.	Printer's Name	Mr. S. V. Limaye
		Indian
		42, G. D. Ambekar Marg,
		Wadala,
		Mumbai - 400031.
4.	Publisher's Name	Dr. Meena Vaishampayan
		Indian
		Hon. Secretary,
		The Asiatic Society of Mumbai,
		Town Hall, Fort,
		Mumbai - 400 023.
5.	Editors' Names	Dr. N. B. Patil,
		Dr. Kalpakam Sankarnarayan
		Indian
		The Asiatic Society of Mumbai,
		Town Hall, Fort,
		Mumbai - 400 023.
6.	Names and Addresses of individuals who own the newspaper and partners, shareholders holding more than one percent of the total capital.	The Asiatic Society of Mumbai Town Hall, Fort, Mumbai - 400 023 Maharashtra State (India)

I, Meena Vaishampayan, hereby declare that the particulars given above are true to the best of my knowledge and belief.

Meena Vaishampayan
Signature of the Publisher

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1. All editorial communications should be addressed to the Editor, Journal of the Asiatic Society of Mumbai, Town Hall, Mumbai-400 023.

2. Papers must be presented in a final form completely ready as copy for the press prepared in accordance with the regulations printed below. Papers should be typed on one side of each sheet in double spacing on paper, leaving a margin of at least 3.5 cm. at the left hand side. Sheets should be numbered consecutively at the top right-hand corner.

3. Endnotes, numbered consecutively through the article, should be typed on a separate sheet at the end and not at the foot of each sheet. They should also be typed with double spacing.

4. Both photographs and line drawings, including maps, will appear as "plates" and "figures", numbered consecutively in Roman and Arabic numerals throughout each article. Captions should be typed on a separate sheet.

5. The Editorial Committee will determine whether a paper shall be printed and, if printed, in what form.

6. Contributors should use the system of transliteration adopted by this Society. A transliteration sheet has been appended in the issues of the Journal. Sanskrit words in the body of the text should be transliterated. However, Sanskrit verses may be retained in Devanagari Script.

7. Contributors are urged to study the conventions employed in recent issues of the Journal, particularly the style of citation of books and periodical articles and the bibliographical information inserted at the head of reviews. Titles of books should be in italics. Titles of books cited should be given in full at the first citation; thereafter reference should be made by using only significant words in the title, but with sufficient clarity to avoid doubt or confusion. Uniformity of abbreviations must be observed throughout the paper.

8. Titles of articles in periodicals should be cited in quotation marks; the name of the periodical should be printed in italics.

9. The greatest possible conciseness in the papers is desired of the contributors for the sake of economy. Additional printer's charges for alterations other than corrections of printer's errors must be borne by the contributor. Later corrections which would involve overrunning will not be accepted without express permission of the Board of Editors.

10. Fifteen off-prints of each article will be supplied to the contributor free of charge. Additional copies, if desired, may be obtained by giving due notice to the Editors, on payment.

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